

**REPORT TO THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE,
HONOURABLE TSHILOLO MICHAEL MASUTHA,
IN THE MATTER OF
DR. VERWOERD'S ASSASSINATION**

Vol. II

By

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ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND

This Report² was submitted on hard copy, by High Court Judge Jody Kollapen, to the Minister of Justice, the Honourable Michael Masutha, on 23 April 2018. The Report ran to three volumes, totalling 2,192 pages and 861,803 words. It was accompanied by a 16GB USB memory stick with all the evidence presented in the Report, including all 12,000 pages of documents from archives in South Africa, Portugal and the U.K.; newspaper articles; documents from private collections that were entrusted to the author; and all the recordings of the interviews the author conducted for this research. This submission was accompanied by a letter to the Minister written and signed by five prominent South African jurists who had collaborated with the author for this Report and had evaluated the evidence presented in it. They were advocate George Bizos SC³; Professor of International Law and former Judge ad hoc on the International Court of Justice in The Hague John Dugard⁴; former Durban State Attorney and co-chairman of the Law Society of South Africa Krish Govender⁵; advocate and TRC Commissioner Dumisa Ntsebeza SC⁶; and former Constitutional Court Judge Zak Yacoob⁷. This was their letter:

² The Report was edited by Gerard Loughran, a retired foreign correspondent for the US news agency, United Press International, who also spent eleven years in senior editorial capacities with the Nation group of newspapers in Nairobi, Kenya. He is the author of *Birth of a Nation: The Story of a Newspaper in Kenya* and co-author of *The Man who Killed Apartheid: The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas*.

³ Advocate George Bizos SC is an internationally renowned lawyer who defended several prominent anti-apartheid activists including Nelson and Winnie Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Steve Biko and Walter Sisulu and many others. In 1999, he was awarded by then President Nelson Mandela the Order for Meritorius Service medal, in 2001, the 2001 International Trial Lawyer Prize of the Year by the International Academy of Trial Lawyers, in 2016 the Freedom of City of London by the City of London, and also in 2016 he was an official guest of then UK Prime Minister David Cameron in 10 Downing Street in order to honour him for his contribution to ending apartheid and bringing democracy to South Africa.

⁴ Professor John Dugard has been part of the main UN body for developing international law (the International Law Commission of the United Nations); he chaired a UN Commission on Human Rights inquiry into human rights in occupied Palestine; and was the United Nations Special Rapporteur to the commission on “the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967.” He has been Dean and Law Professor at the University of the Witwatersrand, Director of the same university’s Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Director of the Lauterpacht Centre for International Law at the University of Cambridge, Chair in Public International Law at Leiden University, and a visiting professor at the University of New South Wales, Princeton University, Duke University, UC Berkeley, and the University of Pennsylvania.

⁵ Attorney Krish Govender was also the vice-chairman of the council of the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a founding member, along with Dullah Omar, former Minister of Justice, and Pius Langa, former Chief Justice, of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL); he has also served in various Governmental bodies such as the Judicial Service Commission (JSC).

⁶ Advocate Dumisa Ntsebeza SC is also chancellor of the University of Fort Hare, Chairman of the Desmond Tutu Peace Trust, and a trustee of the Nelson Mandela Foundation.

⁷ Justice Zak Yacoob was appointed to the Constitutional Court in 1998 by Nelson Mandela and has also served as Acting Deputy Chief Justice.

“RE: REQUEST TO RE-EVALUATE THE HISTORICAL RECORD FOLLOWING THE ASSASSINATION OF DR HF VERWOERD

The death of Prime Minister HF Verwoerd on 6 September 1966 was no doubt a significant event in the history of South Africa and one that would have long-term consequences for the people of South Africa. Dr. Verwoerd was killed by Dimitri Tsafendas, a Portuguese national of Greek descent, in the House of Assembly at a time when Tsafendas was employed there as a messenger.

At the trial of Tsafendas in the Cape Supreme Court he was found unfit to stand trial on the ground that he suffered from schizophrenia. The court found that Tsafendas had no political motive for killing Verwoerd. These conclusions were confirmed by a subsequent commission of enquiry. Arising out of this, Tsafendas was declared a State President’s patient and was detained first in prison, then in a mental institution until his death in 1999. For most of his incarceration he was subjected to cruel and inhumane treatment by the prison authorities. He died a sad and lonely death in a mental institution.

There were understandable reasons why it was in the interests of the apartheid regime not to seriously dispute that Mr. Tsafendas was schizophrenic and to ignore weighty evidence that he was not mentally ill, but that Mr. Tsafendas’s actions were in fact wholly politically motivated. First, the apartheid regime wished to have people believe that no sane person could kill or even want to kill an outstanding leader as Verwoerd was projected to be. Second, the minister of justice and police, John Vorster, would have been embarrassed that a communist who had made his strong opposition to apartheid publicly known passed the security clearance that allowed him to work as a messenger in the House of Assembly and gave him the opportunity to kill Verwoerd. To avoid accountability for this lapse in security, it would have been considered wiser for Vorster and the National Party to portray Tsafendas as an insane person. Third, a full-blown criminal trial would have had the inevitable effect of placing the national and international spotlight on the excesses of the system of apartheid – something the regime of the day would have preferred to avoid.

Consequently, the apartheid regime embarked on a cover-up in which the trial, the subsequent commission of enquiry and media were carefully orchestrated to present Tsafendas as an insane person. This succeeded to a large measure as the dominant discourse that emerged and still prevails is that Mr. Tsafendas was mentally ill and his actions were not even remotely political. It is equally understandable that Mr. Tsafendas adopted the correct

strategy in which he too feigned insanity. Otherwise he would undoubtedly have been sentenced to death.

A recent study by Harris Dousemetzis of Durham University in England reveals the full extent of the cogent evidence that the regime ignored. It shows convincingly that Mr. Tsafendas was not a schizophrenic who believed that his actions were determined by a tapeworm. In fact, the study compellingly demonstrates that he was a man with a deep social conscience who was bitterly opposed to apartheid and viewed Verwoerd as the prime architect of this policy. Tsafendas told the police after the assassination that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he was 'disgusted with his racial policies' and hoped that 'a change of policy would take place'. The killing of Verwoerd was therefore a political assassination and not the act of an insane man.

The study also shows that Tsafendas was a highly politicised person. He was arrested several times in his home country of Moçambique by the Portuguese police for promoting Communism and denouncing colonialism. The Portuguese security police – PIDE – had a file on Tsafendas dating back to 1938, when he was 20 years old, and kept a careful watch over him when he was exiled for 12 years from Moçambique on account of his political activities. He fought in the Greek Civil War with the communists and he was imprisoned in Portugal for his pro-communist and anti-colonialist activities. In London he became a member of the British anti-apartheid movement and associated with Tennyson Makiwane, the ANC's representative in England. He was a member of the South African Communist Party from 1937 to 1942 and was later refused admission to South Africa for this reason. Shortly before the killing of Verwoerd, Tsafendas characterised a possible assassination of Dr Verwoerd as morally justifiable on grounds that he was a dictator and a tyrant who oppressed his people. Tsafendas repeated this notion about thirty years later while he was at a psychiatric hospital. These are but some features of the study all of which are fully substantiated. They powerfully militate against the conclusion that the actions of Tsafendas on 6 September 1966 were those of an individual ignorant of the scope and consequences of his actions.

Dousemetzis's study is painstakingly thorough and is based on an examination of some 12,000 pages of documents in the South African National Archives, as well as those of Portugal and the United Kingdom. It is supported by interviews with 137 persons, 69 of whom knew Tsafendas personally. The study collaborated closely with several relevant South African and international legal experts, including the signatories to this letter. We are in full

agreement with the study, the conclusions it reaches as well as the reasons advanced in support of it.

In addition, a wide spread of experts in fields relevant to this research were also contacted on an ongoing basis, including lawyers, judges, psychologists, psychiatrists, academics, retired high-ranking police officers and former secret agents. Further, to examine the diagnosis of schizophrenia, the study collaborated closely with the forensic psychiatrist, Professor Tuviah Zabow, the former head of the forensic psychiatry unit at Valkenberg Hospital, former professor of psychiatry at the University of Cape Town and chairman of the College of Psychiatrists of South Africa.

The study also consulted with the following noted psychiatrists and psychologists: Professor Alban Burke, head of the Department of Psychology at the University of Johannesburg; Professor Kirk Heilbrun, forensic psychologist and professor of psychology at Drexler University, USA; Professor Phillip Resnick, forensic psychiatrist and director of the Division of Forensic Psychiatry at Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, USA; and Professor Robert L. Sadoff, clinical professor of psychiatry and director of the Center for Studies in Social-Legal Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania, former president of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law as well as of the American Board of Forensic Psychiatry. Collectively they represent some of the best minds in the field of psychiatry and psychology.

This overview is provided both as a glimpse into the study and how it was conducted as well as to disavow any notion that the study is anything other than a carefully considered and well researched body of work on a matter of great significance to South Africa.

We are also convinced that much of this evidence was available to the state. In normal course, and had not the insanity plea and finding suited the regime's purposes, it would have challenged the insanity plea. Our experience is that the state has never yet so docilely accepted an insanity plea without more in a case in which without insanity, the crime would have been vicious murder without extenuating circumstances if not treason.

At present, South African history records Tsafendas as the insane killer of Dr Verwoerd who had no political motive for his act. This is as inadequate as it is incorrect and this is borne out by the study.

South African history, in proper recognition of the generations who preceded us as well as those to come, should record in its annals an accurate account of the killing of Dr

Verwoerd which recognises that Tsafendas was motivated to kill him by reason of his deep opposition to apartheid and was indeed a freedom fighter and a hero. This must be acknowledged by a revision and a correction of this event in history. This is necessary in order that what occurred is properly recorded and that the distortion of it by the apartheid government is laid bare. It is not about being vindictive or vengeful but simply about recording our painful history with the accuracy that our commitment to the truth and reconciliation requires.

In our submission the study is so thoroughly and painstakingly done that we would have no hesitation in recommending that the minister may well accept its findings and conclusions and act thereon. On the other hand, we fully accept and understand that the minister may wish to subject the study to an independent assessment. We hardly seek to be prescriptive in this regard. What is of interest to us is the course of action that the South African government, once it is satisfied with regard to the study and its findings, may elect to take. Again this area falls squarely within the discretion of the government as advised by the minister but may we suggest a few options for consideration and they would include:

- a. A public acknowledgement of the acceptance of the study and its findings; and
- b. The appropriate steps to revise the curriculum of schools and other institutions of learning to correct the teaching and learning of the killing of Verwoerd.

This is not an exhaustive list of possible actions but are merely suggestions and we remain willing to work with you and the government on these.

Finally, in order to assist you in this process, we attach a copy of the report by Mr. Dousemetzis. We are confident that you will find that it raises a convincing case for a re-evaluation of the death of Dr HF Verwoerd. Mr. Dousemetzis has indicated his willingness and availability to assist by way of clarification, if required, of any matter dealt with in the research undertaken by him.

Kindly acknowledge receipt and do advise us of your consideration at your earliest convenience.”

THE MAN WHO KILLED APARTHEID AND ITS AFTERMATH

On November 8, 2018, *The Man Who Killed Apartheid: The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas* by Harris Dousemetzis and Gerry Loughran was launched at the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg in co-operation with the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation. The speakers were Judge Jody Kollapen, who gave the keynote address; Neeshan Balton, Executive Director of the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation; Maggie Davey of Jacana Media; Reneva Fourie, member of the Central Committee of the SACP; Attorney Krish Govender; and Minister of Justice and Correctional Services Michael Masutha.

Judge Jody Kollapen said that the book “is about a search for the truth” and that it is important because South Africa needs to know the truth about such a major historical event. He said that Tsafendas “was incensed about what Verwoerd did and he was prepared to risk his life” and that he had personally discovered that Tsafendas never lost his militancy even towards his last days.

Reneva Fourie said:

“Our first Deputy General Secretary, comrade Solly Mapaila, is out of the country and had requested that I stand in for him. He deemed it essential that the SACP be represented at this very important occasion -the launch of a book that makes such a significant contribution to our history. We are here feeling guilt while simultaneously feeling elation. Harris did what we failed to do. He spent nearly a decade getting to know Dimitri Tsafendas, unpacking his character, digging right to the bottom of what could have driven him to assassinate Verwoerd and crafted a beautiful narrative that gives insights to that which comprised the essence of Dimitri. What a significant effort by someone who had no obligation to set the record straight. Our guilt resides in the knowledge that, as part of the liberation movement, we could have done more. But what great cause for celebration! And herein lies our elation. Our Movement and Dimitris family and friends can take pride in knowing that the killing of Verwoerd was not an act of a deranged man; but a calculated act of tremendous courage to rid the world of an evil - the architect of a cruel system of apartheid, which stripped non-whites of all sense of dignity and undermined the very essence of that which made us human; evil that could easily be equated with the works of Hitler; an evil which remnants we still suffer of today.

Today, one day and a month after the passing of Dimitri Tsafendas, 19 years ago, the work of Harris Dousemetzis empowers us to affirm that Dimitri was a comrade, our comrade. A comrade who knew the humiliation of racial discrimination and who understood the exploitative conditions of workers. His pronounced social and political consciousness enjoined him to associate with the Communist Party of South Africa, and inspired him to take the difficult decision to exercise the highest level of sacrifice for this country, as expressed in his own words, 'I was so disgusted by the racial policy that I went through with the plan to kill the Prime Minister.' And we are here tonight to take full ownership of our member, albeit very late.

It is for this reason that we formally endorsed the submission to Minister Mike Masutha that the historical records be rectified. His presence here today provides us with assurance that every effort will be made in this regard. His department has been doing good work in allowing apartheid atrocities to be investigated and exposed. It is also doing a sterling job to eliminate historical distortions and to replace it with truths that have been buried for long. Confronting the truth is an important part of healing; an integral element of reconciliation; and a cornerstone of nation building. May this restoration of history make us conscious of the efforts to divide and determined that these efforts never again succeed. Please receive our warm and sincere appreciation to all who contributed to the formulation and promotion of this historic record of the life of an unsung hero. Thank you for going the extra mile to include the South African Communist Party in this process. We are honoured. We are humbled. As the SACP we undertake to repair the tombstone and to ensure that the 20th Anniversary of comrade Dimitri Tsafendas' passing is appropriately commemorated. Forward to a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa Long live the undying spirit of comrade Dimitri Tsafendas long live."

Minister Masutha, who had volunteered to attend the event and to speak, described the book launch as "a moment to celebrate the truth" about Tsafendas. He said:

"Tonight we're here to celebrate the truth. Only the truth will set you free ... Indeed, the story that is being told tonight is one of a man who may have killed a man, but I believe in the depth of his mind he was not a killer. He did not want kill a human being. He wanted to kill a system. It is unfortunate that the system personified itself in a human being."

Minister Masutha added that at the time, it would have suited the apartheid state to conceal the truth as it would have been to its detriment to admit that a Communist had been in service inside parliament. Thus they misportrayed him.

Attorney Kris Govender highlighted the book's importance to South Africa's history for "revealing the truth" about Tsafendas and Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. He also conveyed to the audience the following message from Judge Zak Yacoob:

"This publication shows how hard work and attention to detail reveal truth to conquer powers of evil that seeks to hide it."

At the end of the event, in a private conversation with the author and Advocate George Bizos, Minister Masutha said that his legal team, headed by Mr. Prince Maluleke, had finished reading the Report and evaluating the accompanying evidence. Asked by the author whether they agreed with the findings, Mr. Maluleke said, "We wouldn't have been here if we did not agree." Subsequently, Minister Masutha and Mr. Maluleke told the author and Advocate Bizos that they were going to explore ways to take the matter further.

Advocate George Bizos said about the book:

"One of the most important books that have ever been written about apartheid. Not only does it reveal the truth about Tsafendas by exposing apartheid's lies, but it also gives a very detailed and accurate description of what apartheid was and how its security forces operated."

The Man Who Killed Apartheid: The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas received widespread acclaim from academics, critics, journalists, jurists and scholars in South Africa and across the world for setting the record straight regarding Tsafendas and Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. For example:

Marcel Gascón Barberá wrote in *Politicsweb*:

"[The book is a] definitive investigation and does justice to a lucid and courageous man, in which the desire for freedom and justice always prevailed over the instinct of conservation and the yearning for security."⁸

Imraan Buccus wrote in the *Mail and Guardian*:

⁸ Marcel Gascón Barberá, "The Late Redemption of Dimitri Tsafendas." *Politicsweb*, 20 December 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/the-late-redemption-of-dimitri-tsafendas>

“Dousemetzis’s book is almost 500 pages long and is an impressive work of scholarship. It has been validated by some of our leading legal, journalistic and academic minds. The case that he makes is unanswerable.”⁹

Timothy J. Christian, Professor of Law, Professor Emeritus, Faculty of Law, University of Alberta, Canada wrote:

“This is an important book because it corrects a big lie, and may help to resolve an historic injustice. Whether or not one agrees that the murder of a tyrant can be justified, it is clear that the lies of a racist regime cannot. Harris Dousemetzis and Gerry Loughran set the record straight, and for that we are grateful.”¹⁰

Max du Preez wrote on *News24*:

“The Dousemetzis book is important because it corrects history.”¹¹

Mark Gevisser wrote in *Business Live*:

“Harris Dousemetzis’s magnificent biography of Tsafendas demonstrates convincingly how the state covered up mountains of evidence about Tsafendas’s political history and motivations, in its efforts to have him declared insane.”¹²

Professor Robert M. Kaplan wrote in his review of the book in the *South African Historical Journal*:

“A good story, if nothing else, has been completely overturned by Harris Dousemetzis in his book, *The Man Who Killed Apartheid: The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas*. Everything in the official and widely believed version was wrong and deliberately so ... Dousemetzis has done a phenomenal task of researching his subject ... What he produced is the meticulous biography of a man robbed by history of his identity ... What Harris Dousemetzis has produced is nothing less than a classic example of the genre and one, more than most, that

⁹ Imraan Buccus, “Coming to Terms with our History – Winnie and the Anti-apartheid Assassin Tsafendas.” *Daily Maverick*, 1 April 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2019-04-01-coming-to-terms-with-our-history-winnie-and-the-anti-apartheid-assassin-tsafendas/>

¹⁰ Review of *The Man who Killed Apartheid: The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas*, *Amazon Canada*, 6 February 2019. Retrieved from:

https://www.amazon.ca/gp/product/1431427543/ref=ox_sc_saved_title_1?smid=A3DWYIK6Y9EEQB&psc=1

¹¹ Max du Preez, “Fake News: The Past and the Present.” *News24*, 18 December 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.news24.com/Columnists/MaxduPreez/fake-news-the-past-and-the-present-20181218>

¹² Mark Gevisser, “The Moral Struggles Imparted by Verwoerd.” *Business Live*, 27 September 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/life/2019-07-30-the-moral-struggles-impacted-by-verwoerd/>

has changed the historiography of this significant event ... Harris Dousemetzis is to be congratulated on a fine work that will inspire other workers in the biographic field.”¹³

Nikos Konstandaras wrote in *The Nation*, the oldest continuously published weekly magazine in the United States, in an article entitled “The Truth Behind the Assassination of the South African PM”:

“Harris Dousemetzis has placed the killing in its correct historical perspective.”¹⁴

Eusebius McKaiser said on the *Eusebius McKaiser Show*:

“A really significant book and probably one of the most important books published this year in our country ... a significant work of great historical, moral and political importance for anyone with even a cursory interest in twentieth century South African history and politics, and the inner workings of the apartheid state.”¹⁵

Moira Levy, in her review of the book in the *New Agenda: South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy*, wrote:

“The indisputable conclusion Dousemetzis comes to was one that many have long suspected, and that has for years been whispered in the public domain; Dimitri Tsafendas, a committed life-long Communist and activist, stabbed Dr Verwoerd to death in the parliamentary chamber in 1966 to register his revulsion at the concept of apartheid, and his hope was that in killing the “father of apartheid” he could possibly bring this appalling system to an end ... The importance of this book is that it finally lays to rest the lies, or even lingering doubts, constructed by the apartheid narrative. The author’s meticulous research demonstrates that the unlikely tape worm fable came from Tsafendas himself... The author can rest assured that no reader of this detailed and comprehensive account of the life of Tsafendis [*sic*] could possibly complete this 400-plus volume and still defend the narratives concocted at the time by the likes of security chief General van den Bergh, John Vorster, the then Minister of Justice who replaced Verwoerd as Prime Minister, and Major Daniel

¹³ Robert M. Kaplan, “The Man Who Killed Apartheid: The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas.” *South African Historical Journal*, 71: 3 (2019), p. 522.

¹⁴ Nikos Konstandaras, “The Truth Behind the Assassination of the South African PM.” *The Nation*, 16 August 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.thenation.com/article/hendrik-verwoerd-assassination-dimitri-tsafendas/>

¹⁵ Eusebius McKaiser, “*Eusebius McKaiser Show: Verwoed’s Killer Was Neither Mad Not Apolitical.*” 22 November 2018. Retrieved from: <https://omny.fm/shows/mid-morning-show-702/verwoeds-killer-was-neither-mad-not-apolitical?fbclid=IwAR0y5ty-LMWTuGBjHP2nB0EaCq4-tlXK7rMNubx2Y09mJPOuyg90qNvL78w;>
<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10102646962173749&set=a.559451567779&type=3&theater>

Rossouw, head of the Cape Town Security Police, who interrogated Tsafendas hours after the assassination.”¹⁶

Don Makatile wrote in his review of the book:

“This book, the result of meticulous research, shines a particular spotlight on the comedy of errors that was the State’s case against the assassin ... The authors have done South African history a good turn with this offering, well enough to lodge an appeal with the Minister of Justice Michael Masutha to re-evaluate the assassination and declare it a political killing and Tsafendas a freedom fighter, not a lunatic.”¹⁷

Professor Richard Pithouse, University of the Witwatersrand Institute for Social and Economic Research:

“An extremely important book. This is a book that goes into the archive, that permanently changes a whole understanding of a whole era in our history. It's a really, really significant intervention.”¹⁸

Glen Relief wrote in the *Daily Maverick*:

“The fact that the assassination was politically motivated has been known for decades, and yet it has taken Dousemetzis to launch the long-overdue effort to officially acknowledge this.”¹⁹

Professor Jonny Steinberg, Professor of African Studies, Oxford University, wrote about the book:

“I bought it and started reading it and was soon filled with wonder and admiration. What an extraordinary achievement. What a unique, precious book. It is evidence, if any is needed, that the best work comes from passion to the point of obsession, and from mountains of labour.”²⁰

Marianne Thamm, who also listed it as her Book of the Year, wrote in the *Daily Maverick*:

¹⁶ Moira Levy, “The Man who Tried to Kill Apartheid, Harris Dousemetzis.” *New Agenda: South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy*, Volume 2019, Number 73, Jul 2019, p. 47.

¹⁷ Don Makatile, “Book Review: The Man Who Killed Apartheid.” *Makatile Media*. N.d. Retrieved from: <https://www.makatilemedia.com/book-reviews-makatile-media.php?eid=07b9bc9fec5c9400cf542ce8c86d0883>

¹⁸ Richard Pithouse, “*Eusebius McKaiser Show: Verwoed’s Killer Was Neither Mad Not Apolitical.*” 22 November 2018.

¹⁹ Glen Relief, “All We Are Saying is Give Tapeworms a Chance.” *Daily Maverick*, 30 April 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-04-30-all-we-are-saying-is-give-tapeworms-a-chance/>

²⁰ Jonny Steinberg’s email to Bridget Impey, 10 January 2019.

“Dousemetzis and Loughran, in this meticulous - and perhaps at times a tad over-researched - biography of Dimitri Tsafendas, have corrected the lie that he was a simple-minded man who was driven to kill Verwoerd because a tapeworm told him to do so. A gripping read that restores Tsafendas to his rightful place in history.”²¹

Chris Townsend wrote in *The Southern Cross, South Africa's Catholic Weekly*:

“While I leave to you to buy the book and read the impressive research and presentation, I will say that it is, simply put, a book that asks all South Africans to continue, or begin, a process of re-looking at our history.”²²

Oscar van Heerden wrote in the *Daily Maverick*:

“*The Man Who Killed Apartheid*, offers a fresh and important take on the life of Dimitri Tsafendas – which contradicts the mainstream narrative of Hendrik Verwoerd’s assassin as nothing more than a madman.”²³

Percy Zvomuya described the book in his review in *New Frame* as “a crisply written, 500-page work of painstaking scholarship at whose heart is a Dickensian energy.” He also wrote:

“Dimitri Tsafendas was labelled mentally unstable for decades, obscuring his political motive in killing the architect of apartheid. Now the record has been set straight. *The Man Who Killed Apartheid* by scholar Harry Dousemetzis and Gerry Loughran is an important book as it gives agency back to Tsafendas, a man rightly eulogised by a friend as a ‘Displaced Person, Sailor, Christian, Communist, Liberation Fighter, Political Prisoner, Hero.’”²⁴

²¹ Rebecca Davis, “Reading Season: Daily Maverick’s Picks for Books of the Year.” *Daily Maverick*, 14 December 2018. Retrieved from: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-12-14-reading-season-daily-mavericks-picks-for-books-of-the-year/?fbclid=IwAR1RX27vVHBmBj175nfHKBBf-dQs_f9kt58SZrF8nwGQJ6hCqEB2RBvJ12w

²² Chris Townsend, “Why We Need to Revisit the Past.” *The Southern Cross, South Africa's Catholic Weekly*. 12 February 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.scross.co.za/2019/02/why-we-need-to-revisit-the-past/>

²³ Oscar van Heerden, ‘Why Tsafendas should be seen as a National Hero.’ *Daily Maverick*, 6 December 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2018-12-06-why-dimitri-tsafendas-should-be-seen-as-a-national-hero/>

²⁴ Percy Zvomuya, “Verwoerd’s Radical Assassin.” *New Frame*, 4 February 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.newframe.com/verwoerds-radical-assassin/?fbclid=IwAR0FUIMA-YscDpyLkfEGvsfNNSaWmc2XkrXRg2-vltsnhIF0wHY-zQKUnYs>

INTRODUCTION

At 2.15 p.m. on September 6, 1966, Dimitri Tsafendas stabbed to death, at his desk in the South African House of Assembly, Prime Minister Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, the so-called “architect of apartheid.” Some forty days later, in a summary trial before the Cape Town Supreme Court, Tsafendas was declared to be schizophrenic and unfit to stand trial for the assassination. It was stated that he believed a tapeworm lived inside him which controlled his actions, and that he did not have any political motive for assassinating the Prime Minister. A subsequent Commission of Enquiry confirmed the court’s verdict and reaffirmed the largely negative evidence given at the trial as to Tsafendas’s character and behaviour.

This study reveals that both the police and the Commission suppressed and manipulated evidence to provide a distorted picture of Tsafendas. It reveals that Tsafendas was nothing like the hopeless, shambolic person portrayed in Court and by the Commission of Enquiry. It demonstrates conclusively that Tsafendas was not schizophrenic and did not believe he had a tapeworm. It shows that the tapeworm is a myth and that, after the assassination, Tsafendas gave the police clear and sound political reasons why he had killed Verwoerd. Tsafendas told the police that he had killed Verwoerd because he was “so disgusted with the racial policy.” He considered Verwoerd to be a “tyrant” and a “dictator,” as well as “the brains behind apartheid.” Therefore, he reasoned to the police, he hoped that with Verwoerd’s “disappearance”, the racist political system he had developed would sooner or later collapse, and a “change of policy would take place” in South Africa.²⁵ However, these sentiments, Tsafendas’s real reasons for killing Verwoerd, and his long history of political activism, were concealed and did not come to light at the time. How the tapeworm came into the case, as well as how Tsafendas was declared to be schizophrenic, will be discussed in detail. The study also shows the inaccuracy of the diagnosis of schizophrenia given by the doctors who examined Tsafendas before his summary trial.

The evidence shows that Tsafendas was a modest and thoughtful, if emotional, man; also a highly politicized man, a Communist with a lively social conscience and profound political convictions. We will see that Tsafendas was deeply political from a very young age

²⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the circumstances of the death of the late Dr. the honourable Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, (hereafter cited as K150), Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. National Archives of South Africa (hereafter cited as NASA).

and remained politically active until the assassination. He was arrested several times in Mozambique and Portugal for promoting Communism and denouncing colonialism. Due to his political activities, the Portuguese security police, PIDE, created a file on him (*Secret Criminal Record no 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis*) as early as 1938, when he was just twenty-years old, when he was “suspected of distributing communist propaganda.”²⁶

PIDE’s very detailed file on Tsafendas totalled some 130 pages at the time of the assassination. Two days after Dr. Verwoerd’s assassination, the Chief Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon sent a top-secret telegram to the Sub-Director of PIDE in Mozambique, instructing him that any “information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of your country should not be transmitted to the South African authorities, despite the relations that exist between your delegation and the South African Police.”²⁷ PIDE played an important role in the case; this too will be examined here. The background and issues surrounding the assassination also appear in a markedly different light in the study. The study will reveal important and hitherto unknown information about Tsafendas’s life and political activities, for example his participation in the Greek Civil War on the side of the Communists.

Work on this research started in 2009. It has examined at least 12,000 pages of documents found in the National Archives of South Africa, Portugal and Britain, the vast majority of which had never previously been consulted.²⁸ All the documents found in these archives are in the author’s possession in digitized form and are included in the evidence submitted to the Minister. Further research covered all the South African newspapers of the time which were still available, along with the leading contemporaneous newspapers from Australia, Britain, Canada, France, West and East Germany, Greece, Italy, Mozambique, Portugal, the Soviet Union, the United States and Zimbabwe. All the articles found in these newspapers are also in the author’s possession in digitized form and are included in the evidence submitted to the Minister.

The author has conducted interviews with 146 people, 75 of whom knew Tsafendas personally (the difference between this number and the one in the letter to the Minister and the previous Report is due to the fact that since the submission of the letter and the previous Report, the author has conducted additional interviews with new witnesses). The interviewees

²⁶ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (hereafter cited as ANTT).

²⁷ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁸ All the documents found in the archives have been copied in the study exactly as they were found. The many spelling or grammar mistakes are of the original documents, not of the author.

included persons who met Tsafendas in the countries where he lived or which he visited, such as Germany, Greece, Mozambique, South Africa, Turkey and Zimbabwe. Some witnesses knew him exceptionally well and here speak formally about him for the first time; five of them had known him since he was a small child. Other interviewees included members of his family, workmates, housemates, fellow prisoners, visitors who talked to him in hospital and prison, and four members of his defence team during his summary trial after the assassination (two clinicians who examined him and two of his lawyers). All interviews with witnesses were conducted and recorded personally by the author; except those with Gordon Winter, which were conducted and recorded by Dr. James Sanders on behalf of the author. All the interviewees who knew Tsafendas were interviewed on several occasions on an ongoing basis, apart from David Bloomberg and Nicolas Mavronas, who were interviewed only once. Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky was not interviewed face to face or by telephone; however, he corresponded with the author on several occasions and answered all the questions sent to him. For each of the witnesses who knew Tsafendas, the footnotes give the date of the last interview between the witness and the author; on these occasions, the key witnesses reviewed the transcripts of their interviews and approved them. All these interviews are included in the evidence submitted to the Minister.

In addition, several experts in fields relevant to this research were consulted on an ongoing basis; for example lawyers, judges, psychologists, psychiatrists, academics, high-ranking police officers and former secret agents. In order to properly examine the diagnosis of schizophrenia in regard to Tsafendas, the process followed, and all the medical aspects of the case, the author of the study collaborated with Professor Tuviah Zabow and consulted several renowned psychiatrists and psychologists, including Professor Alban Burke, Professor Kirk Heilbrun, Professor Phillip Resnick, and Professor Robert L. Sadoff.

Furthermore, the author carried out a series of interviews with Mr. Reyner van Zyl, the psychologist who examined Tsafendas after the assassination and one of the defence's main witnesses at the summary trial. Looking at the evidence the police had gathered at the time, especially the statements by people who knew Tsafendas and the two statements Tsafendas himself made to the police, Van Zyl admitted that it was "very contradictory" and "very different" to his diagnosis, as well as the diagnoses of the psychiatrists at the time. He conceded that at least some aspects of these diagnoses "appear to have been wrong". He told the author about this evidence:

“You know, I agree with you. The information that you have given me is very different from what my findings were at the time, and the findings of the other experts. Why these documents weren’t made available to us, as experts [I do not know] ... Yes. Look, obviously that is important information, and information that influences one’s findings in the end. There is no doubt about it ...”²⁹

Van Zyl conceded that if he had been in possession of such evidence at the time, his diagnosis, as well as the diagnoses of the other clinicians who examined Tsafendas, would have been different. He also admitted that Tsafendas “obviously” had killed Dr. Verwoerd for political reasons, and that the only possible reason why the police withheld this evidence was in order to conceal Tsafendas’s political motive.³⁰

In addition, the author collaborated closely and on an on-going basis with several relevant legal experts, including Advocate George Bizos SC, Professor John Dugard, Attorney Krish Govender, Advocate Dumisa Ntsebeza SC, and Justice Zak Yacoob. All of these eminent jurists have read the report, seen the evidence and discussed all aspects of the case with the author. All have agreed with the Report’s findings.

Advocate George Bizos told the author that:

“The police at the time would have never allowed it to become known that Tsafendas was a politically minded person who had killed Verwoerd for political reasons [the hope that apartheid would collapse without him]; if this had happened, Tsafendas would have instantly become a hero of the anti-apartheid movement. Then a trial of politically minded person like Tsafendas, just like the Rivonia, would have put apartheid in the dock... it would have also been hugely embarrassing for the police to admit that a dedicated Communist with such a long history of political activism had managed to penetrate what was alleged to be a top security system... Communism was at the time the monster in South Africa, the number-one enemy, and the killing of Verwoerd by a Communist would have been a major blow to the prestige of the regime, but also a big victory for Communism. Verwoerd at the time was adored and accepted by most Whites in this country and the thought that someone had killed him because he disagreed with his policies would have shattered such an image.”³¹

Advocate Bizos characterized this Report as “monumental,” and said “I have never seen anything like this before.” He described it as “the most comprehensive study of

²⁹ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

³⁰ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

³¹ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

apartheid and how it operated that I have ever seen... It is a mammoth enquiry into the steps taken by the government to declare him mad and to cover up his treatment. It's absolutely amazing what the government did ... The police and the authorities of the time could have very easily built up a case [against Tsafendas], but they withheld it in order to find him insane." Advocate Bizos believes that this report is "of major historical importance for South Africa and as to our understanding of Verwoerd's assassination." He described the evidence gathered and presented by this report, proving that Tsafendas was not insane but politically motivated in killing Dr. Verwoerd, as "overwhelming and unquestionable."³²

Professor John Dugard said about the Tsafendas case and this report:

"Many South Africans suspected that there was a political cover-up in the Tsafendas case. The apartheid regime had two reasons for portraying Tsafendas to be insane. First, the regime wished to suggest that no-one in his right mind could kill such a wonderful leader as Hendrik Verwoerd. Secondly, there was the security aspect. The security apparatus, led by the Minister of Justice and Police, John Vorster, wished to avoid accountability for allowing a political revolutionary to be employed in a position close to the Prime Minister. So it was that the media and the legal proceedings were manipulated to present Tsafendas as a mentally deranged person dictated to by a tapeworm.

This research confirms that there was a cover-up. It shows convincingly that Tsafendas was a political revolutionary, whose assassination of Dr. Verwoerd was motivated by a hatred of Dr. Verwoerd and all he stood for. He was not an insane killer but a political assassin determined to rid South Africa of the architect of apartheid. Political assassinations seldom achieve their goal and this was no exception. But at least South African history should know the truth about Tsafendas. Dousemetzis has done South Africa a service by correcting the historical record."³³

Justice Zak Yacoob said he agreed "100 per cent" with all of The Report's findings and characterised it as "incredible". He added:

"The historical record shows that comrade Tsafendas killed Verwoerd, that he pleaded insanity at the trial, his plea was upheld and he was, consequent to his plea, confined at the pleasure of the relevant authority. If he had spoken the truth, he would have been sentenced to death, so the tactic was a very good one in the circumstances. History does not record that

³² Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

³³ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 8 September 2016.

he pretended to be insane to save his life. This is well brought out in the research. The research shows conclusively that he did a deliberate courageous anti-apartheid act but pretended insanity at the trial; understandably so. I think the research speaks for itself.”³⁴

³⁴ Justice Zak Yacoob in a personal interview, 18 September 2017.

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OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

Chapter 3: The Assassination

Here the study deals with Dr. Verwoerd's assassination, including the national situation before the event, the act itself, the reaction in South Africa and around the world and the assassination's immediate aftermath.

Chapter 4: The Police Investigation

This chapter provides a very detailed account of the police investigation that followed the assassination. It sets out all of the important evidence collected by the South African police, including all statements in full from people who were questioned by the police.³⁵ An important issue discussed in this chapter is the role of PIDE in the investigation, something that has not been examined hitherto. All the top-secret documents of the South African police and PIDE found in the National Archives of Portugal and South Africa are included. This chapter also covers events such as the appointment of Tsafendas's defence team, Vorster becoming Prime Minister, certain announcements by Vorster about Tsafendas, and several press reports.

Chapter 5: Tsafendas's Summary Trial

This chapter provides a very detailed account of Tsafendas's summary trial. We see the preparations of both the defence team and the State ahead of the trial. Each witness's testimony is included, in most cases exactly as it was given, or after the removal of small talk or anything unimportant or not germane. Testimony is analysed in detail by comparing evidence gathered by the police which contradicted the testimony of witnesses, thus exposing inaccuracies. The analysis was much assisted by new evidence collected by the author. Forty-

³⁵ Evidence found in the archives which was not directly related to the assassination or to Tsafendas or was of no importance has been reduced to summaries or omitted.

six of the witnesses who knew Tsafendas well were interviewed by the author and had parts of the testimonies heard in the court read to them and then offered their comments.³⁶

Chapter 6: The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Circumstances of the Death of the late Dr. the Honourable Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd

This chapter examines the report of the Commission of Enquiry which followed the summary trial of Tsafendas. It starts by explaining what a Commission of Enquiry is and then offers examples of how Commissions operated during apartheid. Some examples have been used, such as the Sharpeville Commission, in order to make clear how both the Commission and the police operated during apartheid. This is an important part of the chapter because of the many similarities between these previous Commissions and the one on Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. All the statements and important evidence collected by the Commission is presented. Several parts of the Commission's Report are examined in detail. The Commission is judged by the evidence it had in its possession at the time and not by evidence collected by the author. There is only one occasion where new evidence is presented.

Conclusion

This chapter offers a comprehensive but concise conclusion concerning everything discussed in this Report.

³⁶ In total seventy-five witnesses who knew Tsafendas were interviewed by the author. The author refers to forty-six witnesses who were asked specifically about issues which were raised during Tsafendas's summary trial and by the Commission of Enquiry. On several occasions, these witnesses were given extracts to read from the trial transcript and asked to comment on them. Most were people who knew Tsafendas as a free man before the assassination and were best placed to give an opinion on his behaviour and mental state. However, there were also important witnesses, like Liza Key, Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis, and Fathers Michalis Visvinis and Minas Constandinou, who came to know Tsafendas well during his time in prison or in hospital, when he confided extensively in them. The remaining twenty-nine of the seventy-five witnesses either did not know Tsafendas well enough to comment on the specific issues raised, or were members of his defence team, or had died before the author had the trial manuscripts in its possession.

CHAPTER 3

THE ASSASSINATION

THE ASSASSINATION

With his shooting plan a non-starter, Tsafendas decided to buy a knife and stab Dr. Verwoerd to death in the Chamber of the House of Assembly; the only part of the building where the Prime Minister was not escorted by his two bodyguards.³⁷ On Tuesday, September 6, he arrived at the House of Assembly at 6.45 am, one hour ahead of his normal start time, so that he could get his work done then go out and buy a suitable knife. Two shops which stocked knives were both closed when he arrived and he called at another store and inquired when they would open. He then walked up and down the pavement until City Guns opened³⁸ and he entered the shop in 57 Hout Street, Cape Town at 9.05 am. He was wearing grey, baggy flannels, a white shirt and light-coloured jacket. He asked the prices of sheath knives displayed in the window and was shown two. He asked about one which had a metal sheath and a spring clip and slipped it inside his trousers. He bought the knife, tendering a R10 note and receiving change.³⁹

Tsafendas then went to Wm. Rawbone en Kie, a local hardware store, and bought for R3.30 another sheath knife, with an aluminium handle more like a stiletto,⁴⁰ known as a Black Forest,⁴¹ whose blade was approximately 5½ inches long.⁴² He said, “I bought two weapons in order to make certain of the job I had in mind. I thought that something might go wrong and one weapon might be taken away from me.”⁴³ He later said he chose knives that were long enough to cause serious damage.⁴⁴

³⁷ Vic Alhadeff, *A Newspaper History of South Africa*, (Cape Town: Don Nelson, 1985), p. 107; Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹ A.J. Harrison statement to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File 3. NASA.

⁴⁰ Maurice Klein testimony to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

⁴¹ Tony Harrison in *A Question of Madness*.

⁴² Maurice Klein testimony to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

⁴³ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

Returning to Parliament, Tsafendas took the knives out of their wrapping paper and placed them in his locker. He poured an anti-rust solution on the blades, hoping it would poison Dr. Verwoerd's blood should he survive the stabbing. He used a small box of anti-rust solution which he kept for his work tools.⁴⁵ Tsafendas then changed back into his navy blue messenger's uniform under which he wound a waist belt with the two empty sheaths, and walked up to the first floor to serve tea and coffee to the reporters.⁴⁶ His colleagues said he seemed restive,⁴⁷ but he said he was waiting for an "important phone call."⁴⁸ He asked one of them if Dr. Verwoerd was going to speak that day and received a positive answer.⁴⁹

In the course of the morning, Tsafendas asked a fellow messenger to change lunch breaks with him so that he could take the 1pm-2pm slot instead of his rostered noon-1pm. His colleague refused and Tsafendas said he was going for a walk in the gardens that surround the Parliament, which he did around 12:15. Tsafendas was seen again in the Press Gallery at 13:05⁵⁰ and a little later he took an order for lunch from Gerald Shaw, the parliamentary correspondent for *The Cape Times*. When Tsafendas returned with his hamburger and a pot of tea, Shaw paid with a currency note and Tsafendas counted out change which was ten times more than the reporter was due.⁵¹ At 1.05 pm, Tsafendas shared his lunch, curry with rice, with another messenger in the messengers' room. When he finished, he brought a member of the South African Broadcasting Corporation staff his curry lunch. The correspondent complained about the meal and Tsafendas asked another messenger to take the uneaten curry back to the cafeteria, saying he was "in a hurry." This was around 1.50 pm. The messenger was still on his lunch break and refused, so Tsafendas took the plate and hurried off. "I have something to do," he said as he went.⁵²

A few minutes before 2.10 pm, when the division bell calling Members to the sitting was scheduled to ring, Tsafendas retrieved the knives from his locker and inserted them into the sheaths inside his pants. He then waited in the lobby until Dr. Verwoerd appeared and

⁴⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; *A Question of Madness*; Liza Key in a personal interview, 2 April 2015.

⁴⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁷ *The New York Times*, 'Dr. Verwoerd is Slain by Assassin in the South African Parliament', 7 September 1966: 1.

⁴⁸ *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 'Motiv für Attentat auf Dr. Verwoerd Noch Vollig Unklar', 8 September 1966: 1.

⁴⁹ *The Cape Times*, 'Messenger's Journey Before Killing', 10 September 1966.

⁵⁰ *Noticias*, 'Os Movimentos do Criminoso', 8 September 1966: 1.

⁵¹ Shaw, *Believe in Miracles: South Africa from Malan to Mandela – and the Mbeki Era*, p. 57.

⁵² *Rand Daily Mail*, 'I Have Something To Do, Said the Assassin', 7 September 1966: 1.

followed him into the debating chamber⁵³ just minutes after the bell rang.⁵⁴ The Prime Minister's two bodyguards left him and sat in the Public Gallery, about a hundred feet from his bench.⁵⁵ Dr. Verwoerd looked full of life and sat down with a jaunty air. He was expected to make a speech regarding his talks with Chief Leabua Jonathan and possibly to announce a new South African foreign policy towards the newly independent states of Botswana and Lesotho.⁵⁶ MP Aubrey Radford, who was a surgeon, walked in behind Dr. Verwoerd and as he did so, he was pushed violently; looking up, he saw the back of a parliamentary messenger hurrying in Dr. Verwoerd's direction.⁵⁷ Tsafendas's plan was to attack Dr. Verwoerd as he walked towards his place on the front bench and but he had difficulty pulling the dagger from its sheath and by the time he did so, Dr. Verwoerd had taken his seat.⁵⁸

Tsafendas moved rapidly up the Chamber to the front bench. Dr. Verwoerd looked at him calmly and without suspicion, assuming he was going to hand him a message. Tsafendas came up and stood over the seated Dr. Verwoerd, who leaned forward slightly to listen to what the messenger had to tell him.⁵⁹ At that point, Tsafendas put his hand into his coat and drew out the Black Forest.⁶⁰ His right hand rested on Dr. Verwoerd's left breast. He remained in that position for a portion of a second. When he lifted his right hand, he was holding a knife in his hand.⁶¹ Dr. Verwoerd raised an arm to stop the attack, but he was too late as blood was already dripping from his chest.⁶² According to the official post-mortem:

“The first stab was in the chest, just left of centre and a bit beneath the throat. The stab was aimed at the heart and reached its target.”⁶³

⁵³ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁵⁴ Frank Walter Waring statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵⁵ Alhadeff, *A Newspaper History of South Africa*, p. 107.

⁵⁶ Beyers, *Dictionary of South African Biography, Vol IV*, p. 739; *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Unsaid Speech was Expected to Set New SA Foreign Policy’, 7 September 1966: 7.

⁵⁷ Dr. Aubrey Radford statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁵⁹ *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘O Assassinato do Dr. Verwoerd’, 7 September 1966: 2.

⁶⁰ Shaw, *Believe in Miracles: South Africa from Malan to Mandela – and the Mbeki Era*, p. 57; Tony Harrison in *A Question of Madness*.

⁶¹ Paul van der Merwe statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁶² *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘O Assassinato do Dr. Verwoerd’, 7 September 1966: 2.

⁶³ Verwoerd, *Verwoerd: My Journey through Family Betrayals*, p. 16-17.

Tsafendas plunged the knife repeatedly into the Prime Minister's left side of his chest and neck. The knife penetrated the left ventricle of the heart and the lungs, while there was also a cut in the colon. Due to the wounds being inflicted so quickly, it was difficult to distinguish between the stabs.⁶⁴ Dr. Verwoerd slumped forward in his seat with blood spurting from his neck and chest, which quickly made a large pool on the carpet.⁶⁵

For a few moments, there was a stunned silence in the House before Members realised what had happened.⁶⁶ Then, several MPs jumped up from their seats and chaos reigned.⁶⁷ Frank Walter Waring, Minister of Sport and Tourism, aged fifty-eight, a former member of the South African Springboks rugby team, jumped from his place behind and to the right of the prime minister, got a neck-lock on Tsafendas and pulled him away. Tsafendas resisted but Waring pulled him further back, over a desk and on top of himself, and spotted a large dagger in Tsafendas's hand.⁶⁸ Someone shouted, "Get the knife,"⁶⁹ and someone else, "don't kill him, remember Oswald."⁷⁰

Many MPs sat immobilised by shock but others joined in and threw themselves onto Tsafendas. Nationalist Party MPs formed a whirling scrum around Tsafendas, punching and kicking him.⁷¹ Tsafendas's fingers were clenched around his knife and he managed to slash Waring's trousers before he was thrown to the ground. Dr. W.L. Venter grabbed his hand and with the help of others managed to prise the fingers open and seize the knife.⁷² M.P. Cas Greyling punched Tsafendas in the mouth, injuring his own hand.⁷³ Waring said later that he had spent many years playing international rugby and considered Tsafendas to be as strong as any man he ever tackled.⁷⁴

⁶⁴ J.J.J. Scholtz, *Die Moord op Dr. Verwoerd*, (Johannesburg: Nationale Boekhandel BPK, 1967), p. 24-25.

⁶⁵ *The Canberra Times*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated in Parliament House', 7 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁶ *The Australian*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Stabbed', 7 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁷ Willem L.D.M. Venter statement to the COE, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁶⁸ Frank Walter Waring statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁶⁹ Willem L.D.M. Venter statement to the COE, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁷⁰ Jonathan Stephenson, "Jonathan Stephenson on a Cape Town Incident". *Fortnight*, No. 159 (Dec., 1977 - Jan., 1978), p. 27.

⁷¹ Shaw, *Believe in Miracles: South Africa from Malan to Mandela – and the Mbeki Era*, p. 57.

⁷² Frank Walter Waring statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Willem L. D. M. Venter statement to the COE, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁷³ *The Australian*, 'Assassin Lunged at Sports Minister', 8 September 1966.

⁷⁴ Chris Barron, *Collected South African Obituaries*, (Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 2005), p. 336.

As Tsafendas was manhandled out of the Chamber, he shouted about Waring who had broken his nose, “Where is that bastard? I will get that bastard.”⁷⁵ His face was covered in blood and the front of his shirt was bloodstained.⁷⁶ MPs were shouting for an ambulance and Felix George Miles, one of the Parliamentary messengers, dialled for one, but found all the lines were engaged.⁷⁷ Police Captain Christian Pieter Coetzee found the second knife on Tsafendas’s belt⁷⁸ and Dr. Venter put the attack knife on the table in front of the Speaker’s chair, from where the police retrieved it.⁷⁹ Shaw looked at the Assembly clock, which was always kept five minutes fast, and scribbled the time in his notebook, twenty past two. He then rushed to telephone his news editor, Tom Jessop, that Dr. Verwoerd was bleeding to death. Jessop did not believe him and put the phone down. Shaw had to call him back to convince him he was serious.⁸⁰

The dying Dr. Verwoerd was quickly surrounded by MPs, at least six of whom were doctors – Radford, E.L. Fisher, G. de V. Morrison, C.V. Van Der Merwe, Venter and Maud Clark. He was deathly pale and bleeding profusely, with his left arm hanging by his side.⁸¹ The front of his shirt was bloodstained and blood dripped onto the green carpet.⁸² Dr. Muller, the Foreign Minister, placed a cushion under Dr. Verwoerd’s head.⁸³ Dr. Fisher was the first doctor to treat Dr. Verwoerd.⁸⁴ He tore open the Prime Minister’s shirt and waistcoat⁸⁵ and found heavy bleeding from four wounds in the chest.⁸⁶ At Dr. Fisher’s request, Dr. Morrison performed mouth-to-mouth resuscitation.⁸⁷ Dr. Fisher had his medical bag in the House, in which he kept an emergency supply of drugs.⁸⁸ He asked Dr. Morrison to fetch the cardiac

⁷⁵ *Daily Express*, ‘Assassination’, 7 September 1966: 2; *Deutsche Zeitung*, ‘Sudafrikas Ministerpräsident Dr. Verwoerd im Parlament Von Einem Weiben Erstoehen’, 7 September 1966: 1; *Washington Post*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Slain at his Parliament Desk’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁷⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Desperate Fight to Reach Killer, Save Prime Minister’, 7 September 1966: 2.

⁷⁷ Felix George Miles statement to the police, 7 October 1966. K150, Vol. 2, File: 1. NASA.

⁷⁸ Christian Pieter Coetzee statement to the police, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA

⁷⁹ Willem L.D.M. Venter statement to the COE, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁸⁰ Shaw, *Believe in Miracles: South Africa from Malan to Mandela – and the Mbeki Era*, p. 57.

⁸¹ Paul van der Merwe statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁸² *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁸³ *The Times* (London), ‘Dr. Verwoerd Murdered in the Parliament’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁸⁴ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁸⁵ Dr. Aubrey Radford statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁸⁶ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated’, 7 September 1966: 1; *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Desperate Fight to Reach Killer, Save Prime Minister’, 7 September 1966: 2.

⁸⁷ Dr. Aubrey Radford statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁸⁸ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated’, 7 September 1966: 1.

stimulant, Coramine, from his office and the contents of two syringes were injected into Dr. Verwoerd's heart by Dr. Fisher and Dr. Morrison. He was given four injections in all.⁸⁹

Dr. Fisher, a psychiatrist and United Party MP, said, "We did everything we could to stop the bleeding. We gave mouth-to-mouth breathing and tried artificial respiration."⁹⁰ Dr. Radford felt for Dr. Verwoerd's left pulse. It was completely absent and never returned; he and Dr. Fisher, speaking quietly, decided that the Prime Minister was dead.⁹¹ Dr. Fisher said, "We kept on treating him and trying respiratory treatment ... but by then he had no pulse at all. It was hopeless."⁹² Dr. Verwoerd lay slumped in his seat, his head tilted back. He never uttered a word or a sound during the attack.⁹³ The four stab wounds were all delivered in an angled, downward direction, with at least two of them being fatal;⁹⁴ Dr. Verwoerd died within two minutes of being stabbed in the heart.⁹⁵

Dr. Verwoerd's wife, Betsy, was brought into the debating Chamber. She had been in the building, but she did not see the killing because the elevator to take her to the Chamber was delayed.⁹⁶ She bent slowly over the lifeless body of her husband, stroked his hair and kissed him on the forehead. At about 2.30 pm, an ambulance crew carried Dr. Verwoerd's body from the Chamber on a stretcher past ranks of stunned MPs, and transported it to Groot Schuur hospital. There, a team of three surgeons, two physicians and five medical students were standing by with emergency equipment prepared.⁹⁷

As MPs, officials and spectators in Parliament began to realise that Dr. Verwoerd was dead, uproar broke out. Two MPs collapsed in the lobby, others bellowed with anger.⁹⁸ Cabinet Minister and future Prime Minister P.W. Botha turned to Helen Suzman, the lone Member of Parliament representing the Progressive Party, and shaking his finger in her face, shouted in Afrikaans, "It's you who did this. It's all you liberals. You incite people. Now we

⁸⁹ Dr. Aubrey Radford statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁹⁰ *Daily Dispatch*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated', 7 September 1966: 1

⁹¹ Dr. Aubrey Radford statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁹² *Daily Dispatch*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated', 7 September 1966: 1.

⁹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Desperate Fight to Reach Killer, Save Prime Minister', 7 September 1966: 7.

⁹⁴ *Sunday Express*, 'Killing Reconstructed.' 23 October 1966: 1; *The Post*, 'The Killer Knife', 30 October 1966: 1.

⁹⁵ *Daily News*, 'Death Inside Two Minutes Says MP', 10 September 1966.

⁹⁶ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Lift Delay Spared Window', 11 September 1966.

⁹⁷ *Daily Dispatch*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated', 7 September 1966: 1.

⁹⁸ *The New York Times*, 'Dr. Verwoerd is Slain by Assassin in the South African Parliament', 7 September 1966: 1.

will get you. We will get the lot of you.”⁹⁹ Meanwhile, the police set upon a *Cape Times* photographer who had been recording the event, seizing his camera and film.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Helen Suzman, *In No Uncertain Terms - A South African Memoir*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. 69.

¹⁰⁰ Zuleiga Adams, *Dimitrios Tsafendas: Race, Madness and the Archive*, (PhD Thesis, University of the Western Cape, South Africa, 2011), p. 1.

Around 3.00 pm, some forty-five minutes after the stabbing, Barend J. Schoeman, the Leader of the House, said he believed the Prime Minister was dead.¹⁰¹ Dr. Verwoerd's death was confirmed at 3.05 pm, two days before his 65th birthday, by Groote Schuur's medical superintendent, Dr. J.G. Burger, who said that he had probably died instantly.¹⁰² Official confirmation of death followed at 3.30 pm, in a statement which said Dr. Verwoerd was dead on arrival at the hospital.¹⁰³

AFTER THE ASSASSINATION

Tsafendas had already been frogmarched out of the Chamber by three policemen, his face covered in blood, "streaming blood from his face," and the front of his shirt blood-stained.¹⁰⁴ A young man, crying hysterically, tried to attack him as he was led through the lobby but was fended off by the police.¹⁰⁵ Tsafendas was then thrown by the policemen at the back of a police van¹⁰⁶ and at 2.30 p.m. he was led by Captain Dirk Kotze Genis of the South African Security Police, to the police station in Caledon Square round the corner from Parliament.¹⁰⁷ Captain Genis was one of the officers who a few years earlier had received special training from the French in torture techniques;¹⁰⁸ he was also responsible for the interrogation of Imam Haron who was found dead in his cell after 122 days in detention.¹⁰⁹

Due to his injuries and bleeding, Tsafendas was seen at 2.50 p.m. by Dr. Ralph Kossew, the district surgeon who had examined him on June 17, 1966 over his claim for a disability grant. Dr. Kossew found that Tsafendas had a gaping wound of one and a half inches from his forehead to the bridge of his nose, which was swollen, and a half-inch cut on the lower lip. Tsafendas answered the questions guardedly but did not appear confused and the doctor noticed nothing wrong with his mental state.¹¹⁰ Immediately the doctor left, the

¹⁰¹ *The Times* (London), 'Dr. Verwoerd Murdered in the Parliament', 7 September 1966: 1; *Washington Post*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Stabbed to Death at his Desk in Parliament', 7 September 1966: 8.

¹⁰² *Daily Dispatch*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated', 7 September 1966: 1.

¹⁰³ *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 'Dr. Verwoerd Killed', 6 September 1966: 1.

¹⁰⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'How Dr. Verwoerd Died', 7 September 1966: 1; *Washington Post*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Stabbed to Death at his Desk in Parliament', 7 September 1966: 8.

¹⁰⁵ *The Australian*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Stabbed', 7 September 1966: 1; *The Canberra Times*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated in Parliament House', 7 September 1966: 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Sunday Express*, 'Schoolgirl: I Saw Assassin Strike', 11 September 1966: 15.

¹⁰⁷ Dirk Kotze Genis statement to the police, 24 October 1966. COE, K150, Vol: 3, File: Afskrif van vorm Z 204. NASA.

¹⁰⁸ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Two*, p. 195.

¹⁰⁹ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Three*, p. 405-406.

¹¹⁰ Dr. Kossew's report on examination in case of alleged assault or other crime, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File 3. NASA.

handcuffed Tsafendas was taken to a cell and seriously beaten by policemen. When Brigadier Aucamp¹¹¹ arrived, he began interrogating the prisoner while the violence continued.

Tsafendas was kicked as he lay on the floor, then the policemen made him stand and took turns punching him. When he fell they kicked him and when he stood they punched him. One policeman used his baton.¹¹²

At 4:20 pm, with Tsafendas still in the police cell, Captain Genis searched his room, No. 7, at Aldor Apartments, Rustenburg Ave, Rondebosch. In the second drawer of the wardrobe, he found the gas pistol¹¹³ that was sold to Tsafendas by Mastromanolis and Mavronas.¹¹⁴ At 4.30, the first statement regarding the assassination was taken by the police. It was the statement of Captain Christian Pieter Coetzee of the Security Police:

“I’m a captain in the South African Police, stationed Security Police, Headquarters, Pretoria. I serve as marshal of the President and is currently in Cape Town for the duration of the parliamentary session. On the 6th September 1966, at 2: 14 p.m., I was sitting in the parliament house and in the box of the president. I sat and watched as Dr. Verwoerd entered the hall. I followed him until he sat in his position on the bench. Dr. Verwoerd sat on the left side of the bench. Shortly after Dr. Verwoerd took his seat, I saw a person dressed in a messenger’s uniform, walk to the bench of Dr. Verwoerd. The person leaned across the bench like he wanted to say something to Dr. Verwoerd. At the same time I saw an object that looked like a knife, in the person’s hand. He stabbed Dr. Verwoerd. I could see that he stabbed Dr. Verwoerd in the left breast. Dr. Verwoerd raised his arms as if he wanted to avoid the stabbing. The person, however, gave two quick stabs to Dr. Verwoerd. The one in the right breast and one in the back. At that point I rushed to aid Dr. Verwoerd. A number of members of the Assembly, however, pounced on the man and overpowered him. Col. Buitendach and I took over the person. I also searched him and a second knife in a sheath, bound with a belt around his body was found. I seized this knife. Col. Buitendach handed me the dagger with which the person stabbed the Prime Minister. The person was arrested and taken to the A.K. Caledon Square. Later I discovered that the person was a messenger employed by Parliament. He was dressed in a uniform of the Assembly.”¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ The author is not certain of the correct spelling, but this is a close phonetic rendering.

¹¹² Tsafendas in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

¹¹³ Dirk Kotze Genis statement to the police, 24 October 1966. K150, Vol: 3, File: Afskrif van vorm Z 204. NASA.

¹¹⁴ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

¹¹⁵ Christian P. Coetzee’s statement to the police, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

In the police station, because of his injuries from the beating, the officer in charge asked Brigadier Aucamp to take Tsafendas to hospital.¹¹⁶ That Tsafendas was taken to hospital after almost four hours in custody supports his claim that he had been tortured. If the injuries were sustained during the brawl in Parliament, he would presumably have been taken there immediately or very soon afterwards, not four hours later. Brigadier Aucamp and his detail must have arrived with Tsafendas at the casualty department of Groote Schuur hospital around 6.30.¹¹⁷ During a heavily-guarded, one-hour visit,¹¹⁸ the police imposed a total security blackout on the hospital and nobody was allowed to see Tsafendas. Plain-clothed policemen were by Tsafendas's side constantly, including when he stripped to be examined.¹¹⁹

At 6.40, Tsafendas was examined by Dr. T.A. Darby who found him to be "co-operative" and "composed." According to Dr. Darby's report, Tsafendas had a broken nose with blood obstructing the airways, a ragged laceration from the right eyebrow to the nose and a laceration of the lower lip. The cuts were stitched, the nose put in a splint and he was given an anti-tetanus injection. Nothing about his mental state was mentioned in this report.¹²⁰ Policemen stayed with Tsafendas the entire time, even inside the X-ray theatre.¹²¹ Dr. Darby's examination would have lasted about twenty minutes.¹²² Whether Dr. Darby's report on Tsafendas's injuries was wholly accurate and comprehensive is not something the author can know. There is no evidence to suggest it is less than trustworthy, but it has to be noted that it was written at a time when doctors are known to have colluded with police to conceal crimes by the authorities.

Having been examined by Dr. Darby, Tsafendas was seen at 7 pm for around 30-45 minutes¹²³ by a psychiatrist, Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky, the hospital's head of psychiatry, at the

¹¹⁶ Tsafendas in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

¹¹⁷ Tsafendas was examined by Dr. T.A. Darby at 6.40, therefore he must have arrived at the hospital just before that.

¹¹⁸ *Natal Mercury*, 'Assassin Rushed to Hospital', 7 September 1966: 1; *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas in Hospital', 7 September 1966: 1.

¹¹⁹ *Natal Mercury*, 'Assassin Rushed to Hospital', 7 September 1966: 1.

¹²⁰ Dr. Darby's statement regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, G.S.H. No: 65/14-081, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹²¹ *Natal Mercury*, 'Assassin Rushed to Hospital', 7 September 1966: 1.

¹²² Dr. Darby's report says that he examined Tsafendas at 6.40 pm., while Dr. Sakinofsky's report states that he examined him at 7 pm., which obviously means that Dr. Darby's examination lasted twenty minutes.

¹²³ According to the newspaper reports Tsafendas's visit lasted one hour (*Natal Mercury*, 'Assassin Rushed to Hospital', 7 September 1966: 1; *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas in Hospital', 7 September 1966: 1). Since Dr. Darby examined Tsafendas at 6.40 and Dr. Sakinofsky around 7, we can assume that Tsafendas arrived at the hospital around 6.35 the latest, which means that the hour visit gives Dr. Sakinofsky from 7 to around 7.35-7.45.

request of the Security Police and the Casualty Officer.¹²⁴ Dr. Sakinofsky gave to the author a vivid, first-person account of the scene that greeted him when he arrived at the hospital in response to a call to his home by Dr. Tockar, the psychiatry registrar/resident on duty. He said:

“We found Mr. Tsafendas in a room that was milling about with uniformed and plain-clothed security men of all ranks. It would have been impossible to establish any kind of rapport with him under these conditions, so there proceeded a stand-off where we refused to examine him until the room was cleared of the security personnel, which we were eventually able to effect only after we contacted the superintendent of the hospital and got his support. After we had interviewed Mr. Tsafendas at length and after calming his agitation at the time and gaining rapport, we did complete our examination. We deliberately refused to make any public announcements until the following day. We would have liked to have detained him in the hospital for further study and treatment but the security authorities overrode our wishes and took him away.”¹²⁵

This is Dr. Sakinofsky’s “Psychiatric Report on Demetrios Tsafendas”, which he compiled the day after the assassination:

“On September 6th 1966 at 7 p.m. I was called to Groote Schuur Hospital Casualty Department where I examined the mental state of a man who identified himself to me as Demetrios Tsafendas, and gave his age as 48 years.

The patient’s demeanour was moderately excited (but not elated or exalted); he was tense, breathing rapidly at times and he seemed perplexed. On two occasions he burst into weeping for a few seconds, but was not otherwise manifestly depressed.

His speech seemed unguarded; was under some pressure. He answered most questions readily. There was no formal syndromic schizophrenic thought disorder but I formed the conclusion that his reason was impaired, in that there was a manifest defect of logical processes with repeated non sequiturs. He was frankly deluded in that he said that the Portuguese Government had kept him in a prison for 14 years (between 1949 and 1963) for being a conscientious objector and that they had tried to kill him for this by the application of alternating currents to his head. He gave as one of the reasons for his assassination of the Prime Minister that the latter was in league with the Portuguese government. He voiced

¹²⁴ Dr. Sakinofsky testimony in Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966: p. 131. K150, Vol. 10. NASA.

¹²⁵ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky in correspondence with the author, 30 March 2016.

several other delusional ideas, vis. that the Prime Minister had been a foreigner (and he, Tsafendas, a South African); that the Prime Minister had been against the English way of life (with which he, Tsafendas, identified himself on account of “having had an English mother”). He said that Dr. Verwoerd had been against the ideal of a “Cape to Cairo” union which he, the patient, identified with “the Commonwealth”. He claimed that his mother, from whom he had been separated, was called Von Willem and that she was a member of an overseas Royal Family, and this idea he apparently connected with his concern for “the Commonwealth”. He stated that he had brooded over the weekend about the meeting between the Prime Minister and Chief Leabua Jonathan, which meant to him a further blow to “the Commonwealth”, and this had determined his actions subsequently. He appears to have misinterpreted the meeting as being related to immorality legislation, in that he claims to have applied for a double identity card, so that he could try and find a wife among either the White or non-White group; he stated that he had been rejected by women of both race groups and has therefore not been able to get married.

Tsafendas spoke also of attacks of surges of “anguish and pain” throughout his body and limbs associated with “pressure headaches” (I note that he attended the out-patient clinic for headaches during February 1966). He claimed also to see “hairy springs and coils” in front of his eyes which he attributed to blood pressure. He was not hallucinated. He denied passivity feelings but said that this thoughts raced most of the time. He was fully orientated for time and person. His concentration was moderately impaired; his general knowledge reasonable (considering he claims only to have passed standard 5). He denied epileptic seizures.

The patient claims to have had several “nervous breakdowns”. He says that he was detained in a New York immigration transit centre in 1942 and given tablets. Subsequently he spent about 18 months in the Grafton State Hospital, New York, where he had electro-convulsive therapy (between 1946-1947) and was subsequently deported to Greece. He had a further period of hospitalisation for “nervous breakdown” in 1963 at the Ochosen Krankenhaus outside Hamburg.

Comment:

I formed the conclusion that the patient is not of sound mind, that his thought processes are grossly impaired and deluded, and that he is therefore not in a position to evaluate correctly the consequences of his deed. I consider that it is probable that his mental

state is the result of damage caused by previous attacks of a mental disease called schizophrenia.

In my opinion further important information on the state of his mind should be obtained by the following:

1. He should be detained in a closed mental hospital ward for a period of observation. I would like myself to assess his mental state over a period of time and at successive interviews.
2. He should have the following special investigations:
Electro-encephalogram, blood and C.S.P.
Wasserman reaction (occasionally an organic disease of the brain can mimic the clinical picture of schizophrenia).
Psychological tests.
3. Medical reports should be obtained via the Portuguese government; and from the Grafton State Hospital, New York, and the Krankenhaus outside Hamburg (it is possible that the names of these places have been garbled by the patient).¹²⁶

Dr. Sakinofsky's psychiatric report and examination are considered in extensive detail in Chapter 5. However, there are a few things that should be noted here. First, and most important, is the fact that Tsafendas denied having "passivity feelings". Dr. Sakinofsky explained to the court during Tsafendas's summary trial that:

"A passivity feeling is another very important cardinal feature of schizophrenia whereby an influence on the patient is interpreted, by the patient, as being due to an external agency. For instance, if a patient believes that his body had been changed by hypnosis or by computers or something like that, or by an enemy, this would be passivity ... that one's will is taken over, one's thoughts are tampered with, one's body functions are interfered with by an external agency."¹²⁷

During Tsafendas's summary trial, the defence team's main argument would be that Tsafendas believed he had a tapeworm that had influenced his life since the 1930s, and that this was responsible for Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. However, in Dr. Sakinofsky's report on the examination he conducted just a few hours after the assassination, Tsafendas makes not a single reference to the tapeworm; he even denies believing that he had in him any

¹²⁶ Dr. Sakinofsky's psychiatric report on Demitrio Tsafendas, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File 3. NASA.

¹²⁷ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

“external agencies”. Therefore, at that time he either did not believe he had a tapeworm or he had not begun pretending to have one. Dr. Sakinofsky was the third doctor to examine him that day, after Dr. Kossew and Dr. Darby, all of them just a few hours after the assassination; Tsafendas did not mention the tapeworm to any of them.

Furthermore, Dr. Sakinofsky’s report contains no mention of Tsafendas’s physical condition at the time, nor the injuries for which he had just received treatment. Strictly speaking, Dr. Sakinofsky’s duty was only to examine Tsafendas’s mental state, but to ignore glaringly obvious physical problems would seem to be taking his instructions rather too literally. It might also be assumed that the physical injuries and the beatings Tsafendas had suffered could have had some effect on his mental condition at the time, but this does not seem to have been explored. It is also important to mention Dr. Sakinofsky’s report that he found in Tsafendas “no formal syndromic schizophrenic thought disorder but I formed the conclusion that his reason was impaired”. How and whether Tsafendas’s reason was “impaired” will be examined in detail in Chapter 5. Another point to highlight in Dr. Sakinofsky’s report is the fact that Tsafendas told him his mother was English; an obvious lie. Finally, the psychiatrists who would examine Tsafendas on behalf of the defence team would testify to the court that they found him to be unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, that he talked in a disjointed manner and suffered from thought blocking. However, none of these symptoms were observed by Dr. Sakinofsky, nor by Dr. Kossew and Dr. Darby who also examined him a few hours after the assassination.

After Dr. Sakinofsky’s examination, Tsafendas was then driven off in a black American Sedan and returned to the police station in Caledon Square,¹²⁸ where he was soon again interrogated and beaten by Brigadier Aucamp and his men.¹²⁹ While all this was taking place, the Minister of Justice and Police, John Vorster, summoned the Commissioner of Police, Lt. Gen. John Keevy, and directed him to place Major-General Hendrik van den Bergh, head of the Security Branch and Deputy Commissioner of Police, in charge of the investigation. He considered him to be “the man best qualified to get to the bottom of this quickly.”¹³⁰ A few hours later van den Bergh was flying to Cape Town, accompanied by Brigadier Gideon Joubert,¹³¹ head of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID). As soon

¹²⁸ *The Cape Times*, ‘Suspect’s Jaws Broken’, 7 September 1966.

¹²⁹ Tsafendas in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

¹³⁰ John D’Oliveira, *Vorster – The Man*, (Johannesburg: Ernest Stanton, 1977), p. 180.

¹³¹ Born in Transvaal in 1912; joined the police in 1932, served as Deputy Commissioner of the CID from 1964 to 1968, promoted to General and Police Deputy Commissioner in 1968, before becoming Commissioner of the Police in 1972 (Piet Swanepoel in a personal interview, 6 April 2016).

as they arrived, van den Bergh and Major Daniel Jacobus Rossouw, head of the Security Police in Cape Town, took over the interrogation of Tsafendas.¹³² Tsafendas was held under the 180-Day Act¹³³ which gave the police authority to keep him in custody and interrogate him for up to 180 days without the presence of a lawyer. Meanwhile, Dr. T.E. Dönges, the Finance Minister, had temporarily taken over the duties of Prime Minister.¹³⁴

ACCURACY OF THE MEDICAL REPORTS DURING APARTHEID

The author is not in position to know the accuracy of any of the doctor's reports in Tsafendas's case, but they must be read against a background of known collusion by physicians with the authorities in those years, especially when in reference to Tsafendas's physical condition. According to Sydney Kentridge QC, "In South Africa, one after another inquests into deaths in detention found that 'no one was to blame' as the security police, the judiciary and district surgeons conspired to keep torture and murder under wraps."¹³⁵ It should also be noted, though, that neither Dr. Sakinofsky nor the other psychiatrists who would later be appointed by Tsafendas's defence team to examine him – namely Dr. Cooper, Dr. MacGregor and Dr. Zabow – were National Party or apartheid supporters.¹³⁶

On the other hand, according to advocate George Bizos, "on several occasions" during the apartheid years, doctors who were against the regime either

"due to pressure or out of fear collaborated with the police or they willingly reported a finding they knew the police would like ... sometimes they did it out of their own initiative; they knew what findings to make, they knew what would be the police's preferable finding and they knew what would happen to them if the police was not happy with their report ... this was a police state and people knew their 'duty' towards the state; in every profession there were people like this [who knew how to do their 'duty' towards the state]; no one had to tell them what to do, they knew what to do, they all knew how to play the game. There is absolutely no doubt that the doctors who examined Tsafendas knew that the state would want

¹³² *The Cape Times*, 'Suspect's Jaws Broken', 7 September 1966.

¹³³ *A Voz*, 'A Policia de Joanesburgo Pediu As Autoridades de Mozambique e Lisboa Todas as Informacoss Possiveis Sobre Tsafendas', 8 September 1966.

¹³⁴ *The Times* (London), 'Dr. Verwoerd Murdered in the Parliament,' 7 September 1966: 1.

¹³⁵ Quoted in Bizos, *No One to Blame? A Personal Account of Inquests into Some Deaths in Detention under Apartheid*, p. vii; For a detailed account of deaths in detention, the subsequent inquests and how the State conspired with doctors, jourists and the police "to keep torture and murder under wraps" see Bizos, G. (1998) *No One to Blame? A Personal Account of Inquests into Some Deaths in Detention under Apartheid*.

¹³⁶ Willie Burger in a personal interview, 9 April 2015; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

him found to be mad and apolitical; they [the state] would have never admitted he was sane and politically motivated ... they [the doctors] knew this, no doubt whatsoever about it; they must have been really dumb or completely ignorant to not think of this, and I don't believe any doctor back then was ignorant of what was going on. And you must think that the doctors might have also thought that this is the best outcome for everyone concerned, including Tsafendas, who would escape the death penalty. So, they would have tried to find bits and pieces here and there, trying to build a case of insanity.”¹³⁷

Professor Alban Burke also affirmed to the author the control of doctors and hospitals during apartheid and questioned whether there was any “state pressure on them [the doctors who examined Tsafendas].” He said:

“Yes, I would question it [their findings], because there was immense state government control at that point, and they controlled various things. I mean, even the mental hospitals; in those times; psychiatric hospitals, were split between black and white, and the Black people ... and I observed it, I mean, I worked in one of those hospitals in the eighties... did not receive the same level of treatment as the White people. It was impossible to become a psychologist or a psychiatrist in those days if you were Black, for a number of reasons, so it was a very controlled environment. So, I think there was that fear and that paranoia, as well, and I'm wondering, to what extent, that may have influenced their decision in the end.”¹³⁸

In 1995, the South African Medical Association (MASA) apologised for its attitude and silence during the years of apartheid. The Association admitted that it had colluded with the apartheid authorities by remaining “silent” and by “tolerating interference with doctors’ treatment of prisoners and detainees.”¹³⁹ In 1997, South Africa’s medical profession found itself in the dock at the TRC hearings, when it was forced to answer for its complicity with the regime during the apartheid years. Evidence was submitted that doctors not only ignored the routine torture of prisoners, but colluded with the security police by turning a blind eye to the abuse, while on some occasions they even helped some detainees back to health so they could be tortured again. The support of district surgeons in matters of security facilitated the abuse of detainees. The MASA admitted that during the apartheid years there was a close relationship and collaboration between the medical association’s leadership, as well as

¹³⁷ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

¹³⁸ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

¹³⁹ Pat Sidley, “South Africa’s Doctors Apologise for Apartheid Years.” *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 311, No. 6998 (Jul. 15, 1995), p. 148.

doctors and district surgeons, with the security police, the department of health and the medical and dental council.¹⁴⁰

The Commission heard that more than seventy prisoners died in detention between 1960 and 1990, in some cases largely from negligence. Instead of securing improvements in the health of its people, evidence suggested that the national health policy, because of the way it operated, actually contributed to the ill health of the poor. Such data were covered up to falsify the picture for public consumption. The Medical Association described its members as “both perpetrators and victims of apartheid and human rights abuses.” It conceded that “there was a close relationship between the Association’s leadership, the Department of Health, the security police, and the Medical and Dental council.”¹⁴¹ Given the extent of the abuses throughout the apartheid era, doubt must remain over medical reports and examinations concerning Tsafendas, especially, in view of his political importance.

A good example of how the police operated at the time is the following: after the Sharpeville massacre, the police insisted that they had used normal bullets and not the banned dum-dum variety. This was after telling medics at the hospital where the dead and injured were taken that it would not be in the national interest for them to make “exaggerated” disclosures. When victims were brought in, police officers removed those bodies that had been badly damaged by explosive dum-dum bullets. The hospital doctors did not interfere or protest. Up to twenty-four dead were buried in secret, ensuring that no post-mortems were carried out which might disclose evidence of the use of dum-dums.¹⁴²

The most infamous case of doctors conspiring with the apartheid authorities, however, was that of Steve Biko.¹⁴³ Dr. Ivor Lang, the Port Elizabeth district surgeon, examined Biko in detention and stated that he “found no evidence of any abnormality or pathology on

¹⁴⁰ Sidley, “South African Truth Commission Calls Doctors to Account for Their Actions during the Apartheid Era”, p. 1850.

¹⁴¹ Sidley, “South African Truth Commission Calls Doctors to Account for Their Actions during the Apartheid Era”, p. 1850.

¹⁴² Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 148-149.

¹⁴³ For a detailed account of the doctor’s conduct during apartheid and in Biko’s case see: Baxter, L.G (1985) *Doctors on Trial: Steve Biko, Medical Ethics, and the Courts*; Berat, L. (1989) *Doctors, Detainees and Torture: Medical Ethics v. the Law in South Africa*; Dowdall, T.L. (1991) *Repression, Health Care and Ethics under Apartheid*; McLean G.R., Jenkins, T. (2003) *The Steve Biko Affair: A Case Study in Medical Ethics*; Rayner, M. (1987) *Turning a Blind Eye? Medical Accountability and the Prevention of Torture in South Africa*; Rayner, M. (1990) *From Biko to Wendy Orr: The Problem of Medical Accountability in Contexts of Political Violence and Torture*; Silove, D. (1990) *Doctors and the State: Lessons from the Biko Case*; Zwi, A.B. (1987) *The Political Abuse of Medicine and the Challenge of Opposing it*.

detainee.”¹⁴⁴ The doctors who examined him before his death made a diagnosis of malingering in spite of overwhelming evidence that he had suffered traumatic brain injury. The inquest into Biko’s death provided a rare insight into the manner in which state doctors sometimes functioned in relation to the police and during apartheid¹⁴⁵ and “it became clear that the two responsible district surgeons, Drs Ivor Lang and Benjamin Tucker were deeply implicated in Biko’s death through gross neglect and falsification of medical records.”¹⁴⁶

Dr. Lang had “failed, apparently, to see the injury on the forehead on the occasion of his first and subsequent examinations ... failed to attach any significance to the lip injury, or to other bruises and visible symptoms which Dr. Lang admitted in court having noticed. He failed to ask the patient for his account of how these injuries were sustained. He did not prescribe any treatment, carry out any routine blood or urine analysis tests, or take the patient’s temperature at any stage. He did not recommend to the police that Mr Biko should not be left lying on the floor on urine-soaked bedding. He failed to keep the patient under medical observation following Biko’s transfer from Sydenham Prison Hospital to the Walmer Police Station. He did not keep Drs Hersch and Keeley fully informed about the patient’s condition or of actions taken which may have affected his condition. He failed to insist upon proper hospitalisation, or to oppose Dr Tucker’s acquiescence in the plan to send the patient to Pretoria. And only after Steve Biko died did Dr. Lang make any notes or reports of his findings.”¹⁴⁷

Dr. Lang eventually conceded that his diagnosis was incorrect as far as the question of abnormality was concerned and “highly inaccurate” insofar as it related to pathology.¹⁴⁸ However, the inquest concluded that “the available evidence does not prove that the death was brought about by any act or omission involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person.”¹⁴⁹ The South African Medical Council (SAMDC) also concluded that there was no evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of the two doctors.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴ Lawrence G. Baxter, “Doctors on Trial: Steve Biko, Medical Ethics, and the Courts.” *South African Journal on Human Rights*, (1985), p. 137-140.

¹⁴⁵ D. Silove, “Doctors and the State: Lessons from the Biko Case.” *Social Science & Medicine*, Volume 30, Issue 4, (1990), p. 417.

¹⁴⁶ T.L. Dowdall, “Repression, Health Care and Ethics under Apartheid.” *Journal of Medical Ethics*, (Dec., 1991), 17 (Supplement), p. 52.

¹⁴⁷ Dowdall, “Repression, Health Care and Ethics under Apartheid”, p. 52; Mary Rayner, *Turning a Blind Eye? Medical Accountability and the Prevention of Torture in South Africa*, (Washington, D.C.: AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility, 1987), p. 28.

¹⁴⁸ Baxter, “Doctors on Trial: Steve Biko, Medical Ethics, and the Courts”, p. 137-140.

¹⁴⁹ Bizos, *No One to Blame? A Personal Account of Inquests into Some Deaths in Detention under Apartheid*, p. 71.

¹⁵⁰ Nicholas, “Psychological Sequelae of Political Imprisonment during Apartheid”, p. 19.

It took eight years of intense pressure before the SAMDC took disciplinary action. On 30 January 1985, the Pretoria Supreme Court ordered the SAMDC to hold an inquiry into the conduct of the doctors who treated Steve Biko for five days before he died. In his judgment, Judge President of the Transvaal Mr Justice W. G. Boshoff said that there was prima facie evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct on the part of the Biko doctors in a professional respect.¹⁵¹ Dr. Land was then stripped of his medical qualifications.¹⁵² Biko's death had serious consequences for the medical profession in South Africa and led to the expulsion of its Medical Association from the World Medical Association, though it was later re-admitted. The British Medical Association expressed the view at the time that "South African doctors do not have the ethical machinery capable of dealing with the affair."¹⁵³

Fortunately, not all doctors were like Dr. Lang, ready to cooperate with the apartheid state. For example, Dr. Wendy Orr,¹⁵⁴ a district surgeon in Port Elizabeth, would make notes of police brutality and torture when she examined prisoners. Although Dr. Lang happened to be her direct superior, Dr. Orr took her evidence to law and forced the Supreme Court to issue an interdict against the abuse of detainees. As result of Dt. Orr's intervention, she was ordered onto "other duties" and barred from visiting political detainees in prisons.¹⁵⁵

REACTIONS TO THE ASSASSINATION

Within hours of the assassination, the South African authorities declared that the killing was devoid of political meaning and that the killer was a madman. Although Tsafendas had not even been interrogated and nothing was known about him, the South African embassy in Brussels released a communique along exactly those lines. It said that the murder of Dr. Verwoerd had "manifestly been perpetrated by an unbalanced individual and was therefore devoid of political significance. Independently of the fact that South Africa has been plunged into mourning by the death of a man who, in view of his age, had become a father for both the Whites and Blacks, there will be no changes, despite the speculations which could arise

¹⁵¹ South African History Online, *The Inquest into Biko's Death and his Funeral*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/inquest-bikos-death-and-his-funeral>

¹⁵² Nicholas, "Psychological Sequelae of Political Imprisonment during Apartheid", p. 20.

¹⁵³ Baxter, "Doctors on Trial: Steve Biko, Medical Ethics, and the Courts", p. 137-138.

¹⁵⁴ For more about Dr. Orr's case see: Dowdall, T.L. (1991) *Repression, Health Care and Ethics under Apartheid*; Orr, W. (2000) *From Biko to Basson: Wendy Orr's Search for the Soul of South Africa as a Commissioner of the TRC*; Reyner, M. (1990) *From Biko to Wendy Orr: The Problem of Medical Accountability in Contexts of Political Violence and Torture*.

¹⁵⁵ Dowdall, "Repression, Health Care and Ethics under Apartheid", p. 52-53; *The New York Times*, 'Doctor is Shifted by South Africa', 6 October 1985.

on this subject.” It said work would be continued on the basis of the “peaceful apartheid policy for which Dr. Verwoerd had laid the foundations.”¹⁵⁶

As result of the assassination, cinemas were closed, regular radio programmes and sports events were cancelled, shops shut and university lectures postponed across South Africa.¹⁵⁷ Dr. Verwoerd’s death also had financial implications, “shocking the Rand into numbness”¹⁵⁸ the Johannesburg Stock Exchange shut down¹⁵⁹ while in London and Paris the stock market fell.¹⁶⁰ Newspapers rushed out special editions with huge headlines and regular radio programmes were halted. A seven-minute documentary film entitled “A Nation’s Tribute” was created within twenty-four hours by Killarney Studios in Johannesburg. Copies were flown to Durban and to Cape Town and shown for a week in the cities’ centre cinemas, then in suburban ones after normal programmes. The documentary opened with a shot of flags flying at half-mast, then, using newsreel film, traced Dr. Verwoerd’s eight years as Prime Minister. It closed on a moment of hope, with requiem music playing as Dr. Verwoerd gazed ahead with a smile on his lips.¹⁶¹

On September 22, 1966, just sixteen days after the assassination, John Vorster who had been selected as Prime Minister, announced that the planned new version of the one-Rand silver coin would bear the head of Dr. Verwoerd instead of that of Jan van Riebeeck.¹⁶² One South African government official commented about the assassin, “Thank God he wasn’t Coloured. That would have sparked off a reaction that would make apartheid seem like child’s play.”¹⁶³

A Black woman in Cape Town told a reporter, “thank God it was not one of our people who did it.” A White bus conductor said, “They have killed our Prime Minister. Now I hope that Vorster takes over and shoots them all. The Communists, liberals, all of them.”¹⁶⁴ Describing a tribute session held in Parliament in the wake of the assassination, the Cape Town correspondent of *The Australian* said the atmosphere was one of “restrained emotion.”

¹⁵⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Devoid of Political Meaning,’ 7 September 1966.

¹⁵⁷ *The New York Times*, ‘Assassination Stirs Concern Among Leaders of Black Africa,’ 7 September 1966: 17; *Pretoria News*, ‘Sports Cancelled as Mark of Respect for Dr. Verwoerd,’ 7 September 1966.

¹⁵⁸ *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), ‘Dr. Verwoerd’s Death Shocks Rand Into Numbness,’ 7 September 1966.

¹⁵⁹ *Washington Post*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Stabbed to Death at his Desk in Parliament,’ 7 September 1966: 8.

¹⁶⁰ *The New York Times*, ‘London Stocks Fall After Dr. Verwoerd Assassination,’ 7 September 1966: 69; *Die Welt*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Ermordet,’ 7 September 1966: 1; *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassination Shakes Market,’ 11 September 1966: 24; *The Canberra Times*, ‘Stock Exchange Numb,’ 7 September 1966: 1.

¹⁶¹ *Daily News*, ‘Durban Indians Pay Tribute in Prayer,’ 8 September 1966: 3; *The Cape Times*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Film in City,’ 8 September 1966.

¹⁶² *The Canberra Times*, ‘Coins Honour Verwoerd,’ 23 September 1966: 6.

¹⁶³ *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘Murder Shocks World,’ 7 September 1966: 2.

¹⁶⁴ *Washington Post*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Stabbed to Death at his Desk in Parliament,’ 7 September 1966: 8.

Dr. Verwoerd's green leather front bench was conspicuously empty and on the green carpet next to it there was a faint discolouration where he bled to death.¹⁶⁵

SOUTH AFRICA

Reaction to the killing in South Africa ranged from shock and outrage in the Afrikaner community to hilarity among some Black Africans. Some Black officials condemned the assassination publicly but the vast majority of ordinary Blacks were delighted¹⁶⁶ although they were reluctant to demonstrate their support in public. However, where Blacks lived away from white eyes, they hailed the news that "the tyrant is dead" by singing, dancing and drinking. Black neighbourhoods in Johannesburg were subjected to special police patrols as a "precautionary measure."¹⁶⁷ A song was composed and sung about Dr. Verwoerd's death and later became a playground ditty for Black children playing skipping rope.¹⁶⁸ Some Blacks began to dub Tsafendas "Dimitri Defendus," meaning Tsafendas "defended us" from Dr. Verwoerd.¹⁶⁹ Black South Africans were not the only ones who celebrated Dr. Verwoerd's death though. Stanley Uys, parliamentary correspondent of the *Sunday Times*, stated many years later that an unnamed member of Dr. Verwoerd's cabinet threw a party at his home that night.¹⁷⁰ None of this was published in the South African press at the time.

On Robben Island, the political prisoners heard the news almost immediately. One of them, Lionel Davis, a prominent anti-apartheid revolutionary, told the author that the news delighted them all and Tsafendas immediately took on heroic stature. He said, "We all saw him as a hero. He was a hero in our eyes. All political, orchestrated political persuasions on the island, hailed him as a hero." However, they were careful not to show their delight as they knew what would follow.¹⁷¹ This was described by Nelson Mandela as follows: "As often happened on the island, we had learned significant political news before our own guards. But by the following day it was obvious that they knew, for they took out their anger on us. The

¹⁶⁵ *The Australian*, 'Murder Shocks World, But Some Leaders Are Glad,' 8 September 1966.

¹⁶⁶ Lionel Davis in a personal interview, 8 April 2015; Michalis Michelis in a personal interview, 23 January 2016; Mary Vasilakou in a personal interview, 25 March 2015.

¹⁶⁷ *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 'Sudafrikas Ministerprasident Dr. Verwoerd Im Parlament ermordet,' 7 September 1966: 1; *Noticias*, 'Proseguem as Investigacoes,' 8 September 1966: 1.

¹⁶⁸ *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

¹⁶⁹ Louise O' Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

¹⁷⁰ Chris Barron, 'Stanley Uys: Veteran Journalist who Tracked the Rise and Fall of the Nats', *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 9 January 2014.

¹⁷¹ Lionel Davis in a personal interview, 8 April 2015.

tension that had taken months to abate was suddenly at full force. The authorities began a crackdown against political prisoners as though we held the knife that stabbed Verwoerd.”¹⁷²

In contrast to the majority, many prominent Black leaders condemned the assassination. They included the Rev. Benjamin Rajuili, Chief Whip of the Opposition Transkeian Democratic Party, the Rev. O. Mooki, chairman of the Orlando School Board, and M.P. Vundia, member of the Joint Advisory Board. African supporters of apartheid, including Ephraim Tahabalala, President of the African Foundation, and F.S.M. Mneube, President of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, vigorously denounced the killing.¹⁷³ The Reverend J.S. Gericke, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, compared Dr. Verwoerd to the Biblical King David, describing him as the victim of vicious attacks and lying propaganda. He added that “if anyone thinks this sad event will break us, he doesn’t know the strength of the people who produced a Hendrik Verwoerd.”¹⁷⁴

South African politicians who commented included the Minister of Transport and Leader of the House of Assembly, Barend J. Schoeman, who said Dr. Verwoerd’s death was “an irreplaceable loss to South Africa, but it was God’s will,”¹⁷⁵ and Helen Suzman, the sole MP of the Progressive Party, who called the assassination “one of the most ghastly shocks” she had ever experienced.¹⁷⁶ MP A. E. Trollip said in the House the next day that when Tsafendas’s dagger stabbed Dr. Verwoerd’s heart, “he stabbed in the heart of South Africa.”¹⁷⁷ In Britain, staff at the South African embassy in London’s Trafalgar Square reacted with disbelief, then shock. One hour after the news broke, the embassy flag was lowered to half-mast.¹⁷⁸

The Hindu Foundation of Durban held special prayer services,¹⁷⁹ and Mr. A. Habib, who sat on the Indian Council, joined the condemnations. The South African Jewish community also held special prayer services for Dr. Verwoerd. A rabbi in Johannesburg praised Dr. Verwoerd as “one of the greatest, if not the greatest, Prime Ministers South Africa has ever produced.” Rabbi Super acknowledged that in 1936 Dr. Verwoerd opposed the admission to South Africa of Jewish refugees from Germany, but added that in 1948 he endorsed the new National Party policy of non-discrimination against any section of the

¹⁷² Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 513.

¹⁷³ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Act Condemned by Non-White Leaders’, 7 September 1966: 2.

¹⁷⁴ *The Australian*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Victim of Lies Says Moderator’, 12 September 1966: 1.

¹⁷⁵ *The Cape Times*, ‘It was God’s Will Says Schoeman’, 8 September 1966.

¹⁷⁶ *The Globe and Mail*, ‘Assassination Condemned by Friend and Foe Alike’, 7 September 1966: 3.

¹⁷⁷ B.M. Schoeman, *Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd*, (Pretoria: Strydpers Bpk, 1975), p. 2.

¹⁷⁸ *The Cape Times*, ‘Sorrowing South Africa’s solemn tributes’, 7 September 1966: 10.

¹⁷⁹ *Daily News*, ‘Durban Indians Pay Tribute in Prayer’, 8 September 1966: 3.

European population in South Africa.¹⁸⁰ Chief Rabbi B.M. Casper expressed his personal grief and the “sorrow and dismay of the Jewish community,” while Dr. T. Schneider, President of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, sent the following telegram to Betsy Dr. Verwoerd: “The South African Jewish community is deeply shocked by this tragic national calamity and offers you and your children heartfelt condolences. We mourn the passing of a dedicated son of this country.”¹⁸¹

Alan Paton, leader of the Liberal Party and known worldwide as the author of the novel *Cry, the Beloved Country*, said “acts of violence such as this can never achieve anything, no matter what the intention of the assassin.”¹⁸² Twenty days later Paton described Dr. Verwoerd in realistic terms in an article in *The Star* entitled, “Dr. Verwoerd: his world of illusion.” Paton there described the Prime Minister as hypocritical, charging that he was racist during the 1930s, 1940s, and early 1950s, although he changed for the better later.¹⁸³

The South African media published numerous messages of condolence and condemnation, avoiding any statement applauding the killing, either from inside or outside South Africa. Typical was *The Cape Times* which published detailed condemnations from politicians, prominent citizens, church leaders and representatives of the Jewish, Indian and Coloured communities, clearly in an effort to demonstrate that all South Africans condemned the assassination.¹⁸⁴ Elsewhere, Dr. Verwoerd was characterised as the “father of the nation,” the “Moses of the Afrikaner tribe” and “apartheid’s architect.”¹⁸⁵ However, Johnny Makhatini, an ANC exile leader in Algiers, hailed the assassination as “the beginning of the end for apartheid,”¹⁸⁶ and said that it would “help the morale of guerrilla fighters in South Africa ... it would increase confusion among the Republic’s whites.”¹⁸⁷

Albie Sachs, the South African barrister and anti-apartheid activist who had arrived in London just a month earlier after spending eight months in solitary confinement in Cape Town for anti-apartheid activities, said in an interview on the British television programme *Twenty-Four Hours* that there would be “jubilation” among Black people in the townships that “a tyrant has fallen.” He added, “One thinks of the people who were killed at the time of

¹⁸⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Act Cndemned By Non-white Leaders’, 7 September 1966: 2.

¹⁸¹ *South African Jewish Times*, ‘South African Jewry Share in National Grief’, 9 September 1966: 1.

¹⁸² *Washington Post*, ‘London Conference Shocked by Slain’, 7 September 1966: 8.

¹⁸³ Alan Paton, ‘Dr. Verwoerd: His World of Illusion’, *The Star*, 26 September 1966: 18.

¹⁸⁴ *The Cape Times*, ‘Sorrowing South Africa’s Solemn Tributes’, 7 September 1966: 10.

¹⁸⁵ Lapierre, *A Rainbow in the Night: The Tumultuous Birth of South Africa*, p. 126.

¹⁸⁶ *The Australian*, ‘Murder shocks World, But Some Leaders Are Glad’, 8 September 1966.

¹⁸⁷ *The Globe and Mail*, ‘Assassination Condemned By Friend and Foe Alike’, 7 September 1966: 3; *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘Murder Shocks World’, 7 September 1966: 2.

Sharpeville... of the other various victims of apartheid.”¹⁸⁸ Asked if he regretted the assassination, he replied, “Murder is foul, wherever it happens, but I would be hypocritical if I said I had any regrets.”¹⁸⁹ None of these statements was published in the South African press. Later a judge, Albie Sachs told the author that he had also said during the interview that “assassination never solved problems.” However, this comment was omitted by the newspapers that reported his interview.¹⁹⁰

The Afrikaans media responded to the assassination in emotional terms. *Die Transvaler* wrote, “Dr. Verwoerd is no more. That is a thought which pierces the soul of all who have known him... it is heart-rending... it is not only that a great void has come about in the life of the people of South Africa, but a void has come that cannot again be filled.” *Die Burger* wrote that “the death of the Prime Minister and the horrible circumstances surrounding it is a shock that will, to a large extent, test our political system and our public life. Winds of excitement and change, of distrust and indignation will blow through our country and they will be fanned by those who seek our destruction.” The newspaper called for “calm and balance” from all sections of society, stating that, “it is with these characteristics that the governing party will have to approach the problem of a permanent successor.”¹⁹¹ On 10 September, author G. H. Calpin, in an article in *Die Vaderland* wrote: “I cannot think of South Africa without Dr. Verwoerd.”¹⁹²

Volkshandel, an Afrikaner monthly periodical, characterised Dr. Verwoerd as “a great statesman and a dynamic leader” and added:

“Hendrik Verwoerd will stand in history on the same pedestal as Paul Krueger [the leader of the Afrikaner republics in the Boers Wars]. He is the political as well as economic father of our white Republic ... His sincere efforts to help non-white races developed independently in their own areas has laid the foundation for a future template of multi-racial state with independent ethnic groups.”¹⁹³

Under the headline “A Heinous Crime,” the English-language *Rand Daily Mail* said the people of South Africa had experienced the “most profound shock and horror,” adding that “non-white leaders of all political opinions were quick to express horror” at Dr.

¹⁸⁸ *The Times* (London), ‘BBC News Criticized’, 7 September 1966: 1.

¹⁸⁹ *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘Murder Shocks World’, 7 September 1966: 2.

¹⁹⁰ Albie Sachs in a personal interview with the author, 27 September 2016.

¹⁹¹ *Pretoria News*, ‘Assassination Swept All Away’, 9 September 1966.

¹⁹² Schoeman, *Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd*, p. 90.

¹⁹³ Miller, *An African Volk: The Apartheid Regime and Its Search for Survival*, p. 40.

Verwoerd's death. The Rev. Benjamin Rajuili, Chief Whip of the opposition Transkeian Democratic Party, said, "If his murderer believed this would help the African people, he must be a misguided madman."¹⁹⁴ *The Zululand Times* in a very small article condemned this "reprehensible and irresponsible act"¹⁹⁵

Around the same time, youngsters play-acting with knives, started yelling at one another, "I'll Demitrio you" or "I'll Tsafendas you!" Three weeks after the assassination, two jokes started going around South Africa about Dr. Verwoerd's death. The first one was set in heaven, where St. Peter asked Dr. Verwoerd, "How did you get here?" He replied, "A messenger sent me." The second was a "knock-knock" joke, showing that Dr. Verwoerd was already forgotten by some:

"Knock, knock."

"Who's there?"

"Hendrik."

"Hendrik who?"

"Have you forgotten already?"¹⁹⁶

GREEKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

News that a Greek had killed Dr. Verwoerd had a huge effect on members of South Africa's Greek community, numbering some 40,000,¹⁹⁷ complicated by the "pro" or "anti" reactions of their White and Black friends. Those who knew Greeks who were of a liberal disposition were not afraid to express their views, congratulating them that a compatriot had assassinated their tyrant. In Cape Town, Peter Protoulis employed a Black woman servant whose brother was imprisoned on Robben Island. She would often point to the island and tell Protoulis about him. After the assassination, she pointed again and told him that her brother would be very happy about Dr. Verwoerd's death. She was delighted that it was a Greek who killed the man she said caused them so much suffering and she told Protoulis that there were celebrations throughout her neighbourhood.¹⁹⁸ Also in Cape Town, some of Elias

¹⁹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Act Condemned by Non-White Leaders', 7 September 1966: 2.

¹⁹⁵ *Zululand Times*, 'The Late Dr. Verwoerd', 8 September 1966: 1.

¹⁹⁶ E. J. Kahn, Jr., *The Separated People: A Look at Contemporary South Africa*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968), p. 148, 164.

¹⁹⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Greeks Are Given 'No Retaliation' Assurance', Either 7 or 14 September 1966, most likely the 7th.

¹⁹⁸ Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 28 May 2016.

Constantaras's Black colleagues congratulated him for being Greek and expressed happiness over the assassination.¹⁹⁹ In Johannesburg, Mary Vasilakou's and Akis Apergis's Black friends and colleagues expressed their satisfaction and said there were celebrations in their home communities. Some Black South Africans asked Mary Vasilakou if she knew Tsafendas personally and praised his bravery. Vasilakou said it was the first time in South Africa that she felt so proud of being Greek.²⁰⁰

The reaction of White South Africans was mostly angry and Greek shops became targets for their wrath. In Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria, the windows of Greek shops and houses were smashed,²⁰¹ some Greek shopkeepers were verbally abused and others received threatening telephone calls. The canopy outside a Greek shop in Johannesburg was set on fire,²⁰² many café customers turned hostile and some walked out after making insulting remarks. An assistant at a Greek café in Sunnyside, Pretoria arrived for work to find one of the glass doors broken. A cartridge case for a 0.25 bullet was found in the doorway and the bullet was embedded in a pile of scattered sweet tins. The owner said he could not understand why people were reacting against the Greeks: "We feel as badly as all South Africans about the assassination of our Prime Minister. There is no proof at all that the man is Greek."²⁰³ The Commissioner of Police, Lt. Gen. J.M. Keevy, ordered that no reprisals be taken against South Africa's Greek community. He said "Tsafendas was not and had never been a member of the Greek community."²⁰⁴ The South African Government also declared that it would not tolerate retaliation against Greeks.²⁰⁵

Greeks in South Africa, and Mozambique, too, tried hastily to distance themselves from Tsafendas, many claiming he was not Greek so as not to tarnish the Greek name in South Africa.²⁰⁶ Most Greeks in South Africa supported apartheid and many were "more royal than the king," eager to show their loyalty to the regime. Generally, Greeks co-operated with apartheid for commercial, political or personal reasons, but some gave financial support to the army and the National Party. Opponents of apartheid were widely considered to be traitors, including Advocate George Bizos, who was shunned by his fellow countrymen and

¹⁹⁹ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 19 June 2014.

²⁰⁰ Akis Apergis in a personal interview, 24 March 2015; Mary Vasilakou in a personal interview, 25 March 2015.

²⁰¹ Akis Apergis in a personal interview, 24 March 2015; Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 28 May 2016; Mary Vasilakou in a personal interview, 25 March 2015.

²⁰² *The Times* (London), 'Attacks on Greek Shops', 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁰³ *Pretoria News*, 'City Greek Café Hit By Bullet', 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁰⁴ *The Herald* (Melbourne), 'Don't Touch the Greeks', 9 September 1966: 9.

²⁰⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Assurances for Greeks', 14 September 1966.

²⁰⁶ *Eleftherotipia*, 'Οι Έλληνες Φίλοι του Απαρτχάιντ', 4 July 2010.

considered to be a “traitor.”²⁰⁷ The following statement by a “leading South Coast Greek businessman” in *The Daily News* is a representative example of the attitude of most Greeks at the time: “when I arrived in South Africa some fifteen years ago I had holes in my shoes. With the help of the Government I was able to find employment, and within a matter of six years I had my own business and two cars. I am sure that I speak for all Greeks in South Africa when I say we never had it so good... we as Greeks have always had the highest regard for D. Dr. Verwoerd. He had done a great deal for us, allowed and given us every reason to want to be South Africans and succeed in business.”²⁰⁸

The Greek community in Pretoria was the first publicly to distance itself from this “infamous and reprehensible assassination.” A spokesman hastily declared that “the criminal was in no way attached to any religious or social Greek organisation and he was not recognized as a Greek.”²⁰⁹ The Consul for Greece in Cape Town, Mr. E. Kallos, stated that “Tsafendas was not a Greek subject and was not registered with any of the Greek consulates in the country.” Another consular official suggested that “Tsafendas was in fact a Portuguese citizen ... he is not of Greek origin at all.”²¹⁰ A spokesman for the Hellenic Community in Cape Town declared: “we are greatly perturbed by the fact that the assassin seems to have a Greek name. Actually the name is the only indication that he might be of Greek descent, as he is completely unknown to the community and its members. He is also unknown to the Greek priests and has never attended any religious service or social function.”²¹¹

A spokesman for South Africa’s Hellenic community expressed “profound and heartfelt sympathy for the tragic passing of Dr. Verwoerd,” adding, “On behalf of the various Greek communities in South Africa and all South African Greeks, we wish it to be known that we dissociate ourselves entirely from this infamous and reprehensible act.”²¹² The leader of the Greek community in Johannesburg, Peter Paizes, said he was a personal friend and admirer of Dr. Verwoerd;²¹³ he spoke of his “tremendous grief” and expressed “indescribable consternation” that the assassin apparently was partly of Greek extraction.²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Advocate George Bizos in *Live and Let Live*.

²⁰⁸ *The Daily News*, ‘S.A. Greeks Had High Regard for Dr. Verwoerd’, 8 September 1966: 9.

²⁰⁹ *Noticias*, ‘Proseguem as Investigacoes’, 8 September 1966: 1.

²¹⁰ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Vorster Gives Greeks Assurance’, 11 September 1966: 8.

²¹¹ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Vorster Gives Greeks Assurance’, 11 September 1966: 8.

²¹² *Pretoria News*, ‘City Greek Café Hit by Bullet’, 7 September 1966.

²¹³ *To Vima*, ‘Η Δολοφονία Του Φέρβειρντ: Ελληνικής Καταγωγής Ο Δράστης’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²¹⁴ *The New York Times*, ‘Grief Expressed by Leader of Greeks in Johannesburg’, 7 September 1966: 16.

The President of the Greek Community in Bloemfontein, Georgios Manidis said about Tsafendas, “He must be insane. He does not represent the feelings of the Greeks of South Africa. Most of the Greeks in South Africa are supporters of Dr. Verwoerd.”²¹⁵ In Cape Town, a delegation of Greek leaders called on the Minister of Justice, John Vorster, and expressed deep sympathy. They assured the minister that Tsafendas was not of Greek origin and was not connected in any way with the Greek community in South Africa.²¹⁶ On September 8, the Greek Consul in Cape Town asked all Greek traders to close their businesses at 12.30 p.m. on September 10, the day of Dr. Verwoerd’s funeral, and attend a memorial service in his memory.²¹⁷

The entire South African press found something good to say about Dr. Verwoerd, from eulogies to modest praise, according to the newspaper’s political stance. However, the wildest encomiums came not from the Afrikaner media, but from *Acropolis*, a Greek newspaper in South Africa. A front-page article by owner and editor Georgios P. Sakellaridis, outdid all others in lauding the slain Premier and characterised Dr. Verwoerd as “perhaps the greatest son of the South African nation ... a philosopher, an intellectual, a true Christian, a philanthropist, a visionary ... a holy symbol of Christian civilization and of real patriotism ... who turned South Africa to the only bastion of Christianity in an atheistic, godless continent and to the only hope of the free people of the continent against the cancer of Communism.” Sakellaridis went as far as to declare Dr. Verwoerd to be “a modern Prometheus Unbound, who has been misunderstood, slandered and wrongfully accused by the unfair and irresponsible international community which is unaware of everything he has done for the black South Africans.”²¹⁸

AFRICA

There was very little mourning in Africa for Dr. Verwoerd’s death, indeed there were celebrations in several places. In Dar-es-Salam, Tanzania, Gerge Magomba, secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee, declared that the death of South Africa’s Prime Minister would encourage delegates at the Commonwealth Conference, then gathering in London, to demand a continuation of the fight against the ideas defended by the late Dr. Verwoerd, and would

²¹⁵ *Kathimerini*, ‘Ατομον Ελληνικής Καταγωγής Εδολοφόνησε τον Φέρβειρντ’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²¹⁶ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Vorster Gives Greeks Assurance’, 11 September 1966: 8.

²¹⁷ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Greek Shops Asked to Close’, 9 September 1966: 1; *The Cape Times*, ‘Greek Shops to Stop for Funeral’, 8 September 1966: 7.

²¹⁸ *Acropolis*, ‘Ολόκληρον το Νοτιοαφρικόν Έθνος Εκήδευσεν τον Πρωθυπουργό του’, 17 September 1966: 1.

serve as a warning to Ian Smith and Antonio de Oliveira Salazar.²¹⁹ Commonwealth General Secretary Arnold Smith said, “Meaningless violence and assassinations will not solve South Africa’s political problems.”²²⁰ In Algiers, Mnoko, representative of the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), which was banned in Rhodesia, declared that oppression could lead only to death. “The attack ... proved the vulnerability of this fascist empire,” he added. Uazuvara Ewald Katjivena, representative of SWAPO (South West African People’s Organization) in Algiers declared that “the fascist Dr. Verwoerd got what he deserved.”²²¹

In Zambia, neither President Kenneth Kaunda nor any of his ministers commented on the assassination, but when the news was announced in Parliament by Wesley Nyirenda, the Deputy Speaker, there was laughter by some members of the parliament.²²² Under the headline, “Death of an Evil Genius,” *The Times* of Zambia editorialised that there were few who more deserved a violent death than the South African Prime Minister. It said, “The society he created in South Africa is sick. For him ... the sickness has proved mortal.”²²³

The New York Times, reporting from Nairobi, Kenya, wrote that throughout East Africa, “People were shocked but not really distressed.” It said, “Black Africans seemed confused by the assassination... it was as if they were not sorry it happened but were worried lest events rush in on them and make a bad situation worse... that Dr. Verwoerd’s successor might be worse for Africans.” A statement issued on behalf of Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta said, “Perhaps the assassination will act as a timely lesson to Dr. Verwoerd’s supporters in redeeming their country from many more such deaths.”²²⁴

The Kenya African National Union, the ruling Party, stated that force would be the ultimate method of overthrowing apartheid. It characterised the assassination as “a symbolic and heartening act, from which millions suffering from apartheid would draw hope.”²²⁵ Kenya’s Minister of Defence, Dr. Njoroge Mungai, said when first told about the stabbing, ‘I hope it is successful. It would be a good thing.’²²⁶ The *East African Standard* reported the

²¹⁹ PIDE’s News Digest; *Le Courrier d’Afrique*, ‘A Eleicao do Sucessor’, 9 September 1966: 2. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²²⁰ *Frankfurter Rundschau*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd im Parlament Ermordet’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²²¹ PIDE’s News Digest; *Le Courrier d’Afrique*, ‘A Eleicao do Sucessor’, 9 September 1966: 2. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²²² *The Globe and Mail*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Party Vows to Continue Apartheid’, 8 September 1966: 4; *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘Murder Shocks World’, 7 September 1966: 2; *The Rhodesia Herald*, ‘World Condemns Dr. Verwoerd Murder’, 7 September 1966; *TIME*, ‘South Africa: Death to the Architect’, 16 September 1966.

²²³ *The New York Times*, ‘Zambians Call Death Deserved’, 8 September 1966: 12.

²²⁴ *The New York Times*, ‘Assassination Stirs Concern Among Leaders of Black Africa’, 7 September 1966: 17.

²²⁵ *The Guardian*, ‘Stinking’ Quotation by BBC’, 9 September 1966: 11.

²²⁶ *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘Murder Shocks World’, 7 September 1966: 2.

assassination without comment, but the Kenya *Daily Nation* published a front-page editorial signed by the editor, George Githii. It said in part, “Dr. Verwoerd’s regime has been carrying out an inhuman social experiment, but unlike scientific experiments in laboratories, factors affecting the human mind are unpredictable and cannot entirely be suppressed by the force of arms.” MP Henry Wariithi said, “This has been expected. He should not be buried in African soil.”²²⁷

In Lagos, many Nigerians shouted “hallelujah,” danced in the streets and jumped for joy when they heard the news of the assassination of the “apostle of apartheid.”²²⁸ Brigadier Ogunidipe, leader of the Nigerian delegation in the 1966 Commonwealth Conference, said, “There may be a message in this for Mr. Ian Smith of Rhodesia.”²²⁹ In Ethiopia, a banner headline in the *New Times* of Addis Ababa said, “The Sharpeville Butcher Stabbed to Death,” and the English-language *Voice of Ethiopia* said, “He who raises the sword shall perish by the sword.”²³⁰ Ethiopia’s Foreign Minister called Dr. Verwoerd’s death “the natural result of apartheid, which breeds blind hate and evil.”²³¹ Cairo’s *Al Akhbar* newspaper said Egypt had “no tears to shed” for Dr. Verwoerd.²³²

From Salisbury, Rhodesia, the *Rand Daily Mail* of South Africa reported that Dr. Verwoerd had become “a sort of idol” to White Rhodesians,²³³ while *The Chronicle* in Bulawayo characterised him as a “good friend of Rhodesia.”²³⁴ The *Rhodesia and World Report* wrote that South Africa’s Prime Minister was “misunderstood by those who prefer to misunderstand” and that he “stood with courage and dignity for the principles he held. That these principles may in time be accepted even where they are at present most bitterly resisted is not beyond the bounds of possibility.” The newspaper went on to claim that his death would be “equally” felt in Rhodesia “whose desperate needs he served far above the call of duty or political expediency” and characterised him as “a great man, a humanitarian and outstanding intellect, in whom the spirit flamed with rare brilliance.”²³⁵

²²⁷ *The New York Times*, ‘Assassination Stirs Concern Among Leaders of Black Africa’, 7 September 1966: 17.

²²⁸ *Daily Express*, ‘Epitaph For A Fanatic’, 7 September 1966: 2; *The Times* (London), ‘Jubilation at News in Nigeria’, 7 September 1966: 1; *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘How Africa Took the News’, 7 September 1966: 1; *Washington Post*, ‘London Conference Shocked by Slain’, 7 September 1966: 8.

²²⁹ *The Australian*, ‘Murder Shocks World, But Some Leaders Are Glad’, 8 September 1966.

²³⁰ *The Globe and Mail*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Party Vows to Continue Apartheid’, 8 September 1966: 4.

²³¹ *TIME*, ‘South Africa: Death to the Architect’, 16 September 1966.

²³² *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Assassination Sends A Wave of Shock Around the World’, 8 September 1966: 6; *Washington Post*, ‘London Conference shocked by slain’, 7 September 1966: 8.

²³³ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Ghastly, Says A Socked Ian Smith’, 7 September 1966: 7.

²³⁴ *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), ‘Senseless Act – Jonathan’, 7 September 1966.

²³⁵ Sheldon, ‘The Pattern of Assassination. The Continuing Pattern’, p. 3.

In Parliament, Prime Minister Ian Smith, a close ally of Dr. Verwoerd whose country depended on South African economic support, looked pale²³⁶ when he said, “I am sure this ghastly event has deeply shocked Honourable Members, as it has myself.” He promised a full tribute next day, then adjourned Parliament two hours early.²³⁷ A little later, he characterised Dr. Verwoerd as “the champion of the ideals of civilization and Christianity”²³⁸ and described his death as a “tragic loss.”²³⁹

The Economist reflected on the effect of Dr. Verwoerd’s death on a white-ruled Rhodesia beset by British-imposed sanctions. It said Dr. Verwoerd “was much more than a very good friend and neighbour; he was the only national leader of world prominence who gave Rhodesians moral and material support in their struggle to make sanctions less effective... “The weekly magazine said, “There is no immediate fear that Dr. Verwoerd’s successor will alter the South African policy of helpful neutrality ... but one fear has always nagged White Rhodesians... that no fighting war would be waged by South Africa to prevent Rhodesia becoming an African state if that seemed inevitable.”²⁴⁰ In Umtali, Rhodesia, the Rev. T.C. de Villiers, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, said Dr. Verwoerd was his fellow student at Stellenbosch University and a personal friend. “He was a born leader as well as a brilliant student... he will live in the hearts of tens of thousands of South Africans and Rhodesians.”²⁴¹

Chief Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of Basutoland, an ally of Dr. Verwoerd and the first Black African head of government ever to make an official visit to South Africa, forced a motion of condolence through Basutoland’s Assembly by a paper thin vote of 29 to 28.²⁴² He expressed his “shock and grief” at the assassination and said it left him “with a real sense of personal loss.”²⁴³ Chief Kasper Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, said the nation of South Africa had lost its “greater leader of all time” and the African people within its borders a friend and father.²⁴⁴

²³⁶ *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘How Africa Took the News’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²³⁷ *The Rhodesia Herald*, ‘World Condemns Dr. Verwoerd Murder’, 7 September 1966.

²³⁸ PIDE’s News Digest; *Le Courrier d’Afrique*, ‘A Eleicao do Sucessor’, 9 September 1966: 2. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²³⁹ *Washington Post*, ‘London Conference Shocked by Slain’, 7 September 1966: 8.

²⁴⁰ *The Economist*, ‘Whites in Mourning’, 10 September 1966: 1000-1001.

²⁴¹ *The Umtali Post*, ‘Umtali Minister Pays Tribute to An Old Friend’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁴² *TIME*, ‘South Africa: Death to the Architect’, 16 September 1966.

²⁴³ *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), ‘Senseless Act – Jonathan’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁴⁴ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Assassination Sends A Wave of Shock Around the World’, 8 September 1966: 6; *Washington Post*, ‘London Conference Shocked by Slain’, 7 September 1966: 8,

In Uganda, many applauded the killing of the “hated leader of the persecution of Africans”²⁴⁵ and danced in the streets.²⁴⁶ However Uganda President Milton Obote said, “It is a very bad thing to solve political problems through assassination and I regret his death.” Elsewhere, Forbes Burnham of Guyana characterised the assassination as, “interesting,” and Dawda Jawara of Gambia said, “I can only hope that the new leader will steer South Africa away from a policy which can only be described as disastrous.”²⁴⁷

The Algerian-French magazine *Revolution Africaine* applauded the assassination, referred to Dr. Verwoerd as “the apostle of hatred,” and said, “The most hated man of Africa is no more. The jailor of the Cape, with more than thirteen million Africans at his feet thanks to the complicity, more or less active, of three million Whites of European origin, and thanks to the indifference, if not complacency, of the Halogen groups, died last Tuesday.” In another article, the magazine characterized South Africa as a “ghetto for the Black People,” and said that Dr. Verwoerd was “the head of the criminals of the large prison that South Africa had become.” It said, “Dr. Verwoerd’s madness, and that of his acolytes, turned it into a ghetto for colored people, since South Africa is solely the home of a minority, excluding a majority. This is the principle of the philosophy that inspires the system upon which rests all the politico-social structure reserved to a category of ‘supers.’”²⁴⁸

Finally, the Congolese newspaper *Le Courier d’Afrique* reported that at the United Nations a few African representatives had planned to celebrate Dr. Verwoerd’s assassination, partly as a response to the celebration of the South African delegation about the rejection of the International Court of Justice of the action against Pretoria, regarding the mandate over the African Southeast. However, after further consideration, they preferred to refrain from manifestations of this kind.²⁴⁹

EUROPE

In Britain, the newspapers reported the assassination with banner headlines, page-wide photographs and many columns of text. Prime Minister Harold Wilson sent the following message to Dr. Theophilus E. Dönges, South Africa’s senior Cabinet minister and acting

²⁴⁵ *Kathimerini*, ‘Ατομον Ελληνικής Καταγωγής Εδολοφόνησε τον Φέρβειρντ’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁴⁶ *Daily Express*, ‘Epitaph For A Fanatic’, 7 September 1966: 2.

²⁴⁷ *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘Murder Shocks World’, 7 September 1966: 2.

²⁴⁸ *Revolution Africaine*, ‘The Apostle of Hatred is No More’, 9 September 1966: 3.

²⁴⁹ PIDE’s News Digest; *Le Courier d’Afrique*, ‘A Eleicao do Sucessor’, 9 September 1966: 2. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

Prime Minister: “I was shocked to hear the news of the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. Please accept condolences on behalf of the British Government and myself and convey our sympathy to Dr. Verwoerd’s family.”²⁵⁰ The leader of the opposition Conservative Party, Edward Heath, declared that he strongly opposed Dr. Verwoerd’s apartheid policy but he was sorry for “this barbaric assassination.” Jo Grimond, the Liberal Party leader, commented: “It is obvious that the regime leads to violence of this kind. This should serve as a warning to all of those who wish to lead autocratic regimes in Africa.”²⁵¹

A few hours after the assassination, Sir Arthur Michael Palliser, private secretary to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, reflected on the effects of Dr. Verwoerd’s absence on the international scene. In a letter to the British Foreign Office, he wrote, “Whatever one may think of Dr. Verwoerd’s policies, no other South African minister has his experience, and prestige and we are likely to regret the disappearance of his skill, caution and realism in the conduct of South Africa’s external affairs.” He concluded by correctly predicting that John Vorster would be his successor. “The ruthless and former pro-Nazi Minister of Justice seems the most likely candidate,” he wrote.²⁵²

Initially, the head of state, Queen Elizabeth, remained silent and sent no messages to the Dr. Verwoerd family or the South African government.²⁵³ It was understood by the press that she took such a decision on the advice of Prime Minister Harold Wilson.²⁵⁴ *The Canberra Times* of Australia said, “It seems likely that it was considered inappropriate for the Queen to send a message, especially as many of the Commonwealth leaders (then meeting in London) might not have been in sympathy with it.”²⁵⁵ However, a few days later, the Queen sent a private message of condolence to Dr. Verwoerd’s wife, Betsie. The delay came about because the Prime Minister’s office considered such an action would be against precedent. However, the Queen said after Dr. Verwoerd’s funeral that she “would very much like to send a purely private word of sympathy to Mrs. Dr. Verwoerd.” The PM’s Office bowed to her wish, but was at pains to explain to the media that this was not “a formal message, which would be from the Queen to a head of state, but a purely private and personal message, conveyed on

²⁵⁰ Copy of Harold Wilson’s message to Dr. Donges. 6 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. British National Archives (*hereafter cited as BNA*); *The Rhodesia Herald*, ‘World Condemns Dr. Verwoerd murder’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁵¹ *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Qualquer Violencia e Lamentavel’, 7 September 1966: 2.

²⁵² A.M. Palliser letter to the Foreign Office. 6 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

²⁵³ *The Sun* (Vancouver), ‘Advice to Queen Shocking’, 12 September 1966: 3; *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘Murder Shocks World’, 7 September 1966: 2.

²⁵⁴ *The Umtali Post*, ‘No Message from Queen’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁵⁵ *The Canberra Times*, ‘Matters of Protocol’, 8 September 1966: 1.

her behalf to the widow.” The message, sent on September 10, said: “The Queen was deeply shocked by the news of the assassination of your husband. Her Majesty, who feels very deeply for you in your loss, desires me to convey to you and to all the members of your family an expression of her most sincere sympathy.”²⁵⁶

The BBC interrupted its programmes to announce the assassination.²⁵⁷ But there were protests when an unnamed African appeared on a news broadcast and stated that Dr. Verwoerd’s death was the “happiest day of his life and he only wished he had committed the murder himself.”²⁵⁸ The South African *Die Vaderland* responded to BBC with an article entitled “Away with the BBC.” The newspaper said that the fact that BBC allowed this man to make such a comment “stinks in nostrils of the civilised world.”²⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the BBC News on the night of the assassination attracted some twelve and a half million viewers, one of the highest audience figures of the year.²⁶⁰

The *Daily Mail*’s headline on the front page said “the final irony-Dr. Verwoerd, apostle of apartheid is carried out dead... killed by the hand of a White man.” Below the headline was a picture with Dr. Verwoerd’s body being carried out from the Parliament on a stretcher the left-wing *Daily Mirror*’s headline was “Missionary of hate-he shaped the laws of apartheid,” while the Right-wing *Daily Sketch* called Dr. Verwoerd “this misguided man.” The *London Times* editorial said, “what has been tragically seen in recent years, notably in the murder of President Kennedy is that the closest security system ca pan protect nobody against the private vendetta of a solitary man with a grievance.”²⁶¹

Writing from London, the historian and politician Lord Altrincham said, “Dr. Verwoerd was certainly the ablest practical and theoretical exponent of apartheid, but the system was not his creation, nor will it die with him. Indeed, his supposed martyrdom may give it additional strength.”²⁶² The London *Economist* disagreed. After considering Dr. Verwoerd’s possible successors, it said, “Whoever wins, one thing seems certain: the days of apartheid as an intellectualised and rationalised philosophy are over. The death of Dr.

²⁵⁶ Queen’s condolences message to Betsie Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

²⁵⁷ *Pretoria News*, ‘Shock News on BBC’, 6 September 1966: 1; *The Umtali Post*, ‘BBC Reports the Death’, 6 September 1966: 1.

²⁵⁸ *The Stage*, ‘BBC Drops Further Behind in September’, 20 October 1966: 10; *The Times* (London), ‘BBC News Criticized’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁵⁹ *The Guardian*, ‘“Stinking” Quotation by BBC’, 9 September 1966: 11.

²⁶⁰ *The Stage*, ‘BBC Drops Further Behind in September’, 20 October 1966: 10.

²⁶¹ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Assassination Sends A Wave of Shock Around the World’, 8 September 1966: 6.

²⁶² *The Australian*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Killer: Sad Little Psychopath Or Messenger of Doom?’, 10 September 1966.

Verwoerd is to 'separate development' what the death of Lenin was to Communism. The theories will remain but they will ossify."²⁶³

On September 17, the British satirical magazine, *Private Eye*, carried several cartoons and spoof conversations about the assassination, including a front-page photograph of Africans dancing and leaping. The caption, ironically suggesting they were celebrating their Prime Minister's death, proclaimed, "Dr. Verwoerd: A Nation Mourns."²⁶⁴ South Africa's Publications Control Board banned the issue. A *Daily Dispatch* reporter who saw the magazine said the cover picture showed Africans in trial dress dancing jubilantly above a caption which suggested they were reacting to news of Dr. Verwoerd's death.²⁶⁵

In Athens, Foreign Minister Ioannis Toumbas said, "The Greek Government feels horror for the odious crime whose victim was the South African Premier."²⁶⁶ *Kathimerini*, a leading Greek newspaper of the time, said in a front-page editorial, "Greek public opinion has been struck with horror ... the assassin was probably disturbed in his mind. The fact that he is of Greek origin provokes a national feeling of sorrow."²⁶⁷ Messages of condolence poured into the South African embassy in Athens from all parts of Greece.²⁶⁸ In Cyprus, President Makarios, who opposed apartheid, said, "Assassinations are terrible things. I am terribly shocked and express my sympathy."²⁶⁹

At the Vatican, Pope Paul VI extended his condolences over Dr. Verwoerd's "tragic death,"²⁷⁰ while the governments of West Germany, Denmark and Norway all expressed shock. Denmark, however, expressed serious criticism of apartheid and announced that the government would not send an official representative to attend Dr. Verwoerd's funeral.²⁷¹ Portugal, whose Prime Minister Antonio de Oliveira Salazar was a close ally of Dr. Verwoerd, characterised the murder as a "criminal act,"²⁷² while a spokesman at the Portuguese Foreign Ministry said, "Nobody could deny the personal integrity, the patriotic devotion and the moral courage of the Premier of South Africa." In Paris, government officials said they were certain the murder would strengthen racial opposition within South

²⁶³ *The Economist*, 'Whites in Mourning', 10 September 1966: 1000-1001.

²⁶⁴ *Private Eye*, 'Dr. Verwoerd: A Nation Mourns', 17 September 1966: cover.

²⁶⁵ *Daily Dispatch*, 'Satire on Dr. Verwoerd Death Banned', 14 October 1966: 1.

²⁶⁶ *The New York Times*, 'Grief Expressed by Leader of Greeks in Johannesburg', 7 September 1966: 16.

²⁶⁷ *Kathimerini*, 'Ατομον Ελληνικής Καταγωγής Εδολοφόνησε τον Φέρβειντ', 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁶⁸ *Pretoria News*, 'City Greek Café Hit by Bullet', 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁶⁹ *The Vancouver Sun*, 'Verwoerd Assassination Shocks World Leaders', 6 September 1966: 3.

²⁷⁰ *The New York Times*, 'Pope Sends Condolences', 8 September 1966: 12.

²⁷¹ *Pretoria News*, 'Denmark Will Not Send Diplomat', 10 September 1966.

²⁷² *The Herald* (Melbourne), 'Murder Shocks World', 7 September 1966: 2.

Africa,²⁷³ although France's Foreign Minister, Maurice Couve de Mourville, expressed the "sad condolences" of his Government.²⁷⁴ Dr. Borg Olivier of Malta said, "I hope it does not happen to any of us."²⁷⁵

In Moscow, the Soviet News Agency *Tass* reported the assassination without comment but it identified Dr. Verwoerd as "the head of the racist regime" in South Africa.²⁷⁶ The government newspaper, *Izvestia*, wrote that "for millions of honest people in Africa and all over the world," Dr. Verwoerd was "the embodiment of the monstrous doctrine of total racism."²⁷⁷ It added that although the Russian tradition required a person to say either good things or nothing at all about the dead that was impossible in Dr. Verwoerd's case.²⁷⁸ The Communist Party daily *Pravda* also reported the assassination without comment in a single paragraph of thirteen lines.²⁷⁹

The *Melbourne Herald* of September 7, 1966, recalled how the Soviet Union once put Hendrik Verwoerd on trial, in absentia. The newspaper said news of Dr. Verwoerd's death came too late for Soviet officials to be contacted, but added that the Kremlin was unlikely to have any regrets. Russia had never had diplomatic relations with South Africa and two years ago, an "international court of public opinion" was set up as a youth forum in Moscow to try Dr. Verwoerd for racist crimes. The court concluded that the South African leader was liable to be condemned as a heinous, international criminal and an enemy of mankind. It "summoned" Dr. Verwoerd to appear before it, a summons, the newspaper said, which he never obeyed.²⁸⁰

In Italy, *Corriere Della Sera* characterised Dr. Verwoerd as the 'fanatical executor' of apartheid. Recalling his comment that "we are Christian, we want to help them (non-whites) stand up," the newspaper asked, "How could they stand up if they had no room to place their feet, when three million and four hundred thousand whites control 86% of the land and twelve million negroes only 14%?"²⁸¹

In divided Germany, opinion about Dr. Verwoerd was also divided. In West Germany, most of the media condemned the assassination without commenting on Dr.

²⁷³ *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 'Die Wähler Honorieren die Apartheid', 7 September 1966: 5.

²⁷⁴ *The Rhodesia Herald*, 'World Condemns Dr. Verwoerd Murder', 7 September 1966.

²⁷⁵ *Herald* (Melbourne), 'Murder Shocks World', *The* 7 September 1966: 2.

²⁷⁶ *Washington Post*, 'London Conference Shocked by Slain', 7 September 1966: 8.

²⁷⁷ *The New York Times*, 'Moscow Assails Dr. Verwoerd', 8 September 1966: 12.

²⁷⁸ *To Vima*, 'Απειλούν τους Έλληνες εις την Ν. Αφρική', 8 September 1966: 1.

²⁷⁹ *Daily Dispatch*, 'Assassination Sends A Wave of Shock Around the World', 8 September 1966: 6.

²⁸⁰ *The Herald* (Melbourne), 'Murder Shocks World', 7 September 1966: 2.

²⁸¹ *Corriere Della Sera*, 'L'Apartheid', 8 September 1966.

Verwoerd's policies. *Handelsblatt* claimed that Dr. Verwoerd was misunderstood and what he did was for the benefit of the Blacks.²⁸² However, *Frankfurter Allgemeine* declared that Dr. Verwoerd had "sown hatred and discord."²⁸³ In East Germany, the *Neues Deutschland* attacked Dr. Verwoerd as "the leader of the white racists ... one of the most eager defenders of apartheid, the barbaric racial oppression of 13 million Africans and Asians, whose methods are barely inferior to the 'Nuremberg Laws.'" The newspaper reminded its readers that according to the Swiss, German-language daily, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of April 15 this year, the International Agency for Employment in Geneva had declared that the "state of African labour bound to a South African economy under the principles of White supremacy" could "barely be differentiated from slavery." *Nues Deutschland* pointed out that West Germany supported Dr. Verwoerd's fascist racial politics. It was "none other than the current President of West Germany and concentration camp builder Lübke, who visited South Africa in 1959 and told the racist regime that 'the problems surrounding native peoples are in good hands here.'" The article said Dr. Verwoerd was "a victim of his own politics of violence."²⁸⁴

REST OF THE WORLD

Achkar Marof, the chairman of the UN Special Committee on apartheid and Guinea's Permanent Representative to the UN, said: "The international community should be grateful to the assassin if his act produces a change in South Africa's race policy." UN Secretary General U Thant expressed deep regret and declared that "any violence is deplorable."²⁸⁵

In the USA, Martin Luther King also commented on the assassination, saying that "few individuals in modern times have been so insidious and diabolical in their schemes of oppression as Hendrik Verwoerd, but even in this case, one must deplore the fanatical act of assassination."²⁸⁶ Julius W. Hobson, another leading civil rights activist commented, 'I am not in favour of murder, but that's not the point. This man has been responsible for the death of thousands of Black South Africans. I am not going to advocate killing anybody, but I am delighted he is dead.'²⁸⁷ US President Lyndon Johnson, who sent a personal message to

²⁸² *Handelsblatt*, 'Sudafrika Sucht Nachfolger Fur Dr. Verwoerd', 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁸³ *Daily Dispatch*, 'Assassination Sends A Wave of Shock Around the World', 8 September 1966: 6.

²⁸⁴ *Deues Deutschland*, 'Dr. Verwoerd', 9 September 1966: 7.

²⁸⁵ *The Globe and Mail*, 'Assassination Condemned by Friend and Foe Alike', 7 September 1966: 3; *The Herald* (Melbourne), 'Murder Shocks World', 7 September 1966: 2; *Washington Post*, 'London Conference Shocked by Slain', 7 September 1966: 8.

²⁸⁶ *The New York Times*, 'Johnson Decries Assassination; Rights Leaders Echo Dismay', 7 September 1966: 16; *Washington Post*, 'London Conference Shocked by Slain', 7 September 1966: 8.

²⁸⁷ *The New York Times*, 'Johnson Decries Assassination; Rights Leaders Echo Dismay', 7 September 1966: 16.

Betsie Dr. Verwoerd, called the assassination “a deplorable act, a stroke of violence that shakes the sensibilities of men who believe in law and order.”²⁸⁸ Senator Robert Kennedy, himself to be assassinated two years later, said he was “deeply shocked” and added, “violence is not answer the problems which must be worked out between people, with compassion and understanding on both sides.”²⁸⁹

The day after the assassination, *The New York Times* carried the headline, “Verwoerd: Relentless Advocate of Apartheid. Pro-Nazi and Harsh Racist, He Seemed Outwardly Genial.” The newspaper wrote that Dr. Verwoerd’s policies were “condemned by most of the governments of the world but hailed by racists” and described them as “the harshest race laws since Hitler.”²⁹⁰ In another article on the same page, the newspaper carried another headline dedicated to the slain Prime Minister: “Unafraid of Assassins, Dr. Verwoerd Said in 1962.” The story below said that two years after he was shot by David Pratt, Dr. Verwoerd was asked if he was not afraid someone else might shoot him. “No, I’m not afraid,” he said. “I don’t think anyone wants to kill me.” A reporter pointed out that he was sitting in front of an open window of his office on street level. “My desk just happens to be placed here,” he responded. “If someone really wants to kill you, it’s not a very hard job. One thing is certain, there’s no point going around worrying about it.”²⁹¹

Also in the United States, *LIFE* magazine published an article by Anthony Samson, former editor of South Africa’s *DRUM* magazine and the future official biographer of Nelson Mandela. The article was titled, “Violent end for the apostle of apartheid.” In it, Samson called Dr. Verwoerd a symbol of “reckless white supremacy” whose “repressive policies were applied with police state efficiency to keep twelve million non-Europeans powerless in South Africa and to separate them from the 3.4 million Europeans.” He noted that at the time of his death, Dr. Verwoerd was at “the height of his political power.”²⁹² The *Washington Post* reported that “Verwoerd’s successor will be a racist, too.”²⁹³

From Bombay, India, the *Economic and Political Weekly* warned, “If no tears need to be shed for Dr. Verwoerd, there is equally nothing to take heart in his exit for the future of

²⁸⁸ *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘Murder shocks world’, 7 September 1966: 2; *The New York Times*, ‘Johnson Decries Assassination; Rights Leaders Echo Dismay’, 7 September 1966: 16; *Washington Post*, 7 September 1966: 1, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Slain at his Parliament Desk.’

²⁸⁹ *The New York Times*, ‘Johnson Decries Assassination; Rights Leaders Echo Dismay’, 7 September 1966: 16; *The Vancouver Sun*, ‘Verwoerd Assassination Shocks World Leaders’, 6 September 1966: 3.

²⁹⁰ *The New York Times*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd: Relentless Advocate of Apartheid’, 7 September 1966: 16.

²⁹¹ *The New York Times*, ‘Unafraid of Assassins, Dr. Verwoerd Said in 1962’, 7 September 1966: 16.

²⁹² Schoeman, *Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd*, p. 89.

²⁹³ *Washington Post*, ‘Verwoerd’s Successor Will Be a Racist, Too’, 7 September 1966.

the Africans in South Africa. For most of the three and a half million Whites, in their psychopathic fear of the Africans who outnumber them so overwhelmingly, apartheid appears as the only means of survival and cling to it they must.”²⁹⁴ Appasaheb Pant, India’s Ambassador to Egypt, offered his sympathy to Dr. Verwoerd’s family but also to the “hundreds of thousands of people who suffered from Dr. Verwoerd.”²⁹⁵

In Canada, acting Prime Minister Paul Martin said, “The Canadian government regrets this shocking act of violence. I have this morning sent to the acting Prime Minister of South Africa a message of condolence. This regret, of course, does not affect the government’s well-known attitude on apartheid. We thoroughly disagree with this policy, but our difference of views does not dilute our regret at this brutal assassination.”²⁹⁶ Tommy Douglas, the leader of the New Democratic Party of Canada, said, “one cannot help but fear that unless there is some reversal of policies in South Africa a great deal more blood will be spilled in that unhappy country.”²⁹⁷ The *Toronto Star* published an article headlined, “The man is dead - his monster grows,” suggesting the monster of apartheid was far from moribund.²⁹⁸

Prime Minister Harold Holt of Australia condemned the murder as “repugnant.” Premiers Lester Pearson of Canada and Keith Holyoake of New Zealand had identical reactions: “I am shocked.”²⁹⁹ In Wellington, New Zealand, members of a Maori tribe presented a bouquet of flowers at the South African consulate-general.³⁰⁰ Singapore’s Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew was less sympathetic and said, “If you run regimes like that, this is part of the risk.”³⁰¹ In Cuba, a Radio Havana broadcast commented that “the reactionary bloc has lost one of its infamous representatives. Dr. Verwoerd has left behind him the result of his segregationist policy.”³⁰²

TSAFENDAS’S FAMILY REACTION

²⁹⁴ *Economic and Political Weekly*, ‘Apartheid Unassassinated’, 10 September 1966: 146-147.

²⁹⁵ *Kathimerini*, ‘Ατομον Ελληνικής Καταγωγής Εδολοφόνησε τον Φέρβειρντ’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁹⁶ *The Globe and Mail*, ‘Canada Regrets Death but Stand Still Same’, 7 September 1966: 3.

²⁹⁷ *The Vancouver Sun*, ‘Verwoerd Assassination Shocks World Leaders’, 6 September 1966: 3.

²⁹⁸ Schoeman, *Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd*, p. 90.

²⁹⁹ *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘Murder Shocks World’, 7 September 1966: 2.

³⁰⁰ *Pretoria News*, ‘Simple Maori Tribute Paid to Dr. Verwoerd’, 8 September 1966: 1.

³⁰¹ *Daily Express*, ‘Epitaph for A Fanatic’, 7 September 1966: 2; *The Australian*, ‘Murder Shocks World, but Some Leaders are Glad’, 8 September 1966; *Washington Post*, ‘London Conference Shocked by Slain’, 7 September 1966: 8.

³⁰² *Washington Post*, ‘London Conference Shocked by Slain’, 7 September 1966: 8.

When Tsafendas's family heard about the assassination, his siblings and in-laws, apart from Katerina who was in Rhodesia, gathered in Marika's house in Pretoria. All were deeply shocked, fearing the worst for themselves because they had begged and convinced van den Berg to allow Tsafendas to enter South Africa under the pretence that he was not a threat to the state and that all he wanted was to spend a few days with his family. They believed that if Tsafendas was tortured, he would reveal everything. Nick Vlachopoulos, although he was the main culprit of this and had even given money to van den Berg, was the calmest and said that it was very possible the police would not find out because Tsafendas had experience of torture and could possibly to withhold anything damaging to the family. All agreed that if asked, they would deny knowing Tsafendas was not allowed to enter South Africa.³⁰³

Marika and her son Victor were the most frightened. Victor suggested they should pack their bags and be ready to leave the country at any time. At one point, he even suggested leaving then and there. Eventually, he and his wife remained, but with their bags packed and ready to flee. All agreed that, if asked, they would distance themselves as far as possible from Tsafendas, claiming they had no contacts with him since he had been away for many years and they were unaware of his political views and activities. They feared that if it became known he was a Communist, they would be in trouble for not reporting him since Communism was illegal.³⁰⁴

Fearing an imminent police search of their houses, Marika and her daughter Evangelia burned all of Tsafendas's books, both those in his step-mother's house and in the apartment Vlachopoulos had given him. Every single book went into the flames, although not all of them were political. Marika also burned photographs which Tsafendas had sent them from around the world, along with family photographs from Mozambique. She also destroyed Tsafendas's two records with the Communist songs along with all of Paul Robeson's, just because he was Black.³⁰⁵

However, the person who was most frightened after the assassination was George Michaletos, Tsafendas's uncle and Artemis's husband. It was he, along with Nick Vlachopoulos, who convinced J.J. van den Berg, the passport control officer at the South African consulate in Lourenço Marques, to ignore Tsafendas's name on the Stop List and

³⁰³ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁰⁴ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁰⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

issue him a visa. For more than a month after Tsafendas's arrest, Michaletos was unable to sleep and lived in constant fear of arrest. He wanted to flee the country and go back to Greece, but Artemis was calmer and insisted that they should remain. Michaletos cut off any contact with J.J. van den Berg, but when he heard that the passport officer had been taken for questioning, he left Lourenço Marques immediately and took refuge in a relative's house in Zambia. He stayed there for three or four weeks, still terrified, and only returned to Lourenço Marques after Tsafendas's summary trial had ended. Even then, he remained nervous and suspicious over the years, fearing that one day the case might be discovered.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

CHAPTER 4

THE POLICE INVESTIGATION

INTRODUCTION

General van den Bergh stated on 26 October 1976 that “no person in South African history has ever been interrogated as much as Demitrios Tsafendas. I wanted to know everything about this man and quizzed him on everything under the sun – including the remote possibility that he had been ‘programmed’ by drugs, or even hypnosis, to kill, or if he had been a hired assassin.” Due to this, “no stone was left unturned in the investigation” and “Tsafendas’s activities in many countries were closely checked.”³⁰⁷

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the activities as well as the findings (and non-findings) of the South African police during their investigation into Dr. Verwoerd’s assassination. Non-findings include important information regarding Tsafendas which was withheld by PIDE, the Portuguese Security Police. We will look at the statements which the South African police took from people who had known Tsafendas, documents received by the South African authorities from various institutions and organizations around the world, medical reports, police memoranda and police reports.

The investigators were confronted by thousands of documents specific to Tsafendas and many which were irrelevant to the case. This study will look only at documents relevant to Tsafendas and the assassination. Documents which repeated information that we have already seen are also not listed. However, all statements taken by the police from people who knew Tsafendas, including two statements by Tsafendas himself, are included. All the top secret documents are included.

This chapter also includes some of the Press reports published during the investigation to demonstrate how the media covered the issue and to illustrate the “climate” of the day, but also to examine how Tsafendas was portrayed at the time, bearing in mind that most news reports contained false, incomplete or exaggerated information.

³⁰⁷ Gordon Winter, ‘Tsafendas was Ineffective Red-Van den Bergh’, *The Citizen*, 26 October 1976.

BACKGROUND ON GENERAL HENDRIK JOHAN VAN DEN BERGH

Before we examine the police investigation into the assassination, we will explore the nature of the man who was in charge of it. General van den Bergh played a massively important role in the case and was deeply involved in creating the portrait of Tsafendas that emerged from his summary trial and from the proceedings of the Commission of Enquiry into Dr.

Verwoerd's death. Arguably the most feared man in South Africa during the 1960s and 1970s Police Chief Hendrik Johan van den Bergh created, headed and became virtually synonymous with the Bureau of State Security (BOSS),³⁰⁸ an all-embracing security organisation which he employed ruthlessly in defence of the apartheid state.³⁰⁹ He was the oppressive power behind the apartheid government of John Vorster.³¹⁰ At the height of his power in 1976, van den Bergh plotted with two close associates to secure a share of power at the highest level following the expected retirement of Vorster,³¹¹ but after exposure of his involvement in a government corruption scandal, he was forced to retire.³¹²

Born on 27 November 1914³¹³ into an Afrikaner farming family in Vredefort, Orange Free State, Hendrik Johan van den Bergh was known to his friends as HJ, the initials of his given names, but to everyone else, he was *Lang Hendrik* (Tall Hendrik) on account of his height, a towering 1.96m (6 feet 5 inches).³¹⁴ Van den Bergh joined the police in 1934,³¹⁵ but when World War Two broke out, he was interned in Koffienfontein camp as a suspected member of the *Stormjaers*, the military wing of the pro-Nazi organization *Ossewabrandwag*³¹⁶ (OB - Oxwagon Sentinel).³¹⁷ A fellow internee who held general's rank

³⁰⁸ For more about BOSS and its activities see: Hepple, A. (1969) "South Africa's Bureau for State Security;" International Defence and Aid Fund (1969) *South Africa: The BOSS Law*; International Defence and Aid Fund (1975) *BOSS: The First Five Years*; O'Brien, K.A. (2010) *The South African Intelligence Services: From Apartheid to Democracy, 1948-2005*; Sanders, J. (2006) *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*; Swanepoel, P.C. (2007) *Really Inside Boss: A Tale of South Africa's Late Intelligence Service*; Winter, G. (1981) *Inside BOSS*.

³⁰⁹ Leonard, *South Africa at War: White Power and the Crisis in Southern Africa*, p. 123

³¹⁰ Mary Braid, 'Obituary: Hendrik van den Bergh', *The Independent*, 20 August 1997: 12.

³¹¹ John F. Burns, 'Vorster Rejects Allegations in South Africa's Information Scandal', *The New York Times*, 23 March 1979: A3; James Sanders, *South Africa and the International Media, 1972-1979: A Struggle for Representation*, (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 61; *TIME*, 'South Africa: Rhodie's Story', 26 March 1979.

³¹² Sanders, *South Africa and the International Media, 1972-1979: A Struggle for Representation*, p. 64.

³¹³ Pogrand, 'Obituary: Lieutenant-General Hendrik van den Bergh: Boss of South Africa's Forces of Oppression', *The Guardian*, 21 August 1997: 17.

³¹⁴ *The New York Times*, 'Acid General is Key to Pretoria Scandal', 1 April 1979: 10; Gordon Winter, *Inside BOSS: South Africa's Secret Police*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 34.

³¹⁵ Alexander Hepple, "South Africa's Bureau for State Security", *The World Today*, Vol. 25, No. 10 (Oct., 1969), p. 437.

³¹⁶ For more about the *Ossewabrandwag* see Chapter 1.

in the OB, was Balthazar Johannes Vorster, the future Prime Minister. He and van den Bergh quickly became friends³¹⁸ and subsequently van den Bergh became Vorster's closest confident, security advisor and a devoted advisor.³¹⁹ During the time of their detention, van den Bergh was Vorster's "counter-intelligence chief," tasked to seek out and expose the government's agents sent in to spy on the internees.³²⁰

After the war, van den Bergh worked as a clerk at the South African Institute of Architects³²¹ before re-joining the police in 1950.³²² He reached the rank of captain in 1953,³²³ but his police career was unspectacular until Vorster became Minister of Justice in 1961.³²⁴ Van den Bergh was then swiftly promoted to lieutenant colonel and at the end of 1962 he was named by Vorster as head of South Africa's Secret Police.³²⁵ His progress thereafter was unstoppable: promoted to full colonel in 1963,³²⁶ when, as ordered by Vorster, he established the Republican Intelligence Service;³²⁷ brigadier in 1964, major-general in 1966,³²⁸ lieutenant general in 1968; and in 1969 full general and head of the notorious Bureau of State Security (BOSS),³²⁹ which through the 1970s was the controlling national organisation in South Africa.³³⁰ South African judges, professors and lawyers, some of them even supporters of apartheid, protested against the methods of the BOSS and condemned its increasing power and unaccountability. The *Veg* ("Fight"), a journal published by Afrikaner intellectuals, suggested that it should instead be called the Bureau for Intimidation, Victimization and Elimination, or just the Gestapo.³³¹

³¹⁷ James Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*, (London: John Murray, 2006), p. 34-35.

³¹⁸ O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*, p. xxxvii.

³¹⁹ Robert I Rotberg, "The Process of Decision Making in Contemporary South Africa" (1983). In Helen Kitchen (ed.), *South Africa: In Transition to What?* (Washington, D.C: The Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 1988), p. 13-14.

³²⁰ Bell and Ntsebeza, *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*, p. 41.

³²¹ Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*, p. 35.

³²² Hepple, *South Africa's Bureau for State Security*, p. 437; *The Times*, 'Hendrik van den Bergh', 19 August 1997: 19.

³²³ Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*, p. 34-35.

³²⁴ International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1975), p. 15; Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*, p. 35.

³²⁵ O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*, p. 211.

³²⁶ Hepple, "South Africa's Bureau for State Security", p. 437.

³²⁷ Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*, p. 35.

³²⁸ Hepple, "South Africa's Bureau for State Security", p. 437.

³²⁹ Dubow, *Apartheid 1948-1994*, p. 153; O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*, p. xxxvii; Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*, p. 35.

³³⁰ Hain, *Sing the Beloved Country: The Struggle for the New South Africa*, p. 84.

³³¹ International Defence and Aid Fund, *South Africa: The BOSS Law*, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1969), p. ii-4.

General van den Bergh was Vorster's *eminence grise*, his closest adviser and chief hatchet man³³² and was widely considered the second most powerful man in the country. Some believed that van den Bergh was at the time even more powerful than Vorster; since the Prime Minister was answerable to Parliament and to his Party, while the General was answerable only to the Prime Minister, who was his best friend and closest associate.³³³ BOSS, which was modelled on America's CIA,³³⁴ was responsible for some of apartheid regime's worst excesses in the 1970s, with van den Bergh overseeing blackmail, torture and assassination at a time when the Cold War gave the ruling National Party an alibi – fighting international Communism – for its true mission, the prevention of democratic rule.³³⁵

In 1966, van den Bergh publicly denied that he had ever been a member of the OB, although his adherence to the group along with other prominent figures was widely known. He even claimed that he was unfamiliar with the principles and policies of the organization.³³⁶ However, when he acted as a pallbearer at the funeral of Hans van Rensburg,³³⁷ Commanding General of the *Ossewabrandwag* during World War Two,³³⁸ he saluted him with the organisation's Fascist, arm-across-the-chest salute.³³⁹ A life-long Afrikaner nationalist, van den Bergh was also a member of the Afrikaner Broederbond. His membership number was 6745³⁴⁰ and in 1964, the Broederbond awarded him a medal for his services.³⁴¹

Van den Bergh was fanatically anti-Communist and anti-Semite and in September 1966, he outraged South Africa's large Jewish community by claiming that Jews were becoming Communists because "Communism is the highest form of capitalism." Addressing

³³² O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*, p. xxxvii.

³³³ International Defence and Aid Fund, *South Africa: The BOSS Law*, p. 5.

³³⁴ Kenneth W. Grundy, *The Militarization of South African Politics*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 42-43.

³³⁵ Braid, 'Obituary: Hendrik van den Bergh', *The Independent*, 20 August 1997: 12.

³³⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Van den Bergh: I Wasn't An OB', 9 October 1966: 1.

³³⁷ (1898-1966) A lawyer and Nazi supporter who served as Secretary of Justice in 1933. In 1938, he helped in the formation and organization of the Nazi organization the *Ossewabrandwag* and he became its commander general from 1941 until 1952. He died on the 25th of September 1966. (Rees, *Who's Who in the Extreme Right since 1890: An International Biographical Dictionary*, p. 401). On the day of his funeral, the newly appointed Prime Minister John Vorster, sent a wreath and ordered all flags in Pretoria to fly at half-mast, a military guard of honour was at the service and ex-OB members gave their semi-fascist salute (Furlong, "*The National Party of South Africa: A Transnational Perspective*", p. 73).

³³⁸ Furlong, "*The National Party of South Africa: A Transnational Perspective*", p. 73.

³³⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Van den Bergh: I Wasn't An OB', 9 October 1966: 1; Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*, p. 35.

³⁴⁰ Bell and Ntsebeza, *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*, p. 28; Serfontein, *Brotherhood of Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond*, p. 272; Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. A239.

³⁴¹ Serfontein, *Brotherhood of Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond*, p. 18, 91.

an anti-Communist symposium at the height of the Tsafendas investigation, he charged that Communists subverted the White South African way of life by engaging in “psychological sabotage.” The Communist leaders of the campaign were “white so-called intellectuals,” most of whom, he said, were Jewish.”³⁴² In the 1970s, however, he developed close official ties with Israel.³⁴³ Communists, however, remained high on his hate list. He said, the Communist Party consisted of “a very select group of people” and “possessed everything except a person’s soul.”³⁴⁴ He also said Communism was furthered by “self-indulgence, self-pessimism and sickly sentimentality.”³⁴⁵

Van den Bergh was known to be unstable and to take pleasure from inflicting pain³⁴⁶ and throughout his career, he left a trail of violence in his wake. The methods of torture he applied were learned, or refined, from his contacts with the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and from training he received in interrogation techniques in France and Algeria during the first half of the 1960s.³⁴⁷ Evidence of van den Bergh’s cruelty was demonstrated as early as March 21, 1960 at the Sharpeville massacre when he was sent to the Baragwanath hospital where many victims of the police shootings had been taken. His team of White and Black policemen dragged wounded people from their beds, irrespective of their condition, handcuffed them and transported them to Boksburg Prison. There they were stripped naked, hosed down and ordered to dress again in their bloody clothes, which they were forced to wear unwashed for months afterwards as an example of the price of “agitation.”³⁴⁸

As a reward for this exemplary action against sick and injured people, van den Bergh was awarded a role in the Sharpeville investigation.³⁴⁹ Judge Wessels, the sole member of the Commission of Inquiry, appointed van den Bergh as the chief police investigator to determine, among other things, who fired the first shots and who shouted “shoot.”

³⁴² *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Reds and Jews by v.d. Bergh’, 30 September 1966: 1; Winter, *Inside BOSS: South Africa’s Secret Police*, p. 87; H. J. van der Bergh, ‘Sabotage in South Africa.’ In National Council to Combat Communism, *Battle for the Mind: Papers Read at the International Symposium on Communism, Sept. 1966, Pretoria*, (Joubert Park: National Council to Combat Communism, 1967), p. 21-45.

³⁴³ Sasha Polakow-Suransky, *The Unspoken Alliance: Israel’s Secret Relationship with Apartheid South Africa*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010), p. 89-90.

³⁴⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Van den Bergh: I Wasn’t An OB’, 9 October 1961: 1-2.

³⁴⁵ Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, p. 412.

³⁴⁶ Peter Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980), p. 235.

³⁴⁷ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Two*, p. 195.

³⁴⁸ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 194-195.

³⁴⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Sharpeville Magistrate’, 22 July 1960.

Unsurprisingly, van den Bergh “failed” to discover the guilty parties,³⁵⁰ but Judge Wessels praised him nonetheless for the industry he displayed.³⁵¹ As chief police investigator, van den Bergh was also responsible for concealing evidence of the use by the police of illegal dum-dum bullets.

In July 1964, van den Bergh announced that forty anti-apartheid activists had been arrested in the previous two weeks alone under the 90-day detention clause of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963. He said there was nothing arbitrary about recent police actions. “Before we raid anyone or detain them, we give the matter our most thorough consideration... we have files on all leftists in this country. If we do not have a file on a person, the investigating officer’s motivation must be exceptionally strong before we will agree to detention under the 90-day clause.” A panel of six senior officers under his chairmanship decided whether to arrest suspects, he said. “Unless we all agree to the detention, the request is referred back to the investigating officer for further motivation,” van den Bergh stated.³⁵²

In 1965, Hugh Lewin, a White South African reporter and anti-apartheid activist, was arrested on charges of sabotage, and beaten by police. He was brought before van den Bergh with a bruised and bloody face. Lewin subsequently brought charges of assault against the police. The accused officers unanimously denied the charges and stated on oath that Lewin sustained his facial wounds when he banged his head accidentally against the door of a police car. For his part, van den Bergh was clearly unafraid to lie before the law, since advocates told the court that he was prepared to testify on oath that no member of his force ever assaulted Lewin.³⁵³ Later, van den Bergh affirmed accusations that his department was impervious to legal constraints by stating, “We were fighting a revolution those days. It was not kid-gloves stuff, it was war... as far as I was concerned there was no time for peacetime legal niceties.”³⁵⁴

Van den Bergh’s successes on behalf of apartheid were evident in the steep increase in trials of political activists from the early 1960s onwards which saw thousands imprisoned.

³⁵⁰ Report of the Sharpeville Commission, p. 154; Roux, *Time Longer than Rope: A History of the Black Man’s Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*, p. 408.

³⁵¹ Report of the Sharpeville Commission, p. 10.

³⁵² *The New York Times*, ‘40 in South Africa Arrested in Raids’, 12 July 1964: 5.

³⁵³ Lewin, *Bandiet: Seven Years in a South African Prison*, p. 23-37.

³⁵⁴ Bizos, *No One to Blame? A Personal Account of Inquests into Some Deaths in Detention under Apartheid*, p. 3.

As a result, he was credited with having “practically wiped out” sabotage in South Africa.³⁵⁵ His biggest coup was organising the arrests of the most prominent members of the ANC at Liliesleaf Farm in July 1963.³⁵⁶ It was, he said, “one of the most important round-ups so far.” The arrests led to the Rivonia Trial³⁵⁷ the following year when Nelson Mandela and eight ANC activists were sentenced to life imprisonment. For his success, the then Colonel van den Bergh was raised to the rank of brigadier - the youngest holder of that rank in the South African Police.³⁵⁸ In addition, in 1964, van den Bergh ordered the arrest of Bram Fischer, followed by the arrests of several Communists and anti-apartheid activists.³⁵⁹ Robben Island,³⁶⁰ the infamous penitentiary where most of the political prisoners were detained during the apartheid era, was described at the time as “van den Bergh’s monument.”³⁶¹

On July 24, 1964, shortly after John Harris’s bomb had exploded in Johannesburg Railway Station, van den Bergh sat in his car pondering, “Who did this?” Suddenly, he claimed, the name “John Harris” came into his mind, although he had never heard of him. Van den Bergh attributed this flash of inspiration to divine revelation.³⁶² As we will shortly see, it was not the only thing in his life that he attributed to the hand of God. General van den Bergh was later asked by Benjamin Pogrund of the *Rand Daily Mail* about Harris’s broken jaw. The general said that on the evening in question, Harris was arrested and brought into the Security Police headquarters in Johannesburg, where he was present:

“When I left late that night I walked down the stairs, there was a light missing. I told them they should put in a bulb otherwise someone was sure to trip in the dark and hurt himself. That’s exactly what happened to Harris. After he had confessed, he was being brought down the stairs and he slipped and fell and broke his jaw.”³⁶³

The truth, of course, was that a Security policeman had broken Harris’s jaw.³⁶⁴ Gordon Winter, a former BOSS agent and very close friend of the General, claimed that on March 31, 1965, van den Bergh offered John Harris,³⁶⁵ on the eve of his execution, the

³⁵⁵ International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 15.

³⁵⁶ Braid, ‘Obituary: Hendrik van den Bergh’, *The Independent*, 20 August 1997: 12; Dubow, *Apartheid 1948–1994*, p. 96; *The New York Times*, ‘17 Seized in Raid in South Africa’, 11 July 1963: 3.

³⁵⁷ For more about the Rivonia Trial see Chapter 1.

³⁵⁸ Sanders, *Apartheid’s Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa’s Secret Service*, p. 35.

³⁵⁹ Pike, *A History of Communism in South Africa*, p. 405.

³⁶⁰ For more about Robben Island see Chapter 1.

³⁶¹ Pogrund, ‘Obituary: Lieutenant-General Hendrik van den Bergh: Boss of South Africa’s Forces of Oppression’, *The Guardian*, 21 August 1997: 17.

³⁶² Pike, *A History of Communism in South Africa*, p. 405.

³⁶³ Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 248-249.

³⁶⁴ Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 249.

³⁶⁵ The man who planted a bomb in a Johannesburg train station. For more see Chapter 1.

chance to escape from prison in exchange for information about his accomplices. Harris declined to betray his comrades and was hanged the next day.³⁶⁶

In 1965, infuriated by a *Rand Daily Mail* story alleging torture and inhumane conditions in South African prisons, van den Bergh ordered a raid on the newspaper's offices.³⁶⁷ Laurence Gandar, the newspaper's editor, described the police action as an unprecedented campaign of savagery.³⁶⁸ The police swoop was not without gallows humour. After the raid and the presumed bugging of the newspaper's offices, staff at editorial conferences, when discussing sensitive matters, would look up at the ceiling and say, "Hope you can hear OK, General."³⁶⁹

Justice Minister Vorster, who in 1966 accepted the additional portfolio of Police and Prisons, instructed van den Bergh that anyone deemed to be a threat to the state should "be taken out of circulation in one way or another, if there are valid reasons for not bringing that person to trial."³⁷⁰ For this reason, in 1969, General van den Bergh created within BOSS a special unit known as the Z Squad tasked to eliminate both enemies of the state and security risks.³⁷¹

When van den Bergh appeared before the Erasmus Commission of Inquiry³⁷² into the so-called "Infogate" scandal in 1978, that eventually brought him down, he acquiesced with Vorster's remark but also hinted that his department had an operational capacity which did not exclude murder. He said, "Mr. Commissioner, I really want to tell you that I am able, with my department, to do the impossible. I can today tell you here, not for your records, but I can tell you, this is not bragging, I have good men, Afrikaners, I don't have weak men... I have enough men to commit murder if I tell them, 'Kill'... I don't care who the prey is. These are the types of men I have ..."³⁷³ There were several cases which seemed to bear out van den

³⁶⁶ Winter, *Inside BOSS: South Africa's Secret Police*, p. 99-100.

³⁶⁷ Joseph Lelyveld, 'South African Found Guilty of Lying about Jails', *The New York Times*, 27 January 1966: 13; Joseph Lelyveld, 'South Africa Raids Paper Over Prison Articles: Detectives Seize Copy', *The New York Times*, 2 July 1965: 3; *The New York Times*, 19 August 1965: 30, 'Reprisals in South Africa.'

³⁶⁸ *The New York Times*, 'Reprisals in South Africa', 19 August 1965: 30.

³⁶⁹ Pogrand, 'Obituary: Lieutenant-General Hendrik van den Bergh: Boss of South Africa's Forces of Oppression', *The Guardian*, 21 August 1997: 17.

³⁷⁰ D'Oliveira, *Vorster – The Man*, p. 157-158.

³⁷¹ Jeffrey M. Bale, "South Africa's Project Coast: 'Death Squads,' Covert State-Sponsored Poisonings, and the Dangers of CBW Proliferation." *Democracy and Security*, Vol. 2, Issue 1 (2006), p. 43.

³⁷² The Erasmus Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate "alleged irregularities" into the Department of Information.

³⁷³ John F. Burns, 'Pretoria Scandal Testimony Reveals Talk of Murder', *The New York Times*, 18 May 1980: 3; Leonard, *South Africa at War: White Power and the Crisis in Southern Africa*, p. 124; Clifford Luyt, "The Killing Fields: South Africa's Human Rights Record in Southern Africa." *Social Justice: A Journal of Crime*,

Bergh's boast.³⁷⁴ In front of the same commission van den Bergh also had added "that if he wanted to do something nobody would stop him and that he would stop at nothing."³⁷⁵

Working together, Vorster and van den Bergh engineered legislation which gave the security forces virtual carte blanche in their pursuit of apartheid's interests. In 1969, the General Law Amendment Bill was passed, whose notorious Clause 29 authorised the Prime Minister or his nominee (i.e. van den Bergh of course) to prohibit oral testimony or the production of any document before any court or statutory body should they believe the evidence or document would be "prejudicial to the interests of the state or public security."³⁷⁶ In reality, this permitted the police and the security forces to conceal or ensure the unavailability of any document or evidence which might jeopardise their cause. As we will see in the following chapters, the Tsafendas case exemplified such a situation, when documents and evidence contradicting the judge's trial verdict and the "findings" of the Commission of Enquiry were concealed or disappeared.

In 1975, according to the *South African Observer*, the head of BOSS was so powerful at the time that Prime Minister Vorster would have been "unable to govern the country without having General van den Bergh at his elbow." The newspaper argued that the Nationalist Party had become "a mere instrument in the hands of these two ambitious men."³⁷⁷ The close relationship between the minister and the security supremo was made clear by Vorster when he declared, "General van den Bergh is an officer with whom I co-operated intimately during the most difficult years which South Africa experienced at the time, of the Poqo and the ANC and other problems. He is an officer for whom I have the highest regard and respect because of his ability and the manner in which he performs his work."³⁷⁸ These two men made the police virtually sacrosanct and systematically destroyed not only what little room for democracy remained, but also, from the beginning of the 1960s, opposition from any quarter,³⁷⁹ turning South Africa effectively into a police state.³⁸⁰ By 1966, just three years after his appointment as police and security overlord, van den Bergh

Conflict and World Order, Vol. 16, No. 2 (36), Varieties of State and Corporate Crime (Summer 1989), p. 110; TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Two*, p. 18.

³⁷⁴ Leonard, *South Africa at War: White Power and the Crisis in Southern Africa*, p. 124.

³⁷⁵ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Irregularities in the Former Department of Information*, (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1978), chap. 11, par. 386.

³⁷⁶ International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 11; John D. Jackson, *Justice in South Africa*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980), p. 40.

³⁷⁷ International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 15.

³⁷⁸ House of Assembly [South Africa], *Debates*, (21 April 1971).

³⁷⁹ van der Westhuizen, *White Power and the Rise and Fall of the National Party*, p. 96.

³⁸⁰ O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*, p. xxxvii.

had trebled the strength of the security police and was promoted from lieutenant colonel to brigadier.³⁸¹

In 1971, Ahmed Timol, a thirty-year-old teacher and member of the South African Communist Party and the MK, died after falling from the tenth floor of the notorious John Vorster Square police station while he was in custody. The police version was that Timol flung open a window and leaped out. However, it was common knowledge that Timol had been tortured systematically in detention and almost certainly murdered, prompting people to demand a public inquiry. His fingernails had been pulled out, one of his eyes gouged from its socket, his testicles crushed, and his body was covered in blue bruises and livid burn marks. General van den Bergh declared that there was no need for a public inquiry, but “there will be an inquest and all the facts relating to his death will be made public then.” The inquest was held in secret and the result of the post-mortem was not released.³⁸²

General Stoffel Buys, head of the CID, who investigated the incident concluded that Timol had “stormed towards the window and jumped through it.”³⁸³ Naturally, the usual verdict in such cases was announced: “Suicide.” The Magistrate said in his judgement, “Mr. Timol was not assaulted by any person. I am satisfied that despite the long hours of the interrogation to which he was subjected, he was treated in a civilised and humane manner.” Timol was the twentieth political prisoner to die in police custody in eight years.³⁸⁴

However, on October 12, 2017, Judge Billy Mothle of the Pretoria High Court, ruled at the conclusion of an inquest which ran from June to September 2017 that Timol was murdered, thereby overruling the verdict of the original inquest. Judge Mothle said in his judgement that the magistrate at the time had relied on “a limited version of events.”

³⁸¹ Bizos, *No One to Blame? A Personal Account of Inquests into Some Deaths in Detention under Apartheid*, p. 3.

³⁸² Bernstein, *South Africa: The Terrorism of Torture*, p. 1-3; Bizos, *No One to Blame? A Personal Account of Inquests into Some Deaths in Detention under Apartheid*, p. 18-36; Yadhana Jadoo, ‘New Light Shed on Ahmed Timol’s Death’, *The Citizen*, 27 October 2015; Gregory Houston and Bernard Magubane, “The ANC Political Underground in the 1970s.” In South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: 1970-1980, Vol 2*, (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2007), p. 440-441; Bernard Magubane, “Introduction to the 1970s: The Social and Political Context”. In South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: 1970-1980, Vol 2*, (Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2007), p. 5; South African History Online, *Ahmed Timol*, (30 January 2019). Retrieved from: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/ahmed-timol>; World Peace Council, *Apartheid is Built on Torture*, p. 4-8.

³⁸³ Bernstein, *South Africa: The Terrorism of Torture*, p. 1.

³⁸⁴ Bizos, *No One to Blame? A Personal Account of Inquests into Some Deaths in Detention under Apartheid*, p. 18-36; Jadoo, ‘New Light Shed on Ahmed Timol’s Death’, *The Citizen*, 27 October 2015; Houston and Magubane, “The ANC Political Underground in the 1970s”, p. 440-441; Magubane, “Introduction to the 1970s: The Social and Political Context”, p. 5; World Peace Council, *Apartheid is Built on Torture*, p. 4-8.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said, “It is sad that it took so long and there are many other TRC matters that haven’t been resolved.”³⁸⁵

During the 1970s, van den Bergh did not confine his techniques of persuasion to the physical. He was one of the brains behind the launch in 1976 of the government-funded English-language newspaper, *The Citizen*,³⁸⁶ a propaganda sheet designed to counter the liberal political position of the long-established *Rand Daily Mail*. However, it was his involvement in murky, pro-apartheid propaganda and his bitter relationship with Defence Minister P.W. Botha and South Africa’s Defence Forces that ultimately led to his downfall.³⁸⁷

In 1978, Judge Anton Mostert, the sole member of the one-man Commission of Inquiry into exchange control regulations, discovered evidence of widespread government corruption, particularly at the Ministry of Information, It became known as the “Information Scandal”³⁸⁸ (also nicknamed Muldergate after the Information Minister, Cornelius Mulder), directly involving van den Bergh and Vorster,³⁸⁹ despite their efforts to conceal their involvement long before the scandal broke. In 1976, van den Bergh and Vorster had instructed their associates in the Ministry to destroy all “unnecessary documentation” that would disclose their involvement in the case.³⁹⁰ In 1977, these two, along with Mulder, ordered L.S. Reynders, a civil servant investigating the irregularities, to exculpate them from any involvement. His “findings” offered van den Bergh, Vorster and Mulder the whitewash they wanted.³⁹¹

However, Judge Mostert discovered evidence linking van den Bergh and Vorster, the two most powerful men in the country at the time, to the scandal. Despite heavy pressure from the government, the judge disclosed at a press conference that in seeking ways to influence public opinion in favour of apartheid, the Ministry collaborated closely and

³⁸⁵ Greg Nicolson, ‘Timol Inquest: He Was Murdered But Culprits are Dead, Court Rules’, *Daily Maverick*, 12 October 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-10-12-timol-inquest-he-was-murdered-but-culprits-are-dead-court-rules/>

³⁸⁶ Sanders, *Apartheid’s Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa’s Secret Service*, p. 99.

³⁸⁷ Gavin Cawthra, *Brutal Force: The Apartheid War Machine*, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1986), p. 38.

³⁸⁸ For more about the scandal see: Rees, M., Day, C. (1980) *Muldergate: The story of the info-scandal*; Rickard, C. (2012) *Thank You, Judge Mostert!*

³⁸⁹ H. Lindsay Smith, *Anatomy of Apartheid*, (Germiston: Khanya Publishers, 1979), p. 43; *The Globe and Mail*, ‘Secret Life of Pretoria’, 6 April 1979: 6.

³⁹⁰ Sanders, *South Africa and the International Media, 1972-1979: A Struggle for Representation*, p. 62.

³⁹¹ Richard Pollack, *Up Against Apartheid. The Role and the Plight of Press in South Africa*, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), p. 31.

covertly throughout the 1970s with van den Bergh's BOSS.³⁹² Among Mostert's findings was that in 1973, Vorster agreed to a plan to shift sixty-four million Rand secretly from the defence budget to fund a series of propaganda projects. These included bribes for international news agencies, an attempt to buy the US *Washington Star* newspaper for twenty-five million dollars and the expenditure of thirty million dollars setting up an English-language newspaper, *The Citizen*, as a government mouthpiece in opposition to the liberal *Rand Daily Mail*.³⁹³ For making his disclosures public in his final report, Judge Mostert was fired and the Commission of Inquiry was disbanded.³⁹⁴

As a result of Muldergate, the Erasmus Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate. By June 1979, the Commission had issued three reports implicating Vorster and Mulder in misleading Parliament about the secret funding of *The Citizen* and laying responsibility for extensive financial irregularities on Mulder and van den Bergh.³⁹⁵ When L.S. Reynders was questioned by the Commission, in the words of the Commission report, "he burst into tears and, like a lanced boil, made a clean breast of things."³⁹⁶ He admitted producing the whitewash under fierce pressure from van den Bergh, saying he feared that had he opposed him, the general would "pulverise" him, because "few people in this land realise what power van den Bergh possesses."³⁹⁷

In a sign of how the mighty had fallen, van den Bergh had his passport confiscated³⁹⁸ and he even signed a nationwide petition calling for his own prosecution.³⁹⁹ However, when he appeared before the Commission and was accused of being a "ruthless manipulator," he responded by calling the panel "a big farce" and denouncing its report as "full of lies." He also boasted about his "sinister network of agents" and his willingness to "stop at nothing" to achieve his ends. The Commission accused him of attempting to manipulate the election of Vorster's successor as prime minister just a year earlier.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹² Burns 'Pretoria Scandal Testimony Reveals Talk of Murder', *The New York Times*, 18 May 1980: 3; William A. Hachten and C. Anthony Giffard, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 243-244.

³⁹³ Hachten and Giffard, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 250-251, 275.

³⁹⁴ *The Globe and Mail*, 'Secret Life of Pretoria', 6 April 1979: 6.

³⁹⁵ Leonard, *South Africa at War: White Power and the Crisis in Southern Africa*, p. 163.

³⁹⁶ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Irregularities in the Former Department of Information*, chap. 11, par. 383.

³⁹⁷ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Irregularities in the Former Department of Information*, chap. 11, par. 385.

³⁹⁸ Nicholas Ashford, 'The Revelations of Dr Rhoodie', *The Spectator*, 17 March 1979: 8.

³⁹⁹ *The New York Times*, 'South African General Signs Petition for His Own Prosecution', 4 February 1979: 5.

⁴⁰⁰ *The New York Times*, 'Acid General is Key to Pretoria Scandal', 1 April 1979: 10.

The accusation was true. In 1979, Eschel M. Rhodie, secretary of the Department of Information and close associate of van den Bergh and Mulder,⁴⁰¹ described a plot involving van den Bergh which could be construed as a bid for power. Rhodie claimed that before Vorster resigned, he (Rhodie), van den Bergh and Mulder planned to install Mulder as Vorster's successor, then form a triumvirate at the head of the nation's affairs.⁴⁰² As result of the scandal, van den Bergh was forced to resign and retire. BOSS was subsequently renamed as Department of National Security (DONS), headed by Dr. Niel Barnard.⁴⁰³ Van den Bergh faded from public view, farming broiler chickens quietly for two more decades before dying at Bronkhorstpruit, Pretoria, on August 16, 1997. He was eighty-three.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰¹ Sanders, *South Africa and the International Media, 1972-1979: A Struggle for Representation*, p. 72.

⁴⁰² Burns, 'Vorster Rejects Allegations in South Africa's Information Scandal', *The New York Times*, 23 March 1979: A3; Sanders, *South Africa and the International Media, 1972-1979: A Struggle for Representation*, p. 61; *TIME*, 'South Africa: Rhodie's Story', 26 March 1979.

⁴⁰³ Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*, p. 64, 77, 161.

⁴⁰⁴ Pogrud, 'Obituary: Lieutenant-General Hendrik van den Bergh: Boss of South Africa's Forces of Oppression', *The Guardian*, 21 August 1997: 17.

Today he is remembered as the sanctioner of assassination and torture on behalf of apartheid and as a consummate blackmailer through his network of spies and informers. Almost anyone who was not a rampant Afrikaner was his enemy. "Tall Hendrik" cast his considerable shadow far beyond South Africa's borders in his hunt for anti-apartheid activists.⁴⁰⁵ He was described by the International Aid and Defence Fund as "a cruel and ruthless man with scant regard either for justice or humanity." Along with Prime Minister Vorster, he was responsible for the torture and death in detention of many opponents of apartheid.⁴⁰⁶ Judge Mostert described van den Bergh as a "sinister figure who saw himself as the power behind the throne of Prime Minister Vorster."⁴⁰⁷ Professor Dan O'Meara said van den Bergh personified "the most paranoid and the most vicious tendencies in Afrikaner nationalism,"⁴⁰⁸ while Helen Suzman described him in Parliament as "South Africa's own Heinrich Himmler."⁴⁰⁹

There were others who thought him plain mad. The best-selling British author and foreign correspondent Frederick Forsyth⁴¹⁰ described a disturbing encounter with van den Bergh, whom he described as "the originator and enforcer of apartheid." Forsyth wrote, "I once found myself enclosed with General van den Bergh, the head of the Bureau of State Security, the dreaded BOSS, and he insisted on telling me a story to prove not only his legitimacy but his sanity as well."⁴¹¹ This is what van den Bergh told Forsyth:

"I was standing once, quite alone on the High Veldt, when a great storm came up. I knew the land was riven with iron ore deposits and lightning strikes would be often and dangerous. So I took shelter under a large mwataba tree. There was an old kaffir standing nearby, also sheltering. The storm raged with biblical intensity. The thunderbolts poured out of the sky and the thunder was enough to deafen me. The tree was struck and split down the middle, its core a smoking ruin. The old kaffir was struck and at once electrocuted. But the storm passed and the sky cleared, and I was not touched. And that was when I knew that the hand of God was upon me."

⁴⁰⁵ Braid, 'Obituary: Hendrik van den Bergh', *The Independent*, 20 August 1997: 12.

⁴⁰⁶ International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 15.

⁴⁰⁷ *The Globe and Mail*, 'Secret Life of Pretoria', 6 April 1979: 6; *The New York Times*, 'Acid General is Key to Pretoria Scandal', 1 April 1979: 10.

⁴⁰⁸ O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*, p. 211.

⁴⁰⁹ Winter, *Inside BOSS: South Africa's Secret Police*, p. 26; House of Assembly [South Africa], *Debates*, (8 December 1978).

⁴¹⁰ Author of, among others, *The Day of the Jackal* (1971), *The Odessa File* (1972) and *The Dogs of War* (1974).

⁴¹¹ Frederick Forsyth, *The Outsider: My Life in Intrigue*, (London: Bantam Press, 2015), p. 334-335.

Forsyth concluded that the “master of one of the most brutal secret police forces in the world” was “mad as a frog.”⁴¹²

GENERAL VAN DEN BERGH'S INTERROGATION

General van den Bergh spent the evening of September 6 and some of the following day interrogating Tsafendas, while Security Police officers in Cape Town worked through the night on the investigation.⁴¹³ Unfortunately, the transcript of Tsafendas's interrogation by General van den Bergh has gone missing from the National Archives and has never been seen by the author. As we will later see and discuss, this is hardly surprising, as a number of very important documents have disappeared from the Archives over the years; the most recent case being that of Ahmed Timol. The author found in the archives the transcripts of two of the statements which Tsafendas gave to the police and to Major Rossouw, but not the one that was taken by General van den Bergh on that first day.

Tsafendas's interrogation by General van den Bergh is not his only missing statement. The two statements Tsafendas gave to the Commission of Enquiry have also disappeared. According to the Commission's report, Tsafendas gave evidence twice; on October 25 and November 11.⁴¹⁴ Neither of these statements can be traced. Apart from the written statements, the Dictaphone recordings of these two testimonies are also missing. It would be a remarkable coincidence for both copies, one typed and one recorded for each of the testimonies, to disappear, whether by accident or incompetence.

Furthermore, the report of the Commission of Enquiry stated that “one hundred and five persons, including Tsafendas himself, gave oral evidence before the Commission.”⁴¹⁵ However, fewer than half of these witnesses' statements were found in the archives. The surprising thing is that in most cases where a typed statement survived, so did the recording; but where a typed statement went missing, the recording did, too. It is not unusual for documents to go missing from archives for a variety of reasons, but it strains credulity that in every case where a written statement disappeared, so, too, did the accompanying recording. The issue of the missing statements will be discussed in detail later in this chapter and in Chapter 6.

⁴¹² Forsyth, *The Outsider: My Life in Intrigue*, p. 334-335.

⁴¹³ *Daily Dispatch*, 'All Night Work', 7 September 1966: 1; *The Cape Times*, 'Riddle of Dr. Verwoerd's Assassin', 7 September 1966: 1; *Pretoria News*, 'Security Men Work All Night', 7 September 1966: 1.

⁴¹⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraphs 18-19.

⁴¹⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter I, Paragraph 4.

The fact that General van den Bergh personally interrogated Tsafendas is confirmed by multiple sources. First of all, the General himself admitted in 1976 that he had done so: he said, "I can tell you that no person in South African history has ever been interrogated as much as Demitrios Tsafendas. I sat talking to him the whole evening [of the assassination] and right through the night. I wanted to know everything about this man and quizzed him on everything under the sun – including the remote possibility that he had been 'programmed' by drugs, or even hypnosis, to kill, or if he had been a hired assassin."⁴¹⁶ John Vorster later also stated that General van den Bergh had questioned Tsafendas, adding that "if a man does not break after forty-eight hours of van den Bergh's questioning, then you know that he does not know a thing".⁴¹⁷ In addition, in two interrogation transcripts of Tsafendas from later dates, there are references to van den Bergh's interrogation. In his first statement on September 11, Tsafendas refers explicitly to van den Bergh's interrogation, saying, "I must have made a mistake by telling General van den Bergh this."⁴¹⁸ On September 19, in his second recorded statement, Major Rossouw, who is conducting the interrogation, tells Tsafendas: "You told Gen. van den Bergh about a girl you were interested in ..."⁴¹⁹

The transcript of van den Bergh's interrogation was originally lodged in the National Archives of South Africa in Pretoria, along with the two found by the author, but it went missing around the time of the TRC hearings. As far as the author can tell, at least four persons have seen this transcript: Terry Bell, an investigative journalist and anti-apartheid activist; David Beresford, foreign correspondent in South Africa for Britain's *Guardian* newspaper; Liza Key, a researcher and filmmaker who made a documentary about Tsafendas; and Jan-Ake Kjellberg, a Senior Police Adviser at the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, and an investigator in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's National Investigative Unit. All four, in personal interviews with the author, spoke at length about the contents of the interrogation transcript. They were unanimous, that Tsafendas told the general he had killed Dr. Verwoerd because he "did not agree with his policies", that there was nothing in the transcript to suggest that Tsafendas was not sane, and that van den Bergh was

⁴¹⁶ Gordon Winter, 'Tsafendas was Ineffective Red-Van den Bergh', *The Citizen*, 26 October 1976.

⁴¹⁷ D'Oliveira, *Vorster – The Man*, p. 180.

⁴¹⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴¹⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

most interested in finding out whether Tsafendas had any accomplices or discussed his intentions with anyone.⁴²⁰

The first person known to the author to have access to the document is Jan-Ake Kjellberg. It was during his work as an investigator for the TRC in 1997 that he came across the document in Tsafendas's police file. Kjellberg told the author that the interrogation transcript indicated that although Tsafendas told van den Bergh that he had killed Dr. Verwoerd because he "disagreed with him" and "his policies", the general was more interested in whether Tsafendas had any accomplices and whether he had discussed the assassination with anyone else. Kjellberg also said that there was nothing strange in the statement or anything to suggest that Tsafendas might not be sane.⁴²¹

Around the same time as Kjellberg saw the transcript, it was also accessed by David Beresford and Liza Key. Key, in her 1997 documentary *A Question of Madness*, and Beresford in articles in the *Guardian* in 1997 and 1999, made reference to Tsafendas's statement to General van den Bergh and subsequent statements by Tsafendas while he was in custody. Both emphasised in their works that the police had tried persistently to make Tsafendas say that the tapeworm "ordered him" to kill Dr. Verwoerd, but Tsafendas insisted that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he "disagreed with his policies."⁴²²

In an article in the *Guardian* in 1999, Beresford wrote, "Although there were attempts by police, during interrogation, to suggest to him [Tsafendas] that he believed a tapeworm had 'ordered' him to carry out the killing, he never seems to have made the claim himself."⁴²³ In the 1999 article in the *Guardian*, Beresford wrote, "Police interrogators, try though they did, never managed to get his admission that the worm talked to him, much less ordered the murder of the prime minister of the Republic of South Africa."⁴²⁴ Key, in her documentary, said exactly the same thing as Beresford, adding that Tsafendas had also said he had killed Dr. Verwoerd because he "disagreed with his policies."⁴²⁵ Both Beresford and Key reaffirmed to the author what they had said in their work about Tsafendas. Both also told the author that Tsafendas always maintained to them when they interviewed him over several

⁴²⁰ Terry Bell in a personal interview, 10 April 2015; David Beresford in a personal interview, 11 April 2014; Liza Key in a personal interview, 2 April 2015; Jan-Ake Kjellberg in a personal interview, 5 March 2015.

⁴²¹ Jan-Ake Kjellberg in a personal interview, 5 March 2015.

⁴²² David Beresford, 'Inside Story: The Madness that Destroyed Apartheid', *The Guardian*, 6 November 1997: 6-7; David Beresford, 'Dimitri Tsafendas: Long-Jailed Assassin of South African Premier', *The Guardian*, 11 October 1999: 18; *A Question of Madness*.

⁴²³ Beresford, 'Dimitri Tsafendas: Long-Jailed Assassin of South African Premier', *The Guardian*, 11 October 1999: 18.

⁴²⁴ Beresford, 'Inside Story: The Madness that Destroyed Apartheid', *The Guardian*, 6 November 1997.

⁴²⁵ *A Question of Madness*.

hours that he had killed Dr. Verwoerd because he “disagreed with his policies,” and he never said to them that the tapeworm had anything to do with it, nor was there anything to suggest that Tsafendas was not sane.⁴²⁶

Terry Bell was given a copy of Tsafendas’s interrogation transcript by Kjellberg while the latter worked for the TRC. In his 2003 book *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*, co-authored with advocate and TRC Commissioner Dumisa Buhle Ntsebeza, it is stated that Tsafendas, according to the transcript of the interview, gave as his reason for killing Dr. Verwoerd the fact that he “didn’t agree with him.” Furthermore, still according to Bell and Ntsebeza, the transcript showed that Tsafendas had mentioned the notorious tapeworm only in passing, when asked about his hospitalizations, and he replied that he had suffered from tapeworm infestation. According to the authors, the transcript indicated that van den Bergh was more interested in whether Tsafendas had any accomplices and whether he had discussed the assassination with anyone else.⁴²⁷ In a personal interview with the author, Bell confirmed in detail the contents of Tsafendas’s first interrogation as reported in his book and as stated by Beresford and Key in their respective works.⁴²⁸

Further confirmation of the content of the first statement comes from Michalis Michelis, a prominent and now retired Greek journalist. In 1988, Michelis published an article about Tsafendas in the Greek political magazine *Scholiastis*, which was subsequently cited by *Eleftherotipia*, the biggest and most reliable newspaper in Greece at the time. The article was titled “I Did My Duty, What About You?”⁴²⁹ It was based on interviews which Michelis conducted in South Africa and elsewhere with people who knew Tsafendas. Among them were the South African writer, painter and anti-apartheid activist Breyten Breytenbach, who was with Tsafendas in “Beverly Hills,” a section in Pretoria Prison, Dimitris Kalogirou, who gave Tsafendas a reference in Durban in 1965 and who knew him since he was a child, and Dimitris Apostolidis, who knew Tsafendas in Durban. Michelis also interviewed a retired Afrikaner policeman who was present in the police station in Caledon Square when Tsafendas was detained there after the assassination. The policeman told Michelis he saw Tsafendas almost every day and spoke to him on some occasions.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁶ David Beresford in a personal interview, 11 April 2014; Liza Key in a personal interview, 2 April 2015.

⁴²⁷ Bell and Ntsebeza, *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*, p. 56-57.

⁴²⁸ Terry Bell in a personal interview, 10 April 2015.

⁴²⁹ Michelis, “Δημήτρης Τσαφέντας: Έκανα το Καθήκον Μου ... Εσείς;”, p. 14-15.

⁴³⁰ Michalis Michelis in a personal interview, 12 December 2015.

Michelis did not disclose in his article the name of the policeman because the interview was given on condition of anonymity. The policeman told Michelis that he “never heard Tsafendas saying anything about the tapeworm” and that “he seemed to be perfectly sane.” He also added that “none of the policemen thought Tsafendas might be insane.” The policeman said Tsafendas told them that he considered it his “duty” to kill Dr. Verwoerd, hence the title of the article, because he believed him to be a “tyrant and a dictator who was oppressing his people.” Tsafendas would repeat exactly the same statement in the mid-1990s to Fathers Minas Constandinou, Spiros Randos and Ioannis Tsafaridis. He told them the assassination was morally and politically justifiable because Dr. Verwoerd was a dictator and a tyrant. He said that he had the “chance to kill the tyrant who had created apartheid,” that it was his “social responsibility,” indeed a “duty,” and he would have regretted it all his life if he had not acted when he had the chance.⁴³¹ A detailed account of what Tsafendas told the priests is given in the following chapter.

Tsafendas had also characterised a hypothetical assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as “justifiable” on grounds that he was “a dictator and a tyrant,” when he talked to a group of *Eleni* crew members three days before the actual assassination. Tsafendas characterised Dr. Verwoerd as a tyrant and a dictator when he was interrogated by Major Rossouw on September 11, 1966 and though he did not use those exact words that was clearly what he meant. He said that in his mind, Dr. Verwoerd was not the real representative of his country. “I wanted to see a government representing all the South African people. I do not think the nationalist Government is representative of the people and I wanted to see a different government.”⁴³²

Furthermore, according to Michelis, quoting the South African policeman, Tsafendas had said that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he had created apartheid and he hoped that his death could bring an end to it sooner or later.⁴³³ Tsafendas told Major Rossouw on September 11 that he had killed Dr. Verwoerd because he believed “a change of policy would take place” after his death.⁴³⁴ Finally, still according to Michelis quoting the South African policeman, Tsafendas said, “I don’t care what you will do to me, kill me.”⁴³⁵ Tsafendas

⁴³¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴³² Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴³³ Michalis Michelis in a personal interview, 12 December 2015.

⁴³⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴³⁵ Michelis, “Δημήτρης Τσαφέντας: Έκανα το Καθήκον Μου ... Εσείς;”, p. 15.

would twice repeat an almost similar sentiment while he was interrogated. When he was interrogated by Major Rossouw on September 11, 1966, he said, "I did not care about the consequences for what would happen to me afterwards. I was so disgusted with the racial policy that I went through with my plans to kill the Prime Minister."⁴³⁶ On September 19, Tsafendas told the Major, "I never thought about hiding if I had to do the job with a knife. I didn't have much of a chance of getting away when using a knife. I didn't care much and didn't give it a second thought that I would be caught."⁴³⁷ Tsafendas also told other witnesses after the assassination that he "did not care what would happen" to him and that he knew he was going to be executed.⁴³⁸

The marked similarity between what Michelis wrote in 1988 and what Tsafendas told Major Rossouw on two occasions clearly indicates that Michelis's policeman was present when Tsafendas was in custody in Caledon Square police station. Michelis could not otherwise have known the content of Tsafendas's words, since the interrogation transcripts only became publicly available in the mid-1990s, long after the policeman was interviewed by Michelis and had his article published. Only someone who was present at the time could have known what Tsafendas told the police then.

Perhaps the strongest evidence that the policeman was present when Tsafendas was held in custody came from the fact that he told Michelis that Tsafendas was visited in his cell by a Greek-South African policeman. Michelis traced then this policeman, but he declined to talk to him.⁴³⁹ However, Tsafendas later told Fathers Minas Constandinou and Spiros Randos that a Greek-South African policeman had indeed visited him while he was in custody,⁴⁴⁰ thus confirming that Michelis's police informant had to be in the police station to witness this. We will talk later in this chapter about the role of the Greek-South African policeman in the case.

According to Tsafendas, van den Bergh interrogated him all night and he was not tortured or harassed when the General was present; van den Bergh was very polite, offered

⁴³⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴³⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴³⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴³⁹ Michalis Michelis in a personal interview, 12 December 2015.

⁴⁴⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

him a cigarette, which he turned down, and water, which he accepted. However the General refused to let him sleep, saying he would sleep only when the interrogation was concluded.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

TSAFENDAS'S LEGAL REPRESENTATION

Soon after his arrest, though the author is not in position to know exactly when, Tsafendas formally requested that the well-known anti-apartheid activist and human rights lawyer, Advocate George Bizos, should be appointed to defend him in forthcoming legal proceedings. Tsafendas had not met Advocate Bizos, but was well acquainted with his work as a defence lawyer at political trials and had a very warm relationship with his father, Antonis Bizos. Receiving no response, Tsafendas repeated his request, but the result remained the same.⁴⁴² He did not see a lawyer until September 26, when he had been in custody for twenty days, and the lawyer was not Advocate Bizos but a defence team appointed by the State.

According to Advocate George Bizos, he was never contacted by the State or anyone else about representing Tsafendas, although it was a prisoner's legal right to be defended by a lawyer of his choice. Bizos was not surprised since he was himself *persona non grata* with the State. Not long before the assassination, Police Minister John Vorster's personal lawyer, by name of Krueger, had transmitted a warning from Vorster to Bizos that "his leash is getting shorter."⁴⁴³

The rejection of Tsafendas's request for the politically active Bizos to be his defence counsel was mirrored years earlier in the case of Nelson Mandela. Prohibitions against lawyers who had defended anti-government leaders meant that many accused persons were robbed of their right to the counsel of their choice. Mandela's defence counsel was threatened with imprisonment unless he left the trial precincts. This prompted Mandela to address the presiding magistrate as follows: "It is my duty to make this point: One of the few rights left to the Black man in this country is the right to choose his own Counsel. I suspect a deliberate decision to deprive me of Counsel of my own choosing. This is not a reflection on the State prosecutor. I think it is a high-level conspiracy to make it difficult for me to prepare for this trial."⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴⁴³ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

⁴⁴⁴ A Distinguished South African Lawyer, *Verwoerd's Police State*, p. 8-10.

The Police Investigation

Tsafendas Tortured in Detention

TSAFENDAS TORTURED WHILE IN DETENTION**INTRODUCTION**⁴⁴⁵

The TRC found that torture “was the dominant form of violation” by the apartheid police during the 1960s.⁴⁴⁶ In Chapter 1, we saw how the apartheid police brutally tortured, even murdered, detainees during the 1960s (and, of course, it continued to do so until the fall of apartheid). Through the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 (the 90-day detention law), the police were given the power to detain individuals without charge and to use solitary confinement.⁴⁴⁷ In 1965, the 90 days were doubled and thus became the 180-day law. From June 1963 to September 1966 three detainees under this law, the same law under which Tsafendas was held, “killed themselves” while in police custody.⁴⁴⁸ In total, between 1960 and 1969, twenty prisoners died in detention. Of these deaths, eleven were labelled suicides and seven the result of natural causes, of which two were described as “slipping” accidents and one an accidental fall down stairs.⁴⁴⁹

As we also saw in Chapter 1, detainees were routinely tortured for lesser crimes than those of Tsafendas. In 1976, Prime Minister John Vorster revealed that General van den Bergh had questioned Tsafendas for forty-eight hours, adding that “if a man does not break after forty-eight hours of van den Bergh’s questioning, then you know that he does not know a thing.”⁴⁵⁰ Van den Bergh himself claimed that “no person in South African history has ever been interrogated as much as Demitrios Tsafendas.”⁴⁵¹ Given that the police of the apartheid era were notorious for their use of torture during questioning, we must assume that some violence was inflicted on Tsafendas. After all, he was interrogated more than any other prisoner during the apartheid years and he had committed the greatest possible crime by killing the architect of apartheid. As for Vorster’s statement regarding van den Bergh’s efficiency during interrogation, it could probably safely be interrupted as an allusion to torture by van den Bergh and his men. Tsafendas was not the first or last prisoner to be tortured by the apartheid police, nor were the techniques used reserved for him only. As we will see, most of what happened to Tsafendas was simply routine and the torture techniques

⁴⁴⁵ For a more detailed account of torture during apartheid see Chapter 1.

⁴⁴⁶ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Three*, p. 530.

⁴⁴⁷ Eades, *The End of Apartheid in South Africa*, p. 16.

⁴⁴⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Three 180-Day Detainees Have Killed Themselves’, 28 January 1967: 2; Sachs, *The Violence of Apartheid*, p. 26.

⁴⁴⁹ Fullard, ‘State Repression in the 1960s’, p. 362.

⁴⁵⁰ D’Oliveira, *Vorster – The Man*, p. 180.

⁴⁵¹ Winter, ‘Tsafendas was Ineffective Red-Van den Bergh’, *The Citizen*, 26 October 1976.

used on him, apart from the mock hanging, as far as the author can tell, were employed routinely by the apartheid police, especially the use of electric shocks.

THE TORTURE

On September 26, 1966, twenty days after the assassination, David Bloomberg, one of Tsafendas's lead lawyers, visited him for the first time. He said Tsafendas had "some facial injuries" which Major Cerff, the police officer who accompanied Bloomberg to the cell, claimed had "occurred during the struggle to subdue him in Parliament." Bloomberg "doubted this explanation since three weeks had elapsed since the assassination", but he decided he would "not reveal" his "misgivings" as "the injuries appear to be superficial."⁴⁵²

The assumption is that Bloomberg would have taken action over more serious injuries. However, Bloomberg was not a doctor and not qualified to determine whether or not the injuries were superficial. Further, since Tsafendas was fully dressed, Bloomberg could not know if Tsafendas carried injuries to his body, such as would be caused by beating or electric shocks. The use of violence and electrical shock torture was widespread at the time, as Bloomberg, a lawyer, should have known. Lyttelton Mngqlikana, who was held in Vooruitsig Prison in 1964, stated that the warders were "careful not to hit a prisoner on parts of the body which would show. It was futile to complain about a beating unless a prisoner could show marks."⁴⁵³

During a subsequent visit, Bloomberg again found Tsafendas with "visible injuries."⁴⁵⁴ He has given two different descriptions of this encounter. According to his 1997 account in Liza Key's documentary *A Question of Madness*, he discovered Tsafendas "huddled in a corner and badly bruised." Bloomberg said Tsafendas told him that a "madman, in his own words, got into his cell during the night and had beaten him up." Then "after further investigation, not only from the police, but around the town," Bloomberg discovered that on the night of the beating, a very famous horse trainer⁴⁵⁵ had been out drinking with a very senior policeman. At the end of their drinking binge, the men went to the police station where Tsafendas was held and the "horse trainer was allowed into the cell and performed

⁴⁵² David Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, (Simon's Town: Fernwood Press, 2007), p. 74-75.

⁴⁵³ International Defence and Aid Fund, *South African Prisons and the Red Cross Investigation*, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1967), p. 43.

⁴⁵⁴ David Bloomberg in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

⁴⁵⁵ By coincidence, Abe Bloomberg, David Bloomberg's father, was president of a racecourse club in Cape Town. Judge Beyers was a board member of this club and a friend of Abe Bloomberg (Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016).

what I,⁴⁵⁶ what he, probably thought was a very loyal act and beat him up.” Bloomberg said the horse trainer had to be restrained from beating Tsafendas even more. In effect, Bloomberg attributed Tsafendas’s injuries to an unnamed individual who had somehow gained access to the cell. Not only did he absolve the police of any blame, he credited them with preventing Tsafendas from being more severely beaten.⁴⁵⁷

In his 2007 memoir *My Times*, Bloomberg downplayed the incident. In this version, Tsafendas is not “badly bruised,” but only had “some scratches and minor bruising on his face.” Bloomberg claimed that Tsafendas told him he was woken in the middle of the night by a police officer and a man in civilian clothes. The man in civilian clothes “suddenly rushed at him and started punching him and the officer intervened to restrain him and the two then left.” According to Bloomberg, the duty officer “denied that any unauthorised person could possibly have been allowed into this high security part of the police station and said that Tsafendas must have had a dream.” Bloomberg did not enquire how it was possible to acquire facial injuries by dreaming.⁴⁵⁸

This was the second time Bloomberg had found Tsafendas with facial injuries and again he did nothing. Instead of asking for a doctor to examine Tsafendas’s face and body, he ignored the matter. Judges Gerald Friedman and Robin Marais, both of whom were practising counsel then and had no connection with the case, thought that it would ordinarily be the duty of a lawyer to whom a client complained of having been assaulted while in continuing police custody to take the matter up with higher authority and, if material physical evidence of assault was still detectable, to require a medical examination to take place.⁴⁵⁹

According to Advocate George Bizos and Professor John Dugard given the seriousness of Tsafendas’s offence, and because of the police’s reputation for torture and brutality, Bloomberg should have asked that Tsafendas be examined by a doctor to determine if there were other injuries and if the facial injuries were indeed only superficial.⁴⁶⁰ Professor John Dugard told the author:

“You must remember the environment of the time in South Africa. The mid-sixties were undoubtedly the worst period in South Africa for that kind of treatment. And so I think

⁴⁵⁶ This is exactly what David Bloomberg said. The ‘I’ must have been a slip of his tongue.

⁴⁵⁷ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 82.

⁴⁵⁸ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 82.

⁴⁵⁹ Judge Gerald Friedman in a personal interview, 18 August 2016; Judge Robin Marais in a personal interview, 3 June 2016.

⁴⁶⁰ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

that lawyers... I don't know Bloomberg at all, but I know that lawyers were afraid to raise complaints of this kind. In my book on it, I mentioned the handful of lawyers who I thought were good, brave lawyers, and Wilfrid Cooper was one. So I would have expected him to raise it. He certainly would have. But other lawyers, advocates and attorneys were terrified.”⁴⁶¹

Professor Dugard described Bloomberg's claim as “absolute nonsense,”⁴⁶² Judge Robin Marais seriously doubts whether a civilian could have walked through many locked doors and beaten up Tsafendas.⁴⁶³ Judge Gerald Friedman founds the story “unbelievable”⁴⁶⁴ and Advocate George Bizos believes it to be a “lie.”⁴⁶⁵

Tsafendas later told several people that he was tortured severely by the police while in custody, both mentally and physically, and he described the torture in detail. Those he talked to include the cinematographer Liza Key, journalist David Beresford, Alexander Moumbaris,⁴⁶⁶ a member of Umkhonto We Sizwe and fellow prisoner in Pretoria Maximum Security Prison, and priests⁴⁶⁷ who visited him in prison and later in the two hospitals (Pretoria prison hospital and Sterkfontein), namely, Fathers Minas Constandinou and Spiros Randos and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis.⁴⁶⁸ The South African policeman who was present while Tsafendas was held in Caledon Square Police Station told Michalis Michelis that Tsafendas was “badly tortured” while in custody, but he only mentioned severe beatings.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶¹ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

⁴⁶² Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

⁴⁶³ Judge Robin Marais in a personal interview, 3 June 2016.

⁴⁶⁴ Judge Gerald Friedman in a personal interview, 18 August 2016.

⁴⁶⁵ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

⁴⁶⁶ Alexander Moumbaris, born in Egypt to Greek parents in 1938, was arrested in 1972 on the Botswana border, along with his two-to-three months' pregnant French wife Marie-Jose, while he was attempting to smuggle MK fighters into South Africa. He was charged under the Terrorism Act, and was found guilty of conspiring with the ANC to instigate violent revolution in South Africa, of aiding “terrorists,” of distributing ANC pamphlets in Durban in 1968 and of reconnoitring the Transkei to find places for seaborne landings. He was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment. He was sent to Pretoria Central Prison, from where he escaped in December 1979, along with fellow political prisoners and anti-apartheid activists Stephen Lee and Tim Jenkins. During the 1980s, he ran the ANC office in Paris. For his efforts in the anti-apartheid struggle he was later awarded the national order of Grand Companion of O.R. Tambo Medal and the Sabotage Campaign Medal (Keable, *London Recruits: The Secret War against Apartheid*, p. 122-131; Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017; Pike, *A History of Communism in South Africa*, p. 474-478). For Moumbaris's activities in South Africa see Keable, K. (ed.) (2012) *London Recruits: The Secret War against Apartheid*. For the amazing story of Moumbaris's escape see Jenkin, T. (2003) *Inside Out: Escape from Pretoria Prison*.

⁴⁶⁷ Tsafendas was also visited during the late 1980s and early 1990s by a fourth priest, Father Michalis Visvinis. Father Michalis was extensively interviewed several times by the author on the condition that what he said would not be published. He agreed to talk in order to “point the author to the right direction.” Everything he said is completely compatible with what Tsafendas told his three fellow priests and several other witnesses.

⁴⁶⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴⁶⁹ Michalis Michelis in a personal interview, 12 December 2015.

According to Tsafendas, he was never tortured while “the General” was present. The “only thing” that van den Bergh insisted upon was that Tsafendas should not be allowed to sleep until the interrogation was finished.⁴⁷⁰ The no-sleep tactic was not a first. Bram Fischer, who defended Nelson Mandela at the 1963-64 Rivonia trial, was captured after a woman he knew was interrogated and threatened for seventy hours non-stop.⁴⁷¹ Tsafendas said that at first his torture was designed to find out more about him and whether he had any accomplices, but later it simply became revenge for his killing of Dr. Verwoerd.⁴⁷²

Tsafendas claimed that while in custody in Caledon Square Police Station, policemen would enter his cell several times a day and kick him and beat him with their fists and legs. There was no bed and he was forced to lie, often naked, and handcuffed, on the concrete floor. Sometimes, he would be put in a straitjacket and beaten, and this continued after he was transferred to prison. Tsafendas also said that he was given electric shocks. He described a small wooden box with wires, which he said the police used to electrocute him after they had removed some of his clothes. At the same time, they poured water over him to heighten the shock while tightening a burlap sack or a plastic bag around his head, causing a suffocating effect. He often lost consciousness and when he came to found himself half-naked on the floor. Tsafendas admitted, crying, that a few times he realised he had urinated on himself. He wore the same soiled clothes day after day and was only given clean clothes and allowed to have a bath when he was seen by his defence team or was examined by doctors.⁴⁷³

In addition to purely physical violence, Tsafendas was subjected to a series of mock hangings, which combined bodily and psychological torture. Almost every day, starting about a week after his arrest, Tsafendas would be taken blindfolded and with his hands tied, to another room. On the way there, the policemen shouted, “Now, you bastard, now your time has come.” Inside the room, they placed him on a chair with a rope around his neck. They then asked him if he had a last wish. A few seconds later they pulled the chair from under him, leaving him hanging from the rope. Tsafendas dangled for a few seconds in mid-air while the policemen shouted and laughed, before they loosed the rope and let him fall. Once on the floor he was kicked and beaten again. He was told that his time had not come yet, but

⁴⁷⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁴⁷¹ Peires, *The Holocaust and Apartheid: Similarities and Differences A Comparative Study*, p. 107.

⁴⁷² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴⁷³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

that he was not going to get out of there alive. After a few days of this, Tsafendas did not have the strength to stand and the police had to carry him into the “hanging” room.⁴⁷⁴

In another form of psychological torture, Tsafendas was subject to pretended defenestrations; he was taken to the window in a different room where the police threatened to throw him out, saying they would claim he had tried to escape.⁴⁷⁵ In Chapter 1, we saw that Abdullay Jassat, arrested in 1963, described a similar method of torture: he was also given electric shocks and was severely beaten.⁴⁷⁶ As far as the author can establish, all the torture techniques used on Tsafendas, apart from the mock hanging, were widely used by the enforcers of apartheid. They have been described in Chapter 1, with several cases provided as examples.

⁴⁷⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁴⁷⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁴⁷⁶ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Two*, p. 539.

THE POLICE INVESTIGATION

What follows is a detailed diary of the police investigation that followed the assassination. It contains all the statements made by persons interrogated about Tsafendas, correspondence of the police and the government with various agencies and foreign governments, embassies' reports, police reports, an account of the PIDE's role and many of the press reports for each day.

WEDNESDAY, 7 SEPTEMBER 1966

STATEMENTS

The morning after the assassination, September 7, 1966, General van den Bergh continued his interrogation of Tsafendas while his men began interviewing people who knew the accused. At the same time, the police contacted the PIDE in Mozambique for information about Tsafendas.⁴⁷⁷ That day, the first full day of the investigation, at least eleven people⁴⁷⁸ were questioned and they are the following:

MARIKA MICHAEL TSAFANTAKIS⁴⁷⁹

I am the widow of the late Michael Tsafandakis who died at Pretoria on 14.2.62, and lives at No. 1 in Fatti's Building, in Paul Cruger Street, Pretoria. I married Michael Tsafandakis in 1920 in Port Said, Egypt and we moved to Lourenço Marques during 1921. At the time of our marriage I heard that Michael had a child with another woman, Amelia William. The child was then living with Michael's mother in Alexandria, Egypt. This child was named Demitrio Tsafendas. According to a birth certificate which I now produce, he was born at Lourenço Marques during July 1918. In 1924 the grandmother wrote to Michael stating that she was ill and unable to care for the child. The child was then brought to Lourenço Marques, where he lived with us and went to school in Lourenço Marques. When the child was approximately ten years old, we sent him to school in Middelburg, Transvaal. As far as I can remember, he attended school at Middelburg between three and five years. I cannot remember the name of the school, but as far as I know it was a government school. Eventually he was brought back to Lourenço Marques and he then attended a Portuguese school.

At the age of fifteen and even before, he was difficult to control and his father often had to punish him in order to get him disciplined. His association with other children at this stage, however, was good. He showed a particular interest in the use of gunpowder and explosives at this stage and at one time nearly blew up our house. Also at this stage I often

⁴⁷⁷ *The Cape Argus*, '180-Day Prison for Tsafendas', 7 September 1966: 1.

⁴⁷⁸ "At least" as some statements have disappeared from the archives and one cannot say for sure how many people were questioned.

⁴⁷⁹ Marika Tsafantakis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

found him gazing in space and when I asked him what he was doing, his reply was that he was thinking.

He left school at the age of about sixteen and refused to attend further school. He then started work as a shop assistant and in his spare time took up boxing. He became a particularly good boxer and took part in many tournaments. I do not know him ever to have been injured in boxing. I remember that he was suffering from malaria over a period of years. He however never had blackwater fever. I also remember having taken him to a doctor at the age of about seven-eight years old as one of his teeth took too long to come out. The doctor then told me that this child was showing tendencies of idiocy.

During 1936 he was offered employment by a British firm, apparently building a base or an aerodrome in Mozambique, on account of him being able to speak English and Portuguese. I then lost trace of the accused and my husband and I moved to Johannesburg during 1937. During 1939 he however turned up at my home in Johannesburg and stayed with us until 1940. He at that time tried to get permanent residence in South Africa. Before this was finalised, he left for Durban and took up employment on a ship. I saw him for the first time in 1963 when he came to Lourenço Marques. During this period I received letters from him from all over the world and he was always asking for money.

When he returned during 1963 he told me that he wanted to settle down and he wanted me to help him. I then caused him to come to South Africa and he subsequently got permanent residence in the Republic. In Pretoria he took up employment with Poole's engineering as a welder and general maintenance. He did not live with us while working in Pretoria. Within a year he disappeared again and I never saw him again. The Greek legation in Lisbon at one time wrote to me that the accused was imprisoned in Lisbon but I do not know what for. I also heard from friends that he was at one stage in prison in Lourenço Marques. I also believe that he was in prison in Beira about two years ago.

I do not know to which religion the accused belongs. He however often mentioned that he is a Christian. As far as I know, the accused never showed any tendencies towards violence or criminality. The accused also told me that the ship he was working on during the war was torpedoed. As far as I know the accused was in America, Portugal, Egypt, Germany, Palestine, South Arabia at one or other stages of his life. I do not know the accused to be in any way politically inclined. He has never discussed politics with me. As far as politics is concerned, the Portuguese Government would be in position to furnish more definite

information.

Pretoria 7.9.66. (SGD) J.W. Strumpher. Justice of the Peace.

COMMENTS ON MARIKA TSAFANTAKIS'S STATEMENT

Marika naturally revealed that she was aware that he was imprisoned in Beira, as she could not have done otherwise with such a well-known incident. She also volunteered that her stepson had had an interest in explosives as a teenager, and “nearly blew up” their house, as this too was such a well-known event among the Greek community in Lourenço Marques that the police would almost certainly have heard about it. However, she stated that Tsafendas “never discussed politics” with her and that he was not “in any way politically inclined.” As we have already seen, Marika Tsafantakis had often disagreed with her stepson’s political ideas and these ideas and his outspokenness were among the main reasons that he was left behind in Lourenço Marques in 1937 when the family immigrated to South Africa.

According to Katerina Pnefma, Marika’s daughter and Tsafendas’s half-sister, who was in Rhodesia at the time and was questioned there twice after the assassination by the police, her mother deliberately did not mention to the police Dimitri being a Communist nor did she refer to his anti-apartheid ideology. Pnefma told the author that this was something every member of the family did. She said:

“What could she have told them [about Tsafendas’s political ideas]? It was natural for my mother to say that she did not know anything about his political ideas. We all said the same thing: he never discussed politics with us ... how could she and us have told them that he was a Communist? That he was anti-apartheid? That he was anti-colonialist? That he called Dr. Verwoerd ‘bastard,’ ‘Hitler’s student’ and ‘dictator?’ That he has been getting us into trouble because of politics since he was child? They [the police] would have said ‘Why did you bring him here then [to South Africa]? Why didn’t you report him to the police?’ They might have even thought that we had the same ideas as him. Remember these were very difficult times for anyone who was even suspected of being a Communist and anti-apartheid. The Communist Party was illegal at the time in South Africa ... my mother had not only known that he was a political animal, but she had helped him to come to South Africa. Can you imagine what would have happened to her and to us if they knew that we knew that he was Communist and anti-apartheid and we helped him to come to South Africa?”

My poor mother was so terrified that they might find out they had bribed this guy in the Embassy in Lourenço Marques and that they would all go to jail. None of us told the police that he [Tsafendas] was a Communist and anti-apartheid. How could we have said such things then? They might have deported us all or even worse ... who knows what they could have done to us if they had found out that we knew. Even so, it took another twelve years before our application to reside permanently in South Africa was accepted. We had to hire lawyers and appeal several times. We spent a fortune ...⁴⁸⁰

Fotini Gavasiadis, whose brother Nick Vlachopoulos, was Marika's son-in-law, and who became extremely close with Tsafendas over nine months in Pretoria in 1963-1964, also stated that the "family tried to distance themselves as much as possible from Dimitri. They also couldn't admit that Dimitri was a Communist and against apartheid. They all said 'we knew nothing about his political ideas. He never discussed them with us.' They were terrified, absolutely terrified. They did not know what would happen to them."⁴⁸¹

Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas's cousin, who was in Pretoria at the time agreed. She told the author:

"We could not admit we knew [that Tsafendas was a Communist and anti-apartheid], especially about what he thought about Dr. Verwoerd [being a dictator and a tyrant]. You could not have admitted any of these things, we would have been into big trouble... They [the family] could not have hidden that they drove all the way to Lourenço Marques to pick him up and bring him back to South Africa. All their friends knew and the police would have easily found out. Yes, just like Katerina said, they [the police] would have said, 'Why did you help him come to South Africa when you knew his political ideas?' It was a very difficult time even for us [her own family]."⁴⁸²

Finally, Marika testified to the Commission of Enquiry on October 21, 1966. According to Judge van Wyk of the Commission, this is what she told him:

"Tsafendas was favoured over the other children and sent to Middelburg because Portuguese children could only receive a proper education either there or in Swaziland. After he returned from Middelburg, he was again sent to a Portuguese school... She had heard that Demitrio had worked at a café, but that he only worked intermittently and that he had been sent back to Lourenço Marques around 1937 or 1938 after the Police had been summoned as

⁴⁸⁰ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁸¹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

⁴⁸² Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

he had been accused of being a Communist. In 1963 someone phoned Mrs. Tsafandakis from Lourenço Marques to tell her that Demitrio had asked her to intervene in bringing him back to his family. She had felt it to be her duty to do so as Tsafendas's father had died. Tsafendas never talked to the family about his tape worm. According to them, he was definitely not insane. He always had proper accommodation in Pretoria. According to his stepmother, Tsafendas only learned that he had coloured origins when he looked for work at the aircraft factory. He had grown up as one of her children. He was depressed after he had learned about this, but never said anything about it."⁴⁸³

ROBERT HARPUR SMITH⁴⁸⁴

White male, aged 64 years, Durban.

I am an adult White pensioner and now reside at the above address. From March, 1965, until December, 1965, I was employed as Night Clerk at the reception office of the Durban Men's Home, 160 Queen Street, Durban. During this period I was also residing on the premises. On 21.6.1965 a White Male, Demitrio Tsafendas, I.D. No. 963/081129 (W), obtained accommodation at the said Men's Home. On 24.8.1965 Demitrio Tsafendas left the home.

During his period I often used to converse with him. He invariably discussed politics and he told me that if this was a Communistic state, there would be no need for a Durban Home because everybody would have sufficient.' He made mention that he had met Mr. Canon Collins and Solly Sachs in London and that they had assisted him. He did not state when that was but I gathered that it must have been fairly recently.

One night I was again approached by Tsafendas and he asked me if I knew what Mr. Arenstein, the solicitor's residential address was. I replied that I did not. Tsafendas stated that there would be a revolution throughout the Western world and that the Communists would rule. He said that the South African Government's policy was "rotten" and often simulated conditions in South Africa with that of Russia, stating, "Look at all the poor people in South Africa, such conditions don't exist in Russia because Russia is a Communistic

⁴⁸³ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴⁸⁴ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

state.”

Tsafendas did not state that he was a Communist but he was definitely pro-Communist. Tsafendas was in my opinion a fanatic on politics and seldomly spoke of anything else. He said that “the United Party and National Party officials and members were capitalistic roughs” and continually stated that the time was drawing closer for a change throughout the world. Eventually Tsafendas’s political philosophy and fanaticism irritated me to such an extent that I would try to avoid him.

About a week before Demitrio Tsafendas left the Men’s Home, he told me that a friend of his would take him to Cape Town but did not give any reason or state where he was going to stay. Demitrio Tsafendas did receive mail at the Men’s Home but this was only a small quantity. I am also aware that he has a large quantity of literature but do not know the nature thereof. Tsafendas did not associate with residents of the Home and kept himself to himself most of the time. I am unable to state what associates he had outside the Home. I never saw Demitrio Tsafendas again after he left the Men’s Home.

The above statement taken by (Sgd.) R.D. Wilson. No. 40205 D/Sergt. Commissioner of Oaths.

Durban 7.9.1966 – 11.20 a.m.

JOHANNES TOBIAS BENADE⁴⁸⁵

White male, Pretoria.

I live at above-mentioned address and am working for City Engineering and Carron, 30 Zeiler Street, Pretoria West. Mr. Dimitri Tsafendas is known to me. From 09/12/63 to 03/02/64 he was working for the same firm as me. He pretended to be a welder fitter. According to the work he delivered, it was clear that he did not have much knowledge on the subject, and as a result he was dismissed on 03/02/64. While he worked here, he did not draw my attention in the political field, although he did seem egotistical. He was even-tempered. He carried out his orders without objections.

⁴⁸⁵ Johannes Tobias Benade statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

*Statement taken by me this 7th of September 1966 in Pretoria. (Sgd.) D.J. Bezuidenhout
D/SGT. Commissioner of Oaths. S.A. Police, Pretoria*

KENNETH HEUGH ROSS⁴⁸⁶

White male, aged 66 years, resident and employed at Durban Men's Home, Durban.

I am a member of the staff of the Durban Men's Home, 160 Queen Street, Durban. The inmates of the Durban Men's Home and the Stores fall under my supervision. I have been employed at the said address since 1960. According to the records maintained by the Home and to which I have access by virtue of my position, Demitrio Tsafendas I.D. No. 963/081129 (W), a White Male, obtained accommodation at the said Home from 21.6.1965 until 24.8.1965. Demitrio Tsafendas was born on 14.1.1919 in Lourenço Marques and by accommodation was an interpreter at the Magistrates Courts. He was also employed at Fraser and Chalmers for a period of two months until 31.5.1965, when he left as a result of an injury sustained in a stabbing incident.

During Demitrio Tsafendas's period of residence in the Durban Men's Home, I became fairly friendly with him. We often discussed his travels, in which he revealed that he had been to Egypt, Angola and many other countries. As far as I can recollect, he never mentioned that he had visited countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Tsafendas often stated that the political position of South Africa was unfair and that everybody should have the right to franchise. He sympathised with the Communistic principle of collectivism and objected to the Communists being banished to Robin-Island [sic] because of their political opinions and actions. In general, Tsafendas opposed to every decision taken by the South African Government and freely voiced his opinion to me.

Tsafendas was very fond of discussing politics and gave me the opinion that he was well versed in politics. He was blatantly opposed to the National Party policy, the policy of the present Government, and was definitely pro-Russian, but did not state that he was a Communist or that Communism was the solution to South Africa's problems. I am aware that

⁴⁸⁶ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Tsafendas possessed a large quantity of literature but did not take note of the names of the books he read.

The above statement taken by (Sgd.) R.D. Wilson. No. 40205 D/Sergt. Commissioner of Oaths.

Durban 7.9.1966 – 10.25 a.m.

CORNELIUS JOHANNES RUDOLPH⁴⁸⁷

I am the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban, and as such I act and arrange for interpreters in the different courts, and if necessary I get or take temporary interpreters in employ where foreign languages are required. I keep a register of interpreters who can interpret in foreign languages. In the register, among other names, is the name Demitrio Tsafendas. About a year ago, the latter approached me and asked whether a suitable vacancy on the staff exists where he can be appointed. I told him that no such vacancy exists and that a Greek or Portuguese interpreter is seldom used in the courts. I was led to believe those were the two languages in which he is proficient. I took his name and address, and wrote it in my register, and also his phone number and promised him that if I need a Greek or Portuguese interpreter, I would get in touch with him.

It happened that I made use of services on several occasions. He was in the habit of regularly reporting two or three times a week to ask whether there is any interpretation work. I got to know him pretty well and would have no trouble identifying him. He later also gave me different addresses where I could contact him, all the addresses are written in my registry. He was away for some time and I did not see him, and upon his return he told me that he worked at Mandeni, Zululand, and he now got work on the Railways. Later he visited me again at the office and told me that he lived at the "Durban Men's Home", 160 Queen Street, and was unemployed. Thereafter he came back to my office and told me that he would now move to Cape Town, because he cannot get work here in Durban. It was about eight months ago. I have not seen him since. I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and intelligent. He spoke English properly.

⁴⁸⁷ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Statement taken by me at Durban this 7th September 1966 at 11.30 a.m. (Sgd.) A. Geysers. No. 72504.

ANTONY MAW⁴⁸⁸

I arrived in Lourenço Marques September 1919 with my wife and a little while later rented a small house in Rua Andrade Corvo. In the semi-detached house next to us lived a Greek, Michael Tsafandakis by name, and a half-caste baby boy named Dimitri of between one and two years of age, and an African girl Maria to look after the latter. The father was employed as fitter and turner at the Buccellato workshop in Rua Lapa.

In 1919 or 1920, the man approached my wife asking her to request a certain Greek lady (Schinas by name) who was about to embark on a sea trip to Athens via Port Said, to take under her wing the baby Dimitri. It was arranged that Mr. Tsafandakis' mother and sister would proceed from Alexandria to meet the boat at Port Said to take delivery of the baby. Dimitri stayed in Alexandria a few years where he attended school and arrived back in Lourenço Marques some years later (I guess between 1926 and 1928) and I have a vague recollection that he attended school in Middelburg (Transvaal). After this period Dimitri lived in Lourenço Marques for some years and then went to sea as a merchant seaman.

A few years after the war, he touched port aboard a steamer and claiming illness was hospitalized here. The local Authorities would not let him stay (on confidential grounds of suspected Communist tendencies) and compelled him to leave by the same steamer. Prior to entering hospital, he approached me and asked in case of death he did not wish rites from a priest or the Church. I did not lay eyes on him again until approximately 2 or 3 or 4 years ago when he called in at my office very unexpectedly. He said he had been all over the world and was here aboard a passenger steamer. He said he was calling on me with a view to obtaining information as to the identity of his mother and the location of her grave. I advised in reply that I remembered only himself as a baby living with his father and an African servant girl.

Sometime later I learnt that he had obtained permission to reside in South Africa. Mr.

⁴⁸⁸ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub File: 1/8. NASA.

Michael Tsafandakis, during Dimitri's sojourn in Egypt, journeyed there and married a Greek girl in Port Said. Both Dimitri's father and step-mother originated from the island of Crete and the family name is Tsafendis or Tsafantis, the father having been known also as Tsafandakis, it being usual for Cretans to append -akie to the family name.

Dimitri's father Michael Tsafandakis and subsequent family lived in Lourenço Marques for some years but immigrated to Pretoria where he was employed at Iscor. A little while after his retirement he died and was buried there. Dimitri Tsafendis (or Tsafandakis) was baptised in Lourenço Marques by a Greek orthodox priest and he was registered in the local Administraçao Civil as a son of Mr. Tsafandakis (or Tsafendis). From 1926 to 1936, I was assistant (honorary) to an eminent local citizen, Mr. P. dos Santos Gil, in respect of his duties as Honorary Consul for Greece (1926-1936) and from 1936 to 1954 (the time when I myself was Honorary Consul for Greece) Dimitri Tsafendis (or Tsafandakis) was never registered in the Consular register as a son of Michael Tsafandakis, and in fact a Greek passport was refused him by me in line with Greek Civil Code. I am ignorant with what nationality and passport he has circulated.

Lourenço Marques, 7th September, 1966.

*Signed by A. Maw (Antony Maw) in my presence this seventh day of September, 1966. (Sgd.)
G.C. Nel*

COMMENTS ON MAW'S STATEMENT

In his statement, Maw uses the phrase "claiming illness" to describe Tsafendas's attempt to enter Lourenço Marques after being denied entry. According to Katerina Pnefma, Maw told her and her father that Tsafendas had "pretended to be suffering from appendicitis" after the Portuguese authorities refused to let him disembark in Lourenço Marques. According to Pnefma, Maw also told her and her father that Tsafendas staged this trick to be allowed off the ship and onto land, where he was taken to a hospital from which he subsequently escaped.⁴⁸⁹ According to Katerina Pnefma, Helen Grispos and Ira Kyriakakis, the fact that

⁴⁸⁹ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

Tsafendas pretended to be suffering from appendicitis in order to enter Mozambique was well known by the all the Greeks in Lourenço Marques.⁴⁹⁰

GARNET VINCENT MULLER⁴⁹¹

I am Senior Running Foreman on the South African Railways at the electric running sheds, Umbilo, Durban. I am resident at 183 Frere Road, Durban – telephone no. 358112.

During the morning of 16th March, 1965, Demitrio Tsafendas, who was up to then unknown to me, arrived at my office and produced a letter from the System Manager's Staff Office, Durban, to report for duty as a shed attendant, under my supervision. From my observations I could see that Demitrio Tsafendas was a foreigner and he informed me at that time, that he was a Portuguese and had then just arrived from Lourenço Marques to seek employment in Durban. On his own accord, Demitrio Tsafendas informed me that the people where he came from are dying from starvation.

Demitrio Tsafendas also informed me that he had no money to pay for his transport to and from work daily and that he also had by then not found accommodation. I collected among my staff and I handed Demitrio Tsafendas the amount of approximately two rand (R2) and I also arranged accommodation for Demitrio Tsafendas at the E.R. CARNEY Hostel at Montclair. He later furnished me with his room no. as 166.

In his capacity as shed attendant, Demitrio Tsafendas's duties consisted of removing jumper cables from between electric unit sets and replacing the jumper cables as and when required. He also had to assist the shedman under whose immediate supervision he worked. Demitrio Tsafendas worked 12-hourly shifts, i.e. 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and every alternative week night shift, i.e. 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. While on day shift, Tsafendas would come under my control as from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. Demitrio Tsafendas worked his last shift from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. on the 7th April, 1965. He did not report for further duties and he was eventually regarded as having absconded from the service as from the 7th April, 1965.

Tsafendas usually conversed in English. He did say to me on an occasion that this job

⁴⁹⁰ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁹¹ Garnet Vincent Muller statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

is unsuitable to him and said he was a boilermaker by trade. He gave me to understand he took on this position on a temporary basis. The position as a shed attendant entailed no academic qualifications and could be undertaken by any person of low school qualification. After having been employed for a few days, I observed Demitrio Tsafendas to possess intelligence above that of the average person who is likely to accept a position with the little responsibility which is attached to that of shed attendant. This is all I know about Tsafendas.

KYRIAKOS SKORDIS⁴⁹²

I am the proprietor of the Cuban Hat Tea Room, North Beach, Durban. I know Demitrio Tsafendas. I cannot remember the date, but it was about a year ago or more, he came to me at the Cuban Hat. At that time I was the president of the Greek Community in Durban and Natal. He introduced himself to me and I asked him where he came from. He told me that he was from Lourenço Marques and that he was looking for a job. I asked him whether he had any relations in the Republic and he said that he had some, but did not tell me who they were, neither did I ask him who they were.

After a few days he came and told me that he was offered a job at the law courts as an interpreter and told me that he know four or five foreign languages. He asked me whether he could use my address to give to the officials at the Court House, so that they could contact him, whenever they needed him through me. I agreed to this. At that time he told me that he had a room at the Parade Rooms. A few days later he informed me that he had obtained accommodation at a hotel off Muagrave Road, Berea. He was contacted through me by the Court authorities.

I cannot remember how long he was here in Durban, then he disappeared. After a couple of months he re-appeared. I asked him where he was and he told me in Zululand. He did not mention what he did in Zululand. He stayed for a while in Durban. I cannot say where, but he just disappeared shortly after his return from Zululand and I have not seen him since. He never discussed his previous life with me, neither did I have any discussions with him. He appeared to be quite normal and was apparently in a poor financial position. At that

⁴⁹² Kyriakos Skordis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

time I was living in a flat in Prince Street in Crown Point Plats, number 1404. He never visited my home.

Statement taken by me at Durban this 7th September 1966 at 3.15 p.m. (Sgd.) A. Geysler. No. 72504: W/O.

JOHANNES JACONUS UYS AURETS⁴⁹³

I am a European Male employed by the 3.A. Hallways as a Shedman at the South African Railways, Umbilo, Durban. During the early part of 1965, I cannot recollect the exact date, a European male accompanied the Senior Running Foreman, Mr. G.V. Muller, to my office where he introduced the man to me as Demitrio Tsafendas, a Shed Attendant to work under my supervision. Demitrio Tsafendas thereafter worked under my direct supervision. We worked shifts, one week from 6.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m. and the following week 6.00 p.m. to 6.00 a.m. The duties of Tsafendas entailed connecting and disconnecting air pipes and vacuum hoses between electric units and the removal and replacement of electric cables between electric units as and when required.

Tsafendas was a well-mannered and well-spoken person. He associated with those working with him. He was soft-spoken and appeared to be of a good nature. During the time he was employed under my supervision i.e. for approximately 3 weeks, I did not see him being cross at any time. He was a good worker. I can remember one night whilst on duty, it was approximately 2.00 a.m., he was relaxing in the office when the Shedman (known as the Outside Shedman) Mr. P.A. Louw, threw a paper bag containing water at Tsafendas where he was lying on a bench. Tsafendas stood up, water running down his clothes. He appeared to be a bit annoyed and asked how he could work in wet clothes. Mr. P.A. Louw has then run away so as not to be seen. Tsafendas then said that he was going home as he was not going to work in wet clothes and walked off. About a week later he returned and took some personal effects of his. He then mentioned that he was working for a firm somewhere on the North Coast.

During the time he worked under my supervision, he often related about his travels

⁴⁹³ Johannes Jacobus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

overseas. He also mentioned that he was of mixed origin - Portuguese and Greek. He further stated that he was an interpreter in Court and that he could speak several languages. He never showed any signs of being of violent nature. Occasionally he complained about his wages. I do not know anything more about Tsafendas.

The deponent acknowledges that he knows and understands the contents of this affidavit and that it is the truth. Read over, sworn to and signed before me this 7th day of September, 1966, at 2.40 p.m. at Durban.

(Sgd.) V.H. Dyssel, D/Sergt. 3250. S.A.R. Police: Durban. EX Officio: Commissioner of Oaths. R.S.A

CAROLINE BARBEAU⁴⁹⁴

Durban.

During about April, 1965, Demitrio Tsafendas came to the above address presenting himself as being one of the members of our church viz. The Christian Church. In all, this person stayed with us for about 5 days, but he visited us quite frequently. During this time and his visits, he told us his life history and as I recollect it now, he told me that he was interned for a couple of years during the war in Greece because he did not want to join the Army. At the time he stayed with us, he told me that he was working on the S.A.R. & H. and had a very inferior job to his intelligence and left the S.A.R. & H., apparently because he was unhappy with his work. Then he got a job at the Mandini Paper Factory and not long after he came back and he had been involved in some knife fight with another Greek at the Mandini Factory. During this fight his right hand was injured and he was treated at the Addington Hospital.

During my conversations with him, he told me also that he has a brother and a sister in Johannesburg and somehow I got the impression that he was the black sheep of his family. I also got the impression after having known him for some time, that he was not all there.

⁴⁹⁴ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Then one day after he came back from hospital, he told me that he was going to the Cape and he wanted some addresses of people he might visit there. He then left. I believe he stayed with a Daniels family in 1, St. Souci Road, Bellville, Cape Town (Bellville South) for about 3 months. I also got the impression that Tsafendas was a rolling stone and a sponger because he never stayed long in one place and never offered to pay any rent.

When this Greek was staying with the Daniels family in Belleville, I heard by rumour only that he wanted to marry a Miss Daniels and was going to take out a Coloured identity for the purpose. He told me also that he was working in South West Africa at one time and that he was a well-travelled man. I believe also that he told me that at one time he stayed at the Railway Hotel. From his actions he was a very strange man and not very talkative; he liked to pity himself saying that his family did not want him but at the same time he never thanked one for any kindness shown him. He never discussed politics with us and I cannot say if he had any difficulty with his attempt at obtaining a Coloured identity card.

The deponent has acknowledged that she knows and understands the contents of this affidavit which was affirmed to before me and signed in my presence.

(SGD.) D. Wessels, 25689 D/W/O. Commissioner of Oaths

COMMENTS ON BARBEAU'S STATEMENT

Many of the Church's members resented being linked to Tsafendas through his membership of their sect and were deeply embarrassed to be questioned by the police.⁴⁹⁵ They considered the association with Tsafendas reflected badly on their Church and, like the Greek community in South Africa, tried to distance themselves and the Church from him.⁴⁹⁶

Tsafendas had also clashed with the Church leaders because they advocated "the Biblical idea of subservience to a Government," including to the governing National Party and its policy of apartheid, a stance which he hotly disputed.⁴⁹⁷ None of the Church members mentioned this

⁴⁹⁵ *The Observer*, 'Police Question S. African Sect', 18 September 1966: 2; *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5.

⁴⁹⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴⁹⁷ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA; Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013.

to the police, apart from Patrick O’Ryan.⁴⁹⁸ When O’Ryan asked fellow members at a prayer gathering to pray for Tsafendas, his suggestion was met with angry protests and a minister of the Church pleaded with him to distance himself from Tsafendas and not present him as “one of us.”⁴⁹⁹ Barbeau and another Church-goer, James Johnston, who would also testify to the police, were the only ones to speak negatively about Tsafendas’s mental state.

CASPER ANDRIES WILLEMSE⁵⁰⁰

I am the housemaster at E.R. Carney, Clair Wood (telephone no. 310-7590). Beginning 15 March 1965, lodging was allocated to one D. Tsafendas who had been employed under the supervision of the chief Loko, Elektrotegnies, Umbilo. Room no. 166 was granted to him and he lived in the home until 14 April 1965. When Tsafendas took up residence, he gave next of kin as one Mr. N. Vlachopoulos (brother), Church Street 600, West End, Pretoria. Room furnishing included a Bible, it is the New Testament in English and Afrikaans, and after he vacated his room, the Bible was missing. I had no opportunity to ask him to give an explanation as to the missing Bible. The amount of 60 cents was charged in respect of the Bible from his payroll.

To the best of my knowledge, Tsafendas had no special friend in the home and number 166 is a single room. During his stay, I was requested on three occasions by the court to convey a message to Tsafendas to report to the court to act as an interpreter. I asked him about it and Tsafendas told me that the interpreter job was only temporary. He usually spoke English. He made no political statements, and I did not receive any reports relating to such statements and or behaviour on the part of Tsafendas from any of the other residents and/or servants.

Statement taken by me at Durban this 7th September 1966. (Sgd.) T.J. Gunter. Commissioner of Oaths.

⁴⁹⁸ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁹⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁵⁰⁰ Casper Andries Willemse statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

WILLEMSE'S INTERVIEW IN THE *SUNDAY TIMES*

In an interview with the *Sunday Times*, Willemse described Tsafendas as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.”⁵⁰¹

COMMENTS ON STATEMENTS

According to documents found in the South African archives, the aforementioned eleven people were interviewed by the police on September 7, 1966, the first day of the murder investigation. As we saw, Tsafendas is portrayed by people who knew him as being well versed in politics,⁵⁰² who talked politics fanatically and constantly,⁵⁰³ freely expressing his political views,⁵⁰⁴ pro-Russian and Communist⁵⁰⁵ and for this reason denied entry to Mozambique.⁵⁰⁶ He was further described as against apartheid⁵⁰⁷ and having characterised members of the National Party and United Party as “capitalist roughs,” of once being associated with the South African trade unionist and anti-apartheid activist, Solly Sachs, and the campaigning Anglican priest, Canon John Collins,⁵⁰⁸ and having a large quantity of literature.⁵⁰⁹

Tsafendas was also described as a normal person and intelligent,⁵¹⁰ indeed to possess

⁵⁰¹ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

⁵⁰² Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵⁰³ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵⁰⁴ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵⁰⁵ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵⁰⁶ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub File: 1/8. NASA.

⁵⁰⁷ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵⁰⁸ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵⁰⁹ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵¹⁰ Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

above-average intelligence,⁵¹¹ a well-mannered and well-spoken person,⁵¹² quite normal,⁵¹³ a good worker, non-violent,⁵¹⁴ someone who wanted to be reclassified as Coloured in order to marry Helen Daniels.⁵¹⁵ On the other hand, other witnesses claimed that Tsafendas did not discuss politics with them,⁵¹⁶ that he was a strange man and not very talkative who indulged in self-pity.⁵¹⁷ Marika also denied that he ever discussed politics⁵¹⁸ with her, but this was for the reason we have set out already.⁵¹⁹

It is not surprising that the above statements contain differences. It was natural for Tsafendas to discuss politics with some people and not with others. This could be for a number of reasons, perhaps that he did not trust the person, or the person did not seem interested in politics. It is also possible that they did discuss politics with Tsafendas and that he told them what he told other witnesses, such as being against apartheid and like Marika and her family members, they chose to not reveal it.

THE AUTOPSY ON DR. VERWOERD

An autopsy performed on Dr. Verwoerd established the cause of death as “multiple stab wounds, one of which penetrated the left ventricle of the heart.” The doctor who performed the examination reported that “there were no grounds for a rumour that the wounds had been inflicted by an expert stabber.” They were “quite ordinary,” he said.⁵²⁰

⁵¹¹ Garnet Vincent Muller statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵¹² Johannes Jacobus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵¹³ Kyriakos Skordis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵¹⁴ Johannes Jacobus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵¹⁵ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵¹⁶ Casper Andries Willemse statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵¹⁷ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵¹⁸ Marika Tsafantakis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵¹⁹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁵²⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 12.

VORSTER: “ONE-MAN JOB”

On the afternoon of the same day, just twenty-four hours after the assassination, Minister of Justice John Vorster publicly declared that, “Present information indicates that it (the assassination) was the deed of one individual, and his actions and movements are being investigated in the finest detail.” The statement said in full, “Present information indicates that it was the deed of one individual, and his actions and movements are now being investigated to the finest detail. I am aware that much speculation is going the rounds and I want to warn the public not to attach exaggerated value to rumours. Our departed leader believed in law and order. In this case also, the law will take its relentless course and the public will be kept informed as necessary.”⁵²¹

According to Vorster, it was General van den Bergh who informed him that the assassination was a “one-man job,” after he personally interrogated Tsafendas.⁵²² As we will see later in his two subsequent statements to the police, Tsafendas maintained that he planned and executed the assassination alone. Vorster most probably had learned from van den Bergh of Tsafendas’s statements to the police and of his long history of political activism. Desperate to ensure that no-one would suggest that the “greatest political crime ever committed in South Africa” was politically motivated, he immediately spread the word assiduously that the assassin was “a simple-minded man whose action could not have political implications of any kind.”⁵²³

It should also be mentioned that six years previously, just twenty-four hours after David Pratt had shot Dr. Verwoerd, the police had made the exact same statement. On that occasion it was the Deputy Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape, Colonel Terblanche, who had stated that “the attack on the Prime Minister was not an organised one: it was purely an isolated attack by an individual.”⁵²⁴

PRESS REPORTS OF THE DAY

Tsafendas’s assassination of Dr. Verwoerd received blanket coverage in South Africa and wide attention overseas. The *Daily Dispatch* of East London reproduced on its front page two

⁵²¹ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Killer was A Lone Worker’, 7 September 1966 (late edition): 1.

⁵²² D’Oliveira, *Vorster – The Man*, p. 180.

⁵²³ Lapierre, *A Rainbow in the Night: The Tumultuous Birth of South Africa*, p. 126.

⁵²⁴ *The Cape Times*, ‘Isolated Attack, Says Police Chief’, 11 April 1960, 1; *The Cape Times*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd’, 11 April 1960: 10; *The Times* (London), ‘Dr. Verwoerd Moved To Pretoria’, 11 April 1960: 10.

teletype messages received from the *South African Press Association* newsroom in Parliament, each marked FLASH, the most urgent of news agency designations. The first, timed at 14.15, said, DR. VERWOERD ASSAULTED BY KNIFE IN THE ASSEMBLY. The second, sent at 15.30, said PRIME MINISTER DEAD.⁵²⁵ South African newspapers carried blow-by-blow descriptions of the murder scene in Parliament, along with early reactions from local and world leaders.⁵²⁶

The *Cape Argus* published an interview that Tsafendas had given to it six weeks ago, in which he described himself as an “anti-Portuguese rebel and an antagonist of the Portuguese dictatorship.” However, during the interview, which the paper said lasted seventy-five minutes, Tsafendas did not express any hostility towards South Africa’s political leaders. He claimed he had become anti-fascist during his time in Middelburg, Transvaal, that he was imprisoned without trial for three years in Portugal and “brainwashed,” a procedure from which he said he had never fully recovered. He also spoke about his imprisonment in Lisbon, in Barca d’Alva, in Aljuba and at the Machinegun Regiment 1 where he refused to serve in the Portuguese Army. He said that he was not allowed to return to Mozambique until 1963.⁵²⁷ Tsafendas did not explain what he meant by brainwashing but he believed that the Portuguese were trying to change his Communist ideology and his anti-Portuguese convictions. That Tsafendas was telling the truth about all these matters is confirmed, apart from the torture, by the PIDE in its “Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas, no: 2707/64/SR, of November 15, 1964.”⁵²⁸

Newspaper reports after the assassination described Tsafendas as being “something of a mystery man” to his fellow workers in Parliament. Early articles said he had travelled widely and he had two obsessions – a quotation from the Book of Kings in the Bible which puzzled him, and the cost of living for poor Whites in South Africa.⁵²⁹ He was a bitter, withdrawn man with few friends⁵³⁰ and according to a *Pretoria News* dispatch from Lourenço Marques, he was also “a Red,” having been deported from Mozambique for alleged Communist connections after the Second World War. The dispatch said he had an African mother and it quoted local Greeks as scoffing at any suggestion that Tsafendas might have

⁵²⁵ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁵²⁶ See ‘Assassination Reaction,’ Chapter 4.

⁵²⁷ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Brainwashed in Jail Held Man told *Argus*.’ 7 September 1966: 3.

⁵²⁸ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT

⁵²⁹ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁵³⁰ *The Sun* (Vancouver), ‘Assassin Bitter About White Pay’, 7 September 1966.

been the key figure in an international plot to assassinate Dr. Verwoerd.⁵³¹ The *Cape Argus* reported that according to reports from Mozambique, Tsafendas was “violently anti-Portuguese.”⁵³²

A Cape Town landlady, Alice Theyser, told *The Cape Times* that Tsafendas had lodged with her in the Woodstock neighbourhood for two months. She described him as a strange, untidy man with silver-capped teeth. “He was not a happy man, I feel sorry for him,” she said.⁵³³ Theyser also told the *Cape Argus* that Tsafendas left water on the bathroom floor after he had bathed and one time burnt out her electric kettle by forgetting to switch it off and she made him reimburse her for it. Eventually, she asked him to leave because of his habits and attitude. A neighbour said Tsafendas was given the nickname “The Texas Millionaire” because of his bearing. H.J. Summers, proprietor of Barling’s Tea Lounge in Woodstock, said Tsafendas would order tea and scones there from time to time. Once, when he described South Africa as a “bastard country,” Summers ordered him out.⁵³⁴ Twenty days after he made these remarks in a newspaper interview, Summers was questioned by the police. He did not mention the above incident and described Tsafendas as “a quite normal, innocent type ... I never had reason to even suspect that he could be mentally unbalanced. He acted quite normal.”⁵³⁵ *The Pretoria News* came closest to providing a reasonably accurate description of Tsafendas’s life with a report from its Durban correspondent who had met Tsafendas. He said Dr. Verwoerd’s assailant had travelled widely, spoke many languages, was a former seaman and had been a casual interpreter at Durban law courts.⁵³⁶

Greeks throughout South Africa and in Mozambique, too, sought hastily to distance themselves from Tsafendas. Some people who had never met Tsafendas before and knew nothing about him claimed that he was insane or that he was not Greek.⁵³⁷ Georgios Manidis, President of the Greek Community in Bloemfontein and supporter of apartheid, said Tsafendas “must be insane. He does not represent the feelings of the Greeks of South Africa. Most of the Greeks in South Africa are supporters of Dr. Verwoerd.”⁵³⁸

⁵³¹ *Pretoria News*, ‘Dimitrio A Red, They Alleged’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁵³² *The Cape Argus*, ‘180-Day Prison for Tsafendas?’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁵³³ *The Cape Times*, ‘Landlady Tells of Strange, Untidy Lodger’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁵³⁴ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Tsafendas Seen As A Bitter, Withdrawn Man’, 7 September 1966.

⁵³⁵ Herbert James Summers statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁵³⁶ *Pretoria News*, ‘Dimitrio A Red, They Alleged’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁵³⁷ *Eleftherotipia*, ‘Οι Έλληνες Φίλοι του Απαρτχάιντ’, 4 July 2010.

⁵³⁸ *Kathimerini*, ‘Θλίψις εις την Ελληνικήν Παροικίαν του Γιοχάνεσμπουργκ’, 7 September 1966: 1.

In Mozambique, some Greeks described him as “a strange man who could easily have been mentally unbalanced,” and expressed astonishment that a person of his “mental calibre and background” was able to get a job at the Parliament.⁵³⁹ As we will see, none of the Mozambique Greeks who described Tsafendas as “a strange man ...” testified to the police. The senior South African police officer, Col. van Wyk, was in Mozambique at the time seeking out people who knew Tsafendas, and he did not report any such contacts or claims. The belief generally held by Greek expatriates was that to kill the prime minister, Tsafendas “must” or “could” have been unbalanced. It is a stance that remained unchanged over the years. When the author interviewed several Greeks in Mozambique in 2015, some said that “Tsafendas must have been insane,” although they did not know him. Their reasons? Dr. Verwoerd had done nothing to Tsafendas so Tsafendas must have been crazy to kill him; a normal person would not kill such a popular and “good” Prime Minister; Tsafendas was a Communist going around saying things against the Portuguese, so he could not have been normal; he had no reason to kill Dr. Verwoerd - if he was Black it would have been different.

Most Greeks at the time, including government officials, sought to distance themselves from Tsafendas so as to protect their communities and to demonstrate their loyalty to state authorities, either the apartheid regime in South Africa or the Portuguese colonialists. There was often a racist undertone, too. Some Greeks interviewed by the author said they did not consider Tsafendas to be Greek because he was born in Mozambique and his mother was Mozambican. One said, “How could someone with a Black mother be Greek?” None of these Mozambique Greeks was ever interviewed by the police because they had never met nor even seen Tsafendas. That is hardly surprising. Between 1939, when he left Mozambique as a twenty-year-old for South Africa, and the assassination in 1966, Tsafendas spent only eleven months in Mozambique: three months in 1951, two months in 1963 and six months, three of them in prison, in 1964/65.

The Greeks of South Africa, who were likewise unacquainted with Tsafendas, considered that he “must have been crazy” because he killed Dr. Verwoerd, who was a “wonderful man,” a “great man,” and a man “loved by both Blacks and Whites.” The willingness of people to talk about someone they do not know is well-known to journalists looking for on-camera comments. Interviewees often claim knowledge of a person in the news when the only thing they have in common is that they are of the same nationality or live in the same neighbourhood.

⁵³⁹ *Pretoria News*, ‘Dimitrio A Red, They Alleged’, 7 September 1966: 1.

When news of the assassination broke, journalists flocked to the home of George Michaletos, Tsafendas's uncle, in Lourenço Marques, but none of the family spoke to them.⁵⁴⁰ Ira Kyriakakis, Tsafendas's childhood friend in Lourenço Marques, was also sought out for interview but refused.⁵⁴¹ As did Costas Poriassis, Nick Papadakis and Andreas Babiolakis in Beira.⁵⁴² Elsewhere it was different. Not only were Greeks in Mozambique and South Africa keen to declare Tsafendas a non-Greek and probably a lunatic, so at least was one Greek in Greece itself.

The following incident is a perfect example of the attitude of most of the Greeks. The Athens newspaper *To Vima* of September 9, 1966 published an article headlined, "*Dr. Verwoerd's assassin was unstable since he was child, says an Athenian who met him.*" The newspaper declared, "The assassin of South Africa's Prime Minister, Hendrik Verwoerd, must be unstable. He is not Greek. He is the illegitimate son of a Greek from Egypt, M. Tsafendas, and of a mixed-race woman, Amelia Williams."⁵⁴³

The article was based on an interview with a certain Mr. Charitakis, who said that he met Tsafendas when he was on holiday in Lourenço Marques and Tsafendas was thirteen years old. He said, "I don't know his past well. I only happened to meet him by chance when we were in Lourenço Marques." Charitakis added, "Generally, he was a strange guy with strange behaviour...we did not hang around together much because my holidays finished and I left Lourenço Marques." He also claimed that Tsafendas told him that he had been sick and admitted to a psychiatric hospital in Pretoria. Referring to the assassination, Charitakis said, "I believe he must have been crazy in order to reach this point and do such a thing. Dr. Verwoerd was very much loved by everyone and was keeping the prestige of the white race in the Dark Continent."⁵⁴⁴

Like all the other Greeks, Charitakis uses the words "must have been crazy," deducing this from the fact that Tsafendas killed the much-loved Dr. Verwoerd, that he was a strange boy when he was thirteen and that he had been in a psychiatric hospital in Pretoria. In fact, according to police records, his family's statements to the police and the Commission of Enquiry, his medical records and people interviewed by the author who knew Tsafendas when he was a child, he was never admitted to a psychiatric hospital in Pretoria. Indeed, he

⁵⁴⁰ John and Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

⁵⁴¹ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

⁵⁴² Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriassis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

⁵⁴³ *To Vima*, 'Από Παιδί Ηταν Ανισόρροπος Ο Δολοφόνος του Φερβέρντ', 9 September 1966: 1.

⁵⁴⁴ *To Vima*, 'Από Παιδί Ηταν Ανισόρροπος Ο Δολοφόνος του Φερβέρντ', 9 September 1966: 1.

had never been to Pretoria during the first thirteen years of his life. Again, like his fellow Greeks, Charitakis assumed that Dr. Verwoerd was loved by everyone and concluded that to kill him must be an act of insanity.

How reliable as a witness was Charitakis, a man who briefly met a thirteen-year-old boy thirty-five years earlier? Certainly such testimony would never have been brought to court but was obviously good enough for a newspaper desperately seeking local angles on an event of international significance. The key factor emerging from this interview, however, is not so much the reliability of the witness as his personal opinion – that Tsafendas “must have been crazy” to kill a man “loved by everyone,” who was “holding up the prestige of the white race in the Dark Continent.”

THURSDAY, 8 SEPTEMBER 1966

SECRET TELEGRAM FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY IN LISBON

At 08.40 on the morning of September 8, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Cape Town received a secret telegram from the South African embassy in Lisbon, written and sent from there the previous evening at 7.23 p.m. It said that according to “a very reliable local source,” Tsafendas “has a criminal record in Mozambique, where he is said to have been arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances, including shouting pro-Communist anti-Portuguese slogans,” but that he had “never been convicted as courts have found him to be of unsound mind.” The telegram concluded with the following sentence: “If information correct, we suspect Portuguese may play down assassin’s previous political activities and we would suggest full details in this connection be sought.”⁵⁴⁵

This telegram contained two important pieces of information: the fact that Tsafendas had a criminal record and that he had been arrested several times. Both were correct. Tsafendas was arrested three times while in Mozambique and twice while in Portugal for political reasons. PIDE indeed had a file on him (n° 10.415) since he was “suspected of distributing Communist propaganda” in 1938.⁵⁴⁶ As we will see, even though the embassy in Lisbon warned the South African authorities through this telegram about the Portuguese authorities’ likely reaction, the South African police did not investigate Tsafendas’s political past, but accepted what was given to them by the Portuguese.

PIDE’S INVOLVEMENT

More importantly, the embassy’s telegram could not have predicted the Portuguese reaction more accurately. That same day, the Chief Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon sent a top-secret telegram to the Sub-Director of PIDE in the “Overseas Province of Mozambique,” instructing him that any “information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of your country should not be transmitted to the South African authorities, despite the relations that

⁵⁴⁵ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 07 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁵⁴⁶ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

exist between your delegation and the South African Police” (*informo ainda V.Ex^a. que às autoridades da Africa do Sul, mesmo ao nível das relações directas entre essa Delegação e a Polícia Sul-Africana, não devem ser dadas informações que indiquem o TSAFENDAS como partidário da independência dessa Província*).⁵⁴⁷

To ensure that there would be no mistakes concerning the information given to the South African police, PIDE in Lisbon compiled a report on Tsafendas, and it was sent to the Sub-Director of PIDE in Mozambique along with the above communication. The report was to be given to the South African authorities and it had downplayed and even omitted several of Tsafendas’s political activities. This report is as follows, translated into English by the South African police:

DEMITRIO TSAFENDAS or DEMETRIO TSAFANDAKIS -

Illegitimate child of Michel Tsafendas, of Greek nationality, and Amelia William, of mixed race, Portuguese, maritime salesman and interpreter.

Born in Lourenço Marques on 19th January, 1918. Left at school-going age for South Africa to study and afterwards returned to Mozambique to start work.

During his stay in the said Province, he was on two occasions suspected of dedicating himself to communistic activities, but it was impossible to prove such activities.

In 1937 he returned to South Africa, where he lived for approximately five years, after which he joined a Greek ship, bound for Canada, as a table steward, and according to his declaration, stated:

“that he took ill during the voyage, and on arrival in that country disembarked under orders of the Immigration Authorities;

As the country was at war, the authorities above mentioned decided to put him on a ship carrying explosives, and one of a convoy heading for the Allied troops which were in combat in Europe;

As he was still convalescing and feared that the ship would be torpedoed, as happened at times, he fled in the company of three other seamen to the United States of America, where he was detained at the border of Penebescot County, in the Province of Maine.

⁵⁴⁷ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

As the American Government needed volunteers for their ships doing the 'scale' (?) to Europe and the Pacific, he was obliged to embark.

Sometime later, at the end of the war, the said Government repatriated all those that had entered illegally, to their countries of origin of their fathers.

After disembarking in that country the American occupation authorities, in agreement with the Greek Immigration, decided to allow him admission as official interpreter in the reconstruction of the Port of Pireu.

After the reconstruction was terminated he went to work for the English forces in distributing provisions to the Allied troops which were still in Greece.

Afterwards he requested the Port Authorities of Pireu to embark as seaman in a Greek ship 'scaling' (?) French Ports and the Mediterranean, and like that he arrived in France, where he disembarked in Marseilles as a clandestine, and later reported to the Immigration Authorities in Paris.

After legalising his situation in France, he decided to request a 90-day visa for Spain, which he obtained. However, after three days in Spain, he decided to leave for Portugal.

On arrival in Portugal on 8th November, 1949, he was detained at the post of Barca d'Alva, due to insufficient documentation. There were doubts as to whether he was Portuguese. The documentation which was seized made it clear that he had been expelled from the United States of America by the Immigration Authorities and sent to Greece.

The investigations made concluded that he was entitled to Portuguese nationality, but as he had not performed his military service, he was handed over to the Military Government in Lisbon, on the 6th of February, 1950, as a deserter.

In December 1951 he boarded on a ship to Mozambique, but owing to his past, he was not given permanent residence in that Province, and returned to Portugal.

In 1952 he tried to leave the country in possession of a Greek "Laissez-Passer" nationality, which he also had a right to, but was detained for investigation.

After interrogation a mental deficiency was noted, a fact which was confirmed by the Hospital do Ultramar.

On 23rd April, 1953, he was handed over to the Institute for the Destitute in Lisbon, where he left in August of the same year.

In January, 1961, stating he was a political refugee, he presented himself to the Consul-General of Spain in Jerusalem, requesting her intervention in obtaining a visa for Israel.

In January 1962, after visiting several countries, he disembarked in Italy, where he was urgently admitted to a hospital with acute enteritis.

To return to Portugal he was given monetary help by the Portuguese Embassy in Rome, and once again presented himself to the Institute for the Destitute.

He left the said Institute to take up employment as a welder at the construction offices of the bridge over the river Tejo, where he earned 120 escudos. – (being R3.00 per day) Due to his bad condition he was dismissed and was offered another employment where he earned 60 escudos per day. He refused this work saying he intended working for himself, and once again he returned to the above-mentioned Institute.

It appears that during the political disturbances in Lisbon and while he was at the Institute, he always had a group of inmates around him.

On 16th November 1964, he was handed over to the Sub-Delegation of Police in Beira, by the Security Police, accused of making subversive propaganda amongst the native masses.

Specifically, and amongst other phrases, he was accused of the following phrase: “This country is not called Portugal, it is called the United States of Mocambique. We already have money, which is needed and we are not wrong in saying we are Portuguese. No - we are Africans. I do not like the Portuguese Flag.”

When he was interrogated he confessed to the accusation, quoting that he was at the time of saying that and other phrases, in the bar of a hotel in Gondola, in the company of various native races, under the influence of liquor and agitated. He added, however, that his words resulted from ideas he had about the independence of Mocambique - a Mocambique governed by the nationals of that Province, whether they be white or black, therefore separated from the mother country.

TSAFENDAS described a history which was his life, an authentic adventurous romance, travelling through several countries of the world.

He denied belonging to any party or subversive organization which worked for obtaining independence of Mocambique, as well as having promoted subversive activities

against the security of the State, although he was in favour of the independence of Mocambique.

However, as mentioned before, Tsafendas is mentally deficient. It is true that one finds in him an obvious spirit of revolt in relation to the Portuguese Administration, and favouring the independence of Mocambique.

His criminal and police records have nothing against him. However, as said by him, Tsafendas had remarked on his Police certificate, which he confessed.

Analyzing his declarations, and taking into consideration a mentally sick, he is not capable of being charged with judicial crime. The process was filled and was set free, as he was not considered dangerous.

This is a resume known to be of DEMITRIO TSAFENDAS.

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COMMENTS ON PIDE'S ROLE

As we see from this report, the PIDE in Lisbon downplayed some of Tsafendas's political activities while completely omitting others. More importantly, PIDE provided information that was of no great importance or was already known to the South Africans, without offering them anything fresh or significant. For example, that Tsafendas was suspected of Communist activities while living in Mozambique had been known to the South Africans since June 29, 1937. The information was contained in a letter from the South African Consul General in Mozambique in response to a request from the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Johannesburg.⁵⁴⁹

While some of Tsafendas's arrests are mentioned, others are omitted or downplayed. For example, his arrest in Gondola in 1964 by the Portuguese Security Police is included as well as the fact that Tsafendas had admitted to his interrogators that he was "in favour of the independence of Mocambique." PIDE could not have concealed Tsafendas's beliefs or his arrest as they were well known to all of his friends and acquaintances; the arrest had even been widely reported in the Mozambican media. Furthermore, this incident is downplayed

⁵⁴⁸ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁵⁴⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 16.

and important details are not mentioned; these included the fact that he had anti-apartheid, anti-colonialist and Communist literature in his suitcase and that he was subsequently accused of preaching “under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique’s independence.”⁵⁵⁰ On the other hand, the report states that even though Tsafendas was mentally deficient, “It is true that one finds in him an obvious spirit of revolt in relation to the Portuguese Administration, and favouring the independence of Mocambique.” This is presumably included because PIDE knew that it would be extremely easy for the South African police to find out about it by talking to people who knew Tsafendas, since most of the Greeks were well aware of his political beliefs and arrests and that he was widely known among their community as “The Red.” The following points include the omitted material:

- First and most important, the report lied that Tsafendas’s “criminal and police records have nothing against him.” In reality, PIDE had a detailed file of 130 pages on Tsafendas entitled *Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis*.⁵⁵¹ The file contained details of his political and other activities since 1938 when he was first “suspected of distributing Communist propaganda.”⁵⁵² The file shows Tsafendas as a passionate supporter of independence for Mozambique.
- Absent are the reasons he was denied entry to Mozambique in October 1951 and his subsequent imprisonment for two weeks when he was interrogated regarding his past “unclear activities.”⁵⁵³ The report simply says “owing to his past,” but gives no details. According to another PIDE report⁵⁵⁴ and the statement by Greece’s honorary Consul in Lourenço Marques, Antony Maw,⁵⁵⁵ this was due to his suspected Communist tendencies and the suspicion that he was involved in subversive activities.

⁵⁵⁰ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

⁵⁵¹ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁵⁵² Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁵⁵³ PIDE Record of questions. 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

⁵⁵⁴ PIDE Confidential Report about Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁵⁵⁵ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

- Tsafendas's arrest in Lisbon in January 1952,⁵⁵⁶ immediately after his arrival from Mozambique, is omitted. Presumably this is because of the reason behind his arrest; that the Portuguese Police in Lisbon had been informed by PIDE in Lourenço Marques about his political activities in Mozambique in the 1930s and wanted to question him about them.⁵⁵⁷
- No reference is made to the fact that Tsafendas was banned from entering and residing in Mozambique and was forced to live in exile from 1951 to 1963.⁵⁵⁸ In this way, the fact that the ban was on account of his political ideas and activities was concealed.
- The fact that he was only given amnesty to return to Mozambique in 1963.⁵⁵⁹
- The fact that Tsafendas made several applications to be allowed to return to Mozambique and they were all turned down, each time after PIDE supplied the Ministry of Interior with information regarding his "political and professional activities."⁵⁶⁰
- The fact that he remained in prison for ninety-three days following his last arrest by the Public Security Police.⁵⁶¹
- The fact that he was arrested a second time by the Portuguese Police while in Beira in February 1965.⁵⁶² The South African, Portuguese and the international media were aware of the arrest and had referred to two arrests of Tsafendas while in Mozambique and not one.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁶ PIDE report regarding Demetri Tsafendas to the Minister of Interior. 07 June 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; PIDE Record of questions. 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁵⁵⁷ PIDE Report regarding Tsafendas, 5 May 1956. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁵⁵⁸ Confidential Letter of the Director of PIDE to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no: 2.077- S.R., 03 May 1961. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Letter of a police agent to the Ministry of Interiors regarding Tsafendas's exile. 30 October 1962. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁵⁵⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁵⁶⁰ Letter of the Directorate-General of the Political and Civil Administration of the Overseas Ministry to the Director of the International and State Defence Police. 07/04/1958. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁵⁶¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁵⁶² Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 May 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

⁵⁶³ *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17; *The Herald* (Melbourne), 'The Killer: Five Passports and A Record of Subversion', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Rhodesia Herald*, 'Assassin Said To Have Been Deported From P.E.A. for Communist Connections', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Star*, 'Assassin Had Five Passports', 10 September 1966: 3.

- The fact that each time he was arrested by the Portuguese police, “during his interrogations he gave signs of having some sort of mental disability.”⁵⁶⁴

CONCLUSION REGARDING PIDE’S ROLE

We can only speculate as to why the Portuguese authorities wanted to conceal information pointing to Tsafendas “as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique,” but the likeliest reason is that he was a Portuguese citizen. It would have looked bad for Portugal if the Prime Minister of a friendly country was murdered by a Portuguese national who was known to the security authorities for his long history of revolutionary and subversive activities. It would appear significantly less damaging if the assassin were labelled as a psychopath rather than a political revolutionary. Because he was known to be a revolutionary and a Communist who had often been arrested, many people would have wondered how such a man was allowed by the Portuguese to walk free. Even worse, that someone with a 130-page police dossier and known for his anti-Portuguese and Communist beliefs, managed to walk free in Mozambique.

TSAFENDAS’S HEARING

At 2.15 pm on Thursday, September 8, 1966, Tsafendas was brought before Cape Town’s Chief Magistrate, Mr. C. Willman, in a room at the police station in Caledon Square, where he was being held. A high-ranking official said, “This was done in the interests of the accused. We did not want a repetition of what happened between Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby in Texas.”⁵⁶⁵

Mr. H.C.F. Jacobs, Senior Public Prosecutor, asked that Tsafendas be remanded in custody until October 6. A certificate from Cape Attorney General Willem van den Berg was presented to the Chief Magistrate. It said in part that “I, Willem van den Berg, in the interests of public order, hereby order that Demetrio Tsafendas, who has been arrested on a charge of having committed murder, shall not be released on bail or otherwise before sentence has been passed or before he has been discharged, as the case may be.” Mr Willman asked Tsafendas if he understood the application and Tsafendas replied “I understand, my lord.” The magistrate

⁵⁶⁴ PIDE Confidential Report, 3.282.-S.R, regarding Demitrios Tsafandakis sent to the Chief of Staff of the Interior Minister, 9 May 1956. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁵⁶⁵ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Tsafendas in Court’, 9 September 1966: 1; *The Globe and Mail*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd’s Slayer Appears for Formal Hearing in Court’, 9 September 1966: 4.

then granted the application and ordered that Tsafendas be detained in the police cells in Cape Town.⁵⁶⁶

Tsafendas wore a white, open-necked shirt and grey flannel trousers and answered his name firmly. The charge sheet described him as a male adult, aged forty-eight, a messenger, of Portuguese nationality. He gave the impression of considerable physical strength. He was not handcuffed. The hearing began exactly forty-eight hours after Dr. Verwoerd's assassination and lasted five minutes. Eight police officers were present, including Major D.J. Rossouw, head of the Security Police in Cape Town.⁵⁶⁷ The Commissioner of Police, Lt. Gen. J.M. Keevy, said Tsafendas might appear again in court before the October 6 remand date since the police investigation was expected to be completed in the next week or two.⁵⁶⁸ He said the case might take the form of a preparatory examination, but there was also provision in the Criminal Procedure Act for a murder case to be heard summarily by the Supreme Court. Documents would be laid before the Attorney-General, who would decide.⁵⁶⁹

STATEMENTS

HENDRIK JOHANNES VAN LOGGENBERG⁵⁷⁰

White male, manager of "Baron's Meubels" Pretorius Street 191, Pretoria.

The last time I saw Dimitrio Tsafendas known to me as Miemie, was about 2 to 3 years ago. I am well known among the Greek community. I know the accused's stepmother Ant-Marika very well and also his other family in Pretoria. It was through his family members that I met the accused. I occasionally ate with the accused at his family. He also ate at my house.

The accused was work-shy for hard work and considered himself very worthy and learned, which he obviously was not. He constantly changed jobs as well as habitation. He was never satisfied. In accord with my observation taken, he was not welcome among his own

⁵⁶⁶ *Daily Dispatch*, 'Tsafendas in Court', 9 September 1966: 1.

⁵⁶⁷ *The Cape Times*, 'Tsafendas: Fear for Life', 9 September 1966: 1.

⁵⁶⁸ *Daily Dispatch*, 'Tsafendas in Court', 9 September 1966: 1; *The Star* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas Remanded and Questioned', 9 September 1966: 3; *The Herald* (Melbourne), 'Don't Touch the Greeks', 9 September 1966: 9.

⁵⁶⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas May Reappear in Court', 9 September 1966: 1.

⁵⁷⁰ Hendrik Johannes van Loggenberg statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

people and they cast him out. The accused had a sombre appearance and was never upbeat. He constantly carried a Bible with him. I do not know what religion he belonged to. From the stories the accused told, he had to visit a lot of overseas countries. He mastered several languages. It was against the accused's principle to use strong liquor. Accused definitely came across as normal and was an unmarried man. He also seemed healthy and did not smoke.

Pretoria 8.9.1966. Statement taken by me. (Indecipherable name). Commissioner of Oaths.

MAGDALENE WARLASS DOROTHEA SANDERS⁵⁷¹

Coloured Female, 66 years old, 65 Wills Road, Durban.

Demitrio Tsafendas attended church services in my house on several occasions and also delivered his testimony on the verse or chapter he had read from the Bible. He gave me the impression he was a firm believer in God. I don't know where he was staying at the time. On one occasion, he arrived at my house with his suitcase and placed it in the pantry. I told him I had no accommodation and he had to go elsewhere. He had one meal here. Whenever he arrived for church service, he had his Bible with him ... First time saw him was about two years ago and the last time was when he had injured his arm. His hand was bandaged. I don't remember which one. He never discussed politics.

⁵⁷¹ Magdalene Warlass Dorothea Sanders statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

PAUL STEFANUS VAN DEN MERWE⁵⁷²

603 Portman Place, Fir Ave, Sea point and Welgeluk, Otjiwarongo, S.W.A.

I am an adult white man and a Member of Parliament for Midlands. I am a member of the National Party in the Assembly and hold a seat behind the Prime Minister. My seat is two steps behind that of the Prime Minister.

On Tuesday, 06/09/66, I entered the Assembly Hall at approximately 2:17 pm according to the Council's watch. (Official time 2:12 pm.).

I entered the hall through the main door. I was still on my way to my seat when I saw the deceased at his seat. He had just arrived at his seat and was about to sit down. There were other council members who were still on the way to their seats.

I walked past the late Dr. Verwoerd and sat in my seat. I noticed that I did not have a notebook and got up and went to the Speaker's table to fetch a book. To get to the Speaker's table I have to pass on the left-hand side of the late Dr. Verwoerd.

On the way back to my seat, I decided to discuss something with Dr. Verwoerd. I stood on the left-hand side of Dr. Verwoerd. At that time he was looking in the direction of the Opposition, i.e. right in front of him. I bowed to talk to him.

Before I could say a word, I noticed that a messenger whom I later had identified as the accused Dimetrio Tsafendas, cast himself halfway across Dr. Verwoerd's seat on top of him. I noticed that his right hand rested on Dr. Verwoerd's left breast. Tsafendas remained in that position for a portion of a second. When he lifted his right hand from Dr. Verwoerd's chest, I saw a dagger of about 8 inches in his hand. Only then did I realize that he stabbed Dr. Verwoerd with the dagger.

From where I stood on the left side of Dr. Verwoerd's table/seat, I immediately tried to fend off the assailant, but he was too far away from me and before I could get around the seat, he had given different blows to Dr. Verwoerd's body with the dagger.

Other members of the Assembly, had at this stage grabbed the assailant from behind and removed him from the hall.

⁵⁷² Paul Stefanus van der Merwe statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Cape Town

8/9/66. 2.50 p.m.

Statement taken by me. (SGD.) A.J. van Dyk. Captain.

PRESS REPORTS OF THE DAY

Forty-eight hours after the assassination, the overseas press published the first reports about Tsafendas's political past and his activities, while the South African newspapers front-paged plans for Dr. Verwoerd's funeral on September 10, carried speculation about his successor and probed further into the life and character of his assassin. They also published further messages, mostly of shock and condolence, from world and local leaders.⁵⁷³

The Sun of Vancouver, Canada, front-paged a different, unsmiling, photograph of Tsafendas, alongside a Cape Town-dated dispatch from the *Associated Press*, which said, "There are reports he was anti-Nazi, anti-fascist, anti-everything."⁵⁷⁴ *The Chronicle* of Bulawayo, Rhodesia, spelling his name "Stafendas," said Tsafendas was "a mystery man who had few friends." It repeated fragments of information which were becoming current, including his origins in Lourenço Marques, deportation from Mozambique due to his Communist tendencies, time in the Merchant Navy, reactions in Frankfurt and the remarks of his former landlady, Mrs. Theyser.⁵⁷⁵

The Daily News, *The Herald* of Melbourne, Australia, the *Rhodesia Herald* and the *Herald African News Service* reported that Tsafendas was picked up in Mozambique, where he had "a record of subversion", possessing five passports and was questioned about his "suspicious activities" in an area on the Malawi-Mozambique border where unrest had developed among the Africans. The reports said that while he was in Mozambique, Tsafendas was arrested twice for subversive activities and that after the Second World War he was deported because of "Communist activities." They said the South African police were investigating how he got a job as a messenger in Parliament.⁵⁷⁶ All of this information was

⁵⁷³ See 'Assassination Reaction' Chapter 4.

⁵⁷⁴ *The Sun* (Vancouver), 'Dr. Verwoerd Assassin Painted as Anti-Everything Loner', 8 September 1966: 1.

⁵⁷⁵ *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 'Tsafendas: Mystery Man of Parliament', 8 September 1966: 1.

⁵⁷⁶ *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17; *The Herald* (Melbourne), 'The Killer: Five Passports and A Record of Subversion', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Rhodesia Herald*, 'Assassin Said To Have Been Deported From P.E.A. for Communist Connections', 8 September 1966: 1.

correct, including the five passports. However, it seems there was nothing sinister about the passports, as no mention of them is made by PIDE who arrested Tsafendas on this occasion. They could easily have been Tsafendas's old passports that he had kept. If they were forgeries or there was something suspicious about them, this would almost certainly have been stated by PIDE in its reports.

The *Daily Dispatch*, *The Daily News* and the major Portuguese newspaper, *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, published a news report from Frankfurt containing interviews with some of Tsafendas's colleagues. In these reports Tsafendas was described "as extremely nice and friendly by people who met him." Mr Horst Hartmann, senior personnel officer at the heavy engineering company Fries & Son, where Tsafendas worked as a welder, said, "Yes, sure, I remember him. He drove up here in a big, battered American car. I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man...he made a good impression and he spoke good German, so I took him on. He left of his own accord. We would have liked to keep him."⁵⁷⁷

Although he was with Fries & Son for only six weeks, Tsafendas made a lasting impression on Guenter Haafe, the factory doorman, who eight years later still remembered the jovial greeting Tsafendas gave him every morning. "He was a jolly man, always smiling and friendly. He would almost always come into my locker room to say hello. He was really one of the friendliest workers I have met, and trust me, in my twelve years as a doorman, I have seen thousands and thousands of faces coming in and out. This man was courteous, they do not make them like that anymore."⁵⁷⁸ Three other colleagues in the same job said about Tsafendas that "He was a nice guy," "He was a good comrade" and "He left me with a good impression."⁵⁷⁹

The French national news agency, *Agence France-Presse*, quoted workers at the Julio de Matos Psychiatric Hospital as saying that Tsafendas appeared for a medical appointment there on March 2, 1962, but never returned after that first appointment. The story said that people in touch with him on that occasion described him as "a reserved man who didn't want

⁵⁷⁷ *Daily Dispatch*, 'He Made A Good Impression', 8 September 1966: 1; 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', *The Daily News*, 8 September 1966: 17; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

⁵⁷⁸ *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

⁵⁷⁹ *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

his past to be mentioned.”⁵⁸⁰ The “people in touch with him” must have had exceptional memories to remember, four and a half years later, a man they met once in their lives, while their work required them to see tens, perhaps scores, of people every day. It is possible that Tsafendas made such a big impression on them that they did remember him. However, they still did not say anything regarding his mental state.

In South Africa, the evening edition of *The Cape Argus*, reported that Tsafendas appeared that afternoon before Cape Town Chief Magistrate Mr C. Willman in an office in the Caledon Square police station in connection with the murder of Dr. Verwoerd. He was remanded in custody until October 6.⁵⁸¹ Newspapers carried the first photograph of Tsafendas, apparently a file shot, showing him in shirt and tie, smiling slightly. The *Rand Daily Mail* headlined the photograph “Face of the Assassin,”⁵⁸² and in another article, Dr. Samuel Schmahmann, a former schoolmate at Middleburg, recalled Dimitri as being “not very bright at school,” but “a popular boy and not the least introverted.” He said, “I particularly remember him singing a Greek song at a school concert. He was very funny and had us all in stitches.”⁵⁸³

George Sakellaridis, editor and owner of *Acropolis*, a Greek newspaper in South Africa, was a passionate supporter of apartheid and such an admirer of Dr. Verwoerd that he hung his portrait on his office wall.⁵⁸⁴ Sakellaridis published a eulogy for the slain Prime Minister which outdid all other encomiums in its unctuous adoration. It praised him as “perhaps the greatest son of the South African nation ... a philosopher, an intellectual, a true Christian, a philanthropist, a visionary ... a holy symbol of Christian civilisation and of real patriotism ... who turned South Africa into the only bastion of Christianity in an atheist, godless continent and the only hope of the free people of the continent against the cancer of Communism.” Sakellaridis characterised Dr. Verwoerd as a modern “Prometheus Unbound,” who had been misunderstood, slandered and wrongfully accused by the unfair and irresponsible international community which was unaware of everything he had done for Black South Africans.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸⁰ *Agence France-Presse*, NOTIC DSR 16, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁵⁸¹ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Tsafendas Appears in Court’, 8 September 1966: 1.

⁵⁸² *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Face of the Assassin’, 8 September 1966: 1.

⁵⁸³ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Boyhood Days of Tsafendas’, 8 September 1966.

⁵⁸⁴ Mary Vasilakou in a personal interview, 25 March 2015.

⁵⁸⁵ *Acropolis*, ‘Ολόκληρον το Νοτιοαφρικόν Έθνος Εκήδευσε τον Πρωθυπουργό του’, 17 September 1966: 1.

Although Sakellaridis had never met Tsafendas, he told a negative story about him which was picked up and published by most of the South African media. He claimed that he had made inquiries among some Greeks in South Africa, and discovered that when he was a child Tsafendas was called “Blackie,” causing him to have “an inferiority complex.”⁵⁸⁶ Both claims were untrue but no-one questioned them and the story became widely accepted as fact. Even today, half a century later, the story persists in some quarters. However, those people who grew up with Tsafendas are adamant that he was never called “Blackie,” that he was not black anyway and showed no signs of having an inferiority complex.⁵⁸⁷

William Mare Volbrecht, a psychologist and Tsafendas’s schoolmate in Middleburg, testified to the police that “at that stage, Tsafendas was seen as white and there was never anything that pointed to someone regarding or treating him as a non-white or to him being discriminated against. I cannot remember whether he was ever guilty of misconduct; he was never a loner and mingled freely with us.”⁵⁸⁸ According to his step-mother’s testimony to the Commission of Enquiry into Verwoerd’s death, Tsafendas “association with other children at this stage, however, was good.” His half-sister, Katerina Pnefma, described him as a boy to the author as such: “He was very white, peculiar as it is, as white as all the family. But he had different hair. But it wasn’t so much like the Blacks; it was like the Coloureds. But he did not look Black at all, he was as white as me.”⁵⁸⁹ Furthermore, according to his cousin Mary Eintracht, Andreas Babiolakis, Ira Kyriakakis and Helen Grispos, who all grew up with him, Tsafendas was never called “Blackie.” They said his skin colour was white and it was not possible to tell he was of mixed race. Photos of Tsafendas as a schoolboy and in later life confirm this. A man cannot be very dark as a child but become whiter with the passage of time. In fact, none of the children, including Helen Grispos’s husband George, who was one of Tsafendas’s best friends and classmate, knew at the time that Tsafendas was of mixed racial origin; their parents knew, but not the children.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Boyhood Days of Tsafendas’, 8 September 1966; *Natal Mercury*, ‘The Face of Demitri Tsafendas’, 8 September 1966: 5.

⁵⁸⁷ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 June 2016; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁵⁸⁸ William Mare Volbrecht statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Verklaring deur Majoor Venter. NASA.

⁵⁸⁹ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁵⁹⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 June 2016; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

Katerina Pnema told the police shortly after the assassination, that growing up with Tsafendas “to all intents and purposes it was understood” by her and her siblings that “he was a member of the family... his complexion was such – as also his manner – that he passed as a European.”⁵⁹¹ As for bullying, none of these witnesses ever remembered anyone bullying or mocking Tsafendas for his colour. Tsafendas was much bigger and stronger than most of the boys of his age and given his outspoken and aggressive character, it would not have been easy for someone to intimidate him.⁵⁹²

Sakellaris also claimed that Tsafendas’s family had disowned him.⁵⁹³ This, too, was false, but also came to be widely believed. What is true is that his family sought to distance themselves from him after the assassination, but up to then he was an accepted family member. His step-mother, his brother-in-law, his half-brother and his half-brother’s wife had all travelled by car from Pretoria to Lourenço Marques three years earlier to meet him and take him back to South Africa even though they were aware that he was banned from entering the country. His family begged and convinced J.J. van den Berg, the passport officer at South Africa’s Consulate in Lourenço Marques, to ignore the fact that Tsafendas was on the South African Stop List and to issue him with a visa. It was his family who then gave him a job in a family business and a rent-free apartment in Pretoria for eight months upon his return to South Africa. These are hardly the things a family would do for someone it has disowned.

Another story current at the time concerned a comment attributed to Tsafendas – that “the government worried too much about the Black population and did nothing to help the poor whites.” He was said to have made this remark while working in Parliament, although none of his fellow members recalled him making such a statement when they were questioned by the police. If he had told them something of the sort they would have probably mentioned it. The story was started by the Parliamentary correspondent of *Die Vaderland* newspaper, the National Party’s mouthpiece. He said that Tsafendas complained frequently that the Government did more for Blacks than for Whites.⁵⁹⁴ It is perfectly possible that Tsafendas made such a comment, knowing he was talking to a reporter for a pro-Government newspaper, perhaps to distract any suspicions from his own political sentiments, or perhaps

⁵⁹¹ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁵⁹² Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 June 2016; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁵⁹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Boyhood Days of Tsafendas’, 8 September 1966.

⁵⁹⁴ *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘O Assassinio do Primeiro-Ministro Sul-Africano’, 8 September 1966.

simply from sarcasm. Several people who knew him very well testified to the author that Tsafendas was often sarcastic.⁵⁹⁵ The author asked forty-six people who were acquainted with Tsafendas, including some who knew him very well, and all denied that Tsafendas could have made such comments. If he did, they said, he could not have meant them.

Examining Tsafendas's assault upon Dr. Verwoerd, the *Pretoria News* said Tsafendas carried three knives, and published a photograph of a blade it said was similar to the one used against the prime minister.⁵⁹⁶ The newspaper also said Tsafendas told an acquaintance that he could not leave Cape Town because he "had a job to finish here first." The remark came in a conversation with two men who also stayed at his lodging house during a discussion about leaving to work in South West Africa.⁵⁹⁷ The same newspaper also raised the question of Parliamentary security: "Was he properly screened at Parliament?" And how, as a temporary messenger, was he able to enter the Chamber and make the attack without security officers preventing him?⁵⁹⁸

The *Daily Dispatch* said Tsafendas took advantage of the Sergeant-at-Arms' absence from the lobby for duties connected with the Speaker's procession to slip into the Chamber.⁵⁹⁹ The *Cape Times* also carried a facsimile of his signature, apparently from a job application form. The same newspaper, in another article published a description of Tsafendas's bedroom as he left it in his Rustenburg Avenue lodgings on the morning he set out to kill Dr. Verwoerd. A reporter who was allowed to see the room under security guard described Tsafendas's quarters as untidy and grimy, with an unmade bed and personal effects strewn across the floor; on the dressing table were a hammer, a file, a pair of socks, polish, shoe brushes, cutlery, a hair brush and an Oxford English Dictionary.⁶⁰⁰ However, this was after the police had searched the room and the likelihood is that it was their search which left it in that condition.

The Cape Times, *the Daily Dispatch* and *The Daily News* also revealed that Tsafendas was a schoolteacher in Turkey, that he had "taught the phonetics of elementary English" at an

⁵⁹⁵ For example Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015 and many others.

⁵⁹⁶ *Pretoria News*, 'He Carried Three Knives', 8 September 1966: 1.

⁵⁹⁷ *Pretoria News*, 'Said he 'Had A Job to Do'', 8 September 1966.

⁵⁹⁸ *Pretoria News*, 'What Screening Did Tsafendas Have', 8 September 1966: 1.

⁵⁹⁹ *Daily Dispatch*, 'Assassination A One Man's Job – Says Vorster', 8 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁰⁰ *The Cape Times*, 'Untidiness, Grim in his Bedroom', 8 September 1966.

Istanbul college five years ago.⁶⁰¹ Although this was a significant pointer to Tsafendas's abilities, it would not be mentioned again, not even during Tsafendas's summary trial.

JOHN VORSTER'S AND GENERAL VAN DEN BERGH'S ANNOUNCEMENTS

Although only two days had passed since the assassination, General van den Bergh announced that the preliminary investigation was completed. He now handed over the case to Advocate W. M. van den Berg, Attorney-General of Cape Town, whose job it would be to study the files and decide on the form of the trial.⁶⁰² However, the main news story of the day was Justice Minister John Vorster's statement from the previous night that present information indicated that the assassination was the work of one individual.⁶⁰³ After General van den Bergh completed his questioning of Tsafendas, he informed Vorster that this was a one-man job and that Tsafendas was not responsible for his actions.⁶⁰⁴ However, this latter conclusion is flatly contradicted by the investigation itself. Firstly, if Tsafendas told van den Bergh what he told the police in the two subsequent statements (which is obviously the most likely scenario), then there was no sign of insanity in Tsafendas's words. According to Terry Bell, David Beresford, Liza Key and Jan-Ake Kjellberg who saw the transcript of the first interrogation, there was no sign of insanity and Tsafendas, as he did in his next two statements, gave political reasons for the assassination.⁶⁰⁵ Furthermore, according to Michalis Michelis, the Greek journalist who interviewed a South African policeman who was present while Tsafendas was in custody after the assassination, none of the policemen who interacted with Tsafendas at this time believed that he was insane.⁶⁰⁶

Importantly, up to that point, none of the witnesses who had testified to the police had claimed that Tsafendas was insane or that there was anything wrong with him. On the contrary, everyone, along with the report of the South African Embassy in Portugal, was talking about a man with strong political convictions; a Communist. Therefore, even though

⁶⁰¹ *The Cape Times*, 'Tsafendas Taught Turks English', 8 September 1966; *Daily Dispatch*, 'Tsafendas Taught English in Turkey', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17.

⁶⁰² Adams, *Demitrios Tsafendas: Race, Madness and the Archive*, p. 75; *Die Burger*, 'Tsafendas in die Hof: Geen Borgtog', 9 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁰³ *The New York Times*, 'Plot is Doubted by South Africa', 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Dispatch*, 'Assassination A One Man's Job – Says Vorster', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Australian*, 'Dr. Verwoerd's Assassin Acted Alone, Police Say', 8 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁰⁴ D'Oliveira, *Vorster – The Man*, p. 180.

⁶⁰⁵ Terry Bell in a personal interview, 10 April 2015; David Beresford in a personal interview, 11 April 2014; Liza Key in a personal interview, 2 April 2015; Jan-Ake Kjellberg in a personal interview, 5 March 2015.

⁶⁰⁶ Michalis Michelis in a personal interview, 12 December 2015.

the evidence suggested that Tsafendas was perfectly sane, a Communist and passionate about politics, van den Bergh ignored this and declared him to be insane. It is worth asking why, if Tsafendas was insane or van den Bergh really believed he was insane, he did he not ask a psychiatrist to examine him while he was in custody. Finally, if Tsafendas was insane, why were lawyers not appointed to defend him the moment the preliminary investigation was completed? Why did it take twenty days?

FRIDAY, 9 SEPTEMBER 1966

**SECRET TELEGRAM FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY IN
WASHINGTON**

At 9.00 am on September 9, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Cape Town, received another secret telegram, this time from the South African embassy in Washington, DC. Written in telegraphic style, this stated that a “very reliable source with first-hand knowledge” informed them that the U.S. Immigration authorities had a file on Tsafendas, which had already been handed to Attorney-General Katzenbach with “suggestions it be made available” to the South African embassy in Washington, something the Attorney-General was “reluctant to do at this stage.”

The reason was that the State Department believed that “handing over information at this stage could have undesirable consequences at the Commonwealth Conference since file apparently reveals Tsafendas is quarter Negro or African.” Tsafendas’s file contained “full particulars” of his time in the United States. “He is understood to have shown under psychiatric treatment that he was unstable though not (not)⁶⁰⁷ insane, but type of man who would easily be used as instrument of Communist or hostile organizations. Impression of U.S. Immigration people at the time was that he had been manipulated and was under influence of someone or some organization. He was subsequently deported to Europe.”

The author of the telegram then suggests that his embassy should contact the U.S. authorities for any possible information on Tsafendas, given that they know he served in the U.S. merchant navy at one time, but without revealing knowledge of the above information. The telegram concludes that if the U.S. authorities “refuse or deny existence of material, it could be very embarrassing for U.S. if existence of material subsequently leaked out.”⁶⁰⁸ As we will see in the following chapter, this document, along with anything else which suggested that Tsafendas was not insane, would be ignored by the police, by the Commission of Enquiry and also during Tsafendas’s summary trial.

⁶⁰⁷ This is exactly how it appears in the telegram. There is a second ‘not’ within brackets.

⁶⁰⁸ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

SECRET TELEGRAM FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY IN LONDON

That same morning, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Cape Town received another secret telegram, this time from the South African embassy in London. It stated that Tsafendas arrived in England on May 16, 1959 and wanted to take a language test and be granted landing permission to be employed as a kitchen porter at a hotel. Both requests were refused. He then asked for permission to remain in the UK as a student, but this request was also refused and he was ordered to leave on September 2, 1959. On September 12, 1959 Tsafendas admitted himself to a mental ward claiming that he “had a fixation that he had a tapeworm.” He left the hospital later in September - the exact day is not given - with the police looking for him since he was now in the country illegally. Tsafendas admitted himself to the Whitecroft Hospital in the Isle of Wight on October 4, 1959. On December 3, 1959, he was arrested at the hospital and deported to Germany.⁶⁰⁹

MEMORANDUM OF THE SPECIAL BRANCH OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE IN SALISBURY⁶¹⁰

On this day, the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Salisbury, Rhodesia, sent its first report regarding Demitrio Tsafendas to the South African Police:

MEMORANDUM

XY6. 194/B/11/22.

Demitrio TSAFENDAS

1. *The abovenamed, born in Lourenço Marques, Portuguese East Africa, on the 14th January, 1918, first entered Rhodesia at Bulawayo by train on the 19th July, 1964. He was travelling on Portuguese passports number 6511/63, issued in Lourenço Marques on the 2nd November 1963, and valid until the 2nd November, 1965. He gave his race as white, his marital status as single and his nationality as Portuguese.*

⁶⁰⁹ Secret Telegram from the South African Embassy in London to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

⁶¹⁰ Memorandum of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Salisbury regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

2. Stating that his last permanent address was 600 Proclamation Hill Café, West End, Pretoria, he said that his occupations were Linguist, Translator, Interpreter and Maintenance Fitter. He was in possession of £50 and gave the purpose of his entry as a visit to his sister, Catherine HARALAMBOS, of Marandellas Store, Marandellas.

3. He was granted an Alien's Tourist Permit, valid to the 9th August, 1964, and it is noted that this permit is endorsed with a stamp indicating that he re-entered Rhodesia via Salisbury Airport on the 27th July, 1964, until this date and no indication as to the country from which he re-entered.

4. On the 11th August, 1964, following the expiry of his Alien's Tourist Permit, TSAFENDAS was requested to produce a return ticket to South Africa or to pay a deposit if he required an extension. At this stage he sought employment in Rhodesia from the Public Services Board, an official of which asked the Immigration Department if there was a vacancy to which, as a linguist, he could be appointed.

5. The Immigration authorities wrote to TSAFENDAS at the O.E. Bottle Store and Liquosetto, Efthyvoulos House, King George Road, Avondale, on the 19th August, 1964, informing him that his permit had expired and that he must immediately report to their offices. On the following day they informed the Public Services Board that TSAFENDAS was in the country illegally and could not be given employment in Rhodesia.

6. He reported to the Immigration offices on the 21st August, 1964, stating that he was without funds and was seeking employment. He was informed that, as he was not in possession of a Police Certificate, the Residence Permit for which he would have to apply before being permitted to work would take a minimum of four weeks to be completed, and that he could not be allowed to remain in the country during that period. He then stated that he had once been a missionary in Egypt and North Africa and belonged to a Christian community which was not a recognised denomination and had no church. From this community he had received the cost of a rail fare to Vila de Manica. He was then advised to leave Rhodesia on the following day, and he accordingly departed by train, crossing the border at Umtali on the 22nd August, 1964.

7. TSAFENDAS again entered Rhodesia at Umtali on the 9th October, 1964. He was not in possession of the required visa and was declared a prohibited immigrant in terms of Section 6 of the Immigration Act, 1954. On this occasion he gave his intended destination as Galanakis Grocery Store, Main Street, Umtali, his race as Greek and his nationality as Portuguese. His last permanent address was 600 Church Street, West End, Pretoria and he stated that he was employed as an Interpreter and Technician by the Companhia Do Pipeline

Mocambique, on whose behalf he wished to enter on a business visit to the Hume Pipe Company. He was given a Temporary Permit for two weeks, but when the circumstances of his previous visit became known, the permit was withdrawn on the following day and he was instructed to leave Rhodesia forthwith. He accordingly departed from Umtali on the 10th October, 1964.

Special Branch Headquarters,

SALISBURY.

9th September, 1966.

STATEMENTS

FATHER HANNO PROBST⁶¹¹

Priest, white male, Mangete, Dist. Mtuhzini. 5.45 pm.

Sometime during 1965 I cannot remember the month, I went to Mandini store. When I came out of the store, I saw a man sitting on a bench in front of the store and I noticed that one of his arms was bandaged. He looked a bit lost and I went up to him and asked him what had happened. He told me that he had been stabbed in the arm. I could see that he was not a South African, and I asked him whether he had come from Mozambique, he said "how do you know that" I told him that I could see. He started swearing at the Mozambique Government, and said that they had no sense and did nothing for the black people. I said to him, you are a Portuguese and you should love your Government and when you behave in that spirit, you are not liked in South Africa. I asked him how long he had been in Mozambique, he said that he was not there for long.

He told me that he could speak eight languages. I tried him with a few languages and I found that he spoke them all perfectly. He asked where I was born, I told him that I was born near Munich in Germany. He then started to talk in Munich dialect. I then tried him in Spanish, Italian, German tried a few words in Czech and he answered me in Czech. I asked

⁶¹¹ Father Hanno Probst statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

him where he had learned all these languages, he told me that he was in Russia and that he had learned these languages in a training school in Russia.

He asked me to which church I belonged and I told him that I was a Roman Catholic Priest. He started to swear against the Roman Catholic Church and said that they should be done away with. I asked him why and he said that in Mozambique the Roman Catholic Sisters in the Hospitals Inject the Bantu people with something to get rid of them, and they died like flies and it is being done with the approval of the Mozambique Government. I told him that it was the same propaganda like in the Congo, against the sisters. I said to him you speak like a Semba of the Congo. I got annoyed with him and I warned him about his attitude, told him that he would not get very far in South Africa, I called him a communist and I left him.

NIKOLAAS JACOBUS NEL⁶¹²

I am a 34 year old white male resident at the above address and working in Howden, James and Safanco, Booyens.

About the middle of 1964, I was still working at FA Poole Engineering Works, Carl Street, Pretoria West. The same time there was a man working with the name Dimitrio Tsafendas. He is the same person who is currently accused of killing Dr. Verwoerd. Accused was employed as a Fitter and Welder. While the accused and I were busy off-loading cranes from the truck on a certain day, we had quarrelled. He wanted to exercise authority, while I was in charge of the specific work and the Bantus who were helping us. During our argument the accused threatened that he would stab me with a knife. He had no knife with him nor did he bring one forth. Accused and I never spoke to each other again. Accused was certainly unpopular among white workers. Accused adapted more to the non-whites. He could speak several languages and seemed normal. Accused had a messy and dirty appearance. I do not know much more of him because I did not want to have anything to do with him after of our argument. Accused said he was of Greek descent. However I cannot say which nationality he was from.

⁶¹² Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

JAN BANIS⁶¹³

White male, employed at Quix Snax, Cape Town.

I met him (Tsafendas) about three months ago, when he came to eat at 42 Chamberlain Street, Woodstock. He was a table boarder at this address. I saw him there on and off for about a month before I first had occasion to speak to him. I asked him where he was employed and he told me that he was looking for a job. He then told me his name. He told me that he had found a job in South West Africa, but before going there he was going to take a job in the House of Parliament for two months. He did not tell me why he wants a job in the House of Parliament.

GLADSTONE DUNN⁶¹⁴

54 years old, Coloured Male, Good Hope Farm, Dist Mtunzini. 4.00 pm.

During May, 1965, a man came to my house. He introduced himself to me as Demitrio Tsafendas. He told me that he had just come from court, where he had charged another man with assault on himself, but that the other man was found not guilty. He told me that he was working for Fraser and Chalmers at Mandeni, that the assault took place in the messroom. He told me that before he had come to Mandeni, he had heard about me from E. Barbeau, 41 Botanic Avenue, Durban. Tsafendas spoke about religion, it then transpired that both of us belonged to the same Faith. I belong to Christs Church. During the conversation Tsafendas told me that the present Government was not playing fair with the non-whites. He said that the wages paid to non-whites was very unsatisfactory, as well as the political situation. When he said this to me, I asked him why he did not go back to the place where he had come from. He said that he could not get on there.

He also told me that from here he would be going to Cape Town where he will change his identity, he said that he would become a coloured. He told me that he had been to Germany, France, Portugal and South America. He said that while he was in Portugal he refused to join the army and was imprisoned and after his release he returned to

⁶¹³ Jan Banis statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁶¹⁴ Gladstone Dunn statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Mozambique. He also told me that he could not get on with his family and that they did not want to have anything to do with him ... He told me that he came to Durban where he got a job at the law courts as an interpreter, from there he went to the railways where he also worked. I cannot remember what he did on the railways. When he left the railways he came to Mandeni where he worked for Frazer and Chalmers. He slept the night at my house and the next morning I took him back to Mandeni.

ANTONIO TEIXEIRA DA SILVA⁶¹⁵

Welder at F.A. Poole's Engineering Works, Pretoria

I started employment with, this firm during March 1964 and saw the accused Demetrio Tsafendas for the first time. He was also employed by this firm. I met him on the first day as I was working next to him in the shop. During the first two days of my employment I had a conversation with the accused and he made enquiries what I did whilst in Mozambique. I told him that I served in the Portuguese Army for three years.

He then enquired how life in the army was and what salary I got. He also asked me whether the army had many activities and whether we often had trouble with the natives. I told him that the only thing I had against the army was that the period of training was too long. The accused also questioned me as to what my opinion was about Dr. Salazar the Prime Minister of Portugal. I told him that I was not interested in discussing this with him. Soon after this discussion, I noticed that the accused became aggressive towards me and started accusing me falsely of not doing my work properly. He also made several reports against me to the works foreman Mr. Vercueil. The accused pretended that he was an educated man but according to his manners and approach to other people I would say that he was very ill-mannered. Otherwise the accused was acting normal and I never noticed anything wrong with him. I have seen an insane person before but I can state that the accused never behaved as an insane person whilst employed here.

⁶¹⁵ Antonio Teixeira Da Silva statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

ROSAMUND ELIZABETH POPKISS⁶¹⁶

Aldor Apartments, Rustenburg Avenue, Rondebosch.

I am the temporary manageress of the above-mentioned apartments. On 31.6.1966 Mr. Dimitrio Tsafendas moved into room no.7 which was vacant and which was advertised. The rent for the room is R20 p.m. Although he spoke to some of the other residents he seemed very reserved. On Monday 5.9. 1966 at about 6.30 p.m. I met him outside in the garden. I was looking for ray cat and he was just walking up and down. To me he looked very worried. I then spoke to him and asked him whether he saw my cat. I told him that I was very worried about the cat. He then said that he was also very worried and that he had something on his mind. I did not peruse this any further and left him there.

Rondebosch. 9.9.1966. 8.20 pm.

(SGD.) R.E. Popkiss.

Statement taken by me. (SGD.) A.J. van Dyk. Captain.

FRANK WALTER WARING⁶¹⁷

White male, Cabinet Minister in the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, Cape Town, 5.30 pm.

On 6/9/66 I entered the Assembly shortly after the bells rang at 2.10 p.m. and sat down at my desk. My desk is behind and to the right of that of the Prime Minister ... A noise attracted my attention and I looked up to see Dr. Donges apparently trying to clutch at someone who, at the same time, I saw plunge something into the right hand shoulder of Dr. Verwoerd. I jumped at him and put a neck lock on him and pulled him away. He resisted and seemed to play around with his arms to get out of my grip. I pulled him further back and over on top of me on the bench of Dr. Donges which is to the right of that of the Prime Minister.

It was then that I saw he had a large dagger, of the type exhibited, in his hand. His hand movements were now restricted by the bench and desk, although momentarily, his hand

⁶¹⁶ Rosamund Elizabeth Popkiss statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/8, NASA.

⁶¹⁷ Frank Walter Waring statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

freely held the dagger. In a matter of seconds, however, his hand was held by other members and the dagger removed. He was then pulled off me and when I got up, also in a matter of seconds, was on the floor where I grabbed hold of his right leg and could see his face clearly for the first time. Those who held him on the floor were making an effort to drag him outside. At that stage the State President's body-guard, Capt. Buytenbach also grabbed hold of his leg and told me to leave it to him which I did and moved away and sat next to Sen. Trollip. Some ten minutes later it was pointed out to me that the left hand leg of my trousers had two tears which appeared could have been made by the dagger. The one is about two inches and the other about one inch in length. I, however, received no injuries.

PRESS REPORTS OF THE DAY

Perhaps the biggest story of the day was a false one, a report in the *Rand Daily Mail* that Amelia Williams, Tsafendas's mother, was alive and living in Lourenço Marques. The *Mail* had lifted the erroneous report from the Portuguese newspaper, *Diario de Lisboa*, of the previous day.⁶¹⁸ It was one of a number of false stories published about Tsafendas at the time. *The Cape Times* reported that police had visited a mill at Mandini where Tsafendas had a fight with a fellow worker, Nikolas Vergos, and took statements from men who met Tsafendas.⁶¹⁹ However, only one statement taken that day in Mandini was found in the National Archives, that of Gladstone Dunn.⁶²⁰ This must mean either only this man gave a statement that day or the other statements have gone missing.

Further newspaper investigations of Tsafendas's past turned up Nikolas Vergos of Johannesburg, aged sixty-one (of fifty-four according to other reports), who described a fight he had with Tsafendas when they worked for the same company in Mandini, Zululand, in May, 1965. Vergos said one day in the canteen, Tsafendas knocked him to the ground twice and so he drew a razor and slashed his wrist. He thought Tsafendas hit him "because he resented the fact I would have nothing to do with him." The men's foreman, Charles Woods,

⁶¹⁸ *Diario de Lisboa*, 'A Mae de Dimitrio Ainda Vive Nos Arredores de Lourenço Marques', 8 September 1966; *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas' Mother Still Alive', 9 September 1966; *Diario de Lisboa*, 'Localizada a Mae de Tsafendas', 13 September 1966.

⁶¹⁹ *The Cape Times*, 'Tsafendas in Brawl in Canteen', 9 September 1966: 15.

⁶²⁰ Gladstone Dunn statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

described Tsafendas as a very good worker and “far from being a crank. He seemed to be a fairly intelligent man but he was a violent type and we couldn’t keep him.”⁶²¹

The *Daily Dispatch* carried a reproduction of Tsafendas’s signature and an analysis by Dr. R.M. Schweitzer of East London, South Africa, who it described as a graphologist of thirty years’ standing. Dr. Schweitzer managed to portray Tsafendas quite accurately, indeed more accurately than any psychiatrist would do in his summary trial. He suggested the writer experienced difficulty in accepting discipline, had unsteady working habits, showed evidence of vindictiveness, but was idealistic, a person of great enthusiasm and a quick thinker. By studying loops, whirls and letter shapes, Schweitzer concluded that the signatory was intelligent and “capable of learning and thinking logically and can at times co-operate,” but he also nurtured emotional inhibitions and needed more sympathy in his emotional life. By underlining his signature three times, the writer signalled that he could be extremely vain.⁶²²

The written media presented a jumble of false claims about Tsafendas. The *Pretoria News* said Tsafendas lived in Pretoria for about two years. It quoted an unnamed colleague of Tsafendas at a city engineering firm as saying that Tsafendas lived in an empty car packing box. “In the evenings he bought meat and fried it on the fire at work, then he would take it back to his motor-car box,” the man said.⁶²³ The story did not name the company, which must have been City Engineering or FA Poole Engineering Works, as these were the only two firms Tsafendas worked for in Pretoria, apart from his sister’s café. Every aspect of the story is false. Tsafendas lived in Pretoria for nine months, not two years and he lived for a few days at his half-sister’s house, for a few weeks at Fotini Gavasiadis’s house and then for the rest of his time in the rent-free-apartment given to him by Nick Vlachopoulos. His whole family testified to the Commission of Enquiry that “he always had proper accommodation in Pretoria.”⁶²⁴

The author also asked two people, Fotini Gavasiadis and Mary Eintracht, who saw a lot of Tsafendas at the time and both dismissed the newspaper’s report. Tsafendas lived in the house of Fotini Gavasiadis and her husband Markos for several weeks. When he left, he moved into an apartment next to their house, where he stayed for the next eight months, seeing Fotini and Markos every day, and spending a lot of his time at their home. Tsafendas

⁶²¹ *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas in Brawl in Canteen’, 9 September 1966: 15.

⁶²² *Daily Dispatch*, ‘The Hand the Killer Wrote’, 9 September 1966: 1.

⁶²³ *Pretoria News*, ‘Dimitrio Lived in Pretoria’, 9 September 1966: 1.

⁶²⁴ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

and Fotini also worked together for nine months in her brother's café. Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas's cousin, lived in Pretoria at the time and was close to him throughout his stay. Both characterised the report as a "lie" and confirmed that throughout his time in Pretoria Tsafendas had only lived either with Marika in her house, or with Fotini and Markos in their house or in the rent-free apartment given to him by Vlachopoulos and never in a packing case.⁶²⁵

A *Cape Times* story said Tsafendas was stopped by Israeli border police in Jerusalem on January 22, 1961. The newspaper's London correspondent said Tsafendas arrived at the Mandelbaum Gate at the entrance to the old city of Jerusalem with a Portuguese passport issued in Hamburg but without money. He said he was sure the Greek churches in Israel would not let him starve. The immigration officer turned Tsafendas over to the security police, who denied him entry.⁶²⁶ In about October 1964, Tsafendas was seen in Umtali, Rhodesia, where he visited a café. The lady owner was curious about his teeth, which looked as if they were made of silver. She quoted Tsafendas as saying they were false teeth which were made for him when he visited Russia. He said he travelled a lot and did not belong to any country.⁶²⁷ Police in Cape Town combed the city for anyone who had met or had any associations with Tsafendas, but it was believed that nothing had been discovered that remotely connected Tsafendas with any political organisation in South Africa or abroad.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

⁶²⁶ *The Cape Times*, 'Tsafendas: Fear for Life', 9 September 1966: 1.

⁶²⁷ *The Umtali Post*, 'Assassin Was Seen in Umtali', 9 September 1966: 1.

⁶²⁸ *The Australian*, 'Search Goes On for Killer's Friends', 9 September 1966.

SATURDAY, 10 SEPTEMBER 1966

STATEMENTS

COSTAS MICHAELETOS⁶²⁹⁶³⁰

White man, 51 years, born in Greece, South African citizenship acquired during 1955, owner of Metro Cafe, Vryburg, telephone number 213, declares:

I am well acquainted with the alleged attacker of the late Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, His Excellency Dr. H. F. Verwoerd. The full name of the attacker is Dimetrios Tsafantakis or Mimis and he is of mixed descent. His father is a Greek by birth and his mother was a Portuguese Coloured woman. Tsafantakis is an illegitimate child and was born in Lourenço Marques at about 1916. The exact date of his birth is unknown to me.

Dimetrios Tsafantakis' father is Michael Tsafantakis who emigrated from the island Crete to Mozambique. Michael Tsafantakis is a brother of my uncle, George Michaeletos's wife. George Michaeletos is currently living at PO Box 187, Lourenço Marques. George Michaeletos married Diana Artemis.

During the time Dimetrios Tsafantakis was born, I was also living in Lourenço Marques and Dimetrios Tsafantakis grew up before me, and I even taught him at school in Lourenço Marques. Later Dimetrios Tsafantakis went to Middelburg (Transvaal) where he completed his schooling.

The father of Dimetrios Tsafantakis was seeing a Portuguese Coloured woman named Amelia. Because of the relationship between Michael Tsafantakis and Amelia, Dimitri Tsafantakis was born out of wedlock. Michael Tsafantakis has discussed the birth of his illegitimate child with me several times.

When Dimetrios Tsafantakis was about 10 years old, his father married a Greek girl with the name Marika Sakelis, who hails from Port Said and from this marriage three children were born in with the name -

⁶²⁹ Costas Michaeletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁶³⁰ The correct spelling is Michaletos, not Michaeletos.

a) *Bagela, a daughter who later married a certain Nissiotis, who currently owns a cafe at the Municipal Market in Pretoria and who is well known to the Greek community in Pretoria.*

b) *Victor, a son who has a disability in his left leg.*

c) *Then there was a daughter named Bussa, who later married a Greek, presumably with the name Kuwaris. The Kuwaris' owns a cafe in Pretoria but the name of the cafe is unknown.*

Dimetrios Tsafantakis is well known to a certain Tamos Tamburazis who works at the Tattersalls in Pretoria.

Dimetrios Tsafantakis grew up with his half brothers and sisters and was always treated as part of the family.

During 1933-1934, Dimetrios Tsafantakis left Lourenço Marques when he joined the Navy. I can, however, not say which country's navy Dimetrios Tsafantakis joined.

I left Lourenço Marques during 1935 and came to South Africa and shortly afterwards the Tsafantakis family also came to South Africa. Michael Tsafantakis worked about 20 years for Iscor, Pretoria. Michael Tsafantakis died about four years ago. Michael Tsafantakis' wife is still living somewhere in Pretoria, but her address is unknown to me.

Since Dimetrios Tsafantakis left Lourenço Marques during 1933-1934, I had not seen him again. On 8/9/66, however, I saw a picture of Dimetrios Tsafantakis in the newspaper and recognized him immediately. Dimetrios Tsafantakis looks just like his father.

Dr. John Michaeletos who also had his schooling in Middelburg (Transvaal) and went to school with Dimetrios, is currently a physician in Greece. He has a clinic in Athens, Greece. Dr. John Michaeletos' mother, Sophia Michaeletos, lives in Aharnon Street, Athens.

There is also a professor John Michaeletos in Greece, but I do not know where he currently finds himself. When I visited Greece in 1952, I heard that he was an active communist. I also think that the doctor and the professor know each other. Mrs. Helen Kallos, the Greek consulate in Cape Town is well acquainted with both the doctor and the professor. Mrs. Kallos' maiden name is also Michaeletos and she is a cousin of mine.

Ever since I knew Dimetrios Tsafantakis, I never/anytime observed that he showed any deviations. He also never was an aggressive type person. I am aware of the fact that Dimetrios Tsafantakis was a withdrawn type person, possibly due to the fact that he never actually was recognized as a member of his family.

The letter which was found in the Bible of Dimetrios Tsafantakis, supposedly comes from Dr. John Michaeletos of Athens, because they know each other well and grew up together.

Of the actions of Dimetrios Tsafantakis as a mature person I have no knowledge.

That's all I want to say.

COMMENTS ON MICHALETOS'S STATEMENT

As we can see, Michaeletos was asked by the police about a "John Michaeletos" who corresponded with Tsafendas (a letter of his was found inside a Bible). It seems highly unlikely that the police would have made enquiries about a simple pen friend of Tsafendas, given that at the same time he was corresponding with several people overseas – for example, Father Nikola Banovic and Limasollu Naci in Istanbul – and none of them, as far as the author can establish, was contacted about his relationship with him. The fact that Tsafendas's friend John Michaeletos was a member of the Greek Communist Party and of the DSE, and had even recruited Tsafendas into the DSE, must have been known to the police; that is surely why they made inquiries about him. Such information could have easily become known to the police through the interrogation of Tsafendas or the content of the letter. The fact also that Costas Michaeletos then explicitly refers to one of the two "John Michaeletos" he mentions as "an active communist", suggests further that he was specifically asked about the political ideas of that person. Furthermore, as we will later see, the fact that subsequently the South African police and the Commission of Enquiry made inquiries regarding this "Michaeletos" to PIDE, and almost certainly to the Greek police too, suggests even more strongly that the man they were looking for was not just a pen friend.

CONFIDENTIAL SECURITY REPORT OF THE SPECIAL BRANCH OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE IN UMTALI

On September 10, a second confidential security report from the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Rhodesia, written by D/S/O/ Stannard, was sent to the South African police. It contained information about Tsafendas's movements in Rhodesia, plus interviews from people in the country who knew him.

It has been ascertained that, on the 9th October, 1964, Demitrio Tsafendas entered Umtali from Mocambique through Forbes Border Post. Immigration register details state that Tsafendas gave out that he was Portuguese, and a Technician from Pretoria. A Temporary Permit, No. 892, was issued to him, valid until 23rd October, 1964.

Tsafendas gave out that he was on a business visit to the Hume Pipeline, and that his address in Umtali would c/o Mr. GALANAKIS, Main Street, Umtali. His Permit instructions were that he was to leave Rhodesia though Bulawayo/Beit Bridge. Immediately beneath this entry, and on the same date, was the fact that one, Carmelo da Silva, Portuguese, a clerk in Beira, had entered Rhodesia en route to Salisbury. It is possible, although not confirmed, that Tsafendas entered in this man's company. Photostat copies of the Temporary Permit are attached for your information and retention.

It has been ascertained that Tsafendas visited the Umtali Green Grocers, situated in Main Street and spoke to Nikolas George SPANOS, the owner. SPANOS has been interviewed and states that he remembers this occasion, and states that TSAFENDAS said that he was on a business trip. He asked SPANOS if he was from Egypt, and whether or not he spoke any foreign languages. Spoke to SPANOS in French, and Greek, but when asked what nationality he was, he declined to comment. SPANOS states that he was a mysterious man. SPANOS was asked if he was related to GALANAKIS. He replied that he was a cousin, and thereafter referred TSAFENDAS to John GALANAKIS, who owns the Gala's Cash Store, Main Street, Umtali.

John GALANAKIS stated that Tsafendas entered his shop, having been referred to him by SPANOS. He states that he formed the impression at the time that TSAFENDAS was on the scrounge, but realised that he was an intelligent man and that he spoke Greek, Portuguese and Afrikaans fluently. He asked GALANAKIS how Africans in this country live and what their conditions were. He also stated that he had owned some form of tapestry factory in Madeira, but that this concern had since fallen through, and that he was looking for employment. He stated that he might try and secure employment with the Oil Refinery, as he considered he would be an asset, being fluent in several foreign languages. He asked GALANAKIS if he could rent his farm in Vila Nanica, Mocambique, but this offer was declined, as GALANAKIS realised he had no money. TSAFENDAS stated that he was looking for accommodation, and in this regard, he was introduced to the local Greek priest Father

CONDOS, who approached one Mrs KAVADIAS. She agreed to accommodate him and he is known to have stayed there for two nights.

Father CONDOS when seen reiterated what GALANAKIS has said, and stated that he merely secured accommodation for him. He did add, however, that he was convinced that TSAFENDAS was not of Greek origin, but of Turkish extract.

Mrs. Helen GRISPOS, the daughter of Mrs. KAVADIAS, was seen and stated that she met Tsafendas while he stayed with her mother. Described him as being well mannered and intelligent. She stated that he was collected by Immigration officials after his two nights with her mother as his papers were not in order, and that he would have to go.

TSAFENDAS was also known to have visited the Vumba Milk Bar, owned by Mr. Spiros RAFTOPOULOS. RAFTOPOULOS stated that he remembered this man well, and that he visited his shop on two occasions. He mentioned that he was trying to secure a job with the Pipelines. RAFTOPOULOS mentioned that the most outstanding thing" about Tsafendas was his silver or platinum coloured teeth. When he asked TSAFENDAS about this, he replied that he had them done while he was staying in Russia. He also mentioned that he was born in Lourenço Marques, but that he had not been there for some considerable time, and that he had visited Cyprus, Turkey, and in fact, most places in the world.

It is known that Tsafendas visited two Greeks in Gondola after being declared a Prohibited Immigrant. These two Greeks are Andrew KAVALIERATOS and Paul BABIOLAKIS. He was arrested by the Portuguese Police at Maforga, 5 miles from Gondola, when he was living and mining with Africans in that area. He was thereafter conveyed to Beira for interrogation. He was not seen in Umtali since that occasion.

All the persons above state that Tsafendas had silver and platinum coloured teeth. The only luggage Tsafendas had was one small blue suitcase.

Comments: *Mrs. KAVADIAS is now living at Cedult Farm, 10 mile peg, Melsetter road. Enquires continue to ascertain whether or not there was any connection between TSAFENDAS and GALANAKIS. It is considered curious that TSAFENDAS should give the name GALANAKIS as his address when entering Rhodesia, and yet GALANAKIS states that he only met with him by chance, having been referred to him by his cousin SPANOS. It is also understood that TSAFENDAS visited Rhodesia on two previous occasions in July and August, 1964, via Bulawayo and Salisbury, and that he left Rhodesia via Umtali by train on the 22nd*

August, 1964.

Special Branch Headquarters,

Salisbury.

9th September, 1966.⁶³¹

**COMMENTS OF HELEN GRISPOS AND ANDREAS BABIOLAKIS TO THE AUTHOR
REGARDING THEIR STATEMENTS**

For unknown reasons, Sophia Kavadias was apparently not questioned by Special Branch, although Tsafendas stayed at her house and was arrested there. She had long known Tsafendas and his family, having lived next door to them in Lourenço Marques in the mid-1930s. However, her daughter, Helen Grispos, was questioned. Helen was married to George Grispos, who was a very close friend of Tsafendas and his schoolmate in Lourenço Marques. In an interview with the author, Helen Grispos remembered the police asking her about Tsafendas after Dr. Verwoerd's assassination:

“I don't remember if my mother spoke to the police then ... I remember George was away in Mozambique at the time, so he was not questioned... I can't remember if he was questioned by the police in Mozambique, but I think not ... I don't remember at all what I told them [the police] ... I don't think I would have mentioned that he was a Communist.” Asked if she told the police that her husband was Tsafendas's friend, she replied, “I don't remember, but I don't think I would have done it after what he [Tsafendas] did!”⁶³²

Andreas Babiolakis was a good friend of Tsafendas from childhood and had stayed at his house in Beira for a couple of months. In a personal interview with the author, he said that he and Kavallieratos were questioned by the police after the assassination. However, their statements were not found in the archives. Babiolakis does not remember exactly what he told the police or by whom he was questioned. He clearly remembers trying to distance himself from Tsafendas as much as possible, but also telling the police about Tsafendas's two arrests in Beira two years earlier, knowing that they would be aware of them. As for the Report's question regarding Galanakis's statement that he only met Tsafendas by chance, it is

⁶³¹ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁶³² Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

true that Galanakis knew Tsafendas from the past, very probably from back when they were children. He obviously lied in order to distance himself from Tsafendas, as did most people at the time.⁶³³

PRESS REPORTS OF THE DAY

Five days after the assassination, newspapers reported that Tsafendas would appear for summary trial in the Cape Town Supreme Court on a charge of murder. *The Cape Times* said the Judge-President of the Cape, Mr. Justice Beyers, would probably preside with two assessors; the Attorney General of the Cape, Mr. Willem van den Berg, would appear for the State, and Judge Beyers would likely appoint a defence advocate, or two, for Tsafendas. Van den Berg was expected to spend the weekend studying statements from the police, after which an indictment would be drawn up.⁶³⁴

The *Daily Dispatch* quoted van den Berg as saying that the tightest possible security measures would be taken. "Everything possible will be done to see that these measures are watertight for the safety of all concerned," he said. The available courts were small, seating no more than 120 members of the public and only four reporters. Special measures would be taken to accommodate more Press representatives. Tsafendas was still being held at Caledon Square police station.⁶³⁵

The New York Times reported that Tsafendas carried on a twenty-year feud with the United States, culminating in a demand for extensive damages. In an affidavit drawn up by lawyers in Cape Town, Tsafendas declared he was suing the United States for \$100,000 because in 1947 he was deported by US authorities to Greece instead of to South Africa, as he wished. He also claimed \$50,000 for loss of salary and mental and physical suffering and \$50,000 for "inconvenience imposed upon me during the past twenty years, which was entirely due to the negligence of the American authorities."⁶³⁶ In a dispatch from Washington, *The New York Times* reported that Tsafendas had been deported from the USA in 1947 on grounds that he entered the country illegally. There was no record of his having

⁶³³ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

⁶³⁴ *The Cape Times*, 'Top Security for Trial of Assassin', 10 September 1966: 1.

⁶³⁵ *Daily Dispatch*, 'Security Clamp-Down for Trial of Tsafendas', 10 September 1966: 1.

⁶³⁶ *The New York Times*, 'Assassin Planned Suit Against the USA', 10 September 1966: 15.

sued the United States but he had threatened to do so during numerous visits to the US Consulate in Cape Town.⁶³⁷

Newspapers began searching for any news about Tsafendas, even if it was previously published elsewhere. The *Dagbreek* and *The Star* printed the report of Tsafendas being picked up in Mozambique with five passports, his arrests there (two according to *The Star* and three according to *Dagbreek*) and his deportation after the Second World War because of “communist activities.”⁶³⁸ *The Star* also published the story that had been in the *Pretoria News* two days earlier about Tsafendas telling an acquaintance he could not leave Cape Town because he “had a job to finish here first.”⁶³⁹ The *Natal Witness* republished interviews with some of Tsafendas’s Frankfurt colleagues.⁶⁴⁰

DR. VERWOERD’S FUNERAL

Dr. Verwoerd’s body, accompanied by his bulldog Punch, was flown from Cape Town to Pretoria on September 8.⁶⁴¹ Wilhelm Verwoerd, Dr. Verwoerd’s eldest son, wanted a small, family funeral, but government ministers insisted that a State funeral was necessary and he eventually agreed.⁶⁴² Dr. Verwoerd was buried on Saturday, September 10, at 2.15. A mile-long cortege, led by a Mounted police escort, processed through the heart of the capital to Heroes’ Acre in the Old Cemetery on Church Street West. The ceremonies were watched by the biggest crowd ever seen in South Africa, estimated at 250.000.⁶⁴³

The State funeral began with a one-hour religious service in the amphitheatre of the Union Buildings, attended by 10,000 people led by State President Charles Robert Swart and including many diplomats in formal dress. The only national leader mentioned was Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia. Separately, in the shadow of the West Wing, sat Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima and some twenty Africans representing seven ethnic

⁶³⁷ *The New York Times*, ‘Records Show Deportation’, 11 September 1966.

⁶³⁸ *Dagbreek*, ‘Tsafendas Het Vir V.V. in Persie Gewerk’, 11 September 1966; *The Star*, ‘Assassin Had Five Passports’, 10 September 1966: 3.

⁶³⁹ *The Star*, ‘He Had A ‘Job’ To Do’, 10 September 1966: 3.

⁶⁴⁰ *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966.

⁶⁴¹ *The Globe and Mail*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd’s Slayer Appears for Formal Hearing in Court’, 9 September 1966: 4.

⁶⁴² Goodman, *Fault Lines: Journeys into the New South Africa*, p. 154-155.

⁶⁴³ House of Assembly [South Africa], *Debates*, (6th September and 7th September 1966), p. 2015-2016; *Personality*, ‘The State funeral of Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, Prime Minister’, 29 September 1966: 19-24; *Scope*, ‘The Entire Nation Mourns ... And A Critical World Press Passes Caustic Comments’, 23 September 1966: 12-18; *The Star*, ‘Vast Crowds Pay Last Respects to Dr. Verwoerd’, 11 September 1966: 1.

groups. Representatives of the Indian and Coloured communities also sat there.⁶⁴⁴

The coffin was carried in by eight military officers flanked by eight senior Cabinet ministers and the mourners rose when Mrs. Dr. Verwoerd took her place with her children. The national anthem rang out and an Air Force guard of honour saluted as the casket was placed on a purple and black draped catafalque in front of the pulpit. The service was conducted by the Rev. J.H. Louw of the Pretoria East Ned Geref Kerk, of which Dr. Verwoerd was a member; the Lesson was read by Church of England Bishop S.C. Bradley, and the funeral eulogy was delivered by the Rev. J.S. Gericke, Moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk of the Cape.⁶⁴⁵

The service lasted for just over an hour, whereupon the cortege moved slowly towards the cemetery headed by thirty-eight Mounted Policemen, motorised army detachments and four hundred troops. Overhead, in a clear blue sky, flights of Harvard aircraft formed the letters "HV." The committal at the cemetery was restricted to family and the Cabinet, but as the coffin was carried to the graveside, the thousands gathered outside heard nineteen-gun salvos fired from the hills around Pretoria.⁶⁴⁶ The funeral proceedings were aired by the South African Broadcasting Corporation in eleven different languages so that people from all around the world could follow them.⁶⁴⁷

Die Vaderland, the National Party's mouthpiece, declared on its front page that although Dr. Verwoerd was gone, "his message remains."⁶⁴⁸ Most of the foreign press was not so complimentary. David Holden of the London *Sunday Times* wrote: "So now he goes, respected by many, hated perhaps by many more according to the colour of their skin, but not apparently very much loved. His former minions have surrounded his funeral with some of that aloofness and isolation that characterised his policies by refusing all visiting correspondents like myself any official facilities for covering the event." John Griff of the London *Guardian* wrote: "He leaves behind him a system established by force, and which

⁶⁴⁴ *The New York Times*, '10.000 People Attend Funeral Service', 11 September 1966; *The Canberra Times*, 'Dr. Verwoerd buried in Heroes' Acre', 12 September 1966: 5.

⁶⁴⁵ *The Times* (London), 'Hundreds File Past Grave of Dr. Verwoerd', 12 September 1966: 7; *The Cape Argus*, 'Magnificence for "Quiet Man"', 11 September 1966: 1 (late edition); *The Star*, 'Vast Crowds Pay Last Respects to Dr. Verwoerd', 11 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁴⁶ *The Illustrated London News*, 'The State funeral of Dr. Verwoerd', 17 September 1966: 1; *The Star*, 'Vast Crowds Pay Last Respects to Dr. Verwoerd', 11 September 1966: 1,

⁶⁴⁷ *The Cape Times*, 'State Gurnal On Air in 11 Languages', n.d.

⁶⁴⁸ *Die Vaderland*, 'Hy is Weg, Maar Syboodskap Bly', 10 September 1966: 1.

only force can destroy ... His work may endure for several generations – the power of the modern state is so hard to shake – but in the long run it must surely be doomed.”⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁹ *Scope*, ‘The Entire Nation Mourns ... And a Critical World Press Passes Caustic Comments’, 23 September 1966: 12-18.

SUNDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER 1966

TSAFENDAS'S STATEMENT TO THE POLICE⁶⁵⁰

Major Rossouw questioned Tsafendas in a session which started on this day, September 11, and ended on September 12. Copies of the transcript were found in the National Archives in Pretoria. Maj. Rossouw, head of the Security Police in Cape Town, was an experienced interrogator, having also questioned John Harris, Stephanie Kemp and other ARM members, all of whom were tortured during their time in detention.⁶⁵¹ This is what Tsafendas told Major Rossouw:

Demetrio Tsafendakis or Tsafendas,

States:-

I have been warned by Maj. Rossouw that he is investigating a charge of murder against me arising from the death of the late Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Dr. Verwoerd. My rights have been explained to me and I understand the warning given to me. I am in my sound and sober senses and I have not been influenced in any way to make this statement. I am prepared to make a statement.

I.

I was born on the 14th of January, 1918 in Lourenço Marques, Portuguese East Africa. My father was a marine engineer named Michael Tsafendakis. He was originally from the island of Crete and according to my knowledge, he was of Greek nationality. Only later in my life did I find out that my mother was a non-European woman, a person known in Portuguese as a Mulato woman, meaning a Portuguese Coloured woman. Her name was Amelia Williams and she was of German origin. My father wasn't married to my mother and I never knew my mother. I ascertained later that my father separated from my mother and that my father had sent me to Egypt when I was one year old. I was in Egypt until I reached the age of six. I resided in Egypt with my grandmother, i.e. my father's mother. By that time my father had

⁶⁵⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁶⁵¹ Fullard, "State Repression in the 1960s", p. 362.

married again and had sent for me to be brought back to Lourenço Marques. We then lived at the Britannia Hotel. This was about 1925.

2.

I remained with my father until the year 1927 when I was sent to a kindergarten school called the Anglican Mission in L.M. As I could not get along with my stepmother, my father decided to send me to boarding school in Middelburg, Transvaal. I used to go home then only every six months.

3.

During the depression in 1930 my father lost his partnership in the firm Vucellato, a shipbuilding and engineering firm in Lourenço Marques, and because of financial difficulties he took me out of school in Middelburg and I went back to the Anglican Mission School in Lourenço Marques. I was at the latter school until 1933. From 1933-1935 I attended the Portuguese Mission School evening classes. I reached standard 5 in English and standard 4 in Portuguese.

4.

It was about 1936 when I was about 18 years old, I left L.M. and went to the Transvaal and obtained a job at the Fountains Cafe near the Pretoria railway station. I was there for about two or three months when I decided to go to Johannesburg. I worked in different places in Johannesburg. I remember working in the City Tea-room in Hillbrow, the Elgin Café in Jeppe Street and at the Cosmopolitan Restaurant.

5.

When war broke out in 1939 I started attending fulltime classes at the Progress College, Johannesburg studying to do welding. I only attended the Progress College for three months. I then obtained work at British Mining Supply Company in Eloff Street Extension, Johannesburg. I worked there until 1941 when I decided to go to Cape Town.

6.

I was in Cape Town for 15 days when I joined a merchant ship called SS Eugene Livanos, as a mess hoy. Shortly after joining, the boat left for Canada. When the boat arrived in Canada I deserted. I went to the Canadian Immigration Department and told them I did not want to go back to the SS Eugene Livanos because the crew members were too rough. They were smoking dagga and marijuana and were fighting amongst themselves. Instead of sending me

to another boat I was detained by the Immigration Authorities in a detention barrack for seamen in Montreal. From there I was sent to Halifax. From this detention station me, myself and two other seamen, ran away and crossed the American border. We were arrested on the American border and sent to the American Immigration Authorities, in Boston. There we were placed on an American ship, the SS Pillory, which went to Greenland. I was not in detention while on the Pillory. I was doing war service.

7.

When the SS Pillory arrived back in Boston I got a job on a liberty ship, the name of this ship has slipped my memory. I wish to explain that I was on different liberty ships till the end of the war in 1945.

8.

At the end of the war I fell ill on one of the liberty ships on way to England. I was taken off this boat and flown to an American base in England. From there I was sent back to America. I was unconscious when I was removed from the boat. When I came to my senses I found myself in the Grafton State Hospital in Massachusetts. I was in this hospital until 1947. I do not know what the medical diagnosis was but two medical board meetings were held on my health condition. I was then asked whether I wanted to return to Africa. The medical services authorities decided to send me back to Africa, but the Immigration Authorities decided that it could not be done.

9.

I had a Portuguese passport before leaving Cape Town, but because Portugal was a neutral country and I did not want to be neutral, I obtained a Greek passport from one of the Greek Consulates in either Johannesburg or Cape Town. This puzzled the American authorities because, apart from holding a Portuguese and a Greek passport, I was then also in possession of American seaman's papers. Instead of sending me to Africa the American authorities deported me to Greece. I was a complete stranger in Greece and could not find work. In order to survive I sold my clothing which I brought from America.

10.

Eventually I managed to obtain employment with the American Reconstruction Mission under the Marshall Plan. This job was as a foreman and interpreter. I cannot say whether this was a United Nations organization body or whether it was an American Aid Scheme. I remained

on this job until 1949 when the project was concluded. I could not find alternate employment and eventually decided to go to the Greek Immigration Authorities. After some time I managed to obtain a refugee passport. I had no money and went to a shipping company where I was allowed to work my way on a ship, the Correnthia, to Marseilles.

11.

I left the boat at Marseilles and as I could not get a job there I went to Paris. I went by train after having purchased a train ticket with the money I had from my previous employment. This was during 1949. I moved from there to Ruan and Marseilles and back to Paris without being able to find work. From Paris I boarded a train through Spain to Portugal. I arrived in Portugal towards the end of 1949.

12.

When I arrived in Portugal with the refugee passport the immigration authorities did not recognise my passport and consequently detained me for about 6 months. I had already lost my Portuguese passport while in Canada. Before I left Greece I handed in my Greek passport in order to obtain a refugee passport. From the military detention depot I was sent to Machine Gun Depot Nr. 1 in Lisbon. There they wanted me to do military service and I refused to do military service. I told them I was a Christian and did not want to do military service. I was accused of deserting from Portuguese East Africa and for doing military service for foreign powers.

13.

I told the Portuguese authorities in Lisbon that I had been rejected by a recruiting board in Portuguese East Africa in 1936 because of my mother being a Coloured. They said there was no racial discrimination in Portugal and there was no reason for my refusal to do military service in Portugal. I still refused to do military service on the grounds of my Christianity. I was accused of disloyalty and they eventually discarded me. I was allowed to look for work in Lisbon but I was not allowed to leave the country. I could not find work but managed to survive through selling goods as a hawker. I sold embroidery and postcards and watches mainly to shipping passengers.

14.

I remained in Portugal until about 1953. I then tried to leave the country on my refugee passport but I was arrested by immigration authorities and was detained for over a year at

the Port of Casias.

15.

After my release I managed to obtain a Portuguese passport and left for Western Germany. I also went to Sweden and Denmark. I fell ill in Western Germany and was admitted to Oxensoll⁶⁵² Krankenhaus for about six months. I deserted from this hospital. I returned to friends in Hamburg where I had stayed before going to hospital. I went to the Portuguese authorities in Hamburg and they arranged for my return to Portugal. I went back to Portugal and remained there until 1958. I worked as a hawker as I had done before.

16.

In 1958 I went to the Brussels Fair in Belgium to sell embroidery. This was not a success on account of too much competition from the Chinese. I was all over Western Europe trying to sell embroidery. As this business was unsuccessful, I found a job with the Anglo American Fashion and Designers in Frankfurt for three months. I also worked for Fries and Son, the American Army printing works in Höchst. I remained in these jobs in Germany until 1959.

17.

In 1959 I decided to leave Western Europe and try my luck in England, When I arrived in England I had many difficulties in finding employment because I had a Portuguese passport. I did casual work. I fell ill in England and was hospitalised on the Isle of Wight for about three to four months. This was a continuation of my previous nervous trouble. The immigration authorities decided in 1959 to deport me to Germany. They wanted to deport me to Portugal but I told them I came from Germany and I asked them to send me to Germany. I found a job in Munich in a tractor factory. I remained there for six months. I received my money and decided to go to Egypt. I travelled through the Balkan States from Germany by train to Pireus harbour from where I travelled by ferry-boat to Alexandria.

18.

My purpose was to travel through the Africa States south so South Africa. I went to the Egyptian authorities and explained my plight, but instead of helping me I was detained at a place outside Cairo for about 6 months. I was sent to Alexandria where I obtained help from the Red Cross to get to Beirut on a ferry-boat. I remained at Beirut for a few days and met some people of my church - the Christian Church - and they assisted me to purchase an

⁶⁵² The correct spelling is Ochsenzoll.

airline ticket to Jerusalem. I was living on my wits for about 4 months on the Jordan River and had a look at the Holy Land.

19.

I found I was unable to get back to Southern Africa so I decided to go back to Europe through the Middle East. Eventually I managed to get through Serbia⁶⁵³ to Beirut and from Beirut to Tripoly, from Tripoly to Loadikia, from Loadikia to Hallipo, from there to Ohms and from there to Turkey to a place called Addena and from there to Ankara through the Torres Mountains. This journey was by bus. I was in Ankara for about a month and then went to Istanbul. I managed to obtain a job there as an English teacher, in the absence of a teacher at the Tarban College. I remained there for two months. I was stuck without money and gave blood transfusions at Istanbul. I was paid about one pound for a pint of blood.

20.

Sometime during 1961 I left by train to Western Europe through the Balkan States. I went as far as Bulgaria where I got off at Sofia. I could not find a job and after two weeks I boarded a train back to Istanbul. From Istanbul I got a free ride by a fish cooling truck to Athens.

21.

I remained in Athens for a few days and then got a ferryboat from Pireus to Crete to visit my father's relatives. I was destitute then. I did not know where to find my father's relatives but managed to trace some relatives in Crete. I stayed there for three days when I was told that they could not keep me. I went to the Christian Church Mission in Hercules and then to Rethinon.⁶⁵⁴ I stayed in Crete for about 20 days before I got a ferry-boat back to Pireus. From Pireus I got a bus to Corfu. From there I went by ferry-boat to Southern Italy. I went to the Vatican embassy (Portuguese) in Rome and they supplied with fare to return to Portugal.

22.

I arrive in Portugal with the intention of getting back to Africa. This was in 1962. I stayed in Portugal for over a year and during this time went to various embassies in an endeavour to obtain assistance to get back to Africa.

23.

In August or September, 1963 I received amnesty and the Social Services agreed to pay my

⁶⁵³ The spelling mistakes of names here are of the transcript, not of the author.

⁶⁵⁴ The correct spelling is Heraklion and Rethimnon.

boat fare to Lourenço Marques. I left immediately on the *Princippi Perfecto* and arrived in L.M. during approximately October, 1963. I stayed in L.M. with an uncle of mine for a few days. They contacted my half-brother in Pretoria and he and my stepmother came to L.M. to fetch me to Pretoria. In Pretoria I found a job with City Engineering Company in Mitchell Street, Pretoria as a maintenance fitter. I remained on this job for about three months. I then found another job with Pool Engineering in Pretoria and stayed there for about three to four months. I saved some money and then left for Rhodesia during June or July, 1964. I went to visit my half-sister, Catherine Pnematikatos. Things were politically upset in Rhodesia and I failed to find a job there. I had an apartment house in Avondale, Salisbury for one month. I left Rhodesia and went to Nyassaland in search of work. I stayed in Nyassaland at Lake Malawi for about 20 days before returning to Salisbury.

24.

Prom Salisbury I went to Umtali to look for a job with the Central African Petroleum Corporation. I failed to get a job so I crossed the Portuguese border to Beira. I found casual work in Beira and worked there for a few days. From there I found, a job with Central African Petroleum Corporation⁶⁵⁵ at Gondola in Portuguese territory. I was there for about one month. I was arrested on the job by the Portuguese authorities because I criticised the Portuguese government for their policy in regard to petrol distribution. I was detained in Beira for 93 days.

25.

After my release I met business people of the Greek community in Beira who gave me money for a shipping ticket to Durban. I arrived in Durban during February, 1965. I found a temporary job as cable fitter in Durban on the railways. This job lasted about one month. I then took another job with Fraser & Chalmers in Manzini, Zululand as a structural fitter. I was with them for three months when I had an argument with another Greek who insulted me. We came to grips. Later on he came to my room with a knife and he cut me all up. I did not know he had a knife. I am showing a scar on my right forearm, and hand. I had to undergo an operation. I did not wish to return to the job after what had happened. After I was operated I want to stay in Durban Men's Home for a couple of months during which time I underwent medical treatment for my injured right arm. While I was still living at the Durban Men's Home I was trying to obtain a lift to Cape Town. I managed to get a lift with a

⁶⁵⁵ Tsafendas almost certainly meant here the Hume Pipe Company.

director of a cardboard factory in Cape Town in a Ford Sedan car. I got a lift with this man as far as Port Elizabeth.

26.

From Port Elizabeth I bought a train ticket Cape Town. I arrived in Cape Town during September or October, 1965. When I arrived in Cape Town I went to stay at 1 San Sauci Street, Belville with the family of a girl who was staying there and who had written to me previously to say that she wanted to marry me. Her name was Helen Daniels, a Coloured woman. She belong to the same church as me, i.e. "The Christian Church." I did not, want to get married. This war her idea. I stayed there for almost two months while I was searching for a job. I found work at the Table Bay Power Station. When I found work I paid the Daniels family for my hoard and lodging.

27.

After I left the Daniels family I found a room at a boarding house in front of the traffic department in Green Point. I worked at Table Bay Power Station for a couple of months - two or three months, when I was discharged. I was out of work for several months and lived on my wits and my savings, until I round a job on the Marine Diamond Corporation Barge Colpantoon. I had to take care of 25 machines and pumps and found, the job too strenuous on account of my health, so I resigned after two months. I came back with my savings to have an ear, nose and throat operation at Grootte Schuur Hospital. I was operated there.

28.

After the operation, I stayed at Milton House, Milton Road, Observatory, for about two to three months. When I left Milton House to stay at 5 Wrench Road, Observatory with a Mrs. Vos.

29.

Mrs. Vos wanted a friend of hers to stay with her so she gave me notice. She found a place for me to stay at 48 Devon Street, Woodstock.

30.

After I was discharged from Table Bay Power station, while I was unemployed, I stayed at 9 Westminster Street, Lansdowne with one named Pat Ryan, a Coloured family. I stayed there for about a month or two but I wasn't paying board and lodging. I shared a room, with his children. I also stayed at 10 Walnut Street, Lansdowne for about one week to 10 days.

31.

At the time of my arrest I was staying Eldor Apartments, Rustenburg Road, Rondebosch. At this stage I feel tired and request that I be given a rest. I will continue this statement tomorrow.

(Time 11.45 pm on 11/9/66.) Accused's request complied with.

32.

I now wish to state something which I had forgotten to tell you last night. In 1927 when I came from Egypt my stepmother began to corrupt me because I was the Heir to my father's property. She got her brother to rape me when I was a child to try and destroy my manly qualities. Her brother forced me into a room and committed an unnatural deed with me. I got very scared, I was a child. This is what I had not stated before.

33.

I am politically inclined but do not belong to any political party. I like to read what goes on. I like to read foreign papers and I am generally internationally minded.

34.

I cannot say that I agree with world politics, but I was always in favour of the politics of the western world. I am a liberal but I would not describe myself as a leftist. I did say previously that I was a leftist but I had to say something.

35.

In England I did not associate much with other people because I was in hospital most of the time. In America I was on ships most of the time. While I was staying in England I did attend some political meetings. I attended meetings of the Committee of African Organisations and I attended meetings at Caxton Hall. I also attended political meetings Hyde Park in London. They were anti-colonial meetings, anti-apartheid meetings and anti-racial meetings. It's a long time ago and I cannot remember the names of all the speakers I remember speeches by Barbara Castle, Fenner Brockway and Callaghan. I used to like to attend these meetings and be present at the meetings to contribute to their way of thinking.

I did take part in a protest and propaganda meeting at Trafalgar Square. It was anti-colonial protests. I was holding the posters up but I did not speak at those meetings. I was never approached to become a member of the Communist Party. I was anti-colonial, against

slavery and in favour of all colonies which were controlled by Belgium, France and Portugal to be afforded self-government. I was against apartheid because it separated the people of different races and brought a big barrier amongst them which is difficult to describe. It brought wrong ideas among the people causing the different races to hate one another. It caused misunderstanding and suspicion amongst the different races, and made them afraid to talk to each other. People in buses did not know where to sit. South Africa is a nation of minorities of Europeans, Africans, Coloureds and Indians, I mean that South Africa consists of various races. All the apartheid laws made things confusing amongst the different races. I refer especially to the laws applying to mixed marriage because people are unable to marry whom they want to marry according to their economic means. That is what I term oppression. If there was freedom there would be no restrictions and there would be evolution so that eventually there would be only one race. That is what I mean by evolution.

36.

I was in sympathy with the people fighting racialism hence the reason for attending the meetings mentioned above. Whilst attending these meetings it never struck me that by killing the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa the apartheid laws could be changed.

It is true that I mixed with South African people in London, some of whom were leftists. In private conversations with some of these people it was said that the South African Prime Minister deserves to be shot, I cannot remember by whom this statement was made because it was merely during private conversation that this statement was made. This sort of statement was made more than once by different people. I cannot remember any particular person having made such a statement. It was just casual talk. These were isolated statements by people happened to come across by chance. To say that this was the main thought amongst leftists, is a bit exaggerated. I must have made a mistake by telling General van den Bergh this.

I used to agree with the idea that the Prime Minister deserves to be shot. I sometimes agreed with them. Sometimes we used to discuss that Dr. Verwoerd was lucky he did not die the first time he was shot. There was no decision made that he should in fact be killed – I mean I did not decide on anything at that time. I never took upon me the task of killing the Prime Minister nor did I tell anyone that I would kill the Prime Minister. I did believe that with the disappearance of the South African Prime Minister a change of policy would take place. I did set myself the task of destroying the Prime Minister. It was my own idea to kill him. No one

offer me any reward for doing so. I did not care about the consequences for what would happen to me afterwards. I was so disgusted with the racial policy that I went through with my plans to kill the Prime Minister.

Nowhere in the world where I have travelled did anyone ever tell me to kill Dr. Verwoerd. In Western countries people know very little about the South African policies.

At this stage the deponent was again warned about the seriousness of the charge against him. It was explained to him that he faces a charge of murder and that there is a danger of him being hanged for a deed which he is alleged to have committed as the result of the incitement of another. Deponent replies that no one incited him to commit the murder. Apart from what I have read in papers and on account of inflationary conditions no one has ever incited me to murder the Prime Minister.

A contributory cause was also my dissatisfaction about the existent racial laws in South Africa. I say this because it caused me a lot of frustration as I was unable to mix with the class (financial) to which I belong. I was classed as a white person and I wanted to marry a Coloured woman named Helen Daniels. I went to the Department of Interior and complained to a Mr. Rossouw that I wished to be classified as a Coloured person. I had an European identity card which I gave to Mr. Rossouw same time last year when I applied for re-classification. I could not get myself an European wife therefore I wanted a blank identity card which was given to me but later taken back by Mr. Rossouw. I visited Mr. Rossouw's office frequently and then he always wanted to know where I was staying and whether the people I was staying with were White or Coloured. This was one of the main reasons for making me upset.

37.

The Coloured woman referred to above wrote to me and sent me her photograph while I was in Durban. She got my address through some people of my church in Benoni where she was on holiday. These people are named Tillik, a Coloured family. They live in Benoni or Brakpan.

38.

It is no true that I returned to South Africa from England with the purpose of working my way

to South Africa to kill the Prime Minister.

39.

It is true that I went to Rhodesia after my arrival in South Africa to visit my sister. I did this because I have not seen her for a long time. I did not go there to say good-bye because I thought I would never see her again. At that time I did not think about the serious mission which I would not survive. It was only after I came back to Gape Town that I decided to murder the Prime Minister.

40.

Because I was out of work I went to the Labour Department to look for work. At the labour department I learned that casual labourers would be required at the House of Assembly. I went to the House of Assembly three times to look for work. I contacted Mr. Wiese at the main entrance, who directed me to Mr. Burger and Mr. Wiehand in the basement.

I went there two or three times, but there was no work. I completed certain application forms and produced my identity card, residence papers and whatever was necessary. The second last time I was told to come at the beginning of August. I went there at the beginning of August and spoke to either Mr. Burger or Mr. Wiehand who signed me on. I started work as messenger the same day.

41.

Some days after I started working in the House of Assembly, all kinds of thoughts came to my mind about murdering the Prime Minister. I saw an opportunity of shooting the Prime Minister from the lobby. I thought of obtaining a firearm. I knew that I had to obtain a licence for a firearm. Obtaining a licence would take too long. This I found out at one of the shops where I enquired about purchasing a firearm in Durban. I thought of going to a ship, the Eleni, which I knew was in Cape Town for repairs. I was acquainted with the crew members of the Eleni. While I was unemployed I used to take the crew members to Mike's shop in Main Road, Woodstock where I get commission on goods sold to the crew members. I also got free meals from the ship. I had an idea that I might be able to buy a firearm on the ship because some sailors carry firearms. I went to this ship about three to four weeks before the assassination of the Prime Minister. I saw the man in the engine room (the donkey man), who told me that the 'bosun' foreman of the crew may know where I could obtain a firearm. He said he could get me a "Beretta" revolver and a knife. I also enquired from him about a springleaf knife, which he said he could get for me. He said he wanted 80 dollars for the two

items. I told him I wanted the revolver and the knife for self-defence, he said he wanted the money in American dollars. He did not show me a revolver or a knife. I said I would return in a couple of days with the money. I waited until the end of August when I got my pay. It was, I think, R95.00. I went to Barclays Bank, Adderley Street, Cape Town and enquired to buy 80 American dollars. I was told that it would cost R56. The lady teller wanted my passport.

The next day I brought my passport and she gave me the 80 dollars. I took a taxi and went to the ship. There I saw the "bosun" and told him that I have brought the money for the gun and the knife as arranged. He said he did not have the gun, but the galley boy had a small gun which he would try and get for me. The 'bosun' went to the galley boy and brought a small gun which he said I could have for 30 dollars.

I thought it was a small calibre pistol and I decided to buy it. I took it without examining it. They had no bullets. I thought I could buy bullets from local stores. I took the pistol home where I examined it and discovered that it was a gas revolver. On Saturday the 3rd of September, I took the gas pistol back to the ship. I found the 'bosun' with the intention to return the firearm to him. Both the 'bosun' and the galley boy told me that they had spent the money. I wanted another firearm or the return of my money but ended up getting nothing. I went to the captain to protest, but as I saw I could get nothing and did not want to cause a scandal I gave up and left. I returned to my room in Rondebosch.

42.

The next thing is that I decided to use a knife to stab the Prime Minister in the House of Assembly. I never discussed my plans with anybody. The shops were closed over the weekend and the following Monday was a public holiday. At about 9 a.m. on Tuesday, 6/9/66, I went to town to buy the knives. I bought one knife from the first shop which was open. This shop is known as City Guns. Then I went to another shop further down the road and bought another knife. Both shops were closed when I arrived. I walked up and down the pavement waiting for the shops to open. I enquired at a certain shop as to when the sports shop would open. I cannot remember whether I spoke to a man or a woman.

I started work at 7.49 a.m. on 6/9/66. I arrived at the House of Assembly at 6.45 a.m. on 6/9/66. I went to work early in order to do my work and then to go out to buy the knives. I did not ask for permission to go to the town to buy the knives. I entered City Guns first and purchased a dagger. I paid R.3.30 for this dagger. I then went to the other shop where I bought another dagger - the one with the aluminium handle. It was more like a stiletto. I

bought two weapons in order to make certain of the job which I had in mind, I thought something might go wrong and that one weapon might be taken away from me. Both weapons were wrapped up in brown paper. After I bought the weapons I returned to the House of Assembly where I removed the paper wrappings from the weapons and left the paper wrappings in my locker. I also left the two daggers in my locker. I started working that morning wearing a khaki overall. When I went to the shops to buy the weapons I changed into a grey suit. When I came back I changed into my navy-blue messenger's uniform, then I changed into my uniform. I had a waistbelt underneath my uniform pant, to which two sheaths were attached. I left the two knives in the locker. I then went to the first floor to serve coffee and tea. I waited for the lights to go on indicating which offices were calling for tea and coffee. I was there until about 2 p.m. that afternoon.

43.

A few minutes before the Assembly bells began to ring for the starting of the session, I went to my locker to fetch the knives. I put them into the sheaths inside my pants and went into the Assembly lobby to wait for the Prime Minister's arrival. I had previously planned to stab the Prime Minister in the Assembly hall whilst walking to his bench. I watched him walk past and followed him into the Assembly hall. I tried to pull the dagger from the sheath but had difficulty in pulling it out. Eventually I managed to pull it out, but by that time the Prime Minister had already sat down in his bench. I was very nervous and confused that I cannot remember where I stabbed him the first blow, but I aimed at his chest. I remember stabbing him twice and then the people caught hold of me. They beat me up, kicked me and dragged me into lobby. I was disarmed and arrested.

44.

I deny that I am a Communist. I am a Christian and I believe in the Bible. I did not think I would get away after murdering the Prime Minister. I did not care what happened to me.

45.

The meeting between Dr. Verwoerd and Chief Leabua Jonathan was a contributory fact in my decision to murder Dr. Verwoerd. I say this because I thought the Prime Minister was dealing with the wrong person. Both Dr. Verwoerd and Jonathan were, to my mind, not the real representatives of their countries. I wanted the Paramount Chief of Basutoland to represent the Basuto notion. I wanted to see a government representing all the South African People. I do not think the nationalist Government is representative of the people and I wanted

to see a different government.

46.

I have a savings account at Barclays Bank, Adderley Street, Cape Town. It contains only a few rand. I deny that I ever received an amount of R5,000 from Pretoria while I was in Mozambique. I did receive about £10 to £15 from my brother for furniture he sold for me. I received no financial support from anyone.

(SGD.) Demetrio Tsafendas

Witness: (SGD.) D.J.V. Troost 23505 D/Sgt.

ANALYSIS OF TSAFENDAS'S STATEMENT

Before we discuss the content of Tsafendas's statement, it is important to consider something that Tsafendas told Major Rossouw which has not been placed on record. The following is an extract from Rossouw's testimony to the Commission of Enquiry:

COMMISSION: What was your impression, how does he feel about his deed? Does he regret it, or is he indifferent about it or did he not show any obvious emotion about it?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: I shall answer you to the best of my ability. When I originally questioned him, I accused him of being a horrible murderer. To which he answered: "That is what you think, but the world thinks differently!"

Major Rossouw then testified that at a later stage, when he asked Tsafendas again, Tsafendas told him that "he did feel remorse and that he was very sorry about what he had done." Rossouw also told the Commission that Tsafendas "told the truth – I never got the impression that he tried to evade any question. He answered all the questions spontaneously" and he was "totally prepared to answer everything."⁶⁵⁶

We are not in position to know why Tsafendas's remark that "the world thinks differently" was not written down. What is most likely is that the exchange took place on another occasion, possibly when Rossouw spoke to Tsafendas for the first time, soon after the assassination. What is important is that at that point of time at least, Tsafendas not only had

⁶⁵⁶ Major Rossouw testimony to the Commission of Enquiry, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

no regrets for killing Dr. Verwoerd but believed that the assassination was applauded by people around the world. He appears to be happy and proud of what he had done.

It is also very important that we have Major Rossouw's testimony that Tsafendas was "totally prepared to answer everything," that he did not try "to evade any question" and answered "all the questions spontaneously." This statement could have been very important for the *State vs. Tsafendas*, but it was ignored. As we will see, the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas claimed that he was unable to function on a reasonable level, unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, that he was talking in a disjointed manner and suffered from thought blocking. Major Rossouw, not a psychiatrist but a very experienced interrogator, failed to notice any of these symptoms, not only during this two-day interrogation but throughout the whole time that Tsafendas was in custody and interrogated by him.

Looking at the September 11/12 statement now, we see that Tsafendas refers to something he said previously to General van den Bergh, and presumably this was in the statement that went missing, "I must have made a mistake by telling General van den Bergh this." Significantly, Tsafendas does not mention the tapeworm. He does not mention it in the next statement either, the one that was taken on September 19. On the contrary, Tsafendas gives clear political reasons for his actions. He states that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he was "disgusted with the racial policy." That he considered Dr. Verwoerd, to be a dictator is an opinion he expressed to many witnesses. In this instance, he does not use the word dictator but says he did not consider Dr. Verwoerd to be a real representative of his country, and he wanted "to see a government representing all the South African people." He said, "I do not think the nationalist Government is representative of the people and I wanted to see a different government." Dr. Verwoerd represented only the 13.8 per cent of South Africans who were White and eligible to vote, so Tsafendas was entirely correct. Even though Tsafendas did not employ the word "dictator" for Dr. Verwoerd, it is obvious that this is how he saw him.

Furthermore, Tsafendas said he believed that by killing Dr. Verwoerd, "a change of policy would take place." It is clear that Tsafendas assassinated Dr. Verwoerd for political reasons, hoping that a change would come once the architect of apartheid "disappeared." Advocate George Bizos told the author that the reason Tsafendas gave for his motive in killing Verwoerd was "the definition of a political act." Tsafendas's belief that a change would take place afterwards was not far-fetched, and perfectly fitted with his belief that Dr.

Verwoerd was “the brains behind apartheid.” History has shown that many countries or empires have collapsed soon after the death of an instrumental, powerful, charismatic and influential leader, like Dr. Verwoerd; for example, Yugoslavia after Tito, or Alexander the Great’s empire.

Tsafendas characterises his ideology as political, describing himself as against apartheid, slavery and colonialism and “in favour of all colonies controlled by Belgium, France and Portugal being afforded self-government.” He talked freely about his political past in England, where he participated in political meetings, anti-apartheid gatherings and protests, and where he held up placards, all confirmed by witnesses.⁶⁵⁷ Stating that apartheid “oppresses” people and there is no freedom under Dr. Verwoerd is another way of calling him a tyrant, the word Tsafendas had used to more than thirty witnesses.⁶⁵⁸

At one point, Tsafendas denies that he is a leftist (“I did say previously that I was a leftist but I had to say something”⁶⁵⁹) or a Communist (“I deny that I am a Communist”⁶⁶⁰). However, at the beginning of his statement he said he was a member of the South African Communist Party in the late 1930s and 1940s, while many people who knew him told the police that Tsafendas was a Communist, even a dangerous Communist.⁶⁶¹ As we will see later in this chapter, in 1965 Tsafendas was described and reported to the South African Police as “the largest Communist in the Republic of South Africa.”⁶⁶² That Tsafendas was a Communist, was evident even to people who had just met him, as in the case of Father

⁶⁵⁷ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁶⁵⁸ For example: Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 May 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016 and many others.

⁶⁵⁹ See Tsafendas’s statement, paragraph 34.

⁶⁶⁰ See Tsafendas’s statement, paragraph 44.

⁶⁶¹ For example: Johannes Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Christoffel Van Vuuren statement to the police, 14 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Robert Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁶⁶² See J.J. Botha’s statement on October 3, 1966; Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Probst.⁶⁶³ Several witnesses told the author that Tsafendas considered himself a Communist and that he was “preaching” Communism.⁶⁶⁴ He had even joined the DSE, the military wing of the Greek Communist Party which he had joined during the Greek Civil War.⁶⁶⁵ Since Tsafendas himself initially admitted his belief to General van den Bergh, the question is, why did he deny it here?

According to Father Minas, Tsafendas said that the Greek-South African policeman at Caledon Square police station tried to become friendly with him and give him “advice.” Tsafendas told the priest that he believed the policeman had been instructed by General van den Bergh to become friendly with him and to play the “good cop” in a “good cop/bad-cop”⁶⁶⁶ scenario in order to find out more about him. Tsafendas characterised the policeman as “pathetic” and as “van den Bergh’s lackey.” Tsafendas was not even sure if he was Greek, as his name did not sound Greek, and he could not communicate in Greek, although he could speak some Greek. Tsafendas did not give more details about this policeman.⁶⁶⁷ Michalis Michelis met him in the mid-1980s and said that by then he had retired from the police force. He appeared to be in his mid to late sixties, thus in his mid to late forties when he knew Tsafendas.⁶⁶⁸

One piece of advice the Greek-South African policeman gave to Tsafendas was to stop saying he was a Communist and Dr. Verwoerd was a dictator because it irritated the

⁶⁶³ Father Hanno Probst statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁶⁶⁴ For example: Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 May 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016 and many others.

⁶⁶⁵ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

⁶⁶⁶ This was also common practice by the apartheid police (Maxwell Owusu, “Zan Boko: Mapantsula”. *City & Society*, Vol. 6, No. 2, (December 1992), p. 180; David Schalkwyk, “Chronotopes of the Self in the Writings of Women Political Prisoners in South Africa.” In Nahem Yousaf (ed.), *Apartheid Narratives*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 19; Alan Wieder, *Ruth First and Joe Slovo in the War Against Apartheid*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2013), p. 139; Jeremy Wilson, ‘Arsenal’s Chief Executive Ivan Gazidis: Nelson Mandela, Dad and the Fight Against Apartheid’, *The Telegraph*, 13 December 2013. Retrieved from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/teams/arsenal/10517295/Arsenals-chief-executive-Ivan-Gazidis-Nelson-Mandela-Dad-and-the-fight-against-apartheid.html>).

⁶⁶⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁶⁶⁸ Michalis Michelis in a personal interview, 12 December 2015.

police and made things worse for himself.”⁶⁶⁹ Tsafendas did not tell Father Minas or anyone else that this policeman was the reason he denied being a Communist or that he had indeed denied being a Communist during interrogation. What he said was that he was “advised” by this man to stop proclaiming his allegiance, so perhaps considered it advantageous to do so at the time. As we will see later, Tsafendas stated frankly in 1976 that he was a Communist then. He would also tell Father Minas Constandinou and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in the 1990s that he was a Communist and would die a Communist.⁶⁷⁰ We can only assume that Tsafendas denied being a Communist to ease the torture. He had done the same in Portugal in 1952 when he was tortured by the Portuguese, pleading that he was not a Communist anymore. Then in 1963, in order to convince the authorities to give him amnesty and allow him back into Mozambique, he assured them that he was not a Communist and his anti-colonial ideas belonged to the past.

Tsafendas claimed in his police statement that his step-mother asked her brother to rape him when he was nine. In 1946, in Grafton State Hospital, he spoke extensively about his sexual life and past sexual “traumas,” all of which he invented, but he did not mention a rape and instead claimed that his step-mother wanted to have sex with him. Tsafendas brought the rape story up with Dr. Cooper when he examined him for the defence at the summary trial. The author is not in position to know if such a rape occurred. What is almost impossible to believe is that his step-mother asked her brother to do such a thing and that Tsafendas really believed it happened. He spoke negatively about his relationship with his step-mother to two psychiatrists, but never to anyone else. On the contrary, he often described how loving she was and how she treated him as her own child. Tsafendas talked at length about his life and childhood to Fathers Minas, Ioannis and Spiros and invariably praised Marika, calling her mother and not stepmother. Several witnesses, including some who knew Tsafendas since he was a child, declared it impossible that Tsafendas would ever have believed Marika could have done such thing. Even if there had been a rape, he could never have believed Marika was the instigator. In addition, several witnesses told the author that at the time of the alleged rape, there was no uncle in Mozambique.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁶⁷⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁶⁷¹ For example: Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017, and several others.

Later in life, Tsafendas said two claims were necessary to make an “insane act” look real and convince someone you are mad:

- a. To have a family history of insanity and
- b. To have a childhood trauma.

The above seems to explain why Tsafendas said negative things about his step-mother to the psychiatrists, but not to anyone else or to the police, since at the time, he was not trying to prove he was insane. On the contrary, his statements do not show any sign of schizophrenia. It is very possible that Tsafendas made the rape claim to the police because he knew he might need to pretend madness to avoid torture or worse as a consequence of killing Dr. Verwoerd. If a mad act became necessary, having a childhood trauma in his past would add authenticity. The fact that he had talked about childhood traumas at the Grafton State Hospital back in 1946, without mentioning the rape, but by making up another absurd claim, would further strengthen his claim. However, the author has not been able to establish for a fact why Tsafendas made a claim of rape or whether such an incident ever occurred.

Could Tsafendas’s statement to Major Rossouw have been as a result of torture and intimidation? Certainly not for two reasons:

- What Tsafendas said about his political ideas, for example being anti-apartheid and anti-colonialist, is something he told several witnesses. They were his own, undisguised beliefs and no force was needed to make him say these things. Although Tsafendas is quite mild in describing Dr. Verwoerd and does not employ his usual denunciation of him as a dictator and a tyrant, he gets close by declaring that he is not the real presentative of all South African people. Tsafendas’s participation in anti-apartheid activities and demonstrations in London was confirmed to the police by Edward Furness’s statement.⁶⁷² Tsafendas said in his statement that he hoped a change of policy would take place after the death of Dr. Verwoerd, exactly what he told witnesses several years later.
- Assuming Tsafendas had been forced to make this statement, what was its purpose? It was not used during his summary trial or by the Commission of Enquiry and it was not publicised at the time, nor even later. Why would the police force Tsafendas to make such a statement when it was not going to be used anywhere and no one was going to see it?

Perhaps the best indication that the statement represented Tsafendas’s true feelings is that the ideas he set out were the same, cherished beliefs he had reiterated many times to

⁶⁷² Edward Furness statement to the police 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

numerous witnesses. If they were couched in milder terms, that would be natural, considering his circumstances at the time.

With reference to Tsafendas's statement about the psychiatrists' testimony at the summary trial, Professor Tuviah Zabow, a forensic psychiatrist, commented as follows:

"I have read the information with interest particularly the collateral background provided. Much of this was not available at time of psychiatric assessments or in the Court. Of interest is the Tsafendas statement which was done early on the investigation and much of the information he must have been able to provide or a least agreed upon if coerced to sign. If he was psychotic and unable to marshal his thoughts, this would not have been possible. This is significant in relation to the expert testimonies which are so central to the discussion that all these were provided without background factual information at than stage."⁶⁷³

Neither Reyner van Zyl, the clinical psychologist who examined Tsafendas for the defence during the summary trial, nor Professors Alban Burke and Tuviah Zabow saw any signs of schizophrenia in the statement, nor any of the symptoms described by the psychiatrists in the court.⁶⁷⁴ Tsafendas's statement was not given to his defence team and maybe not to the State either. Van Zyl stated that "those sentiments expressed in the statement that he made to the police weren't ever mentioned to any of the psychiatrists." Van Zyl believes the statement should have been given to all of those who examined Tsafendas.⁶⁷⁵

Professor Alban Burke told the author about Tsafendas's statement:

"If he had been psychotic at the time that he was committing the murder, he would have been psychotic at the time of his arrest, because it doesn't disappear like that, so you would have picked up traces of that already in his statement. His statement would not have made sense; you would have had a lot of irrelevant detail in there, so it is, again, not the picture of somebody who committed a crime whilst he was under, or in, a state of psychosis."⁶⁷⁶

Advocate George Bizos considers that Tsafendas's whole statement shows he was "a politically minded person and activist who opposed apartheid and colonialism. He clearly killed Verwoerd with the hope that apartheid would collapse without him."⁶⁷⁷ Professor John

⁶⁷³ Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 3 September 2016.

⁶⁷⁴ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016;

⁶⁷⁵ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

⁶⁷⁶ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

⁶⁷⁷ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

Dugard told the author that “the statement completely confirms the view that Tsafendas was not insane. It reads like a very normal story of a politically informed person, angry with apartheid and Dr. Verwoerd, determined to make a change with nothing to lose personally - really an incredible statement which was carefully concealed.”⁶⁷⁸ Denis Goldberg told the author that Tsafendas’s statement “clearly shows that he was politically motivated [for killing Verwoerd] and not insane ... the man is determined to kill the Prime Minister because of the racism... [Tsafendas] has a clear political opinion about racism.”⁶⁷⁹

STATEMENTS

CONRAD OELEFSEN⁶⁸⁰

White male, Durban, 5.18 pm.

I know Demetrio Tsafendas by sight. During 1963, about June, I met this man in Kitwe. He borrowed a lorry-jack from me one day. I often saw this chap afterwards. He was always with a few Bantu in a five-ton truck. I do not know whether he was the owner of the truck. He was carting fish — Luapala river to the Buchu compound in Kitwe, where it was sold. I saw this man for a period of about five months in Kitwe. I did not converse with this man at any time. During that period I did not know his name. I recognised him from a photo in the Sunday Tribune of September 11, 1966. I know nothing else about this man.

COMMENTS ON OELEFSEN’S STATEMENT

The report of the Commission of Enquiry states that “Tsafendas denies that he ever visited that country, and says that he did not leave Portugal until August or September, 1963.”⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁸ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

⁶⁷⁹ Denis Goldberg in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

⁶⁸⁰ Conrad Oelefsen statement to the police, 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van vorm Z 204. NASA.

⁶⁸¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph. 41.

RUI FORJAZ⁶⁸²

Beira, in a Memo to: Mr M.R. Hall.

I presume you know by now that Dimitris Tsafendas, the assassin of Dr. Verwoerd, worked on the Beira/Feruka oil pipeline for a very short time, the Police came and took him away. When he was freed, he called on us to claim a few days' wages with overtime Mr Ballard authorized me to pay him the amount of 1.644#40 as per copy of Debit Note no. 142 attached. This Debit Note is signed by him. I thought this information might be of interest to you.

Yours Faithfully

Rui Forjaz

PRESS REPORTS OF THE DAY

The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* published that day a strikingly inaccurate portrait of Tsafendas by several anonymous "leading psychiatrists and psychologists," presenting him as "the classic picture of an incipient or an actual paranoid schizophrenic." Basing their diagnosis on scraps of information emerging in the first four days since the assassination, they pegged him as feckless, rootless, lacking in motivation and suffering from an inferiority complex. Contradicting evidence that Tsafendas was reared in a loving family environment, they declared that he was rejected by his family and spent his early years in an atmosphere of hostility. From this, they said, could have developed a fear and distrust of the outside world. This was a travesty of the truth, which, as testified by several people who knew him well, was that Tsafendas was gregarious, talkative and open to people. The psychiatrists concluded that Tsafendas did not get married because it was usual for "paranoiac-schizophrenic" people to see others as "threats," and women in particular could be seen in this light.⁶⁸³

The experts were presumably unaware of Tsafendas's association with Helen Daniels, and, as we will soon see, his interest in marrying Sybie Barendilia or Stella. The medics also

⁶⁸² Rui Forjaz in a Memo to Mr. M.R. Hall, 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁶⁸³ Margaret Smith, 'Classic Picture of A Psychotic', *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 11 September 1966: 1.

referred to Tsafendas allegedly being called “Blackie” at school, something reported by Sakellaridis, the racist Greek editor and supporter of Dr. Verwoerd who had never met Tsafendas and heard it by someone who do not even know if he really knew Tsafendas, which turned out to be a lie.⁶⁸⁴ We will not examine every, invariably mistaken, deduction carried in this ludicrous report, but it is hardly surprising that the “leading psychiatrists and psychologists” mentioned remained unnamed.

On the same page, however, the same newspaper carried a markedly different story, in which Tsafendas was described as “a man who loved South Africa and seemed to worry about what he believed to be social injustices.” In addition, under the headline “*Assassin – Man With A Chip On His Shoulder,*” the paper’s Durban correspondent wrote that Tsafendas had impressed the police in that city as being deeply concerned about South Africa’s Immorality Law. The story said he frequently visited Durban’s North Beach restaurants. Tsafendas was well liked by Mr. Willemse, once his landlord, who described him as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.” On the other hand, workers at the Mandini, Zululand factory described Tsafendas as a “violent sort of person” on account of his fight with Nikolas Vergos. A fellow interpreter at Durban court described him as a “whiner” who often complained about the working conditions and his lack of money.⁶⁸⁵

The *Sunday Tribune* of Durban reported what it called an “amazing blunder” concerning Tsafendas’s status. It said he was declared a prohibited immigrant in 1950 and his name was still on the Stop List for visas. Yet this year he was granted permanent residence. The paper said attempts to confirm this with government departments drew a complete blank.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁴ Smith, ‘Classic Picture of A Psychotic’, *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 11 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁸⁵ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

⁶⁸⁶ *Sunday Tribune*, ‘Tsafendas-Amazing Blunder is Disclosed’, 11 September 1966: 2.

MONDAY, 12 SEPTEMBER 1966

LT. COL. VAN WYK ARRIVES IN MOZAMBIQUE

On this day, Lt. Col. P.J.P. van Wyk of the South African Police arrived in Lourenço Marques to investigate Tsafendas's past and to interview anyone who knew him or might have useful information about him. His local assistant was sub-Inspector A. Vaz of the Portuguese police, who explained to van Wyk the strict instructions he had received from his headquarters in Lisbon. These were that he should help with the investigation where possible but that he must not become so deeply involved that other organisations might learn of it with possible negative repercussions for his government. Vaz briefed van Wyk about Tsafendas's arrest and release at Beira during 1964-65 and undertook to send a copy of the file to General van den Bergh. Captain Rui Tavora, the Police District Commander in Beira, also gave assistance to van Wyk. This officer circulated an official request for anyone knowing Tsafendas to come forward for interview; he provided a room where such interviews could take place.⁶⁸⁷ As we will see, a copy of the Beira arrest file was duly dispatched to General van den Bergh. However, as instructed by sub-Inspector Vaz's superiors in Lisbon, "all information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique" was left out.

STATEMENTS

BRENDA JESSIE NICHOLSON⁶⁸⁸

Teller at the Adderley Street Branch of the Barclays Bank, Cape Town.

She recognized Tsafendas as the "customer who had shortly previous been to the bank to my counter. I could not place the transaction but have since checked my records. I now remember that this man had been to the bank to purchase some American Dollars. I remember having asked him why he wanted the dollars. He said he was going to Mozambique. I asked him to bring me his passport. According to my sheets I have on

⁶⁸⁷ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁶⁸⁸ Brenda Jessie Nicholson statement to the police, 12 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

1.9.1966 sold 80 American Dollars for R57.78. I am sure that this deal was made with the accused. I also remember that the money he gave me was very dirty, I think all R2-notes.

Statement taken by D/Sergt. D.J.V. Troost.

PRESS REPORTS OF THE DAY

The biggest story of the day, in the *Pretoria News*, said rumours that Tsafendas had hanged himself in his cell “spread today like wildfire.” A police spokesman dismissed the report with a laconic, “We know nothing about it.”⁶⁸⁹ Most South African newspapers, with Dr. Verwoerd’s funeral over, refocussed on Tsafendas, describing him as a “drifter and an outcast”⁶⁹⁰ and listing his deportations from Britain and America.⁶⁹¹ A front page story in *The Cape Times*, headed “*Tsafendas in turmoil all his life*,” presented a lengthy and largely accurate account of Tsafendas’s life, stressing that though he was deported from Britain, the United States and Mozambique and had been treated for mental illness, he still managed to gain employment in South Africa’s Houses of Parliament.⁶⁹²

The *Daily Dispatch* quoted a spokesman for the British Home Office as saying Tsafendas was given permission to stay in Britain for three months but at the end of that period he appeared to have no money and was required to leave. He did not leave voluntarily and a deportation order was enforced on December 3, 1959. US Immigration Service records showed that Tsafendas was deported from the United States three times.⁶⁹³ The *Toronto Globe and Mail* quoted US officials in Washington as saying that Tsafendas entered the United States by crossing the Canadian border at St. Stephen, New Brunswick.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁸⁹ *Pretoria News*, ‘Suicide of Tsafendas Rumoured’, 12 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁹⁰ *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas in Turmoil All His Life’, 12 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁹¹ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Tsafendas was Deported from Britain and America’, 12 September 1966: 2; *The Globe and Mail*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Slayer Entered USA from Canada’, 12 September 1966: 2; *The Rhodesia Herald*, ‘Britain Deported Tsafendas’, 12 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁹² *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas in Turmoil All His Life’, 12 September 1966: 1.

⁶⁹³ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Tsafendas was Deported from Britain and America’, 12 September 1966: 2.

⁶⁹⁴ *The Globe and Mail*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Slayer Entered USA from Canada’, 12 September 1966: 2.

VORSTER: “NO FILE ON TSAFENDAS”

The most important announcement came from John Vorster on his last day as Minister of Justice, Prisons and Police, and the day before he became Prime Minister. Vorster declared that the South African Security Police had no file on Tsafendas. The previous day, *Die Beeld* had claimed that the Security Police had a file on Tsafendas. Vorster denounced the report as “devoid of all truth.” He said many published reports were unduly sensational and some were totally untrue. He promised that a complete statement would be made when the time arrived. “The whole matter is still being investigated continuously and after the trial it will, as is proper, be disclosed to the public.”⁶⁹⁵

As it turned out, Vorster was “misinformed” and the report was entirely correct since the Security Police did in fact hold a file on Tsafendas. Indeed, three further files on Tsafendas had been created by the Security Police, but only one could be found in September 1966. According to the report of the Commission of Enquiry into Dr. Verwoerd’s death:

*“Tsafendas’s name was in fact on the so-called “stop list”, and the Security Police had had a copy of the list since 1964. However, General van den Bergh was not aware of this when he made his statement to the Prime Minister, and in any case the denial did not refer to this list.”*⁶⁹⁶

Unknown to Die Beeld when the report was printed, and unknown to General van den Bergh when the denial was made, was the fact that there was an old Police file, W.D. 10/10/4102, on Demetrios Tsafandakis. It was not until 13th September, 1966, that this file was traced by the Security Police as a result of information found in the files of the Department of the Interior. It is true that the file was found in a building which is now being used by the Security Police, but it was explained to the Commission that the room in which it was found is actually used to store so-called “dead files” of the Divisional Commissioner of the Witwatersrand.

This file contained, inter alia, the letters dated 13th October, 1941, and 20th October, 1941, quoted in paragraph 25 of Chapter II A of this report. It also appears from these letters that in 1941 the Commissioner of Police in Pretoria had a file 6/1835/3697 (the correct reference is 6/835/3697) on Demetrios Tsafendakis.

⁶⁹⁵ *Pretoria News*, ‘Vorster: Police Had No File On Tsafendas’, 12 September 1966: 11.

⁶⁹⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter XI, Paragraph 4

The Security Police Branch was established in 1947, and in 1950 files which were of importance to the Security Police were transferred to them. This file was apparently not considered important, and was destroyed in 1963.

*... There were also two other files of the Witwatersrand Division, W.D. 10/3/305 (see paragraph 16 of Chapter II A) and W.D. 2/2078/366, but the former cannot be traced and the latter was destroyed in 1946.*⁶⁹⁷

Thus, according to the Commission, General van den Bergh was not aware of the existence of the file and inadvertently misinformed Vorster. Then the very next day the file was found, but Vorster did not make a new announcement to correct his mistake. Eventually the Commission discovered that there were FOUR files in total on Tsafendas and although two have been destroyed, the fourth had disappeared and no-one was able to locate it. What was in Tsafendas's missing file is something that the author is not in position to know, as the file is still missing.

The Commission's report, like most of the reports by similar Commissions at the time of apartheid, whitewashed the negligence of the Security Police and covered up for Vorster's apparent "mistake," attributing it to misinformation. This, of course, could have been true. However, the possibility that Vorster deliberately lied about the existence of the file in order to protect the Security Police, cannot be excluded. Vorster's waywardness with the truth had already been demonstrated in 1964 when he publicly denied that political prisoners were tortured despite widespread reports to the contrary. It will later be proven that Vorster had lied.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter XI, Paragraph 5.

⁶⁹⁸ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Two*, p. 198.

TUESDAY, 13 SEPTEMBER 1966

**CONFIDENTIAL SECURITY REPORT OF D/S/O/ GRIST OF THE SPECIAL
BRANCH OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE IN UMTALI⁶⁹⁹**

I refer to report of even referenced dated 8th September, 1966, from P.S.B.O. Mashonaland in connection with the above.

The Katherine HARALAMBOS mentioned therein has been identified as being identical to Mrs. Katherine Cleo PNEUMA (nee TSAFANDAKIS, born Lourenço Marques 1928).

According to Mrs. PNEUMA her father was named MICHAEL TSAFANDAKIS and was a marine engineer carrying on business in Lourenço Marques. Mr. TSAFANDAKIS evidently died in Pretoria four years ago, but her mother, Maria Tsafandakis is still resident there. Mrs. TSAFANDAKIS commutes between two daughters and a son, all resident at various addresses in Pretoria but the only one that Mrs. PNEUMA remembers is that of her younger sister, Mrs. Helen VLACHOPOULOS, 39 Quagga Road, Proclamation Hill, Pretoria.

Catherine Cleo PNEUMA is married to a Greek National Gerald Stephen Peter PNEUMA (Bn. Greece, 15/8/13, ent. Umtali June 1921) who carries the business of General Dealer in Marandellas under the trading name of "Marandellas Trading Company."

Mrs. PNEUMA alleges that DIMITRIO TSAFENDAS is the illegitimate son of her father who was born some years prior to her father marrying her mother. Although DIMITRIO was much older than his step brother/sisters, he nevertheless spent school holidays with the family and to all intents and purposes it was understood by Mrs. PNEUMA and her brother and sisters that he was a member of the family... his complexion was such – as also his manner – that he passed as a European.

It was about this time -1937- that Mrs. PNEUMA states she saw DIMITRIO for the last time for many years, in fact it was some twenty-six years later than she saw him, this time in Pretoria. She was visiting his sisters and mother there where she learned that DIMITRIO had 'turned-up' and was hanging around sponging. He was then met by her at her sister's house and within a short time she could agree with the other members of the family that he

⁶⁹⁹ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

was unbalanced, talking nonsense most of the time -to the extent that the young children of the family were laughing at him. He had scrounged money for ... (indecipherable). One of the most outstanding recalls Mrs. PNEUMA had of her half-brother at the time (1964) was that he talked on and on for hours about his travels in various parts of the world and also discussed the bible and Religious teaching. He was well dressed and gave a good appearance although as far as she could see he had no visible means of support.

The next time she saw this man was when he suddenly arrived unannounced in Marandellas. He made considerable inquiry in Marandellas to locate her and from what she says she was thoroughly embarrassed by the intimation that he was her brother and that she did eventually see him in the store, after a short while, she told him to go and that he did. She said that during the time she spoke to him, he was talking rubbish although she could not remember outright to what in fact he had actually said. When he left, he told her that he intended leaving for Portuguese East Africa via Umtali (this would appear the visit to the country that he made in July 1964 when he entered via Bulawayo). The next time she heard of him was during the Easter holiday 1965 which she and her husband spent in Beira, whilst there they learnt that he had been in Prison in Beira. The reason for his detention was not known. The next and last encounter with him occurred when his name and photograph appeared at the front of the Rhodesia Herald.

From other sources it is learnt that the foregoing are well known facts among the more senior and well established Greek families, both in Marandellas and in Salisbury. It is also reliably reported that the TSAFANDAKIS family hold a good reputation among the Greek community and there are suggestions that MICHAEL⁷⁰⁰ TSAFANDAKIS made a big mistake in attempting to raise his illegitimate son as a full member of his family.

At the time of the interview Mrs. PNEUMA was considerably upset and her opinion and facts might be slightly biased and inaccurate. She was unable to assist further with information as to Dimitrio's contacts and movements.

⁷⁰⁰ Michael is the English for the Spanish/Portuguese Miguel. Michalis in Greek.

COMMENTS OF PNEFMA TO THE AUTHOR REGARDING HER STATEMENT

In an interview with the author, Katerina Pnefma said:

“Of course I was upset! He [Tsafendas] had ruined my life. I knew he had the moment I heard about it [the assassination]. I knew the destruction he had caused us. We had to be protected from reporters. My sister-in-law – my brother’s wife – and my two sisters at their businesses, the Afrikaans people would come and spit at them. Their houses, their windows were broken. They used to throw stones. We suffered an enormous amount. Now, I lived in a small town, so people would turn around to see me, to look at me, because I was Tsafendas’s sister.... I had this community, in which I was very high up in business, and we knew the whole little town, in which, of course, after that, I never felt the same. And, as I said before, we never went anywhere, anyway. And, after that, we were all stigmatised. My sister, Michalis’ mother, also never went anywhere. My poor sister that is now alone, she also... none of us, we were all totally destroyed. From then on my brother’s career was at a stop. He never went higher; he remained as he was. So he destroyed my brother’s career. He destroyed us as a family, because wherever we went, they knew who we were.

Then the police came – a lieutenant and two policemen – and I said, ‘Look, I have nothing to do with this man. He is only related to us from our father, but we have had nothing much to do with him.’ I remember it as if it was yesterday. I was by myself in the house ... no, they [the policemen] didn’t have a typing machine; they were keeping notes ... I didn’t say anything. I was so shocked that I don’t think ... all I could think of was, ‘what are we going to do now he has disgraced us?’ I don’t remember saying that he was unbalanced, he certainly was not ... none of thought he was unbalanced. He was perfectly sane. He was very clever, cleverer than any of us [the family]. I must have meant that he had crazy political ideas, I don’t remember saying that at all ... I remember saying that he was talking rubbish! He was always talking rubbish, but I couldn’t tell the police what exactly he was saying! He was saying that the South Africans are Nazis, he was calling Dr. Verwoerd Hitler’s best student ... that us and most whites were exploiting the black Rhodesians ... he was calling the Greeks racists, saying that one day the Rhodesians would kick us all out and take back what we stole from them ... that one day the Blacks in South Africa would throw the Whites into the sea ...

He believed Mozambique and South Africa should have a colourful flag, like a rainbow or something in order for each colour to represent each race! Have you heard

anything more absurd? He used to say that Jesus Christ was socialist and that if he was alive today he would have been a revolutionary, fighting apartheid and for the independence of Mozambique! Can you believe it? Well, this is what he was saying, all this kind of nonsense! How could I have told all these things to the police? They would have said ‘Why didn’t you report him to the police since he had such crazy ideas? Didn’t you know he was dangerous?’ You can’t imagine how many people had told my poor father to do something with him and his crazy political ideas. You can’t imagine how many! Even my poor mother told him to talk to him because he would get us into trouble someday, as he was often doing, but my dad did nothing. It was actually all his fault. He taught him all these things, but my father was a cautious man, he was not like Dimitri; he wouldn’t go around saying all these stupidities. His son was the opposite; he couldn’t keep his mouth shut ... what about the other thing? He changed his name because he thought it was insulting to be called Tsafantakis since this was the name given to our ancestors by the Turks! Wasn’t this nonsense?

I must have made a mistake or a lie to the police about seeing him for the first time after twenty or so years in Marandellas. I had seen him in Pretoria the previous Christmas [1963]. Yes, it was also a mistake or a lie that he came unannounced in Rhodesia. I had invited him to come meet my husband...⁷⁰¹

Finally, Tsafendas’s step-mother, two half-sisters and their husbands, his half-brother and his wife, all gave evidence to the Commission of Enquiry. Every one of them said clearly that Tsafendas “was definitely not insane.”⁷⁰²

STATEMENTS

CHRISTOFFEL JOHANNES VAN VUUREN⁷⁰³

White Male, 56 years old, Mandini, Zululand.

I am employed at the Mandini Paper Factory in Zululand as a security officer. I’ve been in the service of this factory for the past seven years. I have never been a member of the South African police, but have been part of the South African Permanent Force. At 5:55 pm on Friday 05/07/1965, while I was on duty at the factory, a man who was known to me as

⁷⁰¹ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁷⁰² COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁷⁰³ Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Demetrios Tsafendas came to my office and showed me a wound to his right forearm. The wound looked serious and bleeding profusely. Demetrios told me that he was assaulted by one Nick Vergos, who is known generally among us as "Nicky the Greek, with a razor." I then took Demetrios to the emergency room, where he received treatment for the wound. I ordered him to come to me after the treatment. He came back and told me the whole story - I can only remember that he said they had an argument, but I cannot remember why. At the time of this incident Demetrios Tsafendas was employed by Fraser & Chalmers, an engineering company, working for our factory at Mandini. Nick Vergos was also employed by the same company. I fetched Nick Vergos at the recreation club and brought him to my office. On the way to the office Vergos admitted that he assaulted Demetrios with a razor, because the latter tried to assault him with a knife. Meanwhile, Demetrios Tsafendas was waiting at my office for us.

I summoned the SA police from Inyoni and while we waited for their arrival, the two spoke very hostilely and in a foreign language with each other. It was clear that they loathed each other. I suspect that they spoke Greek to each other. Among other things, Vergos told me in English that Demetrios was not a Greek, but a kaffir and a communist. However, I did not pay much attention to their comments and bad mouthing. The SA Police of Inyoni later came and removed both of them. I later learned that Vergos was found guilty and fined and that he paid his fine.

During the afternoon of 05.08.1965, Father Hanno of Mangete Catholic Church came to my office to get some information about a certain person. While Hanno and I stood together chatting, Demetrios Tsafendas stood just outside my office with his arm wrapped in a bandage. Father Hanno pointed to Demetrios and remarked to me: "That man there is a dangerous man - he is a communist. He can also speak nine different languages. Why don't you get rid of him?" That's all he said to me regarding Demetrios Tsafendas. However, I am not much bothered by him, because he (Hanno) is a man who likes to talk a lot and jump to his own conclusions. After Hanno spoke to me, I one day mentioned to Demetrios' employer (Mr. Woods) what Hanno had told me about Demetrios. Mr. Woods then told me that Demetrios will be dismissed anyway.

A few days after my conversation with Mr. Woods, Demetrios left Mandini and about a month afterwards I bumped into him again in West Street, Durban. He recognized me first and greeted me. I then asked him where he was working, which he then said that he does not work, but that he is going to the Cape. He did not say when nor what he would be doing in

the Cape. We went our separate ways and I never saw him again. One morning a few days after the attack on Dr. Verwoerd, I noticed the killer's portrait in a newspaper and immediately recognized him as Demetrios Tsafendas that previously worked for the company Fraser & Chalmers at Mandini and who was involved in the assault case.

Mandini 13 October 1966 at 10.00 am.

Statement taken by me ... (Indecipherable name)

VORSTER SELECTED AS PRIME MINISTER

On September 13, exactly a week after Dr. Verwoerd's death and after Leader of the House Barend J. Schoeman withdrew from the contest, Justice Minister John Vorster was chosen unanimously to be South Africa's new Prime Minister.⁷⁰⁴ Vorster was only thirteenth in order of party seniority⁷⁰⁵ and owed his win to the support he got from the National Party's extreme right wingers, the Broederbond, of which he was a member (Broeder number 3737⁷⁰⁶), and the Dutch Reformed Church, of which his brother Jacobus was a leading minister.⁷⁰⁷

In his first statements after his election, Vorster called for unity between English- and Afrikaans-speaking people for the sake of the fatherland. Emphasising his concern for the security of the state, he declared apartheid to be the only practical policy meeting the interests of all sections of the community. Vorster reaffirmed Dr. Verwoerd's assurances that South Africa would not interfere in the affairs of neighbouring states and asked that South Africa should be accorded the same consideration and be left alone to work out her own salvation.⁷⁰⁸

Vorster also promptly gave notice that he would follow in the doctrinaire footsteps of his predecessor, with apartheid remaining the country's guiding principle, promising to "walk

⁷⁰⁴ *TIME*, 'South Africa: The Security Man', 23 September 1966: 34-37.

⁷⁰⁵ Miller, *An African Volk: The Apartheid Regime and Its Search for Survival*, p. 29.

⁷⁰⁶ Bell and Ntsebeza, *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*, p. 28; Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. A290.

⁷⁰⁷ *TIME*, 'South Africa: The Security Man', 23 September 1966: 34-37.

⁷⁰⁸ South Africa's New Prime Minister. Telegram of Sir H. Stephenson from Cape Town to the Foreign Office. 20 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

further along the road set by Dr. Verwoerd.”⁷⁰⁹ He signalled that there would be no easing of security measures by announcing that he would retain responsibility for the police. Like Dr. Verwoerd, Vorster claimed that apartheid was the will of God, “I believe that we still have a long way to go in the process of fulfilling our calling and that God who has so called us through His Grace, will not abandon us until we have completed our task.”⁷¹⁰ He then declared “I believe in the Nationalist Party and its principles and the full implementation of them with all their consequences” and praised his predecessor saying that no man in the history of South Africa had done more to promote national unity than Dr. Verwoerd. He added “as far as the people of this country are concerned, they want to come together and to stand together not because they are being forced to do so by outside circumstances but because they and I believe in this.” He concluded by saying that as far as God gave it to a man to work out his own destiny, the destiny of South Africa would be decided in this country by South Africans themselves.⁷¹¹

Predictably, Vorster’s accession disappointed the English-speaking press while delighting the Afrikaans media. The best the English newspapers appeared to hope for was some softening of Vorster’s hard line against liberalism under the responsibilities of national leadership. The *Cape Argus* pointed out that “a demonstration of clemency would not detract from the complexion of strength or from the conviction of all South Africans that they are opposed to any interference in their affairs.” However, the *Star* feared that Vorster’s past record rendered the outlook for freedom bleak.⁷¹²

The Afrikaans press portrayed Vorster’s appointment as evidence of the continuity of principles within the Nationalist Party, demonstrating the rewards of unity and solidarity. *Die Burger* said Vorster had become a controversial figure because of “the hard and unpleasant task which Dr. Verwoerd gave him,” but the paper considered he was well equipped for the highest office and expressed confidence that he would “grow into it.” It noted that it had become a familiar phenomenon “to sing praise at the end of a Premier’s career, which began with prophecies of doom.” Afrikaner reaction generally was a closing of ranks in support of a necessarily strong leader. As for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, the British

⁷⁰⁹ *The New York Times*, ‘South African Party Picks Vorster as Prime Minister’, 14 September 1966: 1.

⁷¹⁰ Mzimela, ‘Nazism and Apartheid: The Role of Christian Churches in Nazi Germany and Apartheid South Africa’, 1980, p. 155; van Jaarsveld, ‘The Afrikaner’s Idea of his Calling and Mission in South African History’, p. 17.

⁷¹¹ Telegram No. 525 of Sir Hugh Stephenson from Cape Town to the Foreign Office. 13 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

⁷¹² Telegram No. 525 of Sir Hugh Stephenson from Cape Town to the Foreign Office. 13 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

ambassador Sir Hugh Stephenson, said it “indulged in fulsome praise of Vorster, which at times was reminiscent of the adulation heaped on Hitler or Stalin.”⁷¹³ *The New York Times* said that South Africa’s Nationalists had “flouted world opinion in the most dramatic manner possible by selecting Vorster as their new Prime Minister” since “none of the other prospective successors to Dr. Verwoerd symbolise so utterly the Republic’s oppressive racial policies and police-state laws ...”⁷¹⁴

Six days after he became Prime Minister, a confidential report by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office compared Vorster to Dr. Verwoerd in these terms:

“Vorster apparently did not share Dr. Verwoerd’s idealistic convictions about the policy of apartheid in the sense of separate development in equality. Dr. Verwoerd, despite his preeminence in Afrikaner politics - which Mr. Vorster does not share, was himself never able entirely to carry his followers with him in support of the very great efforts and expenditure he wished to devote to his conception of apartheid.”⁷¹⁵

The Portuguese newspaper *Portugal Democratico* announced Vorster’s win in an editorial entitled “South Africa’s Hitler.” It said, “It would be hard to find in all of Africa a man more extreme in his opinions about racism, more obstinate in the application of a dogma and more persuaded of the justice of his convictions.”⁷¹⁶ Very soon, Vorster appeared to justify the newspaper’s argument by placing old Nazi supporters and inmates from the internment camps of the Second World War into high positions in the security apparatus. The best known of them were General Hendrik van den Bergh, who became head of state security, and P.J. Rieketer who became his economic advisor.⁷¹⁷

JOHN VORSTER’S BRIEF BIOGRAPHY⁷¹⁸

John Vorster (1915-1983) was the thirteenth of fourteen children of a wealthy Afrikaner farmer. He studied law at Stellenbosch University,⁷¹⁹ graduating with a Bachelor of Arts

⁷¹³ Telegram No. 525 of Sir Hugh Stephenson from Cape Town to the Foreign Office. 13 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

⁷¹⁴ *The New York Times*, ‘South African Party Picks Vorster as Prime Minister’, 14 September 1966: 46.

⁷¹⁵ Confidential letter from the Foreign and Commonwealth Offices to Certain Missions. 19 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

⁷¹⁶ *Portugal Democratico*, ‘O Hitler da Africa do Sul’, ANO XI-No. 111- S. Paulo, Outubro de 1966: 1, 3.

⁷¹⁷ Marx, *Oxwagon Sentinel: Radical Afrikaner Nationalism and the History of the Ossewabrandwag*, p.559; Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 107.

⁷¹⁸ For more about Vorster see: D’Oliveira, J. (1977) *Vorster – the Man*; Giliomee, H. (2012) *The Last Afrikaner Leaders: A Supreme Test of Power*; Schrire, R. (ed.) (1994) *Leadership in the Apartheid State: From Malan to de Klerk*; Terblanche, H.O. (1983) *John Vorster: Ob-General en Afrikanervegter*.

degree in 1936 and a Bachelor of Law in 1938. His first job was Registrar for the Judge President of the Cape, Justice H.S. van Zyl.⁷²⁰ Although he graduated as a barrister, he practised as an attorney in Port Elizabeth.⁷²¹ At the age of twenty-six, on December 20, 1941, Vorster married a former fellow student at Stellenbosch, Martini Malan, and they raised two boys and a girl. Martini became active on the public scene, managing Vorster's political campaigns after a spending time as a social, worker.⁷²²

Vorster was a fanatical Nazi supporter and a leading member of South Africa's own pro-Nazi paramilitary organization, the Ossewabrandwag (OB). He first became a "Stormjaer" (Storm Trooper),⁷²³ then, aged twenty-five in 1941, and later was appointed a "general" in the Port Elizabeth district.⁷²⁴ In 1942, he said of the OB, "We stand for Christian Nationalism, which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic dictatorship if you wish. In Italy, it is called Fascism, in Germany, National Socialism, and in South Africa, Christian Nationalism."⁷²⁵ Later that year, after expressing his admiration for Adolf Hitler and his contempt for democracy, Vorster was arrested as a Nazi agent and spent fourteen months in an internment camp at Koffiefontein in the Orange Free State.⁷²⁶

He was prisoner No. 2229/42 in Hut 48, Camp 1,⁷²⁷ and at one point, he staged a hunger strike.⁷²⁸ His wife was not allowed to tell the rest of his family where he was being held, so she sent a telegram reading "John is staying at the King's Hotel," and they got the message.⁷²⁹ It was there that he met fellow proto-Nazi inmate, H.J van den Bergh.⁷³⁰ They bonded quickly⁷³¹ and before long van den Bergh was Vorster's security advisor, closest

⁷¹⁹ *TIME*, 'South Africa: The Security Man', 23 September 1966: 34-37.

⁷²⁰ Centre for African Studies, *J.B Vorster: A Political Background*, (London: Bureau of National and International Communication, South African Embassy, 1978), p. 2.

⁷²¹ Stanley Uys, 'Embitter leader, Lies A Spent Force', *The Guardian*, 12 September 1983: 8.

⁷²² Joseph B. Treaster, 'John Vorster, Former South African Prime Minister, Dies at 67', *The New York Times*, 11 September 1983: 45.

⁷²³ Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*, p. 257; Treaster, 'John Vorster, former South African Prime Minister, dies at 67', *The New York Times*, 11 September 1983: 45.

⁷²⁴ *TIME*, 'South Africa: The Security Man', 23 September 1966: 34-37.

⁷²⁵ Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, p. 98; Okoth, *A History of Africa: African Nationalism and the De-Colonisation Process*, p. 160; *Washington Post*, 'Verwoerd's Successor Will be A Racist, Too', 7 September 1966.

⁷²⁶ Legum and Legum, *South Africa: Crisis for the West*, p. 28; *TIME*, 'South Africa: The Security Man', 23 September 1966: 34-37.

⁷²⁷ Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, p. 98.

⁷²⁸ Treaster, 'John Vorster, Former South African Prime Minister, Dies at 67', *The New York Times*, 11 September 1983: 45.

⁷²⁹ Donald Woods, *South African Dispatches*, (London: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 2.

⁷³⁰ Fullard, "State Repression in the 1960s", p. 349.

⁷³¹ O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*, p. xxxvii.

confidante and best friend.⁷³² Vorster was released on parole in January 1944 and placed under house arrest in Robertson.⁷³³

Throughout his life, Vorster maintained that what he did during World War Two “was right.”⁷³⁴ His views were too extreme even for the National Party, at least in those early days. In 1948, when the National Party came to power, it turned down his application for membership on grounds that he “believed in the ‘authoritarian state’ principle and advocated the destruction of parties.”⁷³⁵ Rejected by the NP, he stood for Parliament on the old Afrikaner Party ticket and lost by four votes.⁷³⁶ However, times changed and not long after the Sharpeville massacre, Dr. Verwoerd named Vorster as Minister of Justice, apparently signalling a hard-line approach to the enemies of apartheid.⁷³⁷ In his first speech in that office, he made his intentions clear, declaring that “the rights of free speech, assembly and protest are getting out of hand.” Subsequent clampdowns in these areas earned him the nickname “Jackboot John” in some opposition newspapers, which took to caricaturing him as a jackbooted Nazi.⁷³⁸

Fanatically committed to apartheid, an anti-Semite and anti-Communist,⁷³⁹ Vorster targeted South Africans of a liberal disposition, arguing that “wittingly or unwittingly,” liberals were “the prime promoters of Communism.”⁷⁴⁰ He expressed his sorrow that the sons of good white South African parents should turn to violence in opposing the Government. Vorster was greatly admired by Afrikaners. He was seen as the man who had secured their safety by turning the police into a highly efficient force and effectively destroying the illegal opposition to the government. Even the English-speaking South Africans gave Vorster some credit, although he was hated by White liberals and Blacks.⁷⁴¹

Vorster, as Minister of Justice in Dr. Verwoerd’s cabinet, was responsible for the implementation of three of the most inhuman and brutal laws in apartheid’s history: the

⁷³² Rotberg, *The Process of Decision Making in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 13-14.

⁷³³ Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, p. 99.

⁷³⁴ *TIME*, ‘Vorster: Man on a Wagon Train’, 28 June 1976: 11.

⁷³⁵ *The Economist*, ‘South Africa: Victory for the Hero of the White Ideal’, 17 September 1966: 1119; Treaster, ‘John Vorster, Former South African Prime Minister, Dies at 67’, *The New York Times*, 11 September 1983: 45; *TIME*, ‘South Africa: The Security Man’, 23 September 1966: 34-37.

⁷³⁶ Centre for African Studies, *J.B Vorster: A Political Backgrounder*, p. 2.

⁷³⁷ *The Economist*, ‘South Africa: Victory for the Hero of the White Ideal’, 17 September 1966: 1119; *TIME*, ‘South Africa: The Security Man’, 23 September 1966: 34-37.

⁷³⁸ Treaster, ‘John Vorster, former South African Prime Minister, dies at 67’, *The New York Times*, 11 September 1983: 45.

⁷³⁹ Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, p. 73-77.

⁷⁴⁰ J.E. Spence, “After Verwoerd.” *World Today*, (Oct 1, 1966), 22, 10, p. 413-415.

⁷⁴¹ Telegram No. 526 of Sir Hugh Stephenson from Cape Town to the Foreign Office. 13 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

Criminal Procedure Amendment Act and the General Law Amendment Acts of 1962 and 1963 (all discussed in Chapter 1).⁷⁴² He justified his actions by declaring that he was “at war with the enemies of the *volk*”⁷⁴³ and that such acts were necessary because of the Cold War and of the Communist Party in South Africa whose growing strength was a threat to white supremacy.⁷⁴⁴

In 1965, Vorster was accused of turning South Africa into a police state. He replied, “This is no time to be sensitive about principles. In such times, it is the things that weigh heaviest that should count.”⁷⁴⁵ To Vorster’s Justice Portfolio, Dr. Verwoerd added responsibilities for Police and Prisons in 1966, whereupon Vorster gave instructions to van den Bergh that anyone thought to be a threat to the State should “be taken out of circulation one way or another, if there are valid reasons for not bringing that person to trial.”⁷⁴⁶ Aware of these developments, Britain’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) characterised Vorster shortly after his accession to power as “probably the most unpopular man in South Africa as far as the non-whites are concerned.”⁷⁴⁷

Vorster lost no time in defending the policy of apartheid. The day after his accession to prime ministerial office, he declared in a radio broadcast that apartheid was “not a denial of human dignity,” but that it “gives the opportunity to every individual within his own sphere to develop and advance without restriction.”⁷⁴⁸ In 1968, he cynically admitted, “It is true that there are blacks working for us. They will continue to work for us for generations, in spite of the ideal we have to separate them completely ... The fact of the matter is this: we need them, because they work for us ... but the fact that they work for us can never entitle them to claim political rights. Not now, nor in the future ... under no circumstances.”⁷⁴⁹

One of his first actions as Prime Minister, on September 19, just six days after assuming power, was to secure the passage of legislation crucial to the National Party’s

⁷⁴² Ballinger, *From Union to Apartheid*, p. 48; Sachs, *The Anatomy of Apartheid*, p. 249.

⁷⁴³ Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, p. 99.

⁷⁴⁴ Ballinger, *From Union to Apartheid*, p. 48.

⁷⁴⁵ *TIME*, ‘South Africa: The Security Man’, 23 September 1966: 34-37; *The New York Times*, ‘South African Aide Defends Jailing Law’, 12 June 1965: 7.

⁷⁴⁶ D’Oliveira, *Vorster – The Man*, p. 157-158.

⁷⁴⁷ Confidential letter from the Foreign and Commonwealth Offices to Certain Missions. 19 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

⁷⁴⁸ Treaster, ‘John Vorster, Former South African Prime Minister, Dies at 67’, *The New York Times*, 11 September 1983: 45.

⁷⁴⁹ David Davis, *African Workers and Apartheid*, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1978), p. 5; Ruth First, Jonathan Steele and Christabel Gurney, *The South African Connection. Western Investment in Apartheid*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 41; Elizabeth Schmidt, *Decoding Corporate Camouflage. U.S. Business Support for Apartheid*, (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Policy Studies, 1980), p. 2.

prospects. The Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill was drafted while Dr. Verwoerd was still alive, but was held up by his death. According to Sir Hugh Stephenson,⁷⁵⁰ the British ambassador and former High Commissioner in South Africa, the Bill was Dr. Verwoerd's brainchild and "generally held to be very much an expression of his personally rigid, logical conception of "separate development," but his death stopped him from passing it. "Its purpose was to prevent the election of Progressive Party candidates for the four seats in the House of Assembly held by White representatives of the Cape Coloureds. The text of the Bill confirmed that this was its immediate purpose, but it went much further in restricting democratic rights."⁷⁵¹

Furthermore, still according to Sir Hugh, "the Bill (which makes difficult reading because it talks of "interference in the affairs of any population group by persons not belonging to that population group" when it merely means in practice participation by Whites in Black politics) is a complicated one with eleven clauses. The most important of these prevents Whites from helping non-Whites to register as voters (an activity which was the basis of the success of the Progressive Party candidates for the Cape Provincial Council seats the previous year), prevents their help with the organisation of black political parties, and prevents them taking any part in the political activities of non-Whites. The result of this was to make racially mixed political parties illegal. Under the Bill, no White may be elected to represent Coloured voters if he was a member or in any way connected with a White political party during the three years preceding his nomination as a candidate, although the position of sitting members is safeguarded. The press is, however, protected by a sub—clause which says that the terms of the Bill are not applicable to newspapers. The Bill represents a further major step to enforce the Government's policies of racial separation in the political field in one of the few areas in which racial cooperation is still possible. It illustrates the determination of the Government to close the remaining legal doors through which the non-Whites can express their opposition to the Government's apartheid policies."⁷⁵²

Dr. Steytler, leader of the Progressive Party, said about the Bill:

"This is a hideous measure, totalitarian in its concept, extreme in its provisions and measured in terms of its long -term consequences, disastrous for South Africa ... This is an

⁷⁵⁰ Sir Hugh was present in the House of Assembly when Dr. Verwoerd was killed.

⁷⁵¹ Telegram of Sir H. Stephenson from Cape Town to the British Foreign Office. 20 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

⁷⁵² Telegram of Sir H. Stephenson from Cape Town to the British Foreign Office. 20 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

attempt, behind the facade of the ballot box system, to exercise State control of our political parties to give the State the power to approve or withhold approval of candidates for election, to enable the State to impose its will of political discussion in South Africa - to attempt to force South Africans to repudiate the effect of South Africa's multi-racial character."⁷⁵³

In the aftermath of Dr. Verwoerd's assassination, the National Party entered a period of internal conflict which resulted in several hard-line rightists being dismissed from the Cabinet. The conflict reached its peak in 1969 when Vorster accepted the presence of Māori players in the country during a visit by the New Zealand Rugby Union team. The decision alienated NP extremists, who formed a splinter group, the Herstigte (Restored) National Party, led by Albert Hertzog, son of the former Prime Minister, General J.B.M. Hertzog.⁷⁵⁴ At the same time, Vorster turned the Broederbond into a tool of the National Party,⁷⁵⁵ regularly consulting its leaders on important governmental decisions.⁷⁵⁶

His concession to the Maoris apart, Vorster oversaw one of the most violent, brutal and repressive periods in the history of apartheid, with constant accusations of torture and otherwise violating the rights of liberals, anti-apartheid activists and Communists. With van den Bergh, he was accused of responsibility for the deaths in detention of many anti-apartheid activists⁷⁵⁷ and the 1970 report of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid noted that "torture at the hands of the Security Police has become the regular feature of political prisoners in South Africa."⁷⁵⁸ Replying to concerns about the number of deaths in dubious circumstances in detention, Vorster said in 1970: "The Opposition can howl until the cows come home and the English-language editors can break down in fits of sobbing, but we will use our powers in the interests of South Africa."⁷⁵⁹

In 1973, Vorster praised the police for their "restraint" in an incident where they shot eleven men dead and wounded seventeen others. The men, workers at Western Deep Levels gold mine in Carletonville, Transvaal, were striking for higher wages. The final indictment of the apartheid system was given unconsciously by the Deputy Minister of Police when

⁷⁵³ Telegram of Sir H. Stephenson from Cape Town to the British Foreign Office. 20 September 1966. South Africa. Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa. PREM 13/1211. BNA.

⁷⁵⁴ Brotz, *The Politics of South Africa: Democracy and Racial Diversity*, p. 45; Miller, "Voortrekker or State Builder? John Vorster and the Challenges of Leadership in the Apartheid State", p. 122-123; Murray, *South Africa: Time of Agony, Time of Destiny*, p. 25; *The Illustrated London News*, 'Revolt in South Africa', 13 December 1969: 17.

⁷⁵⁵ Callinicos, *South Africa: Between Reform and Revolution*, p. 30.

⁷⁵⁶ *TIME*, 'Broederbond's Big Brother Act', 21 November 1977: 85.

⁷⁵⁷ International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 15.

⁷⁵⁸ Farah, "South Africa's Apartheid Policy: An Assessment", p. 86.

⁷⁵⁹ Cook, *South Africa: The Imprisoned Society*, p. 28.

excusing the killings by his men at Carletonville: “They had no alternative but to shoot. You must remember that there were about 8,500 men in that compound.”⁷⁶⁰

A major crisis during Vorster’s term was the 1976 Soweto uprising, which series of protests led by high school students. It began on the morning of 16 June, when an estimated 20,000 students took to the streets of Soweto to protest against the introduction of Afrikaans as the medium of scholastic instruction. They were met with a brutal response by armed police. The government claimed that “only” twenty-three students were killed by police but a realistic death toll of students and supporters was estimated independently at 600 to 700.⁷⁶¹ During the uprising, which continued for many months, one of the chants sung by the students was, *Where are you now that we need you, Dimitri Tsafendas?* It echoed *Where are you now that we need you, Harvey Oswald?* sung by opponents of US President Richard Nixon at the time of Watergate.⁷⁶²

Faced with growing national and international pressures, Vorster sought to rebrand racial segregation and create new networks of legitimacy for the apartheid regime. He reached out to the newly independent African nations, establishing diplomatic relations where feasible, for instance with the Malawi of the dictatorial Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, and with South Africa’s neighbour mini-states, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.⁷⁶³ He held talks with African countries such as Ivory Coast, Zambia and Liberia, whose leaders were less doctrinaire in regard to the apartheid regime, and he permitted diplomats from black Africa to reside in white areas in South Africa.⁷⁶⁴

The height of Vorster’s diplomatic involvement on the continent was working with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to bring together Ian Smith’s regime in Rhodesia and the black liberation movements which opposed him.⁷⁶⁵ Vorster engineered the release of several nationalist leaders fighting for an independent Zimbabwe so that they could talk peace with the Salisbury regime. Smith’s white minority government had unilaterally declared independence from Britain in 1965, placing its South African neighbour in a diplomatically tricky situation. Vorster supported Rhodesia publicly but refused to accord

⁷⁶⁰ Cook, *South Africa: The Imprisoned Society*, p. 18.

⁷⁶¹ Elisabé Brink, Steve Lebelo, Gandhi Malungane, Dumisani Ntshangase and Sue Krige, *Soweto, 16 June 1976: It All Started With A Dog*, (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2010), p. 9; Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa: South Africa in Perspective*, p. 143.

⁷⁶² Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

⁷⁶³ Bloomberg, *Christian-Nationalism and the Rise of the Afrikaner Broederbond in South Africa, 1918-1948*, p. 229.

⁷⁶⁴ *TIME*, ‘Vorster: Man On A Wagon Train’, 28 June 1976: 11.

⁷⁶⁵ Miller, ‘Voortrekker or State Builder? John Vorster and the Challenges of Leadership in the Apartheid State’, p. 115-129.

recognition to the UDI regime for fear of angering America.⁷⁶⁶ White South Africans supported Smith and Vorster sought to appease them by supplying materiel to Rhodesia in the form of helicopters, arms and ammunition. However he withdrew a South African paramilitary police force from Rhodesia.⁷⁶⁷

Despite Vorster's pragmatism, South Africa remained anathema to the newly independent African nations. In 1976, Vorster again became involved in the affairs of another African country, in this case Angola. This vast West African colony of Portugal gained independence in mid-1975, as did Portugal's other African territory, Mozambique, which promptly turned Marxist. Fearing that Angola would follow suit, and encouraged by the US government, Vorster invaded the country in August 1975.⁷⁶⁸ Although the South African army was initially successful, it was driven out of the country by March 1976 after a major counter-offensive by Angolan troops supported by other African countries, but mainly by Cuba.⁷⁶⁹ US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger visited South Africa in August 1976 and was greeted by Vorster.⁷⁷⁰

In 1975, Vorster was interviewed by Mr. Ogunsanwo, Editor of the *Sunday Times* of Lagos, Nigeria. Asked how he justified apartheid, he replied, "I don't know what you mean." Then the following dialogue took place:

OGUNSANWO: How do you explain separate facilities, separate shop entrances, separate residences etc?

VORSTER: There is no single shop in South Africa having separate entrances for the races, there are different queues and entrances in the post offices but not in shops. This is because of our policy of separate development of the races. We do not discriminate against anybody on account of race or colour, the policy is very often misunderstood, especially by people in Africa. Certain measures are taken to avoid frictions between peoples and furthermore it is the policy that different peoples should be served by their own people and in that job opportunities are created for black people which never existed before. It is only since this government came to power that black postmasters came into being. Previously, there were no

⁷⁶⁶ John de St. Jorre, "Inside the Laager: White Power in South Africa", *Foreign Affairs*, October 1976.

⁷⁶⁷ *TIME*, 'Vorster: Man On A Wagon Train', 28 June 1976: 11.

⁷⁶⁸ Giliomee, *The Last Afrikaner Leaders: A Supreme Test of Power*, p. 120; Marga Holness, *Apartheid's War Against Angola*, (New York: United Nations Centre against Apartheid, 1983), p. 8-9.

⁷⁶⁹ Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions. Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 254-262; Holness, *Apartheid's War Against Angola*, p. 8-9.

⁷⁷⁰ Miller, "Voortrekker or State Builder? John Vorster and the Challenges of Leadership in the Apartheid State", p. 115.

black policemen. It is my government that made it possible for blacks to become professors, school heads, etc. If and when we find it no longer necessary for the reasons I said to have this policy, it will be abolished, otherwise it will remain.

OGUNSANWO: Is there any possibility that our African political detainees, Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe, would be released someday to lead their normal lives?

VORSTER: I don't have any political detainees. Nelson Mandela and Co. are not political detainees, they are serving sentences. They were convicted by judicial courts after being found guilty of having committed overt criminal acts. As far as Robert Sobukwe is concerned, he is under a banning order.

OGUNSANWO: Would you allow me to go and see Mandela on Robert Island?

VORSTER: I can only allow the International Red Cross to visit him.

OGUNSANWO: Finally, Prime Minister, let me ask you, could you bring yourself to think of the possibility of African majority rule in South Africa in the immediate or remote future?

VORSTER: Oh yes, there will be African majority rule in South Africa in Zululand, in the Transkei, in Botswana.⁷⁷¹

Exulting in a huge parliamentary victory for the Nationalist in November 1977, the largest in history, Vorster gave a speech which mixed bravado and defiance: "Let the world know," he said, "let it know tomorrow, let it know for all future time to come, small as we are, situated as we are, we will fight to the end with what we have got."⁷⁷² However, just a year later, after twelve years in office, Vorster retired as prime minister. In September 1978, he was succeeded by Defence Minister P.W. Botha and became State President, an honorary position, but eight months later, Vorster resigned in disgrace over the Muldergate scandal.⁷⁷³

During his tenure as the country's primary leader, Vorster did not manage to keep apartheid stable and untouchable as Dr. Verwoerd had done. Despite his fierce reputation, it was Vorster who presided over apartheid's deterioration from a halcyon era of economic growth and white control to instability and uncertainty and finally into a landscape of

⁷⁷¹ *Sunday Times* (Lagos), 'Sunday Times Editor Interviews John Vorster.' 30 March 1975: 8-9.

⁷⁷² Treaster, 'John Vorster, Former South African Prime Minister, Dies at 67', *The New York Times*, 11 September 1983: 45, p. 45.

⁷⁷³ Treaster, 'John Vorster, Former South African Prime Minister, Dies at 67', *The New York Times*, 11 September 1983: 45.

rudderless chaos by the time he left the office in 1978.⁷⁷⁴ Vorster's fingerprints were evident in politics at the highest level even after he left office. In 1980, he denounced critics of apartheid as "no friend of the country, of the Afrikaner or of the white man," and in 1983, he rejected suggestions of black and white power-sharing "in whatever form." Later that year, he was rushed to hospital with a lung infection and after a blood clot developed in a lung, he died on September 10, 1983. He was sixty-seven.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷⁴ Miller, "Voortrekker or State Builder? John Vorster and the Challenges of Leadership in the Apartheid State", p. 115.

⁷⁷⁵ Treaster, 'John Vorster, Former South African Prime Minister, Dies at 67', *The New York Times*, 11 September 1983: 45.

WEDNESDAY, 14 SEPTEMBER 1966

BRITISH EMBASSY REPORT

On this day, the British Embassy in Cape Town sent a letter to the South African police which informed them that Tsafendas had made enquiries at the British Consulate-General in Cape Town regarding his application to emigrate to Zambia. The letter also states that Tsafendas had offered his services as Portuguese interpreter to the British ships on the Beira patrol.⁷⁷⁶

STATEMENTS

CHRISTOFFEL JOHANNES VAN VUUREN⁷⁷⁷

*White male, 56 years old, security officer at Mandini Paper Factory, Mandini, Zululand.
11.30 a.m.*

On the 7th of May of 1965 I was on duty when a male person of Greek heritage, Demitrio Tsafendis had lodged a complaint of assault. He had a wound to his arm. I then fetched Nick Vergos from the mess hall in Mandeni with the aim to later hand him over to the South African Police. After I told him that there was a complaint of assault filed against him, he declared that Tsafendis is a bad person and that he was also a dangerous communist. He gave no reason why he said so and I did not question him further on his allegation. Later during the night I handed Tsafendis and Vergos over to the South African Police in Inyoni. I'm not sure, but it is possible that I told the Police officer what Vergos said about Tsafendis. I'm not sure what Police Officer investigated the case, but I think it was Sargent Snyman. During his stay at Mandeni he was a quiet person who always moved around alone, but nevertheless, he appeared to be a person with a cruel nature.

⁷⁷⁶ British Embassy in Cape Town letter to the South African Police regarding Tsafendas, 14 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁷⁷⁷ Christoffel Johannes Van Vuuren statement to the police, 14 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; This is the second statement taken from Van Vuuren, who was also interviewed the day before.

PRESS REPORTS OF THE DAY

The big story in the Press this day was Vorster's unanimous election as South Africa's new Prime Minister. As for the murder inquiry, the *Rand Daily Mail* quoted a senior police officer in Cape Town as saying that investigations were still far from complete and it was doubtful the case could be ready by Tsafendas's October 6 remand date. "We still have hundreds of inquiries to make into Tsafendas's movements... the questioning of Tsafendas himself has not yet been completed and it is quite likely we shall have to ask for a further remand on October 6," he said. The story added that Tsafendas was believed still to be at Caledon Square police station.⁷⁷⁸

A friend's view of Tsafendas appeared in a *Rand Daily Mail* interview with a Greek café proprietor in Durban. Peter Pappas said that eighteen months ago Tsafendas often ate at his café, always curry and rice, and he found him pleasant. Tsafendas said he liked the South African police and people generally but complained that South Africa was not the wonderful country he remembered as a child. Pappas, a former Greek army officer, said Tsafendas spoke angrily about the Salazar regime in Portugal and about the Mozambique police; he also denounced America, where he felt he had been badly treated. Tsafendas was friendly with white down-and-outs and when he had some money he would give them a few cents. "When his luck was out, I sometimes gave him a free meal, but when he started work he paid me," Pappas said. Pappas also described Tsafendas as "very powerful. I remember him once picking me up, playfully like a baby, and I am six feet tall." He said Tsafendas had a suitcase containing references he had collected from overseas jobs. One of them, which Tsafendas showed him, was from Frankfurt.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'File On Assassin Far From Completed', 14 September 1966.

⁷⁷⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend', 14 September 1966.

THURSDAY, 15 SEPTEMBER 1966

PIDE REPORT

On this day, the military attaché at the South African embassy in Lisbon sent a folder containing various documents regarding Tsafendas to the Director of Military Intelligence in Pretoria. It included the following PIDE report written in Lisbon on February 21, 1962, which covered Tsafendas's story, from his entry to Portugal on February 8, 1949 to his applying for permission to work as a hawker on board ships in 1958:

DIMITRIO TSAFENDAS alias DIMITRIE TSAFANDAKIS,

(Portuguese) National

The man under reference entered Portugal on the 8th February, 1949, through the frontier of Barca d'Alva, where he was arrested by this Police and taken to Porto, from where he was transferred to this Office. Having come to the conclusion that he was a Portuguese national, he was handed over to the Headquarters of the Military Government due to the fact that he had not yet come before the Military Inspection Board on the 6th February, 1950. Before the Board, he was exempted from all military service. Once his situation was normalised, he applied for an identity card as a Portuguese national and began to ply the trade of itinerant vendor of various articles on board the ships lying in the Port of Lisbon.

In October, 1931, he proceeded to Lourenço Marques on the ship Sara, but was forced to return to Portugal, on the ship Angola, both owned by the Companhia Nacional de Navegacao, due to the fact that he was not allowed to land by order of the General Administration (Governo geral).

On the 14th January, 1952, he arrived in Portugal on board the ship Angola.

On the 17th March, 1932, he entered the Hospital do Ultramar, at the instance of the Instituto de Medicina Tropical, with the diagnosis of "intestinal parasitosis; maniacal-depressive psychosis (parasitose intestinal; psicose maniaco-depressiva)", having been discharged on the 9th April of the same year.

On the 24th May, 1952, as he was preparing to leave the Country with the passport

with which he had entered on the 8th November, 1949, through the frontier at Beira, he was detained by this Police and conducted to this Office, where he was detained until the 23rd April, 1953, date on which he was handed over by this police to the Lisbon Mendicants Shelter (Mitra), and where he remained until the 4th August of the same year. On this date he left the said Shelter due to the fact that he was given permission to make use of a Maritime Card to go on board the ships lying in the Tagus.

On the 8th July 1954, he left the Country on passport No. 12325/53 issued by the Governo Civil de Lisboa on the 26th of November, 1953, travelled through various countries of Europe, and on the 11th February, 1956, he was interned in a hospital for nervous complaints in Hamburg, Germany, suffering from mental depression. As he was destitute, application was made for his urgent repatriation to the Portuguese Consulate in that city, which repatriated him on the 11th June of the said year of 1955 on board the Portuguese ship "India."

During the years 1957 and 1958 he applied for, and was granted, permission to go on board ships lying in the Tagus, in order to ply his trade of itinerant vendor of regional articles and embroideries; after this date there is no further reference to this individual in the records of this Police.

Lisbon, 21st February, 1962.

(sgd) Antonio Teixeira da Silva.

Agent.

The PIDE report stated that in October 1951, Tsafendas was denied entry to Mozambique by order of the General Administration, though it does not give the reason for the refusal. The report also does not say why Tsafendas was arrested on May 24, 1952 and detained until April 23, 1953. It then mentioned his hospitalization in Hamburg, suffering from mental depression, and his subsequent repatriation to Portugal. The report stopped in 1958, stating that "there are no further references to this individual in the records of the Police."⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁸⁰ Letter of the Military Attaché of the South African Embassy in Lisbon to the Director of Military Intelligence in Pretoria with a PIDE report regarding Tsafendas attached, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/6, subject: Departement van verdediging. NASA; Translation of PIDE report regarding Dimitrio Tsafendas alias Dimitrie Tsafandakis, 21 February 1962. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/6, subject: Departement van verdediging. NASA.

PIDE's report does not contain anything about Tsafendas's life prior to 1949, thus none of his political activities in Mozambique before then are included. Most importantly, it stops in 1958 and thus does not contain any information regarding his activities after that year, including, importantly, his arrests and imprisonment in Mozambique in 1964. That PIDE had run a file on Tsafendas since 1938 is also absent.

However, this is to be expected because the 1962 PIDE report was written at the request of the Social Services, who were interested not in his political ideas and activities, but in his life story and medical history, since he was then a patient in the Institute of Psychiatric Welfare of Lisbon. He was admitted there after he had applied for permission to end his exile and return to Mozambique. Since all his previous requests had been turned down, he had proclaimed himself to be a reformed person, no longer a Communist, but harmless and perhaps a little mad. The police had sent him to the Institute for evaluation, and the Institute had asked for information about him from the police. It seems clear that once again PIDE gave the South African authorities another document, the third, withholding vital information about his political activities and containing nothing indicating Tsafendas was a partisan for the independence of Mozambique.

The folder also contained a copy of a certificate written by Dr. Pegado of the Institute of Psychiatric Welfare of Lisbon on April 6, 1962, during Tsafendas's visit there, where it states that: "Demitrio Tsafandakis is fundamentally a psychopath who leads an always unstable and adventurous life. At the moment he does not show signs of psychosis. I agree entirely with Captain Cascais in that one should wait for information regarding his family before finally deciding what destination he is to be given."⁷⁸¹ Thus, PIDE clearly promotes the idea that Tsafendas was a psychopath without any reference to his political ideology and activities.

⁷⁸¹ Dr. Pegado's report regarding Dimitrio Tsafandakis, 6 April 1962. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/6, subject: Departement van Verdediging. NASA.

STATEMENTS

HELEN DOROTHY DANIELS⁷⁸²

Coloured woman, 36 years old, 46 Kasselsvlei Way, Belville South.

During April 1965 I was visiting friends in Boksburg. There I learned of Demitrio Tsafendas. It was told to me that they would want me to meet him - he's a nice man. I never met him and later returned to Cape Town. When I was in Cape Town, I thought to correspond with him and wrote to my friends to find out his address. They said he was in Durban (the time I was in Boksburg), and when I requested his address, the friends did not respond. Other friends of mine went on holiday to Durban and I then wrote a letter to Tsafendas and asked my friends to give this to him. Our preacher is in Durban and I hoped to trace Tsafendas through the church. He was one of our parishioners, as he pretended.

I wrote my letter during the June holidays in 1965 and received a reply from him on July 10, 1965. I wrote in my letter that I would like to meet and wanted to marry him. His answer was that he wanted to meet me first before giving me a positive answer. I wrote to him again - four letters – all of which he answered. I sent him a picture, but he did not send me one in return. He sent word that he would come to Cape Town for our church conference - it would be in November 1965.

I lived with my parents and on August 28, 1965 - he arrived at my parents' house. When I saw him, his clothes were dirty and neglected and I had a very bad impression of him. However, I received him with friendliness. He said he was in Cape Town looking for work and his belongings are at the station. My brother went to fetch his belongings on one of the Cape stations. When belongings came, (there were two suitcases and a bunch of pots and pans and a large bundle of dirty laundry) I was very disappointed when I saw the state of his property. We had a spare room and gave him lodging. After he was with us a few days, I decided that I could never marry such a man. He also did not try to establish a relationship with me. I also heard from him that he has a blank identity card – although I never saw it. He said his father was a white Greek and his mother a native woman from Mozambique and that he is working on it to be registered as a Coloured. It did not impress me, as I had already made up my mind and he never discussed our relationship, thus I was happy that my earlier proposal died a silent death.

⁷⁸² Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

Meanwhile, he got a job at the power station in Cape Town. He had a lot of bad habits such as: helping himself to items in our stove and refrigerator - his table manners were ugly and messy - he simply laid with his shoes on the bedspread and such. When he found work, my father said he should pay lodging. He then became angry and wanted to know why my father never stated that in the first place. Shortly afterwards on October 16, 1965 at 9:00 pm, he left our house and I had never seen him again. Apart from the above, he was interested in the Bible and discussed church matters with us. He attended all of our services, sang together, prayed together, and used communion. On the face of it, his faith was beyond reproach. He said he sometimes gets headaches. Besides his messy ways I did not notice anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal. His stories about traveling abroad was interesting. He was mostly quiet and very withdrawn – he spent a lot of time in his room.

In March 1966, I left for the Free State. I have not heard anything again from Tsafendas. The Wednesday before the end of August 1966 I arrived back in Cape Town. About two weeks later I saw Tsafendas's picture in Cape newspapers and that he was detained in connection with the murder of Dr. Verwoerd. We never discuss politics in our home. He also never talked politics. When the identity card was mentioned he indeed said he was unhappy that he could not be classified as a Coloured. However, he did not criticize the country's laws and made no negative remarks in our presence. Our church does not have a building and our services are held from house to house mostly. Our rallies are held at Mrs. B. Bezhuidenhout on the farm Bethany, Durbanville. The church in Cape Town is run by Mr. J. Johnson p/a J. Slater, "DELBY" Athlone Avenue, Plumstead. The belief is known as the Christian church. There are many branches of this faith throughout the world.

Statement taken by D/Sergt. D.J.V. Troost.

HELEN DANIELS AFTER HER STATEMENT

Helen Daniels immediately after the assassination, aware that the press would soon or later find out about her, and in advice of her family and friends, went to complete seclusion in a family friend's house, the Snyders. She refused to speak to anyone and to make public appearances. The only people who saw her and spoke to her were the policemen who

questioned her, a *Post* journalist for all of thirty seconds, and later Tsafendas's lawyers.⁷⁸³ According to the *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), Daniels was questioned by the police for more than an hour.⁷⁸⁴

On September 18 two articles involving Helen Daniels appeared in the South African Press. One was at the *Sunday Times* and the other one at the *Post*. The *Sunday Times* contained an interview of her brother, Peter Daniels, where he twisted the facts and flatly lied about his sister's relationship with Tsafendas and how they had met. He told the newspaper that it was Tsafendas who had chased and written to Helen several times, but their meeting "did not result in a great friendship." He said, "Helen was not interested in marriage."⁷⁸⁵ This is a contradiction to the statement his sister gave to the police three days ago where she claimed that she heard about Tsafendas and wanted to meet him, so she asked for his address and she wrote to him.⁷⁸⁶ Tsafendas also made a similar statement to the police.⁷⁸⁷ However, Peter Daniels was not the only who twisted the facts in this article. A member of the Snyder family had also stated that "there was never a question of Helen and Tsafendas coming together as husband and wife. She was not interested in this. She has devoted her life to missionary work."⁷⁸⁸

The second article in the *Post*, written by Security Police and later BOSS agent Gordon Winter, also contained an interview by Peter Daniels. Peter Daniels again completely twisted the facts behind his sister's meeting with Tsafendas. He claimed in this interview that "Tsafendas first came into contact with Miss Daniels through religious correspondence early last year." Tsafendas then travelled to Cape Town to meet her and while he was staying in her house he "became very fond" of her and "later told friends that he loved her. But Helen did not return his love. She was not impressed by his rather abrupt manner and general untidiness." She told her father, "Demetrio does not come up to the standards I am looking for in a man." When she was forced to make this clear to Tsafendas, he told her family: "She would have been just right for me ... It's a pity she is so fussy."⁷⁸⁹

The article suggests that Winter has interviewed Helen Daniels and this is how he got some of these information as it also claims that she asked the *Post* not to publish her picture.

⁷⁸³ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5; Gordon Winter in a personal interview with Dr. James Sanders on behalf of the author, 19 August 2016.

⁷⁸⁴ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5.

⁷⁸⁵ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5.

⁷⁸⁶ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

⁷⁸⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁷⁸⁸ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5.

⁷⁸⁹ Winter, 'I Jilted Tsafendas, Says Coloured Girl', *The Post*, 18 September 1966: 1.

However, Helen was not interviewed since she was still in seclusion and the remarks were in fact made by her brother, Peter. Winter saw her and spoke to her for thirty seconds on her doorstep. She refused to comment or answer any questions but asked that her picture should not be published, which the newspaper respected.⁷⁹⁰ It is understandable that the member of the Snyder family and Peter Daniels tried to protect Helen's reputation, especially since she was a missionary of the Christian Church, as it would probably have sounded bad for her if it had become known that she had written letters to Tsafendas, the man who was just assassinated Dr. Verwoerd, asking him to meet and marry. Peter Daniels would be a leading defence witness in the forthcoming summary trial and he would again lie and misrepresent the case.

Helen Daniels was not asked to testify at Tsafendas's trial, either for the defence or the State, even though she had been close to Tsafendas and must have been an important witness. On the other hand, her brother and her sister-in-law, neither of whom knew Tsafendas as well as Helen, testified for the defence. As we will see, their testimony was a complete contradiction of the statement given to the police by Helen Daniels. We will examine this case in the Summary Trial Chapter.

MARY KATHLEEN SCOTT⁷⁹¹

Housewife, Woodstock.

I am a housewife and reside at the above address, where I keep some table boarders. Demitrio Tsafendas had his meals with me for about six weeks prior to his working in Parliament house. I do not remember the exact dates but he was with me part of June 66 and July 66 up to two days after his commencing work at Parliament. Before that he was out of work, and had newspaper cuttings to show that he was looking for a job. Whilst out of work he showed some of my boarders a newspaper cutting about a job in S.W.A. It was shown in my presence and purporting to be an engineering job to which a good salary was attached. The boarders suggested that he take the job. He made an odd remark "Oh! No, I cannot go to S.W.A. I have a job to do here before I go back."

⁷⁹⁰ Gordon Winter in a personal interview with Dr. James Sanders on behalf of the author, 19 August 2016.

⁷⁹¹ Mary Kathleen Scott statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

I knew nothing of his life, and that he might have been to S.W.A. previously, apart from him mentioning that he has been to S.W.A. and said that S.W.A. was the only place where one can make money. The remark sounded odd for reason of him being unemployed at time, and knowing that there was money in S.W.A. Whilst the accused had his meals with me, I found him to be very poorly mannered - so-much-so that I named him "Vark" (pig). His clothing however was clean and always tidy. He even appeared fussy about his clothing. I never had conversations with him, as I disliked his manners, eventually giving him notice for that reason. He was a very restless man. I never got the impression that he could be mentally unbalanced. To me he appeared perfectly normal. He talked to the boarders about being a Christian, belonging to no religion or church etc.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

COMMENTS ON SCOTT'S STATEMENT

Pamela Abrahams, a South African, who often visited Scott's house along with her Greek boyfriend and future husband, Panagiotis Peroglou, said Tsafendas was very well mannered, especially with women. She does not remember him having bad manners or being named "The Pig" by Scott. According to Abrahams, "Tsafendas was a gentleman. He would always get up from the table to greet you and he always offered you his seat or went to find you a seat... he was certainly very well mannered."⁷⁹²

Panagiotis Peroglou was a good friend of Scott but also disagreed with her characterization of Tsafendas. He does not remember Scott ever complaining about Tsafendas or calling him a pig and is very surprised to hear such comments. Peroglou remembers Tsafendas as being "very well mannered, especially with women and elderly people ... he was very talkative and friendly and he had a lot of respect for the women. He would bring them a chair or he would offer his chair." Peroglou remembers Tsafendas as being "well educated, especially about Greece's history and Christianity."⁷⁹³ Peroglou and Abrahams associated with Tsafendas for about three months and both "never got the impression that he might be insane. He never did or said anything to make us think he was

⁷⁹² Pamela Abrahams in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

⁷⁹³ Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

insane. He was definitely sane.” Peroglou and Abrahams do not remember Tsafendas talking politics.⁷⁹⁴

Elias Constantaras, another Greek, was friendly with Scott and often ate at her house. He was surprised to be told that she called Tsafendas a pig, saying she never did so in front of him. He also strongly disagreed that Tsafendas had poor manners. The only complaint he remembered from Scott, which she mentioned two or three times, was that Tsafendas talked politics persistently at the table in front of her boarders and she suspected him of being a Communist. According to Constantaras, Scott was afraid of Tsafendas talking like that and she asked him to tell Tsafendas to stop. Constantaras did so and though Tsafendas was not happy that Scott did not tell him herself, he complied with her request. In terms of mental stability, Constantaras remembers Tsafendas as being “perfectly fine. He was not insane. None of us ever got the impression that he could be insane ... I remember I was impressed by the way he was talking ... he talked very nicely; he knew how to speak properly. He sounded like an educated man ... he was very friendly and easy-talking with everyone ...”⁷⁹⁵

Stratis Vamvarapis, another Greek, lodged with Mrs. Scott at the same time as Tsafendas and knew him for about a year. He found Tsafendas to be a “strange man - strange as a character, not mentally strange. He was easily crossed when he disagreed with people.” Initially, Tsafendas had little to say, but became more talkative as they grew to know each other, though he never discussed politics with him. Tsafendas never appeared to be schizophrenic or insane and he never heard him mention a tapeworm. He recalls him eating a lot but does not remember if his manners were messy and he never heard Mary Scott call Tsafendas “The Pig.”⁷⁹⁶

JOHANNES JACOBUS BOTHA⁷⁹⁷

White male, 51 years. Security officer at South African Pulp and Paper Industries, Mandeni.

On or about 7 May 1965 I was on duty at the service office at the entrance to the factory. I received a call about a fight that is going on at the living quarters which are used

⁷⁹⁴ Pamela Abrahams and Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

⁷⁹⁵ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

⁷⁹⁶ Stratis Vamvarapis in a personal interview, 31 May 2016.

⁷⁹⁷ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

by workers of the different contractors. A little while later after I received the call, a white male of Greek descent, Vergos, reported to me and told me about the incident, which happened to be of the said fight. During his conversation, he told me that Demitrio Tsafendis, the person with whom he was involved in a fight, is the biggest communist in the Republic of South Africa. I told him that I will bring it to the attention of the South African Police. I was not present when the police investigated the matter on the day.

On a certain date afterwards I did in fact share Vergos' comment with a member of the South African Police of Inyoni. I cannot remember to whom I conveyed the information. It had to be one of the white members of the force at Inyoni. The following members were stationed at Inyoni during that time: Germishuys, Francois Ferreira and Jannie Fourie. At a later date, after the fight occurred, a Roman Catholic priest also declared to me that Demitrios Tsafendas is a communist. In both cases, there were no reasons given as to why Tsafendis was suspected of being a communist. The name of the priest is not known to me. I suspect that he is from Stanger. He was dressed in a black suit with a collar that Priests usually wear. He had a full beard. That's all I know about the case.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. 23505 S/Sergt. at 11 p.m.

RICHARD POGGENPOEL⁷⁹⁸

Adult Coloured Male, Rosedene, 10 Walnut Street, Lansdowne.

I'm a member of the "Mission." Our church actually has no name, but is the same faith as Helen Daniels of Belville. Around December 1965, I met Demitrios Tsafendas through our church, at O'Ryan of Westminster Street, Lansdowne. We knew that he was sleeping with the O'Ryan children and there was little space and so offered that he can come stay with us until he finds accommodation and work. During December 1965 he stayed with us for 14 days. During his stay with us, he behaved very well. He attended our services and was generally quiet. He wrote many letters for work and during the day went searching for a job.

⁷⁹⁸ Richard Poggenpoel statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

There was no mention or impression that he was mentally abnormal. He lived a completely normal life. He left as a result of a letter we received. The author pointed out that our daughter who lives with us and who is widowed, could receive a bad reputation because an unmarried man is living with us. I showed him the letter and he made his own decision to leave. He went to live with O’Ryan again. He never talked about any political issues. He just told us of his travels around the world and said that he had faced many troubles. He did not pay lodging, but later brought R4 to the woman.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. 23505 S/Sergt.

COMMENTS OF POGGENPOEL TO THE AUTHOR REGARDING HIS STATEMENT

Richard Poggenpoel stated in a personal interview that Tsafendas often talked politics when people were around, but he personally had no interest in politics. He remembers Tsafendas being “very much against apartheid.” He did not reveal this to the police because he thought that it would be better for Tsafendas.⁷⁹⁹ As we will see, Patrick O’Ryan, a very good friend of Poggenpoel, also did not tell the police about his political discussions with Tsafendas for the same reason.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁹ Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013.

⁸⁰⁰ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

FRIDAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1966

TSAFENDAS'S NAME MENTIONED IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

That day was the first time that Tsafendas's name was heard in the Assembly after the assassination. It was mentioned by Sir de Villiers Graaff, the Leader of the Opposition. He raised the question of Tsafendas's entry into South Africa, the conditions under which he came into the country and how he was granted permanent residence. He stated that he would not pursue the matter himself since the Commission of Enquiry planned to investigate all this.⁸⁰¹

⁸⁰¹ *The Cape Argus*, 'Dramatic Moment as Name of Tsafendas is Mentioned', 16 September 1966: 4.

SATURDAY, 17 SEPTEMBER 1966

STATEMENTS

RALPH LIGHTON⁸⁰²

Employed with Marine Diamond Corporation, Cape Town. 9 a.m.

I have known Demitrio Tsafendas for the period of 9-10 weeks, approximately February - March 1966 when he was employed with M.D.C. aboard the Colponton in S.W.A. He was employed as machine operator. For the first half of his employment he worked under the maintenance foreman Mr. Reginald Spence. I got to know that he was lazy and inefficient, so I was requested to show him the care of two auction-dredge pumps which was much less work, and responsibility. By that time I have had conversation with him and knew he was of mixed Nationality and spoke Portuguese which appeared to be his home language. I found him to be a complete boar. He used to mix with the coloureds rather than with the Europeans. He got good audience from them.

He never mentioned to me what his political lookout was. He spoke about his world-wide travels and a woman keeping him in Germany. He stated frequently that he was about to get married, as he was 45 and thought is high time to get a wife. He never complained that he was physically incapacitated. He was a good eater. I have knowledge that he resigned for the following reasons - i.e. that the small transfer boat to get to our transport boat the Marina was too dangerous. He also said that the climbing of the ladders were too much for him.

I am fluent in Portuguese which I spoke to him. I never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers, but despite his former career in Merchant Marine, was unsuitable for our work. He stated that he had been a steward most of his time. He mentioned having been to Canada, the U.S.A about 6 yrs., to Britain, all of Europe, Turkey, Italy, Israel, North Africa, Greece, Portuguese East Africa - stating that he had a Portuguese Passport. He might be known to a security man of M.D.C. a Mr. Martincich (23 Yrs. old) Accused said he had Jewish Religion.

⁸⁰² Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

PATRICK O'RYAN

As we will see in the chapter on the Summary Trial, according to the trial transcripts Patrick O'Ryan was also interviewed this day. The following dialogue took place between Attorney-General Willem van den Berg and Patrick O'Ryan:

VAN DEN BERG: You made a statement to the Police on the 17th September 1966, is that correct?

O'RYAN: Most probably. Yes, the date must be.

VAN DEN BERG: You can have a look at the statement?

O'RYAN: I did make a statement. Correct.⁸⁰³

O'Ryan's statement was not found in the archives. His statement is extremely important, as we will see in the following chapter, because of remarks by Attorney-General van den Berg during his cross examination of O'Ryan. After O'Ryan had referred at length to the importance of the tapeworm in Tsafendas's life, van den Berg noted that O'Ryan had not mentioned anything to the police about the tapeworm and wondered why he had not done so since he claimed that it was so important to Tsafendas. According to the trial transcript, the following are excerpts from Patrick O'Ryan's statement to the police on September 17, 1966: "He (that is the accused) stayed with me for approximately 3 months, 2 weeks of which he stayed at Poggenpoel's, but afterwards returned to me. He read the newspaper and it was apparent that he was against the state policy of both South Africa and Portugal. He made the impression with me that he was favourable towards the Coloureds and he repeatedly applied to be classified as a Coloured.

He said that he had a blank identity card, in other words his race was not recorded on it. He labelled the apartheid policies as unfair. His reasoning was not very intelligent. I did not encourage him, because we advocate the Biblical idea of subservience to a Government. His spiritual view seemed confused, but he was not spiritually or mentally disturbed. On the contrary, even though I did not consider him to be particularly intelligent, he was well spoken

⁸⁰³ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

and had good vocabulary. I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind.”⁸⁰⁴

COMMENTS ON PATRICK O’RYAN’S STATEMENT

Patrick O’Ryan later said that Tsafendas was “very anti-white, excitedly referring to the treatment of Blacks and Coloureds by the Whites.” One day, Tsafendas told him that if he “ever got hold of Dr. Verwoerd, he “would bash his skull.” O’Ryan said he did not reveal any of their political discussions to the police when they questioned him about Tsafendas.⁸⁰⁵

PRESS REPORTS OF THE DAY

On this day, the first physical description of Tsafendas’s mixed-race mother appeared in the Press, in a *Rand Daily Mail* interview with Mr. Guglielmo (Willy) Conte, a friend of Tsafendas’s father, Michalis. In an interview with the paper’s reporter, Hazel Goldstein, Conte said he met Michalis soon after he (Conte) arrived in Lourenço Marques, aged eighteen, and they became business associates. He said Michalis and Dimitri Tsafendas’s mother lived together on the first floor of a white, two-storey house on 24th July Avenue, Lourenço Marques. He described Dimitri’s mother as “a plump, clean-looking woman with ivory-coloured skin.” She dressed in “native clothing – a print blouse with a white sash around her body.” Conte said that contrary to reports, Demetrios was not rejected by the family. Except for his school years in Middleburg, he said that he had always stayed with his father and Greek stepmother and their family.⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰⁴ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁸⁰⁵ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

⁸⁰⁶ Goldstein, ‘Tsafendas Timid and Puny As A Boy’, *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 September 1966.

SUNDAY, 18 SEPTEMBER 1966

No statements or any other evidence were found in the archives for this day.

PRESS REPORTS OF THE DAY

The *Sunday Times* headlined its top story, '*Tsafendas's brothers are quizzed*' by the police. It said Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town members of the "Fellowship of Christ," to which Tsafendas belonged, had made statements to the police.⁸⁰⁷ They included Helen Daniels, who was interviewed by security officers for more than an hour. It was also the day when the two interviews which her brother Peter Daniels gave to the *Post* and the *Sunday Times* that were discussed earlier in this chapter were published. Finally, Attorney General van den Berg told the *Sunday Times* that Tsafendas would probably appear in court within the next fortnight. Mr. van den Berg said he had read some documents but new evidence was being investigated by the police.⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰⁷ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5.

⁸⁰⁸ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5.

MONDAY, 19 SEPTEMBER 1966

TSAFENDAS'S SECOND STATEMENT

Tsafendas's interrogation is again recorded this day and this is his second statement found at the archives. As we will see, unlike the previous one, it contains the questions Tsafendas was asked to answer. This is his statement:

Further Questioning of Demitrio Tsafendas at 2.45 p.m. on 19/9/66 by Maj. Rossouw⁸⁰⁹

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Is it true that you told the American authorities that you have joined the Communist Party at the age of 20?*

TSAFENDAS: *I cannot remember having made such a statement to the American authorities. I was a member of the Communist Party. I joined the Communist Party just before the war in Johannesburg. I was about 19-20 years old then. It was during 1936, 37 or 36 - I cannot remember the date.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Where and with whom did you join the party?*

TSAFENDAS: *I was a member of the boiler workers and welders union when I joined at the Trades Hall in Johannesburg. I cannot remember whom I joined with - I mean who the person was - but I remember having received a Communist membership card and I used to pay two shillings and sixpence monthly as membership fees. I continued paying membership fees until I left in 1941. I paid my membership fees at an office in the Trades Hall. I paid my Trade Union fees at an office and the C.P. membership fees at a different office in the Trades Hall.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Did you ever attend Communist Party meetings?*

TSAFENDAS: *I did attend meetings on the City Hall steps in Johannesburg. I went there to listen to their speeches. They used to carry banners. I remember one Wolfson and one named Joffe who made speeches on the City Hall steps. I also went to see two film shows in the public library. The Communist Party was legal then and so was the Ossewa Brandwag. I*

⁸⁰⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

made one mistake and that is that I told no one that I was leaving South Africa. After I left Johannesburg I paid no more monthly subscriptions. That was the end of my Communist Party membership.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Did you contact members of the Communist Party in America?*

TSAFENDAS: *No, I did not. I did not attend any C.P. rallies in America. I don't remember telling anybody in America that I was a member of the S.A. Communist Party.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Did you associate yourself or attend any Communist Party meetings elsewhere in the world?*

TSAFENDAS: *No, I did not. I attend meetings at Hyde Park, but not Communist Party meetings. I also attended Labour Party meetings in England at Caxton Hall, but they were not Communist meetings.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Did you lose interest in Communist Party activities after you left South Africa?*

TSAFENDAS: *I was an inactive person as far as politics were concerned and for that reason did not maintain political connections. Since leaving South Africa I did not consider myself a member of the Communist Party.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Can you name the hospitals in all the countries where you were hospitalised during your absence from South Africa?*

TSAFENDAS: *I received medical treatment at the Boston Psychosomatic Hospital, Sheepshead Bay Hospital for seamen outside New York, the Grafton State Hospital, Massachusetts. I also received medical attention at St. Pancras Hospital, London and at the Isle of Wight. In Europe I was in Oxensoll Krankenhaus in Hamburg and in the Tropical State Hospital in Lisbon. I was also a patient at the Government Hospital in Beira. I was in Addington Hospital in Durban for a state wound on my right arm. I also had an ear, nose and throat operation in Grootte Schuur Hospital, Gape Town during 1966.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Can you tell me what the nature of your illnesses were for which you received hospital treatment at the various hospitals?*

TSAFENDAS: *The diagnosis for being sent, to Boston Psychopathic Hospital was depressive psychosis. At Sheepshead Bay Hospital for depressive psychosis and exhaustion, at Grafton State Hospital for schizophrenia. That means a split personality. At St. Pancras Hospital I was also treated for depressive psychosis and at the Isle of Wight I was also*

hospitalised on account of a nervous condition. Also at Oxensoll⁸¹⁰ Krankenhaus I received treatment for a nervous condition. I don't know what happened but I woke up after receiving shock treatment. At Beira I was hospitalised for recovery from an exhaustive condition.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *I think you left Lisbon out.*

TSAFENDAS: *There they must have done something to my brain because I was never the same again because I was always suffering from a persecution complex. After that something went wrong with my heart and my nervous system. The last time I was hospitalised for a nervous condition was in 1953 at Oxensoll Krankenhaus.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *You told Gen. van den Bergh about a girl you were interested in somewhere in Woodstock and whom you wanted to marry.*

TSAFENDAS: *Oh, her name was Miss Baxendella, an Indian girl - she was a mixed breed between Indian and Coloured. That was about six months ago when I was interested in her. She works in a shop near Woodstock Police Station. It is a grocery shop on the right hand side just before you reach Woodstock Police Station from Cape Town. I cannot remember the name of the shop but I can point it out to you.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *When did you first become a member of the Christian Church?*

TSAFENDAS: *I got to know about the church in 1933. To become a full member one has to be baptized, I left here in 1941 without being baptized. I was baptized in Greece (Athene) on the beach in 1948 or 1949.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Is it true that you must be self-supporting before you can become a member of the Christian Church?*

TSAFENDAS: *Yes, you must work. I do not consider myself a very faithful member because I did not comply with the requirements of the church.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Can you describe your church to me?*

TSAFENDAS: *My church consists of a group of people coming together holding a communion of gospel meetings. We have no church temple and we hold meetings according to where you stay. If I stay in Woodstock I attend meetings in the area where I stay. I used to attend meetings in Pinelands. We hold a convention once a year. Last year I attended a convention on n Mr. Bezuidenhout's farm in Durbanville.*

⁸¹⁰ The correct spelling is Ochsenzoll.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Can you speak, read and write Arabic language?*

TSAFENDAS: *I can only speak a little bit of Arab language from what I learned in Egypt, Jordan, Beirut and Siria.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Name the languages in which you are fluent, others which you know less fluently and those in which you can help yourself?*

TSAFENDAS: *I am fluent in English, Greek, Portuguese. I am less fluent in German, French and Italian. I can help myself in Arabic, Afrikaans, Shangaan. I only know a few words in Turkish.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Were you ever indoctrinated by any person to commit the unlawful act for which you are now charged?*

TSAFENDAS: *No, I was not. I did not do it at the instigation of anyone. I did it on my own because I thought it was the right thing.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *It appears that you planned the assault on Dr. Verwoerd over a long period - can you tell me when your planning to kill Dr. Verwoerd first started?*

TSAFENDAS: *The idea of destroying Dr. Verwoerd entered my mind a few days after I started work as a messenger in the House of Assembly. I saw an opportunity to do so in the House of Assembly because I was inside the house. I first thought of buying a gun with which I could shoot him and then run away. I did in fact buy a gun from the crew of the Eleni hut I found that the gun was useless. I bought the gun at the end of the month when I got my pay. I went there before to try and get the gun but I had no money. I then waited until I got my pay. I was going to buy a Beretta but the man didn't keep his word and gave me the other pistol. He made all kinds of excuses. It was only after I found that the gun was useless that I decided on using a knife.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Did you ever discuss your plans of wanting to destroy Dr. Verwoerd with any person?*

TSAFENDAS: *No, I did not. The crew of the Eleni were discontented because they could not go out and have a good time with the Coloured women. They were bitter about not being able to have the woman outside but I did not discuss my intentions with any of them. I remember some of them mentioning, during casual conversation, that these people should be taught a lesson. The "bosun" was one for example. He did not put it in the same words as I put it. I explain in Greek what he said. His words is translated in English to mean; "The South*

Africans need a good raping.” I did not express my intentions to the “bosun” or anyone else. I cannot say that the strong feelings of the Eleni crewmen persuaded me to do what I already had in mind, but it did contribute to the final execution of the deed. None of them knew of what I was going to do. They asked me what I wanted the pistol for and I said I wanted it for self-defence.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *And if you managed to escape after assassinating the Prime Minister, where were you going to hide yourself?*

TSAFENDAS: *I was going to find refuge on the tanker, the Eleni, which I knew was sailing to South America. My plans were, however, upset when I could not get the right pistol. The boat sailed on the Saturday before the Tuesday on which I stabbed the Prime Minister.*

MAJ. ROSSOUW: *Did you know that the Eleni had sailed before you attacked, the Prime Minister? If so, what were your plans to get away?*

TSAFENDAS: *Yes, I knew the ship had already left. I never thought about hiding if I had to do the job with a knife. I didn't have much of a chance of getting away when using a knife. I didn't care much and didn't give it a second thought that I would be caught. I just happened to do it that way. I always had a grudge against the South African Government on account of its racial policies and I hated Dr. Verwoerd because he was a foreigner - a Hollander.*

This statement was read over to the deponent and he was asked whether the contents was correct in every respect, he acknowledged that the replies to questions put to him were answered freely and voluntarily without him being forced to do so in any way.

Are you prepared to sign this statement? Yes, I am prepared to sign it.

You have listened to the statement as read over to you. Is it correct? Yes, it is correct. Do you wish to read it over yourself? No, sir, I do not.

(SGD) DEMETRIOS TSAFENDAS

19/9/1966: CAPE TOWN

ANALYSIS OF TSAFENDAS'S STATEMENT

Once again, Tsafendas does not mention the tapeworm, even when he is asked why he was hospitalised in each hospital. Furthermore, he maintains that he did “the right thing” and that he did not care about the consequences. He also repeats the assertion that he bought a gun from the *Eleni* and adds that he was planning to escape after the assassination by hiding in the tanker. Tsafendas also referred to the *Eleni* extensively in his statements on the 11th and now he does so again, therefore it is natural to assume that he also mentioned it when he was first interrogated by General van den Bergh.

Fourteen seamen from the *Eleni* who came to know Tsafendas in Cape Town and were interviewed by the author all strongly deny that any of the crew were upset about the Immorality Act, describing such a claim as ridiculous. They said those who wanted to have sex with Coloured South African women went ahead and did so, not on board, and Tsafendas knew about it. None of them was “bitter” or discontented. Only very few actually wanted to have sex with Coloured women but opportunities were available for those who did. Some of the crewmen had asked Tsafendas about women and he told them he did not know any prostitutes. The men eventually found ready access to both White and Coloured women through a Greek man named Panagiotis (Peter),⁸¹¹ who was not known personally to Tsafendas, though Tsafendas was aware that he had “business” dealings with some of the crew.

Why would Tsafendas claim that the crew was discontented if there was no problem about sex? The men who were interviewed by the author suggested the existence of a political factor, specifically a hostility among the crew to apartheid. Some of the crew, especially those who were friendly with Tsafendas, were Communists and adopted an unfriendly attitude towards White South Africans since they considered them to be fascists. After the township visit, several of the crew began referring to South Africans as Nazis. Some of the men, especially Vasilakis and Zafiriadis, became quite aggressive towards visiting White South Africans. Vasilakis even got into an argument with one South African supplier over the treatment of the Black South Africans. Tsafendas told them to be careful about the way they talked because they could get into trouble. Vasilakis, Mastromanolis and Kambouris believe Tsafendas might have used that as an excuse to explain the hostility of the crew towards White South Africans that might have been reported to the police after the

⁸¹¹ None of the witnesses remembers his surname.

assassination.⁸¹²

Mastromanolis confirms to the author that he said South Africans needed “a good whipping.” He says he made the comment after Tsafendas organised the township visit. Mastromanolis repeated this comment several times in reference to White South Africans he happened to encounter, saying things like, “What a good whipping this racist needs.” The phrase soon became a running joke within the crew and others would repeat it when they came across White South Africans. Tsafendas told Mastromanolis and the others to be cautious since Greek visitors to the *Eleni* could also be supporters of apartheid. It was also after the township visit that another sailor, probably Dimitris Zafiriadis, said that the South Africans needed to be “taught a lesson.” Both comments were the result of seeing conditions in the Black township and the men’s recognition of the reality of apartheid and had nothing to do with the Immorality Act.

Some of the seamen believe, and it sounds logical, that Tsafendas lied to the police in order to protect them. Their theory is that Tsafendas came to believe that some of the South Africans and the Greek-South Africans coming on board noticed the hostility of the crew towards them or heard them talking negatively about South Africa and that Tsafendas used the Immorality Act as a reason for their hostile behaviour. The fact that Tsafendas attributed Mastromanolis’s comment to the Immorality Act and not to the township visit strongly suggests that he did so to protect him. He may have feared that Greek visitors heard the comment and if so would have told the police about it. Of course, all of this is speculation and the author is not in position to know for certain what Tsafendas’s motives were in referring to the Immorality Act. However, the fact is that the crewmen were not discontented about the Act and freely admit that whoever wanted to have sex with a Coloured woman went ahead and did so.⁸¹³

The importance of the *Eleni* would also be highlighted later by the Commission of Enquiry for four reasons:

- That Tsafendas visited the vessel almost every day for forty-two days before the assassination,

⁸¹² Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁸¹³ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

- That he bought a weapon from the crew.
- That he was intending to escape aboard this ship.
- Three days before the assassination, Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed on-board the *Eleni*. This would be the most intriguing part of the Commission of Enquiry's report.

On the question of the Christian Church, Tsafendas is lying or mistaken or just not very clear about when he first heard of it. He stated here that it was in 1933. He would then have been aged fifteen and living in Lourenço Marques. It is possible that he meant 1943, when he was in hospital in the United States. He told several people he first came across the sect in an American hospital through the person of Tom Tuff. Tsafendas also said this to the doctors in the Grafton State Hospital in 1946. All of the witness interviewed by the author who knew Tsafendas in the 1930s stated flatly that Tsafendas was not associated at the time with this sect.

Tsafendas also declared in the above statement that he got the idea of killing Dr. Verwoerd after he began working in Parliament. In fact, he later claimed that previously he hung around Parliament's precincts to work out whether it would be possible to shoot Dr. Verwoerd or to kill him with a bomb. It was while doing this that, by chance, he got the opportunity to work there. When he realised he could easily kill Dr. Verwoerd, he did not hesitate. He considered that he had the chance of getting rid of a tyrant and if he had not done so, he would have regretted it all his life. He told the police at the time and repeated it thirty years later, that he hoped by killing Dr. Verwoerd "things would change" because Dr. Verwoerd was "the brains behind apartheid." He considered him to be a "monster" and an "evil person." He knew that things would not change overnight, but he hoped the prime minister's death would be a stepping stone towards the end of apartheid.⁸¹⁴

Tsafendas declares in his statement that "I always had a grudge against the South African Government on account of its racial policies and I hated Dr. Verwoerd because he was a foreigner - a Hollander." Tsafendas characterised Dr. Verwoerd in a similar fashion in his interview with Dr. Sakinofsky immediately after the assassination. It is true that Dr. Verwoerd was born in Amsterdam, Holland, but Tsafendas was clearly using the word in his own wider sense. He was not speaking in terms of citizenship, rather from his personal ideology in which "foreigners" were colonialists and oppressors, such as the ruling Whites in South Africa and the Portuguese in Mozambique. Tsafendas considered Rhodesia and South

⁸¹⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

Africa, as well as Mozambique and all the colonized countries in Africa and around the world, to be “occupied lands,” another term he routinely used. His belief was that pre-independent African countries, as well as South Africa and Rhodesia under the oppressive minority rule of White racist dictators such as Dr. Verwoerd and Ian Smith, were “occupied lands,” settled by a ruling minority of foreigners, whereas they should be governed on a democratic basis by the people who were born in those countries, be they Black or White.⁸¹⁵ In 1964, Tsafendas had clearly expressed this belief after his arrest in Mozambique where he was accused by PIDE of “making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.”⁸¹⁶ When interrogated by PIDE, Tsafendas “clearly stated he was in favour of the independence of Mozambique” and admitted that he wanted to see:

“A Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they White or Black, and therefore separated from the mother nation.”⁸¹⁷

This was a firmly held belief which he mentioned to numerous people. Furthermore, according to several witnesses who knew him exceptionally well, like Father Nikola Banovic, Andreas Babiolakis, Father Minas Constandinou, Fotini Gavasiadis, Helen Grispos, Ira Kyriakakis, Nikos Papadakis, Katerina Pnefma, Father Ioannis Tsafaridis and many others, Tsafendas routinely used the words “foreigners,” “occupiers”, or “conquerors” for all the Whites in Africa, including of course the Whites in South Africa, who supported authoritarian, minority, colonialist and oppressive regimes.⁸¹⁸ Tsafendas believed that all those who supported the Portuguese and the white Rhodesian Government were foreigners who had stolen the land from the native Mozambicans and Rhodesians and set themselves up as unilateral rulers. Equally, he believed that the apartheid government and the apartheid-supporting Whites in South Africa were also foreigners and occupiers who had seized and

⁸¹⁵ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁸¹⁶ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁸¹⁷ PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁸¹⁸ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

settled native land forcibly removing and oppressing the Black South Africans. Thus, in referring to Dr. Verwoerd as a foreigner, Tsafendas was expressing his conviction that all colonialists/white supremacists in Africa were foreigners, people from other parts of the world illegally occupying African land.

In regard to Mozambique, Tsafendas's position at the time was that it was just a province, i.e. a colony, of Portugal, and the Portuguese who ruled it were therefore colonialists, foreigners, incomers from Europe. He believed the Portuguese had commandeered the land from its rightful owners. However, it should be noted that Tsafendas exempted Whites in Africa who backed majority rule from such characterizations, but considered as classic occupiers those settler Whites who had made large fortunes from vast tracts of land effectively stolen from the indigenous Blacks.⁸¹⁹

Furthermore, according to these several witnesses, Tsafendas considered apartheid to be a form of colonialism, not very different from the out-and-out colonialism of Mozambique and Rhodesia.⁸²⁰ We should note here that in 1963, the policy of apartheid had been declared by the South African Communist Party to be "colonialism of a special type."⁸²¹ It is possible that this pronouncement confirmed Tsafendas's own convictions on the subject.

Father Minas Constandinou told the author about Tsafendas's political ideas:

"Dimitris used to say that apartheid was like colonialism, because a few Europeans were ruling a land which belonged to Blacks because their ancestors had invaded and conquered it. I remember he used to call the Portuguese in Mozambique and I think the Whites in South Africa too, 'conquerors' and 'occupiers;' he considered Mozambique and South Africa to be 'occupied lands,' conquered by 'foreigners.'"⁸²²

⁸¹⁹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁸²⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁸²¹ Nicholas Visser, "Postcoloniality of a Special Type: Theory and Its Appropriations in South Africa." *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 27, *The Politics of Postcolonial Criticism* (1997), p. 79; Harold Volpe, *Race, Class and the Apartheid State*, (London: James Currey, 1988), p. 28-35.

⁸²² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

As for Tsafendas seeing Dr. Verwoerd and the Whites in South Africa as “foreigners,” he was certainly not the only one who thought that way. Even Dr. Verwoerd himself acknowledged this idea in a speech on February 8, 1961:

“There are people who are far away and do not understand us. They see this southern point of Africa only as a White-dominated country in a large continent with over 200 million people who are black. And then they say we do not fit here, we are foreign to the body of Africa.”⁸²³

This is almost exactly as Tsafendas saw the racist Whites in South Africa and Africa in generally; as “foreigners.” Furthermore, Dr. Verwoerd was even seeing as a “foreigner” by members and supporters of his own Party who referred to him as “die Hollander”⁸²⁴; exactly as Tsafendas called him in his statement.

Tsafendas in his statement also gives a detailed account of his various hospitalizations, but he does not mention the tapeworm. What is more, he presents the diagnoses in a less serious fashion than it appeared in the hospital’s reports. For example, he says he was hospitalized on the Isle of Wight and at the Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital merely for a “nervous condition.” However, the diagnosis by both hospitals was that Tsafendas was suffering from a psychotic illness.⁸²⁵

As with Tsafendas’s previous statement, there are these questions: Could the police have forged it or imputed to Tsafendas things he did not say or did not mean? But then why would they work on something that was never going to be used? The statement was not tabled for the summary trial or the Commission of Enquiry.

⁸²³ Pelzer, *Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches 1948-66*, p. 494.

⁸²⁴ O’Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*, p. 92; Osada, *Sanctions and Honorary Whites: Diplomatic Policies and Economic Realities in Relations between Japan and South Africa*, p. 8.

⁸²⁵ Dr. Harold Cooper’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

TSAFENDAS'S MEDICAL EXAMINATION

At 3.30 this day, and after Tsafendas had been interrogated by Major Rossouw, he was examined by a doctor. The doctor's name is indecipherable, but his medical report reads as follows:

"He (Tsafendas) complained of mild breathlessness at times and a feeling of discomfort in the throat. On examination, he appeared in good physical condition and nil abnormal was found in the chest. His temperature was 98.0 F. I came to the conclusion that he was suffering from hyperventilation at times and prescribed a multivitamin tablet containing phenobarbitone gr 1/2."

Signed: ... (Indecipherable name)...⁸²⁶

ACCURACY OF THE MEDICAL REPORT

The author is not in position to know the accuracy of this doctor's report, but as stated before, it must be read against a background of known collusion by physicians with the authorities in those years. Since collusion and cover-up were commonplace in apartheid South Africa, doubt must remain over any doctor's report concerning Tsafendas, especially with regard to his physical condition while in police custody.

STATEMENTS

DR. AUBREY RADFORD⁸²⁷

Specialist surgeon, Member of Parliament representing Durban Central Constituency. 12. p.m.

On 6/9/66 at about 2.13 p.m. I approached the main entrance to the debating chamber of the House of Assembly. This entrance is protected by a screen and as I

⁸²⁶ Memorandum to Maj. Rossouw re. Demitrio Tsafendas, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 3, NASA.

⁸²⁷ Dr. Aubrey Radford statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

approached from the northern end Dr. Verwoerd approached from the southern end accompanied by two members of Parliament with whom he was talking. I stopped to allow Dr. Verwoerd to go in before me. He and his companions entered and I followed immediately. Entering the House on the right side of the gangway, just before I reached the seat of the Chief Messenger, I was violently pushed from my left rear. This was so unusual that I glanced to see who had done it. I saw the back of a messenger going towards the left to where Dr. Verwoerd walked. I sat down in my seat almost opposite the seat usually occupied by the Prime Minister.

I heard a scuffle and looking towards the sound I saw arms and legs struggling with someone at Dr. Verwoerd's seat. At the same time Sir de Villiers Graaff ran across and before he reached Dr. Verwoerd he shouted - "Doctor." I ran to Dr. Verwoerd across the floor and found Dr. Fisher already there. Dr. Verwoerd's face was bloodless, his left arm hung over the side of the bench. Dr. Fisher tore open his shirt and waist-coat. There was then visible a stab wound in the area behind which lay the heart. This wound was bleeding slightly and Dr. Fisher put his hand over this wound to control any bleeding. I felt Dr. Verwoerd's left pulse. It was completely absent and never returned. Dr. Fisher lifted his hand from the wound and there was no bleeding. Bleeding came from the wound in the left base of the neck, but had ceased when I looked at the wound. Dr. Morrison came to the second bench and Dr. Fisher asked him to give mouth to mouth breathing, which he did. Dr. Fisher then asked Dr. Morrison to go to his (Dr. Fisher's) office and bring down Coramine and a syringe. Dr. Morrison arrived with a full syringe which I passed to Dr. Fisher, who then injected it into the heart of Dr. Verwoerd. He asked for another syringe full which Dr. Morrison supplied quickly and I injected this into the same area. Dr. Fisher and I speaking quietly decided that Dr. Verwoerd was dead. We waited there until Dr. Verwoerd's body was removed by ambulance ... Coramine is a powerful stimulant for the heart, especially in the case of an emergency.

(SGD.) A.J.P. Louw 16457 SGT.

CHARLES EDWIN WOODS⁸²⁸

White Male, aged 64 years, supervisor at Fraser and Chalmers, Mandeni, Zululand.

On 19.4.1965, Demitrio Tsafendas took-up employment with Fraser and Chalmers, and was posted to Mandeni. He was recruited in Durban, and was employed as a Fitter and Turner. He was qualified as a Fitter and Turner and was a good tradesman. Demitrio Tsafendas was discharged on 9.5.1965 because he had been involved in a fight with another White male, Nicholas Vergos. Demitrio Tsafendas sustained a severe laceration of the right wrist. During the time Demitrio Tsafendas was employed by ay firm, I never had any discussions with him along political lines. We discussed his travels in which he related that he had visited many countries but made no mention of any countries which he may have visited behind the iron curtain.

On the 9.5.1965, Demitrio Tsafendas told me that the fight between him and Nicholas Vergos was as a result of a political argument. He did not state anything further. I also interviewed Nicholas Vergos, who was employed by Congella Erection, who told me that I should get rid of Demitrio Tsafendas “as he is a Communist.” Demitrio Tsafendas was not a person who mixed freely and kept to himself most of the time.

(SGD.) R.D. WILSON. D/SERGT.

COMMENTS ON WOOD’S STATEMENT

Two days after the assassination, Woods had described Tsafendas in an interview with *The Cape Times* as “a very good worker, far from being a crank, fairly intelligent, but a violent type.”⁸²⁹

⁸²⁸ Charles Edwin Woods’s statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁸²⁹ *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas in Brawl in Canteen’, 9 September 1966: 15.

TUESDAY, 20 SEPTEMBER 1966

LT. COL. VAN WYK'S REPORT⁸³⁰

On this day, Lt.-Colonel P.J.B. van Wyk wrote his first report "regarding the activities of Demitri Tsafendas in Rhodesia and Mozambique," from interviews he had conducted in both countries. The report was then sent to the offices of the Commissioner of the South African Police in Pretoria and of the Security Police in Cape Town. This is Lt.-Colonel P.J.B. van Wyk's report:

*A. The Commissioner,
South African Police,
Privatebag 94
Pretoria.*

*B. The officer in Charge,
Security Police
Cape Town.*

Activities: Dimitrio Tsafendas: Mozambique and Rhodesia.

Following my recent visit to Mozambique and Rhodesia and my investigation into the activities and background of the subject, I wish to report the following:

LOURENÇO MARQUES: 12.09.66

While at Lourenço Marques, I spoke with the following persons:

⁸³⁰ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

Members of the P.I.D.E:

Upon my arrival I was welcomed by Sub-Inspector A. Vaz and told that he received instruction from his headquarters in Lisbon to assist us wherever possible with the investigation in this matter, but that they must by no means be involved to such an extent that it came to the knowledge of other organizations and have possible international repercussions for their government. He briefly described the circumstances leading to the arrest and release of the subject at Beira during 1964/65, and promised to personally send a photocopy of the file to General van den Bergh.

George Liberopolis⁸³¹

George Ananiades

These people, both Greek, mentioned to me that they both went to school in Lourenço Marques and the Republic. During the beginning of 1965 they met the subject. He practically forced himself upon them and they treated him and often paid for his meals but further had nothing to do with him. He never spoke about politics with them. They describe him as a normal person with a very high-intelligence.

Manuel Hazis

He immigrated to Mozambique during 1963. During the beginning of 1965, he could not remember the date or period the subject came to his business, a bakery, and started a conversation with him. The subject said that he was an evangelist and he spoke out of the Bible often but never politics. He does not know Tsafendas and cannot furnish further information.

Mr. John Gianouris - Greek Vice Consul at Lourenço Marques

He is a literate and pleasant personality that has received much of his education in the Republic and without any doubt can be seen as a supporter of the Republican policy. He also met Tsafendas during the beginning of 1965 when Tsafendas called on him for financial assistance. Tsafendas could not convince him that he is a Greek citizen and therefore he did

⁸³¹ The surname is misspelled; the correct spelling is Liberopoulos.

not meet Tsafendas's request. He describes the subject as a normal and intelligent person. Mr. John Gianouris promised to make the necessary further inquiries among the Greek community and disclose any information that may be of importance to me. I believe that he will do his utmost to obtain more information for us.

Mr. Vaz promised to investigate the allegations of Tsafendas having received money from the Republic.

BEIRA

Here I was met by the District commander of the Police, Captain Rui Tavara who was very helpful during my investigation there. He even had an office made available to me, and people who knew the subject were called to the office. I spoke to the following persons there:

Inspector Horacio Ferreira P.S. Police (Uniform Branch)

He is in charge of the police cells and informs me that Tsafendas was detained in the police cells at Beira for a period of around 14 days from 14 November 1964 due to the fact that he spread subversive propaganda to the Bantu people. According to him, Tsafendas is intense anti-white and went as far as to tell him that the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-whites. Otherwise Tsafendas was normal and he regarded him as a very intelligent person. During his detention, it was often seen that he read books which were written in Bantu languages, but never the Bible.

Stelios Marangos

He is the owner of a boarding house and knows the subject who stayed at his lodgings from 28 August 1964 to 8 October 1964. He was unemployed and had only paid his lodgings for the period 28 August to 28 September. When he left he said he was going to look for work at the firm that lies the pipeline from Beira to Rhodesia. During his stay in the boarding house he was very quiet and almost never spoke. It was often seen that he carried a Bible with him. He never talked politics.

John Verghis

He is the owner of a café in Beira and met the subject during 1964. However, he could not remember the month or date. On a day the subject entered his shop where he spoke to other people in the cafe. He then frequently visited the cafe where he spent time in the company of other Greeks. The subject was quiet and never spoke much and never about politics. It seemed to him that the subject always visited the café to see just if someone would give him something to eat or drink. After the subject left Beira, he once received a letter from him that was posted from Durban. In this letter he only enquires of lottery tickets. Tsafendas was not a drinker. He only saw him drinking a beer once. According to him Tsafendas was a normal person. On one occasion Tsafendas told him that he was arrested by the Security Police of Mozambique but that nothing could be proved against him. He did not say why he was arrested.

John Emmanuel Marvis

He was in the Scala Café on the day when Tsafendas entered the cafe. After they determined that he speaks Greek, he was invited to join him and the other Greeks who were present. After that he often came into the cafe and they sometimes bought him food and drink. On one occasion he placed a letter on the table in the cafe and said that he had received it from his sister in Rhodesia. He was very upset and said that his sister is coming to Beira for a marriage ceremony but told him that she does not want to see him whatsoever, because he is a disgrace to the family. He took off his hat, which he never removed, pointed to his hair and said: "You see, my father is a Greek and my mother is a coloured. That is reason why my brothers and sisters do not want anything to do with me." He also told them that he left Lourenço Marques during the last war and travelled around the world. He visited all the countries in Europe except a few. Tsafendas never talked politics. On one occasion, however, he spoke in favour of full integration and intermarriage between coloreds and whites. He said that it is high time that a new race came into being. Tsafendas never had money. He mentioned once that he sold household objects in Johannesburg and made a bit of money. On one occasion he borrowed 10 escudos from Mr. Marvis.

Mr. Marvis did not have a 10 escudo piece and therefore had given him 20 escudos. A few days later Tsafendas came to him and took a 100 escudo note from his money-wallet to repay him with. There was a pack of 100 escudo notes in his wallet. (This money is probably his

wages for the four days when he worked at Beira for Huma Pipes. See attached documents marked "A"). During the time Tsafendas lived in Beira, he was away for about 20-30 days. After his return, he said that he worked at the firm that lays the pipeline, but that the Rhodesian government deported him for reasons unknown to him. He left Beira and was never seen again.

Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Greek Consul to Beira

He also visited the Scala Cafe often and was often in the company of the subject, Marvis and others had several conversations with him. He never talked politics and is regarded by him as a very intelligent person. On one occasion Tsafendas visited him at his office and requested help. He refused to help because he did not accept him as a Greek citizen. According to Mr. Sanianos, Tsafendas could also speak Russian. He was usually broke and took advantage others. Tsafendas once told him that he got R5000 from his family in Pretoria. Captain Sanianos is undoubtedly a supporter of the R.S.A policy and promised to convey all information to us regarding the background and associations of Tsafendas that came to his attention.

Jose Lopez Baltazar

He is attached to the fire department in Beira. He knows Demitrio Tsafendas and he met the latter at the beginning of 1965 when Tsafendas came to the fire department and asked permission to sleep on the premises because he had just been released from the police cells and had no money for lodging and food. Tsafendas slept on the premises for 10 nights and made sure that he arrived at mealtimes, he was then also always invited to join in the meal. He accepted Tsafendas as a white, but noticed that when Tsafendas was in the presence of whites he said little or nothing but was friendly and talkative with the Bantu. On one or two occasions Tsafendas, while talking with Bantu, stopped talking when he approached. Tsafendas left without thanking them for their hospitality and was never seen again.

In Beira, it was determined that he (Tsafendas) was examined there by a surgeon. I tried obtaining a copy of his report, but was told that we should formally apply for it; necessary steps are being taken.

RHODESIA

Mrs. C.C. Pneuma, the half-sister of subject.

During my conversation with her, she said she had already made a statement to the Rhodesian Security Police concerning what she knew about the subject. However, I asked her what he came to do at her and what he would have said. She told me that they had absolutely nothing in common, and that he only asked her for money, which she refused. It is noticeable that this lady is very upset about the events and that she never accepted the subject as a brother and had very little or nothing to do with him during her lifetime. She saw him at the beginning of 1964 in Pretoria and said that he talked a lot of nonsense.⁸³²

SUMMARY:

Copies of reports by Security Police of Rhodesia attached, labelled A, B, C & D.

According to available information received and reports by the Security Police of Rhodesia it seems that on 02.11.63 the subject went to Lourenço Marques with a Portuguese passport No. 6511/63 valid until 02.11.65. On 19.07.64 he entered Rhodesia for the first time and gave the following personal details: he is white, single and his nationality is Portuguese, last residence Proclamation Hill Cafe, West End, Pretoria and his career as a linguist, translator, interpreter and mechanic.

He was in possession of £50 and the reason for his visit was that he wanted to visit his sister at Marandellas Store, Marendellas, Rhodesia. He was issued with a temporary tourist permit, valid until 09.08.64. According to an endorsement on his permit, he entered Rhodesia again on 27.07.64. There is no record whatsoever of the date on which he left Rhodesia after his first entry in 1964, nor any indication from which country he came to Rhodesia. On 11.08.64, after the expiry of his tourist permit Tsafendas was asked to show a return ticket to South Africa or to deposit an amount if he wanted to extend his permit. At this stage he was

⁸³² Katerina Pnema's response regarding what she said to Lt. Col. van Wyk is the same as her statement to the Rhodesian Police.

looking for a job as linguist at the Public Services Board of Rhodesia. On 19.08.64, the Department of Immigration wrote a letter to Tsafendas and requested him to report to their offices. On the following day the Public Services Board was notified by the Department of Immigration that Tsafendas was in the country illegally and that they cannot give him employment in Rhodesia. He reported to the Immigration offices on 21.08.64 and said that he did not have money and was looking for work. He was told that he is not in possession of a police-certificate, and that the permit for his stay in Rhodesia which he must apply for will take four weeks to be issued and that he cannot be allowed to remain in the country. On this occasion, he stated that he was a missionary in Egypt and North Africa and that he is a member of a Christian community that is not regarded as a Church Fellowship and that it is from this community that he received the money for his train ticket to Rhodesia. He was ordered to leave the country the next day and crossed the border of Mozambique at Umtali the following day. From the 28th August 1964 to the 8th October 1964 he lived in the boarding house at Stelios Marangos Pension Gloria in Beira.

After leaving the boarding house on the 9th October 1964, he again entered Rhodesia via Umtali on 09.10.64, and since he was not in possession of the necessary visa, he was declared a prohibited immigrant and sent out of the country. From there he went directly to Gondola near Beira, where he was arrested by the Security Police of Mozambique because of subversive activities on 16.11.64 while he worked at Hume Pipe, Gondola.

On 26.01.65, he was released again and slept for 10 days at the fire department in Beira. On 17.02.65 he demanded his wages for the few days he worked at Hume Pipe and the amount of 1644 escudos 40c was paid to him, which if it was paid in 100 escudo notes to him, 16 notes would make a thick pack. It is probably these notes which were seen in his possession by Mr. John Marvis. On the 5th March 1965 he left Beira per Indian Ocean liner Karanja for Durban. It is clear that during the period 22.08.64 to 05.03.65 he stayed in Beira.

It is therefore determined that he

- never talked politics with any whites; that he has no political soul mates among whites and that it is not at all possible to obtain any information regarding his political affiliations in Mozambique;*
- was most of the time without money and took advantage of others; (However, he was always neatly dressed);*

- *for all purposes can be seen as a normal, intelligent person.*
- *was an outcast in his family, a fact that grieved him immensely;*
- *most probably as a result of this and knowing full well that he had Coloured blood in him, was intensely anti-white.*

COMMENTS ON LT. COL. VAN WYK'S REPORT

First and foremost, the report confirms what everyone who was questioned by the South African police at the time said, that Tsafendas was not insane. Col. van Wyk concludes that he is a normal, intelligent person. His report also contains a statement by a Portuguese police officer that "Tsafendas is intensely anti-white" and believed "the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-whites." The policeman also thought Tsafendas was normal and he regarded him as "a very intelligent person." We have already discussed the "outcast" issue. Katerina Pnema said that everything she said to the author about her previous statement to the Rhodesian Police on September 13 also applied to the one she made to van Wyk.⁸³³

Col. van Wyk's statement that Tsafendas never talked politics is inaccurate, but this is what he was told. None of the Greeks who were questioned by the police would admit that he spoke to them for fear of being suspected as sympathisers and possibly accused of withholding information about someone who was talking against the Portuguese Government. George Ananiades did indeed tell the author that Tsafendas did not discuss politics with him. However, George Liberopoulos told the author that Tsafendas constantly spoke about politics, and that it was clear to him that he was "strongly in favour of independence for Mozambique." Tsafendas also admitted to Liberopoulos that he was a Communist. Liberopoulos told the author that he did not reveal this to the police because "I did not want them to know that. It was not a good time to say that you had been talking to someone who you knew to be a Communist and who was expressing anti-Portuguese ideas, especially after what he did (Tsafendas killing Verwoerd)."⁸³⁴ Several other witnesses, including all the members of Tsafendas's family,⁸³⁵ Patrick O'Ryan,⁸³⁶ Helen Grispos⁸³⁷ and

⁸³³ See Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁸³⁴ George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2015.

⁸³⁵ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

Richard Poggenpoel,⁸³⁸ harboured the same fears as Liberopoulos and would not tell the police about their political conversations with Tsafendas. According to Nick Papadakis, Ira Kyriakakis and Andreas Babiolakis also often present at political discussions with Tsafendas was John Marvis and John Verghis, who presumably adopted the same attitude to the police for the same reasons.⁸³⁹

Verghis testified that when he was in his café, Tsafendas “never spoke much and never about politics.” According to Andreas Babiolakis, Ira Kyriakakis and Nick Papadakis, all of whom knew Verghis well and visited his establishment over many years, this statement is untrue. They said Tsafendas often talked politics in the café and in Verghis’s presence. More importantly, it was in Verghis’s café that Tsafendas called for a toast to the FRELIMO rebels, an incident that became a local talking point. He bought a beer for everyone and asked them to drink with him, paraphrasing Mark Anthony in Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*, “Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your glasses.” However, when he called on them to drink to a recent attack by FRELIMO rebels, everyone froze and lowered their glasses untouched while Tsafendas downed his beer. Verghis politely asked Tsafendas to leave and he never returned, though he left for Durban just a few days later anyway.⁸⁴⁰ It was natural for Verghis to omit the above incident and pretend that Tsafendas never talked politics; all Greeks distanced themselves from Tsafendas at this fraught time.

The report’s conclusion that Tsafendas “was most of the time without money and took advantage of others” is accurate according to the information which Lt.-Colonel van Wyk collected. However, it must have been more than coincidence that such information came only from people who knew him in Beira. The police and the Commission questioned about two hundred witnesses⁸⁴¹ and it was only those in Beira who made such comments. None of

⁸³⁶ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁸³⁷ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

⁸³⁸ Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013.

⁸³⁹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

⁸⁴⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

⁸⁴¹ The figure of 200 witnesses is arrived at as follows:

- 112 statements made to the police by witnesses who were questioned after the assassination were found in the archives. The study has established that at least another 37 witnesses were questioned but their statements were not found in the archives. However, these witnesses either spoke to the author about their interviews or the author found evidence that they were interviewed (the remaining 32 *Eleni* seamen, Eleni Vlachopoulos, Evangelia Nissiotis, Panagiotis Peroglou, and Elias Costantaras) or the content of their statements became known at the trial (Patrick O’Ryan). This takes the total of witnesses questioned by the police to at least 149. It is likely that there were further witnesses who were not located by the author and whose statements have gone missing, therefore we are not in position to know the exact number of people questioned by the police.

the witnesses in South Africa or elsewhere described Tsafendas in such terms, indeed some, such as Bornman and Pappas, testified that Tsafendas was the exact opposite and helped people financially.⁸⁴²

The fact that while he was in Mozambique Tsafendas had problems finding work, was arrested twice and spent three months in solitary confinement might have been contributing factors to any untoward behaviour. At one point during his stay, Tsafendas asked Nick Vlachopoulos, his brother-in-law, to sell some furniture which he had left in storage in Pretoria. Vlachopoulos did so and sent the proceeds to Tsafendas in Mozambique. It is unlikely that Tsafendas would have sold off his furniture unless he was in a desperate financial situation, since he could have done so before he left Pretoria and not left them in storage. The author also asked ninety-six witnesses whether Tsafendas was as described and all strongly denied it. Their statements and comments on the subject will be discussed in the chapter on the Commission of Enquiry.

When interviewed by the author, George Ananiades and George Liberopoulos denied ever telling van Wyk that Tsafendas had “practically forced himself upon them,” and both strongly condemned this use of words as being completely inaccurate. Ananiades remembers being questioned by the police, but he does not remember what he said in his statement. Anyway, he did not know Tsafendas well, and had only seen him only once or twice during the latter’s short stay in Lourenço Marques. When the author read to him the comment regarding Tsafendas “forcing himself upon them,” Ananiades said:

“No, no, no, no. It was nothing like that. I met him one day in Costa do Sol where we had coffee. We spoke and he said he was leaving the next day for South Africa. That was all. He never asked me to pay anything for him or to give him any money. Nothing. Never. I can’t say if he generally was a beggar, but he was not like that with me and did not give me any such impression. He did not look or act like a beggar. It is not true (that Tsafendas forced himself upon him). I don’t know why it is in my statement, but I never said anything like that.”⁸⁴³

• The Commission interviewed 105 people, including Tsafendas, thus 104 witnesses. However, 53 of these had also been questioned by the police, which gives us 51 new witnesses. Therefore the total number of witnesses questioned by the police and the Commission is at least 200.

⁸⁴² Jacobus Johannes Bornman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend’, 14 September 1966.

⁸⁴³ George Ananiades in a personal interview, 21 June 2016.

George Liberopoulos associated more than Ananiades with Tsafendas during the latter's short stay in Lourenço Marques, and they met again later in Beira. Liberopoulos does not remember what he told the police, but he too denies that Tsafendas "forced himself upon them." He told the author that when he first met Tsafendas, he had paid for his dinner over Tsafendas's protests because he was "a stranger in the town," and it was a Greek tradition that those who lived there paid for a visitor's dinner. The next day, "he (Tsafendas) insisted on paying for both" of their meals. Liberopoulos also told the author that although he did pay for some drinks for Tsafendas, "Tsafendas always paid for the next round." This was the custom among Greeks in Mozambique: "one would pay for one round and the other for the next round." Liberopoulos characterised Tsafendas to the author as a "proud man and no beggar."⁸⁴⁴

Babiolakis, Kyriakakis and Papadakis also disagree with Verghis's opinion that Tsafendas "seemed always to visit the café just to see if someone would give him something to eat or drink." It is true that many Greeks offered to buy drinks for Tsafendas, but not because he was begging. Firstly, most Greeks there were quite wealthy and Tsafendas was very poor. The Greeks always sat together and when Tsafendas came in, he would be invited to join them. Whoever had bought the current round of drinks would buy one for Tsafendas, the newcomer, according to drinking tradition. Babiolakis and Papadakis both said Tsafendas would accept such a drink only when he had enough money to buy the next round. Most times, it was obvious that he could not afford to buy everyone a drink, so he would decline the drink, but would sit in their company and talk with them.⁸⁴⁵

Another important issue is that, according to Marvis, Tsafendas "spoke in favour of full integration and intermarriage between Coloureds and Whites" and "said that it is high time that a new race came into being." This is entirely true. Several witnesses confirmed to the author that Tsafendas said that. However, Marvis does not explain the context or the origin of Tsafendas's thinking. Tsafendas was disturbed by racism and conflicts throughout the world and believed that things would never change as long as there were different countries, nationalities, races and religions. Babiolakis and Papadakis, along with Marvis, were in the Scala Café talking politics with Tsafendas when this subject came up. Tsafendas believed that the world would become a better and safer place if there were no countries, no religions, and all people were the same colour. When asked how the last of the three could be

⁸⁴⁴ George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2015.

⁸⁴⁵ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

achieved, Tsafendas had jokingly said that “everyone should have sex with someone of a different colour, so a new race will be created where everyone will be the same colour or at least they will all be mixed! Only then will there be no racism and discrimination anymore!”⁸⁴⁶ It was clear to them that Tsafendas said the sex part as a joke, but that he was serious about the rest of his theory.⁸⁴⁷ Tsafendas would later repeat his theory and his comment about sex in the same conversational context, half-joke and half-serious, to several people.⁸⁴⁸ As we will see, his comment was misconstrued at the summary trial as meaning that Tsafendas was paranoid and wanted to create a new race, like some mad villain in a movie.

In an interview with the author, Katerina Pnema offered an explanation of his statements based on her long acquaintance with her half-brother:

“He was saying that the South Africans are Nazis, he was calling Dr. Verwoerd Hitler’s best student ... that us and most Whites were exploiting the Black Rhodesians ... he was calling the Greeks racists, saying that one day the Rhodesians would kick us all out and take back what we stole from them ... that one day the Blacks in South Africa would throw the Whites into the sea ... He believed Mozambique and South Africa should have a colourful flag, like a rainbow or something in order for each colour to represent each race! Have you heard anything more absurd? He used to say that Jesus Christ was socialist and that if he was alive today he would have been a revolutionary, fighting apartheid and for the independence of Mozambique. Can you believe it? Well, this is what he was saying, all this kind of nonsense! How could I have told all these things to the police? They would have said ‘Why didn’t you report him to the police since he had such crazy ideas? Didn’t you know he was dangerous?’ You can’t imagine how many people had told my poor father to do something with him and his crazy political ideas. You can’t imagine how many! Even my poor mother told him to talk to him because he would get us into trouble someday, as he was often doing, but my poor dad did nothing. It was actually all his fault. He taught him all these things, but my poor father was a cautious man, he was not like Dimitri; he wouldn’t go around saying all these stupidities. His son was the opposite; he couldn’t keep his mouth shut.

⁸⁴⁶ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

⁸⁴⁷ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

⁸⁴⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

What about the other thing? He changed his name because he thought it was insulting to be called Tsafantakis since this was the name given to our ancestors by the Turks! Wasn't this nonsense?"⁸⁴⁹

Pnefma also remembered the wedding mentioned by Marvis at which she told Tsafendas that she did not want to see him because he was an embarrassment to the family. She confirmed that this is what she told him. Her anger flared after Tsafendas was dismissed from a job at the docks in Beira which Pnefma and her husband had helped him obtain. Tsafendas had asked the Mozambican workers to strike against the dock owner in support of their working rights.⁸⁵⁰ Pnefma and her husband were rightly embarrassed since they had intervened on behalf of Tsafendas to get him the job. Furthermore, Pnefma learned that Tsafendas had been arrested twice by the Portuguese Security Police and that he had spent three months in prison.⁸⁵¹

PIDE REPORT

The same day, a PIDE report regarding Tsafendas, written in Beira, on January 19, 1965, was sent by PIDE Sub-Inspector A. Vaz to General van den Bergh. It started with the following note:

Dear General,

I attach herewith a photocopy of a document which was requested from me by Col. van Wyk. I must inform you that this is the first time that a copy or the contents of this document has ever been revealed to anybody, not even to my Government.

My most respected compliments.

(SGD.) Vaz.

REPORT.

EXCELLENT SIR:

⁸⁴⁹ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁸⁵⁰ For details about the incident see Chapter 2.

⁸⁵¹ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

SUBJECT: DIMITRIO TSAFENDAS OR DIMITRIUS TSAFENDAKIS, single, without profession, born 14.1.1918. in Lourenço Marques, son of MIGUEL TSAFENDAKIS and of AMELIA WILLIAM, without permanent residence.

On 16th November last year, he was handed over to this sub-delegation by the P.S.P. (Uniformed Branch) of his city (Beira), accused of making subversive propaganda to the native masses.

TSAFENDAKIS or TSAFENDAS among many other phrases, was accused of having said the following:- "This land is not called Portugal, but United States of Mozambique. We already have money and what we do now need is not to be cheated when saying that we are Portuguese. No, we Africans and I do not like the Portuguese flag." When questioned, the accused confessed that he had said this, but that at the time, when he pronounced these words at the hotel bar of Gondola, among many Bantu people, he was under the influence of liquor and also under exultations (excitement). On the other side, he also said that these words were caused by the ideas which he had about the Independence of Mozambique, a Mozambique governed by natives whether white or black, but separate from the mother-country (Portugal).

The accused describes on previous interrogations a history which has been his life, an authentic romance of adventure, in which he has travelled through diverse countries of the world.

The individual referred to states that he had never been a member of any subversive organization, neither has he ever worked for one in the direction of obtaining the independence of Mozambique. He also states that he has never been involved in subversive activities against the security of the State, even though he is all for the Independence of this Province.

After the accused was analysed by his actions and reasons, we have verified that he must be an individual who is mentally deranged and this has also been proved by the overseas hospital in Lisbon, where he was a mental patient, according to pages 19 of information which was given to us by the General Delegation of this Police Force. The individual referred to has on previous occasions been in the cells of this Police Force in Lisbon about twice. This was confessed by himself in statements. The first time in 1940, when

crossing the border post of Barca d 'Alva to enter the country, without sufficient documentation. The second time in 1951 after arriving from Mozambique where he was not accepted and forced to return to Lisbon.

Even though, as has been said before, that he is mentally deranged, the truth is that it can be seen in him a certain spirit of revolt in relation to the institutions responsible for holding back the Independence of Mozambique.

On the other hand, as mentioned on the final portion of this information, already referred to, given by the General Delegation, he is an individual with a very bad moral background.

The accused has on many occasion been interned at the poor-house in Lisbon.

On the criminal registers nothing is registered against him. In the meanwhile as mentioned before, the Accused had already previous defaults on his Police register as by himself confessed on the statements.

Here is everything with respect to the accused and which I have the honour to forward to your Excellency, for a better judgement and your convenience.

Finally, I inform your Excellency that the Passport No. 6.511/63 issued in favour of the Accused, in Lourenço Marques on 2.11.63. and valid for S.A. S.R. N. Rhodesia, Malawi, Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Basutoland, is attached to the case docket. With the Passport is also a Bulletin of admission of the Portuguese Airways who escorted this man when he was handed over by this Police Force.

BEIRA, 19th January, 1965.⁸⁵²

COMMENTS ON PIDE'S REPORT

This report is the translation of a report sent by the sub-Director of PIDE in Lourenço Marques to the Director General PIDE on January 19, 1965, while Tsafendas was in police custody for "making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and

⁸⁵² PIDE report regarding Demitrio Tsafendas or Dimitrius Tsafendakis, 19 January 1965. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.”⁸⁵³ The report was accompanied by a letter stating that this report was the “opinion, dispatch and conclusion of the progress indicated in the margin, whose defendant is the national of African race, Demitrio Tsafendas or Dimitrios Tsafendakis.”⁸⁵⁴ Seven days later, on January 26, 1965, Tsafendas was freed,⁸⁵⁵ only to be arrested again a few days later.⁸⁵⁶ Naturally, the second arrest could not have been included in the report. However, this is not the only important omission from the report.

As they did before, PIDE again fed the South African authorities with unimportant or known information. Vital facts regarding Tsafendas’s political activities are once more missing. There is no mention of the fact that PIDE held a detailed file of 130 pages on Tsafendas,⁸⁵⁷ nor that he was arrested in 1964 in Mozambique accused of pretending to be a religious missionary while in reality, preaching “in favour of Mozambique’s independence.”⁸⁵⁸ Missing also are the reasons he was denied entry to Mozambique in October 1951, that he was forced to live in exile from 1951 to 1963,⁸⁵⁹ that he was only given amnesty in 1963 after convincing the Portuguese he was insane, and that he made several applications for permission to return to Mozambique and all were turned down -- each time after PIDE supplied the Ministry of Interior with information about his “political and professional activities.”⁸⁶⁰

Furthermore, parts of this report are identical, word for word, with the PIDE report sent by the Head-Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the sub-Director of the PIDE on September 8, 1966, which asked him not to reveal to the South African authorities any “information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the Independence of Mozambique.” Obviously, PIDE is

⁸⁵³ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demitrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demitrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demitrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁸⁵⁴ Letter of the Subdirector of PIDE in Lourenço Marques to the Director General of PIDE in Lisbon, 23 February 1965. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT

⁸⁵⁵ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 19.

⁸⁵⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

⁸⁵⁷ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁸⁵⁸ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demitrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁸⁵⁹ Letter of a police agent to the Ministry of Interiors regarding Tsafendas’s exile. 30 October 1962. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁸⁶⁰ Letter of the Directorate-General of the Political and Civil Administration of the Overseas Ministry to the Director of the International and State Defence Police. 07/04/1958. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

still attempting to downplay, at times omit entirely, his political activities, and to conceal any information picturing Tsafendas “as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique.”

STATEMENTS

J.J. VAN DEN BERG⁸⁶¹

The following is the statement of J.J. van den Berg; a passport control officer at South Africa’s Consulate in Lourenço Marques, who was convinced by George Michaletos and Nick Vlachopoulos to turn a blind eye and issue a visa to Tsafendas despite his being on the “Stop List” of persons forbidden to enter South Africa.⁸⁶² Naturally, van den Berg does not mention his interaction with Tsafendas’s family.

The Consul General

Regarding: Admission to the Republic Demitrio Tsafendas

With reference to par. (3) of your query, I wish to point out that as a rule, the “Stop Lists” in this office are thoroughly checked before Temporary Permits or Visas (if necessary) are issued to persons who wish to enter the Republic for visits.

In the case of Tsafendas, it is extremely difficult to recall the exact circumstances in which this man was granted admission to the Republic. According to the data on the D.I.10, it was a Saturday morning and this office issued 64 actual permits - indicating that it must have been extremely busy. When reviewing the “Stop Lists,” the only explanation I can think of is the possibility that I looked the name up among the index letter “S”, following the sound association in the pronunciation of his surname. Under such busy conditions, I might not have taken the passport or D.I.10 form with me to the lists. (I may mention here that this was indeed the case when I heard the first reports of the incident and reviewed the records - I looked up the name Stafendas.)

⁸⁶¹ J.J. van den Berg statement regarding the ‘Admission to the Republic of Demitrio Tsafendas’, 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

⁸⁶² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Eleni Vlachopoulos in *Live and Let Live*.

Furthermore, if it did so happen that I did not check the list in the case of Tsafendas, the following factors would possibly have lead me to believe that the man's bona fides left no hint of doubt. He presented a Portuguese passport which was issued to him that morning by local authorities. This passport would describe him as a resident of Lourenço Marques and also further state that he was born here. With the knowledge that the Portuguese authorities are extremely thorough when reviewing an applicant's circumstances and background before a passport is issued, it was a determining factor which, together with the other information, made him come across as one of many bona fide visitors.

The fact that he wanted to visit family relatives whom have been staying in the Republic a long time, as well as the address in South Africa that he had given, which spoke of a good neighbourhood, would under the pressure of work contribute to justifying not checking the records extremely intensively. I'm afraid that there is nothing more that I could add. However, I am deeply touched by the fatal consequences of admitting the man and will not easily live with it.

J.J. van den Berg.

Passport control officer.

Lourenço Marques

20 September 1966.

NEW EVIDENCE CONCERNING J.J. VAN DEN BERG'S ROLE IN THE CASE

In October 1964, Marika Tsafantakis, along with her son Victor, his wife Anna, and her son-in-law, Nick Vlachopoulos, Eleni's husband, arrived in Lourenço Marques by car from Pretoria. It was known to the family that Tsafendas was banned from South Africa.

According to Tsafendas, as well as his half-sisters Katerina Pnefma and Eleni Vlachopoulos, and his cousins Mary Eintracht, John and Antony Michaletos, the passport officer, J.J. van den Berg, was convinced by George Michaletos (John and Antony's father), Tsafendas's uncle in Lourenço Marques, and Nick Vlachopoulos, Tsafendas's brother-in-law (married to his half-sister Eleni), to overlook the fact that Tsafendas was on South Africa's Stop List and to issue him with a visa. It was Tsafendas's aunt Artemis who convinced her husband, George Michaletos, to arrange it. The family had van den Berg and appealed to his humanity, claiming that Tsafendas posed no threat to the state and that he was a man desperately seeking to visit his father's grave and be reunited with his family for just a few days after a separation of more than twenty years.⁸⁶³ Nick Vlachopoulos had even offered him money to convince him. Van den Berg refused to accept any money, but was moved by the account of Tsafendas's plight and eventually agreed to issue a visa for temporary stay. However, after van den Berg had issued the visa, Vlachopoulos insisted in handing him some money as a "thank you."⁸⁶⁴

The Commission of Enquiry, most likely unaware of what had occurred between van den Berg and Tsafendas's family, would later find him guilty of "a clear case of neglect of duty."⁸⁶⁵ However, the South African police very probably discovered the truth and made van den Berg pay the price. Arriving at his home one day, security officers arrested van den Berg, refused to tell his family where he was being taken, then subjected him to extended torture while in their custody. According to his son, Gavin, his father was interrogated non-stop and not allowed to sleep or to use the toilet. "He was kicked till his ribs were broken ... they made him stand naked for days on end in his own urine and faeces ..." When he was finally released, this former diplomatic officer could find no regular work and the family lived for a

⁸⁶³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Eleni Vlachopoulos in *Live and Let Live*.

⁸⁶⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁸⁶⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter V.

time in a relative's garage. Van den Berg moved "from job to job" and his children "from school to school."⁸⁶⁶

Even by South African police standards, this was extraordinarily harsh punishment for someone who simply "neglected his duty," raising strong suspicions that the police had learned about what had occurred between van den Berg and his family.⁸⁶⁷ If so, the fact was never revealed, obviously because of the huge embarrassment it would have caused to the Government if it was known that one of its employees accepted a bribe from the man who assassinated the Prime Minister.

Another factor that appears to support the theory that the police found out about van den Berg's conduct is that no action was taken against Piet Burger, the Chief Messenger at the House of Assembly, and two senior messengers, Piet Schuin and Sydney Wiehand, who had approved Tsafendas for employment in Parliament. These three men failed to screen Tsafendas properly and were arguably more to blame than van den Berg for Tsafendas getting so close to Dr. Verwoerd. The report of the Commission said about them:

"They are good, decent people who did their duty as they saw and knew it. One can hardly blame them for the appointment which was made. They simply did not have the knowledge, ability and insight to make a proper selection."⁸⁶⁸

The three continued working in House of Assembly as before. Furthermore, no action was taken against the three officials of the Department of Immigration who on three different occasions interviewed Tsafendas in Pretoria in November 1963 regarding his application for permanent residence. Tsafendas made a very favourable impression on all of them and they issued him with the required certificate.⁸⁶⁹ These three officials were unaware of "the fact that Tsafendas's name appeared on the Department's stop list."⁸⁷⁰

In addition, according to the Commission of Enquiry's Report, "on 10th July, 1964, Tsafendas applied in writing to the Department of the Interior for a return visa to enable him to visit Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia. Miss J. Markram, an assistant in that

⁸⁶⁶ Gavin van den Berg, son of J.J. van den Berg in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

⁸⁶⁷ Again, we can imagine what the South African police must have done to Tsafendas if they did all this to this man.

⁸⁶⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter X, Paragraph 12.

⁸⁶⁹ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

⁸⁷⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 2.

Department, checked the stop list and indicated that Tsafendas's name did not appear on it. In fact, it did appear on the list."⁸⁷¹ Further, always according to the Commission of Enquiry:

“On 5th March, 1965, Tsafendas left Beira on board the Indian liner *Karanja* and arrived at Durban on 8th March, 1965. When the *Karanja* arrived at Durban on 8th March, 1965, it was the duty of the officials of the Department of the Interior who went on board, *inter alia*, to check the passenger list with the stop list. On the stop list the names TSAFENDAKIS: DIMITRIO a TSAFENDAS: DEMETRIO appeared, and on the passenger list the name TSAFENDAS: DEMITRIO. Once again, for some reason or other, it was not ascertained that Tsafendas's name appeared on the stop list.”⁸⁷²

Clearly all the above officials were no less negligent than van den Berg, since, like him, they missed the fact that Tsafendas's name was on the Stop List. However, they all kept their jobs and faced no consequences. Van den Berg was brutally and disproportionately punished for his “negligence,” although his “crime” was exactly the same as that of the Immigration and Interior officials and to a lesser extent that of the messengers in the House of Assembly. The fact that van den Berg received such viciously different treatment suggests that the police might have had discovered what had occurred between him and Tsafendas's family.

⁸⁷¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 11.

⁸⁷² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraphs 23 and 24.

SATURDAY, 24 SEPTEMBER 1966⁸⁷³

STATEMENTS

ESPERANZA THERON⁸⁷⁴

Secretary, White woman, Durban. 10.30 a.m.

During 1963 my husband Daniel B. Theron moved his offices as an attorney to 101 Lincoln House, Masonic Grove. The offices occupied by my husband were situated adjacently the offices occupied by the listed communist, Rowley Arenstein. I was my husband's secretary and was thus always in the office. During 1965 or late 1964 I observed a White or Coloured male whom I have since identified from photographs in the newspapers as Demitrio Tsafendas, frequenting the offices of Rowley Arenstein. Demitrio Tsafendas used to pay visits to Arenstein's office regularly and on occasion he would greet me.

I observed Demitrio Tsafendas actually entering the general office of Rowley Arenstein but am unable to state for what purpose he visited Arenstein. I am unable to state the period of time that he used to visit Arenstein, but the visits were very regular. I have also observed Demitrio Tsafendas in the presence of Rowley Arenstein walking down the corridor from Arenstein's office.

(Sgd). R.D. Wilson D/Sgt.

TSAFENDAS AND ARENSTEIN

As a result of Theron's testimony, Arenstein and his secretary, Thelma Beryl Suddes, were questioned by the South African police. She testified that "to the best of her knowledge," she had never seen Tsafendas in Arenstein's office.⁸⁷⁵ Arenstein was questioned on September

⁸⁷³ No statements or other evidence were found in the archives for the previous three days.

⁸⁷⁴ Esperanza Theron statement to the police, 24 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁸⁷⁵ Thelma Beryl Suddes statement to the COE, 22 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

24, 1966, by Brigadier Baster “at office Nr.505, The Grays, Johannesburg in connection with the assassination of the late Dr. Verwoerd.”⁸⁷⁶

Arenstein denied knowing Tsafendas. This was a natural thing for him to do, especially at the time, since he was about to go on trial. On October 31, 1966, he was sentenced to four years’ imprisonment under the Suppression of Communism Act for furthering the aims of Communism.⁸⁷⁷ On the other hand, Tsafendas was forced to admit to the Commission of Enquiry into Dr. Verwoerd’s death that he knew Arenstein once he was confronted with the evidence. He lied though by claiming he had visited him to consult him “in connection with a translation bureau which he wished to buy.”⁸⁷⁸ Tsafendas later spoke at length to Father Minas Constandinou about meeting in Durban with a “Jewish Communist lawyer.” Tsafendas was probably given his address by someone from the anti-apartheid movement in London. Father Minas did not remember the name of the Durban lawyer, but Ronnie Kasrils stated in a personal interview with the author that “Arenstein was the only Jewish Communist lawyer in Durban.”⁸⁷⁹

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY RAISED IN PARLIAMENT

The previous day, opposition leader Sir de Villiers Graaff listed six questions which he urged should be considered by the Commission of Enquiry into the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. In an intervention in the Assembly, de Villiers Graaff expressed confidence in the Commission judge, Mr. Justice van Wyk, and suggested that his terms of reference should seek answers to the following questions:

- What could be done to ensure, so far as was humanly possible, that nothing of this nature happened in South Africa again.
- How Dimitrios Tsafendas came to be admitted to South Africa and how a person of this sort had gained the right to permanent residence in the light of reports that had subsequently come to light.
- Whether the Department of Labour recommended his employment at Parliament, and if so, whether procedures of scrutiny were adequate.

⁸⁷⁶ Johannes Christoffel Broodryk statement to the COE, 24 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁸⁷⁷ South African History Online, *Rowley Israel Arenstein*.

⁸⁷⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 33.

⁸⁷⁹ Ronnie Kasrils in a personal interview, 16 May 2016.

- Whether there was sufficient liaison between the various departments of Government in matters of this kind.
- How Tsafendas came to be employed as a messenger at Parliament and how he had secured access to the Assembly Chamber.
- Whether the security arrangements for people occupying high offices were adequate.⁸⁸⁰

Prime Minister John Vorster replied that the terms and references of the forthcoming Commission of Enquiry were wide enough to cover all these points.⁸⁸¹

⁸⁸⁰ *The Star*, 'Questions on Tsafendas', 24 September 1966: 3.

⁸⁸¹ *The Canberra Times*, 'South Africa: Assassination Inquiry', 23 September 1966: 5.

MONDAY, 26 SEPTEMBER 1966

THE APPOINTMENT OF TSAFENDAS'S DEFENCE TEAM

Tsafendas was held in police custody without legal representation, a situation which was lawful at the time. Under the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 96 of 1965, police officers were permitted to detain anyone suspected of a political crime and to hold him without access to a lawyer for one-hundred and eighty days. For this reason, the legislation was popularly known as the 180-day Detention Act.⁸⁸² Only three days earlier, on September 23, 1966, it was revealed that Hendrik Bahula,⁸⁸³ a member of the PAC, was held in isolation in a police cell for eighteen days without being formally charged.⁸⁸⁴ Tsafendas was held for twenty days after the assassination without legal representation before a defence team was appointed to represent him *pro deo*, meaning his legal costs were met by the State.

As we have seen, Tsafendas soon after his arrest asked for a lawyer, specifically for human rights and anti-apartheid advocate George Bizos, but his request was turned down. Instead, the State appointed its own choices on September 26, exactly twenty days after the assassination. According to David Bloomberg, an attorney, he was the first lawyer to be appointed by Judge Beyers to represent Tsafendas.⁸⁸⁵ Beyers was a good friend of Bloomberg's father, Abraham (Abe), and a board member at a horse-racing club of which Bloomberg Snr was president. According to Reyner van Zyl (a psychologist appointed by Bloomberg to examine Tsafendas) and Desmond Blow (a *Sunday Times* journalist), rumour had it that Bloomberg Snr persuaded Judge Beyers to appoint his son, thinking that the case would further his career.⁸⁸⁶ However, advocate Wilfrid Cooper states that he was the first lawyer appointed by Beyers to represent Tsafendas. Beyers made it clear to Cooper that Tsafendas had only one line of defence: insanity. Otherwise, Beyers warned him, "I will not

⁸⁸² Herbstein, *White Lies: Canon Collins and the Secret War against Apartheid*, p. 75; Nelson Mandela Organization, "Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 96"; Rudolph, *Security, Terrorism and Torture: Detainees' Rights in South Africa and Israel: A Comparative Study*, p. 12; World Peace Council, *Apartheid is Built on Torture*, p. 14.

⁸⁸³ The surname in the newspaper cutting is not clear, but seems to be Bahula.

⁸⁸⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Prisoner Complains', 23 September 1966.

⁸⁸⁵ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 74.

⁸⁸⁶ Desmond Blow in a personal interview, 11 May 2015; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

hesitate to hang him. He will swing.”⁸⁸⁷ Although it is not clear who Judge Beyers appointed first, he definitely appointed both Cooper and Bloomberg, as Tsafendas’s advocate and instructing attorney respectively, while he also finally appointed Willie Burger, a young advocate, to act as Wilfrid Cooper’s junior.⁸⁸⁸

WILFRID COOPER (Advocate) 1927 –2004⁸⁸⁹

Wilfrid Edward Cooper was born in Cape Town in 1926. He matriculated from Wynberg Boys High School, Cape Town, in 1944 and the following year enrolled for a BA (Law) degree at the University of Stellenbosch. He received his degree in 1947. In 1948 he went to work as a clerical assistant in the Senate, where he encountered Hendrik Verwoerd and heard the future prime minister deliver his first Senate speech. For two days, he performed the duties of a parliamentary messenger, exactly like Tsafendas. Between 1950 and 1952, Cooper clerked for Mr. Justice Herbstein while also acting as a prosecutor in Wynberg Magistrates Court and reading for his LL.B degree from the University of South Africa. Obtaining this qualification in 1952, he was called to the Cape Bar, then in 1965 appointed Senior Counsel. Embarking on an illustrious academic career, Cooper held part-time positions as lecturer and examiner at the Universities of Cape Town and the Western Cape. In 1972, he received a Ph.D. from the University of Cape Town for his thesis, “*The Letting and Hiring of Immovable Property in South Africa.*” He authored fourteen books on such topics as motor law in South Africa, on which he was considered the foremost authority; for example, the 865-page *South African Motor Law*.⁸⁹⁰ He was also an avid reader of literature and was able to quote extensively from James Joyce.⁸⁹¹

Cooper’s career at the Cape Bar spanned thirty-six years. He was nicknamed “Tiger” by Justice Cyril Newton Thompson for his fearlessness and the cross-examination skills he demonstrated at a number of trials. He is remembered primarily for leading the defence team for Tsafendas, but he also figured prominently in such political cases as the 1962 trial of three

⁸⁸⁷ Gavin Cooper, *Under Devil’s Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, (Kenilworth: Burnet Media, 2016), p. 101; Wilfrid Cooper in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

⁸⁸⁸ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 74; Cooper, *Under Devil’s Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 101.

⁸⁸⁹ For a detailed account of Judge Wilfrid Cooper’s life, see his biography *Under Devil’s Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, (Kenilworth: Burnet Media, 2016), written by his son Gavin Cooper.

⁸⁹⁰ Cooper, *Under Devil’s Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*.

⁸⁹¹ Kahn, Jr., *The Separated People: A Look at Contemporary South Africa*, p. 154.

members of the Armed Resistance Movement, as defence counsel in 1976 for Jeremy Cronin and David and Susan Rabkin, charged under the Terrorism Act and acted for Steve Biko just before his death in July 1977. He also appeared for the families of a number of anti-apartheid activists who died in detention, such as Imam Abdullah Haron in 1969 and Mapetla Mohapi in 1977. He was also involved in the sensational criminal trial of Marthinus Rossouw for the murder of Baron Dieter von Schauroth in 1961 and in 1975 he successfully appealed the death sentence of Marlene Lehnberg, known as the “Scissors Murderess.” In South West Africa in 1976, he appeared for six members of SWAPO who were charged under the Terrorism Act for acts related to the assassination of Chief Minister Filemon Elifas in August 1975. In August 1988, Cooper was appointed to the bench as an Acting Judge in the Eastern Cape Division and in March 1989 was permanently appointed. In March 1991, he was transferred to the Cape Division and remained there until his retirement due to poor health in January 1991. He died in 2004, having donated part of his private law library to the Cape Bar, now known as the Wilfrid Cooper library.⁸⁹² According to Professor John Dugard, Cooper was one of the very few brave South African lawyers who demonstrated the courage and dignity, in a hostile and fevered political atmosphere, to defend political detainees of all races during the apartheid years.⁸⁹³

DAVID BLOOMBERG (Attorney) (1932-)

David Bloomberg was born in Sea Point, Cape Town, in 1932. His father, Abraham, widely known as Abe, was an attorney and at one time Mayor of Cape Town (1945-1947), and his mother Miriam, was a professional ballet dancer. David Bloomberg followed in his father’s footsteps by also becoming a lawyer and Mayor of Cape Town – in 1973, the youngest in the city’s history – and reflected his mother’s interests by involving himself in South African theatre. Bloomberg, though Jewish, was educated by Roman Catholic teachers at the Christian Brothers’ College before graduating in law from the University of Cape Town. He was a man of many talents. Alongside his legal career, he became a prominent theatrical impresario, responsible for several acclaimed productions; he brought famous performers to South Africa and established the Barn Theatre at Constantia. For more than two decades, he

⁸⁹² Cooper, *Under Devil’s Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*.

⁸⁹³ Dugard, *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*, p. 243.

was Director of the Cape Performing Arts Board, and he wrote an arts column for two Cape Town newspapers.⁸⁹⁴

In 1965, Bloomberg caused some controversy in the USA by publicly praising, defending and supporting apartheid. In an article in *The New York Times* on May 23, 1965, Bloomberg denounced Arthur Miller,⁸⁹⁵ Edward Albee⁸⁹⁶ and other prominent American playwrights for refusing to allow their works to be performed in South Africa unless before mixed audiences, which had recently been prohibited. He said their refusal would “only succeed in harming the theatrical producers and directors who have been endeavouring to keep theatre in South Africa alive” and theatre would be set back fifty years. However, he added that a government as strong and stable as South Africa’s was unlikely to be intimidated by a group of American playwrights into changing its laws.⁸⁹⁷

In an evident endorsement of apartheid and Dr. Verwoerd’s policies, Bloomberg described racial separation as “South Africa’s answer to the problem of achieving peaceful coexistence of different people at different stages of their development ... it is designed to make it possible for various racial groups to enjoy the full privileges of a free society, each in their own area, unhampered by the strains imposed by a multi-racial society. Apartheid is not a political ruse, but merely a notion that people get on best with their own kind.”⁸⁹⁸

Bloomberg also wrote that the government, “in its wisdom,” had decided that separate development was “a more harmonious and peaceful solution than enforced integration” and was “in the best interest of the non-White population.” It was “regrettable” he wrote, that “American playwrights consider themselves qualified to pass judgement on a country about which their knowledge is minimal,” having been influenced by portions of the American Press which presented South Africa in a “most distorted picture.”⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁴ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*.

⁸⁹⁵ Arthur Miller was America’s leading playwright at this time and works by him such as *Death of a Salesman*, *The Crucible* and *A View from the Bridge* were sought out by theatrical companies worldwide. In 1956, Miller was sub-poenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee but refused to name friends who shared his left-wing political stance. He was found guilty of contempt of Congress, fined, sentenced to prison, blacklisted and had his passport confiscated. This decision was overturned in 1958.

⁸⁹⁶ Edward Albee’s best-known plays, such as *Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* and *The Zoo Story*, were hailed for their realistic examination of the modern condition. *Virginia Woolf* (1962) examined the breakdown in the marriage of a middle-class couple and contains dialogue which has been hailed as some of the greatest in all of American theatre. The play was filmed in 1966 with Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor as the overwrought couple.

⁸⁹⁷ *The New York Times*, ‘David Bloomberg: Yes to South Africa’, 23 May 1965: xi.

⁸⁹⁸ *The New York Times*, ‘David Bloomberg: Yes to South Africa’, 23 May 1965: xi.

⁸⁹⁹ *The New York Times*, ‘David Bloomberg: Yes to South Africa’, 23 May 1965: xi.

Bloomberg went on, “Little do these self-same authors know of the country’s achievements in the field of racial relations (or in any field); little do they know of what has been done for the non-white in the fields of hospitalization, education, housing and on a hundred and one other fronts, all of which have enabled a race to emerge from the darkness of ignorance and superstition in an astonishingly short time.”⁹⁰⁰ Bloomberg’s defence of apartheid’s achievements for Blacks does not bear scrutiny. What was actually done for Blacks in education was the Bantu Education Act, and what was done for housing were forced removals, the Bantustans, and the denial of any land rights.

Bloomberg told the author in 2014 about Dr. Verwoerd: “Verwoerd was a gentleman, if a person who holds those views can be a gentleman [laughs]. But was a very polite man. I think Verwoerd believed in his theories and the theory of apartheid. He probably was an honest man.” When asked if he thought Verwoerd was racist, Bloomberg replied, “Of course he was a racist, yes.” He then volunteered, “I don’t think he was *corrupt*. There was never any evidence that he was corrupt. All the subsequent people, particularly John Vorster and one or two of the other people, you know, they had a reputation of being corrupt.”⁹⁰¹

In 1969, Bloomberg was elected a Cape Town city councillor, a position he held for twenty years. In 1971 he was elected Deputy Mayor of Cape Town, then was Mayor from 1973 to 1975. At forty-one years and one month, he was the youngest mayor since his father, who was forty-one years and six months when he assumed office in 1945. A newspaper reporter said of Bloomberg, “He looks like a smoother version of Canada’s heart-throb Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau.”⁹⁰²

As mayor, Bloomberg was hailed as “hands-on” and “thoroughly modern.” According to him, his main achievements being the tackling of gangsterism on the Cape Flats, the opening of the Nico Malan theatre to people of all races and his campaign against petty apartheid and to speed up the fire department’s responses.⁹⁰³ Four months into his mayoralty, Bloomberg launched what he described as “a campaign against petty apartheid... practices which did not necessarily create hardship but which were extremely humiliating to people of colour.” This was not an attack on the classic structures of apartheid, rather an attempt to address relatively minor complaints, such as discriminatory signs on lifts, toilets and

⁹⁰⁰ *The New York Times*, ‘David Bloomberg: Yes to South Africa’, 23 May 1965: xi.

⁹⁰¹ David Bloomberg in a personal interview, 6 April 2014.

⁹⁰² Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 158-161.

⁹⁰³ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*; *The Cape Argus*, ‘Links in the Mayoral Chain’, 19 June 2011: 18.

entrances. After investigation of the complaint, Bloomberg would telephone the responsible parties and “invariably obtained their co-operation.” Other cities joined in the campaign, prompting Prime Minister Vorster to warn that the government would intervene if politically expedient actions by councils caused friction or disturbed the peace. In response to Vorster’s warning, he wrote, “My council is not a political body and does not practise a political system and its views with regard to petty apartheid are certainly not politically motivated.”⁹⁰⁴ Later, Bloomberg played golf with Vorster at the invitation of the district commandant of police.⁹⁰⁵ Bloomberg also claimed that he had tried behind the scenes, though unsuccessfully, to stop the destruction of District Six.⁹⁰⁶

While Mayor of Cape Town, Bloomberg also became involved in at least two incidents which the Western press perceived as propaganda for apartheid. In 1974, South Africa’s Foreign Minister, Hilgard Muller, France’s ambassador to South Africa, M. Michel Legendre and Bloomberg discussed the possibility of twinning Cape Town with Nice, known as the capital of the French Riviera, and “how such a twinning could be the basis for a clandestine, second-tier diplomatic relationship in the event of formal ties between the two countries being suspended.”⁹⁰⁷

Bloomberg liked the idea, even though Nice’s Mayor was the infamous Jacques Medecin,⁹⁰⁸ a fascist and racist politician, anti-Semite and holocaust denier, and according to

⁹⁰⁴ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 175-177

⁹⁰⁵ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 177.

⁹⁰⁶ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 169-174.

⁹⁰⁷ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 177.

⁹⁰⁸ Medecin had admitted publicly to agreeing with 99.9 per cent of the positions held by Jean-Marie Le Pen’s extreme right-wing National Front Party (Gilles Bresson, ‘L’Ancien Maire de Nice est Mort Hier en Uruguay’, *Liberation*, 18 November 1998; Alan Riding, ‘French Artists Boycott Museum Opening’, *The New York Times*, 13 June 1990). He had allowed Le Pen to hold a congress of his party in a Nice municipal hall when no-one else would host it (*Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, ‘Three Jews on City Council of Nice resign to protest ties with Le Pen’, 4 April 1990; Dana Facaros and Michael Pauls, *South of France*, (London: Cadogan Guides, 2001), p. 145), and subsequently, in his role of Mayor, received Le Pen and Franz Schonhuber, a former SS officer and head of the West German ultra-nationalistic Republican Party (Alan Riding, ‘French Artists Boycott Museum Opening’, *The New York Times*, 13 June 1990). Three Jewish city councillors resigned in protest against Medecin’s association and cooperation with Le Pen, a man who called the Holocaust fraudulent (*Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, ‘Three Jews on City Council of Nice Resign to Protest Ties With Le Pen’, 4 April 1990). Medecin was also a fanatical anti-Semite, often making derogatory remarks about Jews, blaming them for his troubles. “It is the Jews who have created a fuss in a scandalous manner,” he said, declaring that they “are ungrateful people after all you have done for them.” He said he “did not know any Jew who will refuse a gift offered to him, even if he doesn’t like the gift” (Riding, ‘French Artists Boycott Museum Opening’, *The New York Times*, 13 June 1990).

In the early 1980s, Medecin was to gain international notoriety after being accused of corruption by British author Graham Greene in his pamphlet ‘*J’Accuse*.’ In 1990, exposed as a crook and an embezzler and currently being pursued by the courts and tax authorities for alleged serious financial irregularities, Medecin resigned the mayoralty he had held for 25 years and fled to Argentina and later to Uruguay (Richard Eder, ‘On the Riviera. A Morality Tale by Graham Greene’, *The New York Times*, 5 February 1982: A2; John Lichfield, ‘Obituary: Jacques Medecin’, *The Independent*, 20 November 1998; Rone Tempest ‘Mayor of Nice Takes Flight in a Blow

John Lichfield of *The Independent* an “indefatigable defender of apartheid.”⁹⁰⁹ Medecin’s opinions did not seem to bother the Jewish Bloomberg, and he accepted the twinning idea with enthusiasm. He later did say that he had “fundamental political differences” with Medecin, but they did not stop him from becoming a close friend of the fascist and racist Frenchman.⁹¹⁰

The twinning arrangement came into effect on July 6, 1974. The move caused controversy not only in France⁹¹¹ but around the world, with political parties, trade unions and civil rights organizations denouncing the link-up as “scandalous.”⁹¹² France’s Peace Movement against Racism and anti-Semitism characterised the South African visitors to the ceremony in Nice as a “racist delegation”⁹¹³ and protestors gathered outside Bloomberg’s hotel characterised him as “this fascist Bloomberg representing his racist government.”⁹¹⁴

During the ceremony, Medecin told Bloomberg, “We have much to learn from you. There is no segregation in your country corresponding to slavery, but parallel development of two populations. Life in Africa, the South, should be better understood, better explained.” Bloomberg appeared to be “thrilled” with Medecin’s comments⁹¹⁵ and spoke about South Africa’s need for friendship and understanding abroad, claiming that his country had become “the prey of vultures who take vicarious delight in the troubles of others.”⁹¹⁶ Bloomberg claimed that after his return from France, Foreign Minister Muller sounded him about a

to French Politics: Scandal’, *Los Angeles Times*, 12 November 1990; Craig R. Whitney, ‘Jacques Medecin, 70, Dies; French Mayor’, *The New York Times*, 19 November 1998). Bloomberg was “deeply shocked” when he heard of the accusations against his good friend (Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 183), but he would later find himself in a similar position, also accused of corruption, and like Medecin, he moved from the country of his birth to escape prosecution.

⁹⁰⁹ *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, ‘Three Jews on City Council of Nice Resign to Protest Ties With Le Pen’, 4 April 1990; Lichfield, ‘Obituary: Jacques Medecin’, *The Independent*, 20 November 1998.

⁹¹⁰ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 179-183.

⁹¹¹ Officially at the time, France had imposed sanctions to South Africa. However, they did not stop France from assisting South Africa with the Koeberg nuclear plant, being involved in a coal-to-petrol project at “Sasol,” importing South African coal and sending “co-operants,” like Pierre-André Albertini, to do their service there. Earlier, in the late 1950s and early to mid-1960s, several South African policemen, members of the security services and military personnel had visited Algeria and France to study the methods of interrogation and torture used by the French there. One of them was General van den Bergh (TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Two*, p. 16, 195).

⁹¹² *The Times* (London), ‘Protest in Nice at Twinning with Cape Town’, 8 July 1974: 4.

⁹¹³ Louis Baum, ‘Bloomberg: SA the Prey of Vultures’, *The Cape Times*, 8 July 1974.

⁹¹⁴ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 180.

⁹¹⁵ *Nice-Matin*, ‘Quand Jacques Médecin, Maire de Nice, Soutenait les Ennemis de Mandela’, 6 December 2013. Retrieved from: <http://archives.nicematin.com/nice/quand-jacques-medecin-maire-de-nice-soutenait-les-ennemis-de-mandela.1544249.html>

⁹¹⁶ *The Cape Times*, ‘Protest in Nice at twinning with Cape Town’, 8 July 1974: 4.

foreign diplomatic posting, but he refused because it was conditional upon his becoming a member of the National Party, something he was not prepared to do.⁹¹⁷

A few months later, Bloomberg was involved in another controversial incident as Mayor of Cape Town, when he was accused of seeking to promote South Africa's government at a time when a hostile London government was applying severe sanctions against the apartheid regime. When a flotilla of the British Royal Navy sailed into Table Bay on October 16, 1974, he invited the commander, Vice-Admiral Henry Leach, and his senior officers to lunch at City Hall and in an impromptu speech referred to the many links between the city and Britain's fighting ships.⁹¹⁸

The British government was not pleased and Foreign Secretary James Callaghan accused Bloomberg of "manipulating the visit" and giving it "a badge of respectability." He said the British government had "nothing in common with the policies of apartheid and racialism, which are repugnant to us," and he ordered that in future all British ships which needed to call at Cape Town should refuse hospitality. The London *Times* said Bloomberg and the South African government had "turned the operation into a propaganda exercise, saying that the visit is a demonstration of Britain's good will towards the Republic."⁹¹⁹

Bloomberg responded that the city council was "not politically structured or motivated" and his invitation "was not a clandestine attempt to influence foreign relations." He described the affair, which received wide international press coverage, as "an absurd incident."⁹²⁰ Bloomberg described his two years as mayor as "a personally exhausting but stimulating experience." Some councillors suggested he stand for a further term, but "I was satisfied that I had done my job and it was time to move on."⁹²¹

According to Bloomberg, he was not a member and never voted for the National Party, "the party of the oppressor" as he characterised it, because of its pro-Nazi and anti-Jewish proclivities."⁹²² However, his hands-off approach to the party did not seem to affect Bloomberg's lofty public status. According to the ANC, it was because of his relationship

⁹¹⁷ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 184.

⁹¹⁸ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 199.

⁹¹⁹ *The Times* (London), 'Callaghan Apology in Navy Visit Dispute', 25 October 1974: 1.

⁹²⁰ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 200.

⁹²¹ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 222-223.

⁹²² Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 275.

with the National Party that he escaped prosecution in the late 1980s.⁹²³ At that time, Bloomberg, along with casino magnate Sol Kerzner, was accused of bribery, corruption, fraud and perjury.⁹²⁴ The Bantustans were reputed to be places where an easy profit could be guaranteed and many White South African and international business men turned their attention to the Transkei.⁹²⁵

A September 16, 1996 statement by the Parliamentary caucus of the ANC, by then ruling South Africa after the collapse of apartheid, said, “Sol Kerzner and David Bloomberg were accused of paying R2 million in bribes in December 1986 and January 1987 to the former Transkei premier, George Matanzima, in exchange for a gambling monopoly in Transkei. In 1988, Kerzner and Bloomberg admitted the payment to the Harms Commission on cross-border irregularities but claimed they were subject to undue pressure by Premier Matanzima. In 1990, the Transkei Attorney General began preparations for extradition against Kerzner and Bloomberg and forwarded extradition applications to the National Party government in 1991.”⁹²⁶

In 1993, the National Party “tried to kill off the case and defended Bloomberg’s involvement” in the casino contracts when the Transkei Government demanded his extradition⁹²⁷ on grounds that there was no case to answer and the case was shelved, despite the insistence of Transkei’s Attorney General that there was a case to answer. The ANC statement accused the National Party of interfering to prevent the two men’s trial by “dragging its heels for ten years.”⁹²⁸

Later in life, Bloomberg took to writing, publishing six books. Two were novels - *Simon’s Destiny* (2012) and highly acclaimed *The Don: Story of an Actor* (2014) – preceded by the story of a Holocaust survivor, *Won’t Forgive, Can’t Forget* (2006), reflections on politics, *Meet the People* (1975) and *The Chain Gang: Mayors Who Served in Cape Town’s*

⁹²³ African National Congress Parliamentary Caucus, Parliamentary Bulletin: ‘Attorney General Says National Party Blocked Sol Kerzner Trial’. (16 Sep. 1996). Available from: <https://ancparliament.org.za/content/attorney-general-says-national-party-blocked-sol-kerzner-trial>

⁹²⁴ African National Congress Parliamentary Caucus, Parliamentary Bulletin: ‘Attorney General Says National Party Blocked Sol Kerzner Trial’.

⁹²⁵ Timothy Gibbs, *Mandela’s Kinsmen: Nationalist Elites and Apartheid’s First Bantustan*, (Oxford: James Currey, 2014), p. 142.

⁹²⁶ African National Congress Parliamentary Caucus, Parliamentary Bulletin: ‘Attorney General Says National Party Blocked Sol Kerzner Trial’.

⁹²⁷ Gibbs, *Mandela’s Kinsmen: Nationalist Elites and Apartheid’s First Bantustan*, p. 142.

⁹²⁸ African National Congress Parliamentary Caucus, Parliamentary Bulletin: ‘Attorney General Says National Party Blocked Sol Kerzner Trial’.

City Hall (2011), and his autobiography, *My Times* (2007). In the mid-1990s Bloomberg moved to England and later to Switzerland, where he currently resides.

BLOOMBERG AND TSAFENDAS

Immediately after Tsafendas's trial ended in his indefinite incarceration, David Bloomberg bought a number of blue neck-ties bearing a pattern of small worms which looked like tapeworms and gave them as gifts to all the members of the defence team, including lawyers, psychiatrists, psychologists and investigators, to celebrate their victory. He named them members of the "Tapeworm Club."⁹²⁹ When asked about this during Liza Key's interview for her documentary, Bloomberg appeared extremely uncomfortable and asked her to stop the camera and "wait a moment, let me think about it." He then conceded that it was a "pretty naughty thing to do," and, referring to the film, asked Key, "You are not running this, are you?"⁹³⁰ Bloomberg made no mention of the Tapeworm Club in his memoir.

During the first ten years of Tsafendas's imprisonment, Bloomberg was the only person who visited him, and that was twice. Throughout this period and for another thirteen years Tsafendas was kept in solitary confinement on Death Row in the maximum security section (Section C) of Pretoria Prison. He was placed in a cell close to the execution room where condemned prisoners were hanged, so he could hear their screams and cries. Tsafendas was forbidden to have any contact with his fellow prisoners and was not allowed access to newspapers, magazines or a radio.⁹³¹ Bloomberg's first visit was in January 1968⁹³² and the second was in 1976.

After visiting Tsafendas in January, 1968, Bloomberg wrote to Brigadier Floris Coetzee, whose position is not specified in the letter, thanking him for arranging the visit. He said in the letter:

"Physically, Tsafendas seems to be very well indeed. He has obviously lost an enormous amount of weight which is satisfactory, as he was previously grossly overweight. He told me that he has been well treated by the prison authorities, and certainly he has a

⁹²⁹ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016; Willie Burger in a personal interview, 9 April 2015; David Bloomberg in *A Question of Madness*.

⁹³⁰ David Bloomberg in *A Question of Madness*.

⁹³¹ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017; Beresford, 'Inside Story: The Madness that Destroyed Apartheid', *The Guardian*, 6 November 1997; *A Question of Madness*.

⁹³² David Bloomberg letter to Brigadier Coetzee, 26 January 1968. Correctional Service. Demitrio Tsafendas, File number: 80/0043, A123, Vol. 1. NASA.

much happier and friendlier disposition than when I last saw him. As to his mental condition, you will of course appreciate that I am really unqualified to express an opinion. However, through Tsafendas and other legal matters, I have picked up a fair amount of lay knowledge concerning mental conditions. My impression of Tsafendas at the present time is that outwardly he has improved, but that basically he still has the same obvious symptoms which resulted in his being diagnosed as a chronic schizophrenic. My view, for what it is worth, is that he is still mentally disordered in terms of the Mental Disorders Act.”⁹³³

Just eleven months after Bloomberg’s visit, Bernard Mitchell, a former prisoner, revealed in the British Sunday newspaper *The Observer* that Tsafendas was tortured and kept in a cell built especially for him on Death Row.⁹³⁴ It seems that Bloomberg did not notice that Tsafendas had been tortured or that he was detained in a special Death Row cell. Indeed, he found him to be “very well indeed.” He did notice that Tsafendas had lost a lot of weight, in reality twenty to twenty-five kilos, during the first fourteen months of his imprisonment.⁹³⁵ This he saw as something positive.

On August 1, 1976, the British Sunday newspaper, *The Observer*, published a lengthy article by Ian Mather entitled “*Horror in black and white.*” It consisted predominantly of a first-person account of life in Pretoria Central Prison and other South African penal institutions by Brian Price, a Briton who managed to escape while serving an eleven-year sentence for dealing the drug LSD.⁹³⁶ *The Observer* said it published the story only after its editors “closely cross-examined” Price and checked his allegation as far as they were able. They decided to publish because the story was “consistent with reports from other sources.”⁹³⁷ Ian Mather also confirmed to the author that Price’s story was thoroughly checked as much as possible and that the newspaper had no reason to doubt its authenticity.⁹³⁸

In a long and detailed article about violence to prisoners, Price referred briefly to Tsafendas, claiming that “he was treated with gross inhumanity and was a broken man.” He said that the guards urinated in Tsafendas’s food then forced him to eat it and he was

⁹³³ David Bloomberg letter to Brigadier Coetzee, 26 January 1968. Correctional Service. Demitrio Tsafendas, File number: 80/0043, A123, Vol. 1. NASA.

⁹³⁴ de St Jorre, ‘I Was Glad That Cancer Got Me Out of Vorster’s Jail’, *The Observer*, 1 December 1968: 7.

⁹³⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁹³⁶ Ian Mather, ‘Horror in Black and White’, *The Observer*, 1 August 1976: 17.

⁹³⁷ *The Observer*, ‘South Africa’s Evasions’, 11 November 1976.

⁹³⁸ Ian Mather in a personal interview, 2 February 2015.

routinely beaten and kicked. “For the first five years or so, the warders used to lay into Tsafendas. He was a plaything for sadists.”⁹³⁹

This was not the first or the last time that Tsafendas’s fellow inmates revealed that he was physically abused and psychologically tortured. As we have seen, Breyten Breytenbach, Bernard Mitchell and Alexander Moumbaris, as well as two unnamed inmates in *Sunday Tribune* in 1994 spoke about it in the Press.⁹⁴⁰ Journalist and BOSS informer Gordon Winter, who interviewed Tsafendas in 1976, confirmed later that Tsafendas was tortured.⁹⁴¹ Professor Barend van Niekerk had become aware of the ongoing abuse and attempted with the help of Helen Suzman to put an end in it.⁹⁴² As far back as 1971, a civil servant, A.M. Towert, also informed Suzman about Tsafendas’s treatment and the fact that he was kept on the “execution block.”⁹⁴³

The Observer article came at a sensitive time for apartheid – just six weeks after the Soweto uprising, which began on June 16, 1976, and coinciding with accusations of atrocities, including torture of prisoners, by South African troops in Namibia.⁹⁴⁴ According to Bloomberg, Price’s story “was syndicated widely and caused quite an international stir.”⁹⁴⁵ The South African government swiftly denied that Tsafendas was ill-treated and called the claim “a travesty of the truth.” The apartheid government then invited *The Observer* to name a legal expert of its choice, who would be given “complete freedom to investigate the alleged facts contained in Price’s story.” The newspaper nominated Louis Blom-Cooper, QC, an acknowledged penal expert, chairman of Britain’s Howard League for Penal Reform, member of the Home Secretary’s advisory council on the penal system and one of the

⁹³⁹ Mather, ‘Horror in Black and White’, *The Observer*, 1 August 1976: 17.

⁹⁴⁰ David Beresford, ‘Dr. Verwoerd’s Insane Killer Being Brutalised on SA Death Row: Cell Next to Gallows for 71- Year Old Prisoner’, *The Guardian*, 9 June 1989: 12; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; de St Jorre, ‘I Was Glad That Cancer Got Me Out of Vorster’s Jail’, *The Observer*, 1 December 1968: 7; Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017; Peta Thornycroft and Peta Lee, ‘Amnesty for Tsafendas?’, *Sunday Tribune*, 15 May 1994; Tsafendas in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

⁹⁴¹ Winter, *Inside BOSS: South Africa’s Secret Police*, p. 476-479.

⁹⁴² Letter to Helen Suzman from Prof. Barend D. van Niekerk of Wits referring to the “cruellest” treatment being meted out to Dimtri Tsafendas in jail, 9 April 1971. Helen Suzman Papers 1944-2009. Mb2.10.1.5. University of the Witwatersrand.

⁹⁴³ Letter to Helen Suzman from A.M. Towert informing her that Tsafendas is held in the “execution block” at Central Gaol, Pretoria, 16 May 1971. Helen Suzman Papers 1944-2009. Mb2.10.1.5. University of the Witwatersrand.

⁹⁴⁴ *The Guardian*, ‘Pretoria Troops in Rape of Namibia’, 30 August 1976; *The Guardian*, ‘International Inquiry Demanded Into Namibia Atrocities’, 31 August 1976: 2.

⁹⁴⁵ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 122.

founders of Amnesty International. The South African government turned him down without explanation and instead sent a list to *The Observer* naming the lawyers they would accept.⁹⁴⁶

The British newspaper refused and naturally asked, “if the South Africans are so keen to let the world know they have nothing to hide in their country, why do they persistently refuse entry visas to our reporters?”⁹⁴⁷ The editor of *The Observer* said the government’s handling of the matter “served only to reinforce the impression we have had throughout this affair - that your motive has not been to establish the truth about prison conditions in South Africa at all, but to score publicity points against *The Observer*.” He added, “We found it difficult at first to believe in all the barbarities described by Mr. Price. South Africa’s subtle evasions since then have now persuaded us that they must have something very serious to hide.”⁹⁴⁸

On September 27, 1976, a South African ex-soldier testified before the UN’s 25-nation Council for Namibia that South African military men gave electric shocks and water torture to Namibian prisoners, causing “screams of pain.” His testimony set off a storm of controversy adding to the regime’s embarrassment following *The Observer*’s allegations only the previous month.⁹⁴⁹

The day after the soldier’s testimony, September 28, and at the height of the Namibian torture controversy, David Bloomberg visited Tsafendas in prison, something no Western journalist, no other lawyer or *The Observer*’s nominee managed. This was despite the fact that Bloomberg was no longer Tsafendas’s legal representative and therefore the authorities were not obliged to give him access. On October 2, 1976, Bloomberg released a statement to the media, describing Price’s allegations as a “diatribe” and “without foundation.” Bloomberg said he found Tsafendas to have aged, but he was still “alert, has a sound memory, is personable, reasonably well-informed and not without a sense of humour.” He said that while Tsafendas “remembers having spoken to Price briefly on occasions,” he “firmly denies” that he suffered any ill-treatment. Bloomberg said, “Tsafendas spends his days reading, mainly the Bible, helping with gardening and has added Afrikaans to the many languages he speaks.”⁹⁵⁰

The following is an extract from Bloomberg’s statement:

⁹⁴⁶ *The Observer*, ‘South Africa’s Evasions’, 11 November 1976.

⁹⁴⁷ *The Observer*, ‘Pretoria Propaganda,’ 19 December 1976: 8.

⁹⁴⁸ *The Observer*, ‘South Africa’s Evasions’, 11 November 1976.

⁹⁴⁹ *The Cape Times*, ‘Ex-SA Soldier Tells Of Torture’, 28 September 1976: 6.

⁹⁵⁰ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Tsafendas - Is No Broken Man-Bloomberg’, 2 October 1976: 1.

“I found Tsafendas in apparently good physical condition and seemingly far healthier than he was ten years ago. His major mental aberration, that he has a giant tapeworm, which dictates his life, remains dominant in his thought processes. However, apart from this obsession, he is mainly rational and one is able to carry on a reasonably intelligent conversation with him.

I questioned him closely as to whether he had been ill-treated in any way. He had no hesitation in stating that he was completely satisfied with his treatment, cell conditions, exercise facilities and with the food given to him. He told me that he received the same rights and privileges as other maximum security prisoners and was perfectly happy in prison and had no desire to be released ... ”⁹⁵¹

According to prison records, Bloomberg’s September 28 visit started at 14.15 p.m. and ended at 14.40 p.m., a total of twenty-five minutes, while two officers, a lieutenant and a prison warder, were present throughout the visit.⁹⁵² Bloomberg must have known there was no chance that Tsafendas would admit in front of his guards that he had been tortured. It was also unlikely that he would make any such confession to Bloomberg, who well knew that Tsafendas had been beaten in custody in 1966 and had done nothing about it then.

Bloomberg said prison officials told him they liked and had “affection” for Tsafendas.⁹⁵³ In this case, surely the guards would not admit that they tortured him. In addition, the fact that Bloomberg spent time talking privately to the guards means that he must have spent at least five minutes with them, leaving a maximum of only twenty minutes for Tsafendas - twenty minutes with a man who was in solitary confinement twenty-three hours per day and had not received a single visitor in eight years.

Furthermore, the similarities in Bloomberg’s description of Tsafendas with the way he described him in 1968 are more than obvious. Bloomberg presents Tsafendas as a satisfied and happy man with no desire to be released. The truth is Tsafendas was allowed only one hour per day outside his cell – presumably enough for Bloomberg to claim that he had access to exercise facilities and gardening. The most extraordinary claims in Bloomberg’s report are that Tsafendas was satisfied with his cell conditions and that he had no desire to be released. The fact that Tsafendas was in a cell in the Death Row and next to the room in which prisoners were hanged is not mentioned.

⁹⁵¹ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Tsafendas - Is No Broken Man-Bloomberg’, 2 October 1976: 1.

⁹⁵² Hand-written note regarding David Bloomberg’s visit to Tsafendas, 28 September 1976. Correctional Service. Demitrio Tsafendas, File number: 80/0043, A123 Vol 2. NASA.

⁹⁵³ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 102.

On March 1996, Tsafendas was asked during a visit to the Sterkfontein Hospital by former MK fighter and fellow prisoner at Pretoria Maximum Security Prison, Alexander Moumbaris, if he wanted anything. Tsafendas replied, "I want my freedom."⁹⁵⁴ At the same visit, Tsafendas told Marie-Jose Moumbaris, Alexander's wife and also an anti-apartheid activist and former prisoner at the women's section at Pretoria Central Prison, "I want to see the sea once again before I die."⁹⁵⁵ Tsafendas repeatedly told the priests who visited him that he hoped one day he would be released. He often used the Latin saying, *dum spiro spero* ("While I breathe, I hope").⁹⁵⁶

Bloomberg claimed that he had "retained an interest" in Tsafendas's "mental condition and welfare" ever since he defended him, which was why he visited him on this occasion.⁹⁵⁷ However, this hardly squares with the fact that he only spent around twenty minutes with him. Twenty minutes with a man who had no visitors in eight years and was in solitary confinement most of the time. The fact is he visited his erstwhile client only twice in his thirty-three years in custody. Bloomberg claimed he did not visit Tsafendas more often because the apartheid authorities made it "difficult" for him.⁹⁵⁸ However, the authorities apparently had no problem about him seeing Tsafendas following *The Observer's* allegations, while refusing the newspaper's nominee and its reporters. Bloomberg no longer had a legal tie to Tsafendas which would have required the government to allow his visit, thus suggesting that the ever-suspicious authorities were confident he would not report anything unfavourable.

It might be purely a coincidence that Bloomberg visited Tsafendas immediately after the ex-soldier's torture testimony. However, it is a fact that *The Observer* story about Tsafendas was published on August 1, 1976 and it took Bloomberg almost two months after that to visit Tsafendas and check if the newspaper's claims were correct.

Questions about Bloomberg's motives in visiting Tsafendas could also be raised by a letter dated October 7, 1976, which he sent to one of the prison officials who assisted him when he saw Tsafendas. This is what it said:

"Dear ... (the name is censored)

⁹⁵⁴ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

⁹⁵⁵ Marie-Jose Moumbaris in a personal interview, 8 March 2010.

⁹⁵⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁹⁵⁷ David Bloomberg in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

⁹⁵⁸ David Bloomberg in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

I would like to thank you very much indeed for the courtesy extended to me when I visited Tsafendas recently. I thought you might be interested to read the statements which I issued to the press following this visit, and I enclose herewith a copy of same. This has received prominence in the South African press and, hopefully, will be published in England as well.

You might not have seen the article in the Argus, and I am enclosing a copy of that for you.

*Again, my grateful thanks to you for your co-operation and with kind personal regards ...*⁹⁵⁹

It is normal that Bloomberg should write and thank the official for his assistance. What is surprising is Bloomberg's keenness to tell him of the statement which he issued denying *The Observer's* allegations and the fact that it had been reported widely in South Africa and hopefully would be published in England, too. It is clear Bloomberg assumes the official will be happy to hear a rebuttal of claims that were damaging to South Africa and to the official's prison. He goes so far as to enclose copies of his statement to the media and the article published in the *Cape Argus* newspaper, highlighting what he felt to be the main achievement of his visit. Bloomberg makes no direct reference to Tsafendas himself, ostensibly the reason for his visit.

Shortly after Bloomberg's visit, General van den Bergh sent Gordon Winter, a BOSS agent and journalist of *The Citizen*, the government's mouthpiece, to write a denial about the *Observer* story. Winter did this, but a few years later had the decency to admit that this was a propaganda stunt and that Tsafendas was indeed tortured.⁹⁶⁰ *The Observer* characterised the government's handling of the case as "Pretoria propaganda," describing as "extraordinary" the lengths to which it would go "to score a dubious propaganda point."⁹⁶¹ Thus, Bloomberg had once again offered an enormous help to apartheid, most probably not in official co-operation with the government, but as an individual who always knew which way the political winds were blowing. The inescapable question was: If Tsafendas was not tortured and the authorities had nothing to hide, why were the *Observer's* reporters and nominated lawyer not allowed to see him, but David Bloomberg and Gordon Winter were?

⁹⁵⁹ David Bloomberg letter to unnamed prison official, 7 October 1976. Correctional Service. Demitrio Tsafendas, File number: 80/0043, A123, Vol. 1. NASA.

⁹⁶⁰ Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness*, 1997; Winter, *Inside BOSS: South Africa's Secret Police*, p. 476-479.

⁹⁶¹ *The Observer*, 'Pretoria Propaganda,' 19 December 1976: 8.

In 1997, Bloomberg was asked by filmmaker Liza Key, who was making a documentary about Tsafendas, whether he thought the assassination “changed the course of history in South Africa.” Bloomberg replied, “I think that by assassinating Dr. Verwoerd, he certainly changed the course of history of that time. I have no doubt that the eventual outcome would have been the same with the passage of time, that one couldn’t suppress the majority of the people of South Africa for all time ... Probably in retrospect, I think Tsafendas may have hurried things a little ...”⁹⁶²

However, sixteen years later, Bloomberg offered a different take on Tsafendas’s place in South Africa’s history. On October 22, 2013, Christian Martins, Eastern Cape MP for the ruling African National Congress, suggested that “homage should be bestowed upon Dimitri Tsafendas, a hero and martyr for the cause of the South African people,” and that his grave should be declared a heritage site.⁹⁶³ Bloomberg was quick to respond. Two days later, he gave a statement to *The Cape Times* expressing “astonishment” at such an “outrageous request,” since Tsafendas was a schizophrenic without any political motive whatsoever.⁹⁶⁴

Bloomberg’s letter is full of inaccuracies in an attempt to prove that Tsafendas does not merit such recognition. In challenging Martin’s claim that Tsafendas “changed the course of post-war South African history,” Bloomberg contradicted his own statement to Liza Key in 1997. Now, he said, “Dr. Verwoerd was succeeded by John Vorster and P.W. Botha, both strict adherents of the apartheid policy, and business continued as usual.”⁹⁶⁵ This hasty, latter-day analysis does not bear scrutiny. The fact is that Bloomberg contradicted his own 1997 statement to justify his view that Tsafendas should not be honoured by South Africa

TSAFENDAS MEETS HIS LAWYERS

Late in the morning of September 26, 1966, Tsafendas was seen by his three lawyers: Advocate Wilfrid E. Cooper and Willie Burger as his junior, and Attorney David Bloomberg. The first of the defence team to visit Tsafendas was Bloomberg, who, passing through a “succession of locked and barred doors,” arrived in “a large cell guarded on the outside by an armed policeman.” Tsafendas was “huddled in a corner” with a “dazed expression and

⁹⁶² David Bloomberg in *A Question of Madness*.

⁹⁶³ *The Cape Times*, ‘South Africans Must ‘Honour’ Dr. Verwoerd, Tsafendas’, 22 October 2013: 6.

⁹⁶⁴ *The Cape Times*, ‘I Am Astonished that the Eastern Cape ANC MPL, Chistian Martins, has Advanced ...’, 24 October 2013: 12.

⁹⁶⁵ *The Cape Times*, ‘I Am Astonished that the Eastern Cape ANC MPL, Chistian Martins, has Advanced ...’, 24 October 2013: 12.

seemed uninterested in his visitors.” As we saw earlier in this chapter, Bloomberg quickly noticed that Tsafendas “had some facial injuries, ‘which Major Cerff, the police officer who accompanied Bloomberg to the cell, claimed had “occurred during the struggle to subdue him in Parliament.” Bloomberg doubted this explanation since three weeks had elapsed since the assassination, but he decided “not to reveal” his “misgivings” since “the injuries appear to be superficial.”⁹⁶⁶

Later, Tsafendas was visited by Wilfrid Cooper, who also found Tsafendas as a “bundle in the corner” on a dirty blanket on the floor. When he told Tsafendas that he was appointed to defend him, Tsafendas responded by saying that according to the tenets of his religion, he did not need legal defence. Cooper explained that it was in his best interest to be defended, to which Tsafendas responded: “I don’t know why the good Lord should have chosen such an infirm person like me.” According to Cooper, Tsafendas was aware of the implications of what he had done, but his emotional response was that of someone who “had participated in a dream.” Tsafendas’s description of the cause of Dr. Verwoerd’s death, while very exact in its clinical details, demonstrated what Cooper referred to in the film as “a certain remoteness about him, as if he wasn’t there.”⁹⁶⁷

Cooper recalls his first interview and Tsafendas’s response when he told him that he had been appointed by Judge Beyers to act for him. Tsafendas responded immediately with a lie, saying that he did not believe in legal representation as it was against his religious beliefs.⁹⁶⁸ In fact, it was not against his religion beliefs to have legal representation and Tsafendas had actually asked to be represented by Advocate George Bizos.⁹⁶⁹ In addition, just ten months ago, in November, 1965, Tsafendas had instructed a Cape Town lawyer, Ismail Essop, to represent him in a \$100,000 compensation claim from the American government for his “forced deportation” from the United States to Greece in 1947.⁹⁷⁰ Tsafendas was given a full hearing.⁹⁷¹ This is an indication of how Tsafendas’s attitude had changed since he was arrested and a pointer to how he would act in the future, lying when he considered it expeditious to both his defence and to the medics who examined him.

When Cooper asked him why he had killed Dr. Verwoerd, rather than answering the

⁹⁶⁶ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 74-75.

⁹⁶⁷ Cooper, *Under Devil’s Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 101; Wilfrid Cooper in *A Question of Madness*.

⁹⁶⁸ Cooper, *Under Devil’s Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 101-102.

⁹⁶⁹ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁹⁷⁰ Demetrios Tsafendakis Affidavit, November 1965. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen, NASA.

⁹⁷¹ Shaw, *Believe in Miracles: South Africa from Malan to Mandela – and the Mbeki Era*, p. 58.

question, Tsafendas told a long and irrelevant story about horse-racing. After several attempts to get a coherent answer out of him, Cooper said, "I gave up." Cooper noticed a strong "incongruity" about Tsafendas. "He had the appearance of a hobo, a rough looking individual, yet when he spoke, he described his feelings with a certain measure of delicacy."⁹⁷²

The same afternoon, the entire defence team, Cooper, Bloomberg and Burger, saw Tsafendas together. According to Bloomberg, Tsafendas "looked tired and somewhat dazed and at first spoke slowly but coherently. He was polite and co-operative, but generally uninterested in the questions that were put to him. Gently, we tried to extract from him a life history, but this proved difficult as his powers of concentration wavered. When he did answer, he would start in the right direction and then go off at a tangent, with a series of non sequiturs, forgetting what the question was." However, "painstakingly," they "were able to learn" Tsafendas's background and of his travels around the world. Bloomberg opined that "he was not unintelligent, for along the way, he had learned to speak several languages and was reasonably well informed."⁹⁷³

According to Bloomberg, "after a while he relaxed more and what became strangely apparent was that he showed no signs of distress or anxiety. The man knew that he was going to be charged with murder but showed an abnormal emotional attitude to his situation and surroundings. At one stage he said, 'I suppose when this whole thing is over, it will be difficult for me to live in Cape Town. Oh, well, I suppose I will have to live elsewhere!' Later he said: 'You know I didn't really like my work in Parliament. I don't think I will apply again for a job there.' Questioned about his health, he revealed that he had been in hospital a number of times, including the St Pancras Hospital in London, a hospital on the Isle of Wight, the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, the Sheep's Head Hospital and the Grafton State Hospital in New York, and the Ochosen Krankenhaus outside Hamburg in Germany. When pressed for the reasons why he had been a patient in these hospitals, he said it was all to do with a tapeworm that made him feel unwell and nervous."⁹⁷⁴

It is noteworthy to remember that although during his questioning by the police Tsafendas mentioned all these hospitals, he said nothing about the tapeworm, simply telling them the diagnosis he received at each hospital and downplaying its importance. Tsafendas

⁹⁷² Wilfrid Cooper in *A Question of Madness*.

⁹⁷³ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 76.

⁹⁷⁴ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 76.

also told his defence team about his examination by Dr. Kossew when he had applied for a disability grant, who had found him to be schizophrenic. However, he did not mention any of the nine doctors who had examined him over the last three years for his permanent residency permit or for various job applications, all of whom had found him to be perfectly sane and healthy.

According to Bloomberg:

“Tsafendas went on to say that the tapeworm in fact controlled his life and that at one of the hospitals he had received electro-convulsive therapy to rid him of what he variously described as a ‘demon’, a ‘dragon’ and a ‘snake.’ Tsafendas told us that he had consulted many doctors and chemists to obtain medicines to enable him to pass the tapeworm and gave a lurid account of a portion of the worm emerging and snapping off in his hand. He described the tapeworm as being two inches wide with serrated edges and said that he could feel it wriggling around inside. If he passed near food that had good smells the tapeworm became aroused and the only way he could exercise any control over it was to eat and ‘the tapeworm then purred like a cat. He insisted that the tapeworm influenced his behaviour: ‘It has meant a lot to me, sir. It has caused me to see how other people live. If I didn’t have a tapeworm I’d really ... I’d probably only be living for myself, I would not know what the rest of the world was like, what other people thought, their difficulties. I would have taken life, I would have taken life, eh ... I would have only seen things eh ... well I would have taken life for granted, I would have just gone through life enjoying myself, taking life ... eh things easier.’”⁹⁷⁵

Bloomberg claimed that when Tsafendas was asked if he remembered what had happened in Parliament on September 6, he related that on that morning he had walked into the city and purchased two long knives at a shop. He had then returned to Parliament, changed into his parliamentary uniform and concealed the knives beneath his jacket. His account of events then became very vague and his mind constantly wandered. While he acknowledged stabbing Dr. Verwoerd, he could provide no precise details of the attack. “I don’t even remember how it happened, in other words how I began stabbing the man. I can only remember when the people grabbed hold of me. If the people had not grabbed hold of me I would probably be ... probably just kept on stabbing him or how shall I say ... even though he were dead I could just keep on stabbing him but ... eh ... not that I was ... I don’t

⁹⁷⁵ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 76.

know if you can call that angry.”⁹⁷⁶

According to Bloomberg, the only motivation that emerged was that Tsafendas had feelings of frustration towards life, in particular towards doctors and heads of state. Tsafendas told them that in the United Kingdom he had had a job for a short while in the Houses of Parliament but couldn't get close enough to Harold Macmillan to attack him; and that in the USA he did not like President Harry Truman but couldn't get employment at the White House.⁹⁷⁷

That Tsafendas was lying to his defence team can easily be deduced by examining the above statement. The South African police received several reports from the British authorities regarding Tsafendas, and a very detailed report regarding his movements in England from the South African embassy in London. In none of them is there any indication that Tsafendas ever worked in the Houses of Parliament, which surely the British authorities would have known about. What's more, the South African embassy's secret telegram of September 9, 1966, states correctly that Tsafendas was not given a permit to work in the UK when he asked for one. In fact, he was refused permission to remain as a student and as a result was in the country illegally.⁹⁷⁸ Furthermore, a confidential PIDE report regarding Tsafendas dated November 25, 1964 states that while in England, Tsafendas was forced to work “clandestinely, because legally he was not authorized.”⁹⁷⁹ Since he was not authorized to work in Britain, or even be in the country, it is inconceivable that he could have got a job in the Houses of Parliament. Tsafendas never told anyone but Bloomberg that he ever held such job.

In addition, Tsafendas, when he was questioned, did not tell the police he was frustrated in London and wanted to attack the British Prime Minister. What he told several people was that London was his favourite city because there were so many people from various races and there was no racism. He said that he supported the Labour Party and admired Macmillan. He said he would have liked to live in London but he could not because he was not able to get a work permit.⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁷⁶ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 77.

⁹⁷⁷ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 77.

⁹⁷⁸ Secret Telegram from the South African Embassy in London to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

⁹⁷⁹ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁹⁸⁰ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Fotini Gavasiadis in a

As for Truman, Tsafendas was indeed anti-American, but not only did he not have a work permit, he did not have permission to reside in the United States and was arrested many times for violating its immigration laws. To even have applied for a job at the White House would have been the height of absurdity. More importantly, according to the several reports from various institutions, including the detailed account from the Grafton State Hospital, Tsafendas lived only in Massachusetts and New York, never in Washington. Finally, Tsafendas did not mention any of this to the police or to the psychiatrists who examined him. However, the likelihood is that none of this was known to the defence at the time, since they did not have access to the documents submitted to the South African police and authorities.

Bloomberg said that while Tsafendas could not give any motive for the assassination, he seemed to believe that society was against him and he saw Dr. Verwoerd as the head of that society. According to Bloomberg's 2007 memoir *My Times*, the tapeworm was paramount in Tsafendas's thoughts, and while he denied that the tapeworm had ordered him to kill the Prime Minister, its presence induced him to perpetrate the attack. However, ten years earlier, in 1997, Bloomberg gave a different story regarding the tapeworm. He said Tsafendas told him that it was the tapeworm which told him to kill Dr. Verwoerd. "I think the tapeworm determined that the time had arrived that Dr. Verwoerd should be removed and the tapeworm delivered this message to him."⁹⁸¹

Bloomberg said the defence team questioned Tsafendas "extensively about whether he had received instructions or advice, locally or from abroad, about the assassination, whether anyone had suggested to him that it would be a good idea to kill Dr. Verwoerd, and whether he had any accomplices. His response was negative on all these counts, and it seemed that his only confidante was the tapeworm. While he never disputed the stabbing, he seemed to fail to appreciate the magnitude of the crime or the consequences of his action."⁹⁸²

Bloomberg quoted Tsafendas as speaking as follows:

"Yes, I see it as very serious ... I see it is very serious, because I doubt very much ... eh ... I wonder at times if... eh ... people see it as serious as I do. Well, not because it involves me ... I ... am practically nothing but ... eh ... from what... eh ... I don't think it takes much thought to see that ... eh ... situation is serious ... me ... the situation is serious where we are getting to a stage in a ... eh ... stage or a period in ... eh ... where it does not concern countries

personal interview, 6 May 2015; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁹⁸¹ David Bloomberg in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

⁹⁸² Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 77.

anymore ... it is probably nothing now ... that concerns the whole universe.”⁹⁸³

None of the witnesses interviewed by the author who knew Tsafendas recognised the above as the way he spoke. All strongly denied that he could have spoken in such a way without doing it intentionally. Continuing their observation, the defence listened as Tsafendas “described how the tapeworm climbed into his throat and made him feel weak, feeble and distressed, and sometimes took over his being. He seemed to believe in witchcraft and thought that this might have something to do with the tapeworm.” After more than two hours, the defence team left to consider the information they had obtained. “We felt pretty confident that Tsafendas had been truthful with us and had not deliberately attempted to conceal any facts,” Bloomberg wrote later and added that

“The presence of a tapeworm that controlled one’s life was a revelation to us and, from our laymen’s point of view, we considered our client to be seriously mentally disturbed. It was obviously necessary for us to have Tsafendas examined by experienced psychiatrists, to endeavour to make contact with the overseas hospitals where he had been treated and to interview the people he had lived with recently in Cape Town. To accomplish all this and other necessary investigations, and prepare for trial in the space of three weeks was going to be a gigantic task.”⁹⁸⁴

Bloomberg and his assistants began contacting hospitals and mental institutions in Europe and the USA whilst also searching for people in Cape Town who knew Tsafendas.⁹⁸⁵

Bloomberg demonstrated how inaccurate his picture of Tsafendas was and how little he knew of him when he told the author: “[Tsafendas] was opposed to apartheid, but he wasn’t a political animal at all. I don’t think that politics played a great part in his life and in his thinking.”⁹⁸⁶ However, Bloomberg was unaware that Tsafendas had been arrested four times and imprisoned three times by the Portuguese because of his political activities, that he was banned from entering South Africa and Mozambique for the same reason, that he had been a member of the SACP and the DSE, and that PIDE had opened a file on him as long ago as 1938.

Going back to the Tsafendas’s defence, if the South African authorities wanted a demonstrably fair trial with the world watching, why did it not appoint Advocate George

⁹⁸³ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 77.

⁹⁸⁴ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 78.

⁹⁸⁵ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 78.

⁹⁸⁶ David Bloomberg in a personal interview, 6 April 2014.

Bizos, the lawyer Tsafendas had specifically requested, and promptly when he asked for him, not twenty days later? Without suggesting that the lawyers appointed by the State were incompetent or puppets of the authorities, the fact is that Tsafendas was not allowed to have his preferred lawyer. Bizos was not asked by the authorities at any time to act for Tsafendas.⁹⁸⁷

The other question is why it took twenty days for Tsafendas to get legal representation. If Tsafendas had shown signs of mental disorder while he was in custody, at least during the first two weeks, why did not the police ask a psychiatrist to examine him? If it was such a straightforward case and General van den Bergh believed Tsafendas was insane, as he later claimed, why did he not appoint a psychiatrist to examine him to confirm this?

THE TAPEWORM

The tapeworm, which from now on will be associated constantly with Tsafendas, makes its first appearance when Tsafendas is seen by his lawyers. That was on September 26, twenty days after the assassination, during which time he was in police custody. As we have seen, Tsafendas made no mention of a tapeworm during his questioning by the police, and none of the witnesses interrogated by the police testified that Tsafendas had ever mentioned such a thing. Further, in both of Tsafendas's statements found in the National Archives, he gives clear and logical political reasons for killing Dr. Verwoerd, reasons which were entirely compatible with all the other evidence the South African police collected regarding Tsafendas's political ideologies, namely that he was anti-apartheid, anti-colonialist, considered Verwoerd not to be the real representative of all the South African people and believed that by killing him a change of policy would take place. Tsafendas later repeated this exact statement to three priests who visited him in hospital and in prison, each at different times, Fathers Minas Constandinou, Spiros Randos and Ioannis Tsafaridis.⁹⁸⁸

In response to his police interrogators, Tsafendas's use of language is precise; he does not hesitate, stumble or repeatedly say "eh?" or "er" and his thought processes appear perfectly lucid. Tsafendas's statements to the police are coherent and quite unlike the halting, confused way in which he speaks to his defence team. Not once does he mention a tapeworm; instead he sets out a cogent set of political beliefs and motivations, and more than that, gives

⁹⁸⁷ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

⁹⁸⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

details of how he planned and executed the assassination.

The question then is, why does Tsafendas act so differently with his defence lawyers? The facts: Tsafendas gives the police a clear political motive for his actions and speaks perfectly logically in his statements of both September 11 and September 19, his last statement. On September 11, he said, “I did not think I would get away after murdering the Prime Minister. I did not care what happened to me”⁹⁸⁹ and on September 19, he said, “I didn’t care much and didn’t give it a second thought that I would be caught.”⁹⁹⁰ The September 19 statement is of great importance because it carries the specific questions and Tsafendas’s exact answers. His answers are lucid, logical and to the point and make no mention of a tapeworm or anything like it. Then, on September 26, exactly a week later, when he sees his lawyers, he has completely changed his tune. Obviously, something happened between the 19th and the 26th which led him to this change.

When Fathers Minas Constandinou and Ioannis Tsafaridis asked Tsafendas how the tapeworm had come up, he gave no specifics. He broke down and, weeping, said that he “couldn’t take the pain [of torture] anymore”, especially the mock hangings, which had a severe effect on him. He repeated this phrase and then said that he feared he would experience an “undignified” death, “hanged in his cell” while in custody, and that the police would claim he was insane and had committed suicide. He was led to believe, from what was happening to him during the torture he had endured while in custody, that this was the arranged outcome. He believed that one day one of the mock hangings would turn out to be a real hanging and that would be the end of him. The police had clearly implied to him that David Pratt had been murdered and had not committed suicide, presenting it in this way: they told him repeatedly that the same fate as Pratt awaited him. Tsafendas was certain that he was going to end up like Pratt; murdered by the police who would then claim that he had committed suicide, while presenting him as an apolitical madman; thus, nobody would then know that he had killed Verwoerd for political reasons.⁹⁹¹

Tsafendas was deeply emotional on this subject and was embarrassed to tell the priests the details of how he had pretended to be mad or how he had used the tapeworm to escape death. He clearly considered this to have been an act of cowardice. He said although

⁹⁸⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁹⁹⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁹⁹¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

he had played the fool in the past to escape detention and torture by the Portuguese, this time he was determined not to do so. Tsafendas went on to explain to them that once he had been arrested, he copied the idea of pretending to be mad from the ancient Christians. He said that this tactic dated back to the early years of Christianity, when it had been outlawed by the Romans. It was known as “being foolish for Christ”: Christian believers would pretend to be mad, so that the Romans would leave them alone.⁹⁹²

Although Tsafendas did not say so, the priests gathered, that at one point, the prospect of stopping the torture and escaping “death by suicide,” and spending the remaining years of his life in a hospital as a result of playing the fool, attracted Tsafendas. After all, he had done the same thing before with the Portuguese police. Tsafendas said he knew that he was only going to get out of prison as an insane person, the crucial question being insane dead or insane alive. He chose the latter.⁹⁹³

At some point after September 19, Tsafendas apparently did or said something which convinced the South African police that he was insane, and he was then given a team of defence lawyers. He told the priests that soon after he started playing the fool, the police stopped torturing him and allowed lawyers to see him. Observing that Tsafendas was reluctant to talk about that part of his life and appeared to be ashamed of his charade the priests never asked him about it again.⁹⁹⁴

The author is not in position to know how the tapeworm first came into the frame. Although we do not know the exact day that Tsafendas changed his tune, nor what exactly he did or said to make the authorities think he was deranged, we can certainly state that it happened sometime between September 20 and 25. Lacking this specific knowledge, we can nevertheless state that up to September 19, Tsafendas talked perfectly logically to the police and that on September 26 when he first saw his defence team he was a completely different person. It seems abundantly clear that at some point after September 19, Tsafendas decided to “play the fool” once again, in other words pretend madness, to stop the torture and avoid being murdered while in custody.

⁹⁹² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁹⁹³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

⁹⁹⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE WHO KNEW TSAFENDAS TO THE TAPEWORM STORY AND TO THE WAY HE SPOKE TO HIS DEFENCE TEAM

The most important testimony regarding the tapeworm and how Tsafendas spoke came from the approximately two hundred people who were questioned by the police and the Commission. Not one of them said they had heard Tsafendas mention the word tapeworm or talk in the way described by Bloomberg.⁹⁹⁵ Major Rossouw, who questioned Tsafendas while in custody on at least two occasions and for at least three days, gave testimony to the Commission of Enquiry; he made no mention of Tsafendas speaking in the way claimed. What he said was that he “never got the impression that he (Tsafendas) tried to evade any question, that he answered all the questions spontaneously and that he was “totally prepared to answer everything.”⁹⁹⁶

It is also clear from both of Tsafendas’s statements that he did not speak in the way described by his defence lawyers when he was questioned by the police. In both statements, his speech is clear, as is his logic. More importantly, in the second statement, taken on September 19, which sets out the exact wording of the questions and answers, Tsafendas replies to all the questions perfectly logically. In both statements he gives a lucid and solid account of his movements, his life and his motive in a perfectly normal way.

The author has read everything which Tsafendas, according to David Bloomberg, told his defence team, to forty-six individuals who knew him. Nineteen of them knew Tsafendas very well. They included family members, such as his half-sister, a cousin, his sister-in-law, as well as people who shared accommodation with Tsafendas, who knew him since he was a child, and three priests who were close to him during the last ten years of his life. None of them recognised Tsafendas as talking in the incoherent way he did to his defence team or referring to a tapeworm, while some told me flatly they did not believe Tsafendas ever said these things. The author is not implying that Bloomberg made up these remarks, since Tsafendas came out with similar statements to the psychiatrists who examined him shortly before the trial. However, it is indisputable that no-one, apart from his defence team and the psychiatrists who examined him during this period, ever heard Tsafendas talk in this way.

Apart from Fathers Minas Constandinou, Spiros Randos and Ioannis Tsafaridis, who were aware of Tsafendas’s play-acting with the tapeworm, none of the other witnesses the

⁹⁹⁵ Patrick O’Ryan will mention it to the Commission but not to the police. The issue is discussed in Chapter 5.

⁹⁹⁶ Major Rossouw testimony to the Commission of Enquiry, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

author interviewed knew anything about such a ruse. Equally important witnesses were Tsafendas's family. As we will see in the Summary Trial Chapter, the defence claimed that Tsafendas had the tapeworm since he lived with his family in Lourenço Marques in the mid-1930s. He lived with them from age six until nineteen and again from age twenty-one to twenty-three and then in South Africa from age forty-five to forty-eight.

Every member of his family flatly denied any knowledge of a tapeworm when they were questioned by Judge van Wyk for the Commission of Enquiry. They included his stepmother, Marika, who, according to his defence psychiatrists and witnesses in the summary trial, was supposedly responsible for the tapeworm. All told the judge that Tsafendas "never mentioned" any tapeworm and that he was "definitely not insane."⁹⁹⁷ Charles Nissiotis, Tsafendas's brother-in-law, told the police, "As far as I could established he never mentioned the tapeworm story to any of the family."⁹⁹⁸ Tsafendas's half-sister Eleni confirmed this years later in 2007, as did his other half-sister Katerina in 2015.⁹⁹⁹ The issue of the tapeworm and its "existence" will be examined in detail in the following chapter. However, let us examine here what Tsafendas told his defence team and the way he spoke.

An extremely important witness is Fotini Gavasiadis, sister of Nick Vlachopoulos, Tsafendas's brother-in-law. Tsafendas lived in Fotini's and her husband's house for a few weeks, then for the next eight months in an apartment next to hers. Throughout this period in Pretoria in 1963-1964, they were very close; she saw and talked to him every day and they worked together in her brother's café. The author read to her the transcription of Tsafendas's halting remarks to his defence team, she laughed and said:

"There is absolutely no way Dimitri would have talked like that. This is a different man speaking. This is not only nonsense, which Dimitri would have never said, but he did not talk in that way. I don't believe he said these things. It's true, he ate a lot, but he never attributed [his appetite] to any tapeworm. He just liked food, he was a big man; it was natural to eat more than most people."¹⁰⁰⁰

Gavasiadis never heard Tsafendas mention a tapeworm and she ate with him at least once every day for nine months. She is certain that Tsafendas was pretending to avoid being

⁹⁹⁷ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁹⁹⁸ Charles Nissiotis statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁹⁹⁹ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Eleni Vlachopoulos in *Live and Let Live*.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

executed, and said, “He was certainly capable of putting on an act like this. He was very, very clever. But he would never, never talk like this under normal conditions. Never! I cannot picture him talking all this nonsense, no way, unless he did it deliberately. He was talking very nicely; if anyone had heard him talking, you would know these couldn’t have been his words.” She said, “Dimitri could buy you and sell you¹⁰⁰¹ any time he wanted, and as many times as he wanted to. He was so clever. I was with him almost every day for a year and we practically lived together for a few months. If he was talking like this or if there was something wrong with him, I would have noticed it.” Furthermore, according to Gavasiadis, Tsafendas had a very distinctive way of talking and this was not it.¹⁰⁰²

Another very important witness is Mary Eintracht, born in Egypt in 1923, was a first cousin of Tsafendas. She first knew him in Egypt and they grew up together in Mozambique. As an adult, Eintracht continued her close relationship and Tsafendas often confided to her his thoughts on various matters. He never mentioned a tapeworm or anything else that might suggest he was schizophrenic. She, too, dismissed the notion that Tsafendas ever spoke the way he was presented. She believed he was perfectly sane and made up the tapeworm story so as not to be executed. “I knew him all my life; we grew up together and he confided, I think, everything that had happened in his life. He trusted me. I was with him every day until 1939 when he went to South Africa. He was like a real brother to me. I don’t believe for a moment he said these things to these people and he meant them. No way ...”¹⁰⁰³

Another important witness is Father Nikola Banovic. Father Nikola had Tsafendas living with him for four months in Istanbul in 1961, saw him there almost every day for another two-three months and kept in touch with him with by letter until 1966. He is one of those who became very close to Tsafendas. Like Gavasiadis, Father Nikola laughed when I read Tsafendas’s words to him and initially refused to believe it was Tsafendas talking. Tsafendas “was not talking like that and would never have spoken like that; these are the words of a madman, this is not Dimitri.” He said that if he had been asked at the time to testify before a court, he would have sworn that Tsafendas was perfectly sane and that the statements attributed to him could not possibly have come out of his mouth. The only reason he might have talked in that way would have been to convince the police he was insane. The priest said Tsafendas never said anything that might suggest he was insane. “I assure you he

¹⁰⁰¹ This is a Greek expression to describe someone who is extremely intelligent and very able.

¹⁰⁰² Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

¹⁰⁰³ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

was not insane. I am positive he made it up in order not to be hanged.”¹⁰⁰⁴

Ira Kyriakakis is another very important witness as she grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques. Throughout her life, she was friendly with him and never heard him say anything about a tapeworm or something that would suggest he was insane. She is certain he did not believe he had one, that he would have told her if he thought he did, and that he simply made it up. She also does not believe Tsafendas could have spoken in the disjointed way described by the defence. “Dimitri was a devil since he was child; he was extremely intelligent and capable. If he wanted something, he would find a way to get it. Nothing and no one could stop him. He was not mad, he was very clever. Dimitri was so clever and able that he could even convince the devil to buy a Bible. You will never meet anyone who knew him well, apart from these psychiatrists and lawyers you told me about, who will tell you he was mad. He was not.”¹⁰⁰⁵

Helen Grispos lived for nine years in the house next to the Tsafendas family in Lourenço Marques. George Grispos, who became her husband, was three years older than Tsafendas, but they were boyhood best friends. Helen Grispos’s mother was the best friend of Tsafendas’s step-mother, Marika. Neither Helen nor her husband or mother ever heard Tsafendas talk about a tapeworm and Helen does not believe he would have spoken as claimed. When she and her husband read newspaper trial reports about the tapeworm, they had no doubt Tsafendas was making it up. Because a lot of people knew that her husband had grown up with Tsafendas, they often asked about the tapeworm. George invariably replied that Tsafendas never mentioned such a thing. He was certain that if he believed he had a tapeworm, he would have told him about it.¹⁰⁰⁶

Father Minas Constandinou knew Tsafendas for about thirty-five years. He met him first in 1963 in Lourenço Marques, he visited him in Pretoria Prison in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, and he continued seeing him in Pretoria Prison hospital and the Sterkfontein hospital in the 1990s until Tsafendas died. We have just seen what he said about the tapeworm story based on what he was told by Tsafendas. Father Minas was another who laughed when he read Tsafendas’s words to his defence team. He told the author:

“Ha, ha, he told me what he did, but not in such detail. Fascinating! Even, if he had not told me that he had deliberately played the fool, I wouldn’t have believed that these were

¹⁰⁰⁴ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013

his words. Impossible! Even at the beginning, when I asked him why he did it and he pointed with his finger to his stomach, he did not say all these things. He didn't talk like this even then and he never told me anything like this, his speech was perfect. Even when he told me about the tapeworm, I was not sure that he was mad because everything else he was saying and the way he spoke did not suggest that he was mad ... later, when he told me that everything about the tapeworm was a lie, it all made sense."¹⁰⁰⁷

Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis arrived in South Africa in 1993. He had heard a lot about Tsafendas from Rika Nikolatos and Father Minas Constandinou and was eager to meet him. He was very surprised that both considered Tsafendas to be perfectly sane when officially he was insane, even more that Minas considered him to be a hero of the anti-apartheid struggle, although he had killed a man. One day in 1994, Father Minas took Ioannis to the Pretoria Prison hospital and he met Tsafendas for the first time. The two priests visited him together once again a few weeks later, and Ioannis visited Tsafendas a third and last time, accompanied by Father Spiros, in Sterkfontein hospital at Christmas 1998.¹⁰⁰⁸

Tsafendas eventually confided the truth about the tapeworm to Bishop Ioannis, but the priest said that even if he had not done so, he could have easily told that the words read to him by the author could not have naturally been spoken by Tsafendas under normal conditions. Bishop Ioannis told the author: "He never spoke like this. He never said anything like this; not only about the tapeworm, but generally he never said anything that would make me think 'this man is not mentally well.' He talked beautifully. I am certain that he deliberately talked like this to his lawyers and to the doctors."¹⁰⁰⁹

Father Michalis Visvinis visited Tsafendas very regularly for five years in prison (1989-1994) and got to know him very well. They spent hours and hours talking. He told the author:

"I felt that he [Tsafendas] needed to speak, so several times I would just let him speak. He enjoyed speaking and he could speak for hours. I also often asked him questions about his life, and his answers were always logical and what one would expect. He never evaded any question and I never had to repeat myself to him for a second time, nor was his answer ever off the subject. He never spoke to me this way [the way he did with the defence]. His speech was always absolutely fine. He always spoke like a normal man. [His speech] was

¹⁰⁰⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

not disjointed or anything else. It was perfectly articulate and logical, always very coherent. He never said anything to suggest he had a mental problem or that he had any difficulty speaking or thinking and expressing himself properly. I really can't imagine him talking like this [the way Tsafendas did with his lawyers and those who examined him]. I find it hard to believe that he spoke like this."¹⁰¹⁰

Katerina Pnema, Tsafendas's younger half-sister, remained forever extremely angry with Tsafendas, believing that he ruined her life. She strongly condemned his murder of Dr. Verwoerd. In 1994, efforts were made under the first democratically elected government in South Africa to grant Tsafendas amnesty. He was aged seventy-six at the time and unable to care for himself. Judge Jody Kollapen, and subsequently governmental officials, asked Tsafendas's family to take him into their home and care for him. They refused and Tsafendas spent the remaining years of his life in Sterkfontein Hospital.¹⁰¹¹ Despite her anger towards her half-brother, Katerina Pnema considers "it's impossible" for Dimitri to have spoken as his defence team described. "He would never have said anything like this ... what you read to me, it's nonsense; he never spoke like this and I don't believe he ever said those words ... I don't believe he even said it deliberately to play the fool. He was certainly capable of doing it [pretending to be mad], but to say all this nonsense? No, I don't believe it. Dimitri never spoke like this."¹⁰¹²

Alexander Moumbaris met Tsafendas in late 1972 - early 1973 at Pretoria Maximum Security Prison while awaiting trial on political charges. He was found guilty of "conspiring with the ANC to instigate violent revolution in South Africa, aiding terrorists, distributing ANC pamphlets in Durban in 1968, and reconnoitring the Transkei to find places for seaborne landings."¹⁰¹³ Moumbaris spoke to Tsafendas for at least one hour every day for about three months. Initially, Tsafendas was cautious and although very talkative, it was obvious to Moumbaris that he did not trust him. However, as time passed, Tsafendas began opening up. One day, Tsafendas told him proudly in Greek about Verwoerd: "I got τον Ντρή τους" ("their tough guy" or "their champion," but in a pejorative sense). Moumbaris told the author that Tsafendas never mentioned a tapeworm to him or said anything to suggest he was insane; all the conversations they had were perfectly normal and he found Tsafendas to be "a very intelligent, witty, serious and knowledgeable person." Tsafendas even asked him to

¹⁰¹⁰ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

¹⁰¹¹ Memorandum of Jody Kollapen of Lawyers for Human Rights, 24 November 1994. Dimitri Tsafendas's file in the Lawyers for Human Rights collection (AL3183). SAHA.

¹⁰¹² Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁰¹³ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

teach him Algebra, but the lesson was short-lived as the warders forbade it. Moumbaris is certain that Tsafendas acted the fool in order to not be hanged. Moumbaris told the author: “I not only regard Dimitri Tsafendas as a sane man but also as the bravest and most ill-treated man I have ever met.”¹⁰¹⁴

Andreas Babiolakis lived with Tsafendas for two-three months in 1964 in Beira and had grown up with him in Lourenço Marques. He strongly denies that Tsafendas could have spoken like this or believing to have a tapeworm. He does not recognise the babbling, broken phrases which Tsafendas used to his lawyers and the psychiatrists and is convinced that he made those up, too. Babiolakis heard in Beira in 1964 that Tsafendas had claimed to be Saint Peter while he was in police custody. When he later asked Tsafendas about it, Tsafendas seemed embarrassed and said that he had a nervous breakdown but was now ok. Babiolakis believed then that Tsafendas had made up the Saint Peter act and later believed the same about the tapeworm.¹⁰¹⁵

Of his language to his defence, Babiolakis told the author:

“I never heard Dimitri talking like this; this is someone else talking. He couldn’t have said these things unless he did it deliberately, which is what I think he did. Dimitri’s speech was very good and clear, whether it was in Greek, in English or in Portuguese. I’ve never heard him talking like this and I can’t believe he ever did. We were flatmates for there-four months; he was not talking like this and I never, ever thought even for a second that there could be something wrong with him. Never and not just me, all of us. I was not surprised when I heard about the tapeworm, because I knew he had lied before when he was arrested by the Portuguese and he told them he was the apostle Peter or the apostle Paul.”¹⁰¹⁶

John Michaletos, Tsafendas’s cousin and the son of Artemis, Tsafendas’s aunt who brought him up in Egypt, met Tsafendas in 1951 and got to know him well between 1963 and 1965. During those years, Tsafendas spent a lot of time in John’s house and slept there on several occasions. Michaletos never heard him talking about the tapeworm or anything else that might suggest he was insane. He finds it hard to believe that Tsafendas spoke this way to his lawyers. He is absolutely certain that Tsafendas was perfectly sane. “I have no doubt about it, I never had,” he told the author. Michaletos added to the author:

¹⁰¹⁴ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

¹⁰¹⁵ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

¹⁰¹⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

“Dimitris never spoke like this. This is gibberish, I can’t imagine him talking like this. He always spoke clearly and made sense. We talked many times and for very long. He was an excellent story-teller. He could talk about so many things; he was very knowledgeable. We all enjoyed his company because of the way he talked. You could not have been bored talking to him. Never, not even once, he said anything that did not make sense or there was the slightest suspicion that there was something wrong with him. We all considered him to be very intelligent. When we heard about the tapeworm, we all fell off the clouds [a Greek adage, meaning we were completely taken by surprise], but we did not believe that he really thought he had one; we all knew he had made it up and the fact that he was talking like this to the doctors and lawyers confirmed it; he never spoke like this before.”

Irene Michaletos, John’s wife, knew Tsafendas for more than a year in 1964 and 1965 and he often visited and stayed at her house in Beira. They had several long conversations and she never experienced any problems conversing with him; on the contrary, she found Tsafendas to be an excellent and interesting conversationalist. She told the author:

“It is certainly false that he was unable to follow a conversation or that anyone had any difficulty talking to him. As a matter of fact, it was the exact opposite. I found the conversations with him very easy and interesting, too. He was a great storyteller. I had many long conversations with him. He was from the kind of people who have something to tell you, that you could sit and listen to them for hours. And I did that, I very much enjoyed talking and listening to him. He was not boring, he could talk to you about religion, politics and history, his travels and adventures around the world. But he did not show off when talking; he was a humble man, he never tried to show off, like that he had travelled in so many countries or that he was very knowledgeable. He was very modest and very down to earth, a serious man.”¹⁰¹⁷

Antony Michaletos, John’s brother and Artemis’s son, was also present when Tsafendas stayed in their house. He always considered him to be a “very clever and very logical person,” and he never doubted his sanity when he read in the newspaper about the tapeworm. He never believed that Tsafendas really thought he had a tapeworm and concluded immediately that his cousin had made it up “to save himself.” Michaletos also told the author about the tapeworm:

“What a hell of an invention, isn’t it! How he thought that up I don’t know. It was

¹⁰¹⁷ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

Antony [his brother] who first told me [that Tsafendas had spoken to his defence team about a tapeworm] and I did not believe him. I thought John was making it up, I knew Dimitris would have never said that. He insisted, but I still did not believe him. I honestly thought he was joking. I only believed it later that day when he showed me the newspapers. I burst into laughs when I read it. I remember me reading aloud from the newspaper what he had allegedly told the doctors and everyone laughing about it [his brother, his sister-in-law and his parents]. My mother got a real kick out of it; she really enjoyed hearing it. In our house, after we read the first day [of court proceedings] we couldn't wait for the next one to see what else will be said, and again, we will sit around the table all together and I will read out loud. I remember there was also an old woman who lived next door to our house, she lived by herself, and she knew Dimitri since he was a little child. She could not read and she would ask me to read every single thing that the newspaper was writing about Dimitri. She even understood that he was making it up, but found it very amusing to hear all about it. I remember that when I was reading something that sounded very strange to her, especially about the tapeworm, she would ask me 'Dimitri said that?' and then she would cross herself in disbelief. He [Tsafendas] made it up to save his skin, no doubt about that. I knew it, I had no doubt about it, I did not even think about it for a second, it was impossible to believe such a thing, impossible."¹⁰¹⁸

All the above witnesses are willing to swear under oath in any court that Tsafendas did not talk in the manner attributed to him and that he would never have said any of things attributed to him unless he was pretending to be mad.

Further testimony to Tsafendas's cleverness came from his half-sister, Eleni Vlachopoulos, who was closer to Tsafendas than any of his siblings. Eleni Vlachopoulos was born in 1936 and thus spent only her first five years in the Tsafendas family situation, but Tsafendas maintained touch with her thereafter through letters and postcards and he spent nine months in 1963-1964 as her neighbour in Pretoria. Vlachopoulos testified to the police in 1966 that Tsafendas never spoke to her or to anyone in the family about a tapeworm. She said exactly the same thing in 2007 in Manolis Dimelas's documentary about Tsafendas, *Live and Let Live*, when she also claimed that her half-brother "was not crazy, he was very, very clever; cleverer than any of us and very able. If he wanted to do something, if he had a target, he would always achieve it."¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁸ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016.

¹⁰¹⁹ Eleni Vlachopoulos in *Live and Let Live* - this part is available in the rushes.

Apart from the witnesses mentioned above, the author read out Tsafendas's reported words to another forty-six people who knew him well, and all declared he could not have spoken as claimed, or if he did, it was to mislead his interrogators. Further, they never heard him mention a tapeworm. Of this total, the author has not listed those who did not know Tsafendas well or who were very young at the time – Tsafendas's nephews, for instance. The twenty-nine named here all knew Tsafendas for several months at least, while the *Eleni* seamen knew him for at forty-two days. Some of the crewmen were with Tsafendas for every one of those forty-two days. Brief accounts of the interviews with them follow.

1. Costas Chagios, a Cape Town café owner, got to know Tsafendas on a friendly basis in 1965 when he walked into his restaurant. In the year up to his arrest in 1966, Tsafendas visited the restaurant more than fifty times. Chagios does not believe “even for a moment” that Tsafendas said what is claimed to his defence team. “If he did, he was lying to save himself ... He was very intelligent and this was not the way he talked, he talked very nicely; excellent use of words.”¹⁰²⁰
2. Irene Michaletos met Tsafendas in 1964 in Beira and associated with him until 1965. She never heard him saying anything about a tapeworm or anything else that might be seen as strange. She does not believe Tsafendas meant what he told his defence team. Tsafendas, she said, was perfectly sane and a “very, very clever man.”¹⁰²¹
3. Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott's boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest. He never heard him say anything “ridiculous” such as what he said to his defence team and has no doubt Tsafendas was perfectly sane. “I remember how he talked and I cannot see these words coming from his mouth. He did not talk like that.”¹⁰²²
4. Peter Protoulis was a supplier of foodstuffs to the tanker *Eleni*. He met Tsafendas on board and in the forty-two days that the vessel was docked in Cape Town, he never heard him say anything to suggest he was insane.¹⁰²³
5. Alexandra Vaporidis knew Tsafendas for about six months in Istanbul. She doesn't remember everything they discussed, but she is certain Tsafendas was a “completely normal man ... he never mentioned this tapeworm.” Her husband, Father Agathagelos Vaporidis, was close to Tsafendas during the six months and Alexandra says he would

¹⁰²⁰ Costas Hagios in a personal interview, 24 March 2015.

¹⁰²¹ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁰²² Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

¹⁰²³ Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 28 May 2016.

- have told her if he had noticed anything wrong with him.¹⁰²⁴
6. Nick Papadakis became close to Tsafendas when the latter was in Beira and Gondola. They lived in the same accommodation for two months and worked together for one month at the Hume Pipe Company. He too had heard at the time that Tsafendas had claimed to be Saint Peter while he was in Portuguese custody. He and several other Greeks at the time who had discussed the issue were under the impression that Tsafendas had made it up, as they were with him every single day prior to his arrest and never said anything like this. Papadakis does not recognise Tsafendas's words to his Defence team and to the psychiatrists and he is positive that he was making it up.
 7. Panagiotis Peroglou was another who met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965 and kept up with him until his arrest. He never heard Tsafendas say anything crazy and has no doubt that he was quite sane.¹⁰²⁵
 8. Pamela Abrahams met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965. He made a good impression on her due to his politeness and good manners and she never heard him say anything to indicate he might be insane.¹⁰²⁶
 9. Stratis Vamvarapis met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott's boarding house. He never heard Tsafendas saying anything like the remarks attributed to him by his lawyers or anything else to suggest he was insane.¹⁰²⁷
 10. Cleanthes Alachiotis was a member of the crew of the *Eleni* and one of those who became closest to Tsafendas. Tsafendas told him about "pretending to be mad" in order not to not serve in the Portuguese army and Alachiotis believes that his reported speech in custody was another such act since he considered it "completely impossible" that Tsafendas spoke as claimed. "He was either joking or he had a specific reason to do it. Obviously, it was the second, since he wanted to save his head. If the police had asked me to testify in court, I would have sworn that he was making it up. He was nothing like this, but I am not surprised he did it since he had done it before."¹⁰²⁸
 11. Nikolas Billis, *Eleni* crewman. He was with Tsafendas every day for the 42 days the tanker was in Cape Town. He is not surprised by Tsafendas's words to his defence as he has no doubt that he made up the tapeworm story so as not to be hanged. Tsafendas had told him how he pretended to be mad to avoid service in the Portuguese Army. "No doubt

¹⁰²⁴ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

¹⁰²⁵ Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

¹⁰²⁶ Pamela Abrahams in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

¹⁰²⁷ Stratis Vamvarapis in a personal interview, 31 May 2016.

¹⁰²⁸ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010.

he did it again. If you met him, you could tell that this man's brain was a level above the rest. He could easily manipulate you and convince you of anything. I am not at all surprised that he told this to the police. He definitely made it up. He did not talk like this. He talked very well, like a teacher."¹⁰²⁹

12. Nikolas Kambouris, *Eleni* seaman, who was with Tsafendas every day for the 42 days the tanker was in Cape Town and became a very close friend. "I would bet my house that Dimitri did not say these things ... well, if he did, he must have had a reason and he did not really mean them. I am positive about it. These are the words of a madman and Dimitri was an intelligent and cultured man ... he must have been pretending with them as he did with the Portuguese. He was saner than a lot of people I knew ... I don't believe that he told these people these things. He was a serious man; he was not talking like this. I was with him for forty-two days and he never said anything stupid like these things." Kambouris states that Tsafendas "did not talk rubbish; he was an idealist; a man with high principles..."¹⁰³⁰

13. Michalis Vasilakis, *Eleni* seaman, became friendlier with Tsafendas than any of the crew. This was his reaction when I read to him what Tsafendas told his defence:
"A tapeworm? Did Dimitri say that? Are you sure? He couldn't have said that. A tapeworm? It's unbelievable. Dimitri was a very clever man; he was not talking nonsense. He knew as much as all of us knew and he was talking better than a professor. I was the one who first called him 'Professor.' I have no doubt that if he really said these things to the police he must have done it to save himself. He couldn't possibly have believed them and I am telling you he did not believe them. He would have told me if there was such thing. He told me a lot about his life and I can tell you this man was one of the smartest people I have ever met. You could see some rare dignity and pride in him. You could see from the way he was talking about politics and the world how politically passionate he was. You don't meet men like that every day. I don't think that anyone who met him would tell you that he was crazy. This is complete nonsense."¹⁰³¹

14. Georgios Kantas, *Eleni* seaman, who spent some time with Tsafendas almost every day during the vessel's stay. Like Billis and Alachiotis, he is not surprised that Tsafendas spoke about a tapeworm, although he never mentioned any such thing to him. However, Tsafendas told him about his act with the Portuguese in order to not serve in the

¹⁰²⁹ Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011.

¹⁰³⁰ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014.

¹⁰³¹ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

Portuguese army and Kantas firmly believes that this was just another mad act:

“He never spoke in this way and I can’t imagine him talking like this, though I believe he did it as he was capable of doing it. You could tell that this man was very able. He did not talk this way. I can’t explain it, but I remember that he had a very specific way of talking, using not very common, but absolutely correct words. He was talking like a professor.

That is what we used to say and what he called him.”¹⁰³²

15. Grigoris Pouftis, *Eleni* seaman, agrees with his crewmates that Tsafendas was putting on another ‘mad’ act as he did with the Portuguese:

“He was certainly not crazy. He was a little peculiar because of the way he was talking. I mean he was sometimes over polite and it seemed to me that his personality did not fit with his job. We met hawkers all around the world and none was ever like him ... I would describe him as an aristocratic hawker, if such a thing exists! I couldn’t believe that a man with his manners and knowledge could be doing this job. That was the only peculiar thing about him.”¹⁰³³

16. Emanuil Mastromanolis, the *Eleni* boatswain who was involved in procuring a firearm for Tsafendas, spent a lot of time with Tsafendas and never heard him speak in the way he did to his defence team. Mastromanolis does not believe that Tsafendas could have said such things. “He did not talk like that; definitely not,” he told the author.¹⁰³⁴

17. Emanuel Tsabouniaris, *Eleni* seaman who also spent a lot of time with Tsafendas. He considered Tsafendas to be “a gentleman and a very sophisticated man.” Like Pouftis, he found it strange that Tsafendas, “such an educated and well-mannered man, could do such job.” However, this was the only thing he found strange about him. He believes Tsafendas couldn’t possibly talk as he did and mean what he said unless he did it deliberately to get something out of it.¹⁰³⁵

18. Ioannis Speis, *Eleni* seaman: Tsafendas never said anything to him that bears the slightest resemblance to what he told his defence.¹⁰³⁶

19. Vasilios Perselis, *Eleni* seaman and a very good friend of Tsafendas. He never heard Tsafendas say anything like his statement and has no doubt that he did so to escape hanging. “He spoke very nicely; not nonsense like that. He knew how to speak and

¹⁰³² Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012.

¹⁰³³ Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009.

¹⁰³⁴ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

¹⁰³⁵ Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 6 June 2015.

¹⁰³⁶ Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015.

- everything he said made sense. He was not crazy.”¹⁰³⁷
20. Dionisis Lallis, *Eleni* seaman. He did not associate with Tsafendas as much as some of the other crew members, but he spoke to him several times and never got the slightest impression of insanity.¹⁰³⁸
21. Panteleimon Aspiotis, *Eleni* seaman. A good friend of Tsafendas, also never thought that he could be insane and could not imagine him saying the nonsense he told his defence.¹⁰³⁹
22. Miltiades Kaldis met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965 and kept in touch until his arrest. He never heard Tsafendas say anything close to what he told his defence.¹⁰⁴⁰
23. Antonis Nichas, a supplier to the *Eleni*, met Tsafendas in 1966. He never heard him say anything to suggest he was insane or anything similar to what he told the police.¹⁰⁴¹
24. George Ananiades met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963 and described him to his statement to the police “as a normal person with a very high-intelligence.”¹⁰⁴² He added in a personal interview with the author that “Tsafendas seemed like a very lucid man. He was definitely not insane.” Upon reading to him the Tsafendas’s comments to his defence team and the psychiatrists, he expressed his complete surprise and cannot believe that Tsafendas might have said such things.¹⁰⁴³
25. George Liberopoulos met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963 and associated with him for a few weeks. He described him to his statement to the police “as a normal person with a very high-intelligence.”¹⁰⁴⁴ He added in a personal interview with the author that it “never crossed” his mind that Tsafendas “might be a schizophrenic.”¹⁰⁴⁵
26. Nick Augustides is the son of the owner of Mike’s Outfitters in Cape Town for whom Tsafendas worked on commission. He knew Tsafendas for three-four months and never heard him say anything to suggest he was insane. He told the author that Tsafendas “definitely did not look or sound insane.”¹⁰⁴⁶
27. Marina Tsihlikis. She met Tsafendas in Beira in 1964. Her father was good friend of

¹⁰³⁷ Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015.

¹⁰³⁸ Dionisis Lallis in a personal interview, 19 June 2015.

¹⁰³⁹ Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Miltiades Kaldis in a personal interview, 12 March 2016.

¹⁰⁴¹ Antonis Nichas in a personal interview, 31 March 2016.

¹⁰⁴² Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁰⁴³ George Ananiades in a personal interview, 21 June 2016.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁰⁴⁵ George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2015.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Nikos Augustides in a personal interview, 19 February 2016.

Tsafendas. She never heard him speak in the way his defence statement conveyed.¹⁰⁴⁷

28. Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis met Tsafendas in Germany at different times in the 1950s and never heard him saying anything that would indicate that he might not be sane. He also visited him in the Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital. Although Tsafendas was admitted supposedly because of the tapeworm, he did not tell Father Efthimios anything about it. The priest does not remember what Tsafendas told him was the reason for his hospitalization, but he is certain that he did not mention the tapeworm.¹⁰⁴⁸
29. Dimitris Skoularikis met Tsafendas in prison in the early 1990s. He never got the impression that Tsafendas was insane. One day he asked him, “How is the tapeworm Dimitri?” Tsafendas replied, “I don’t have one; they [the prison guards] think I have one.”¹⁰⁴⁹

The author includes here three witnesses who did not meet Tsafendas personally but were close to people who did. The author considers the statements they were told, though second hand, to be entirely reliable.

1. Advocate George Bizos. His mother-in-law was the best friend of Tsafendas’s step-mother and knew Tsafendas very well from childhood. She told Bizos that he was perfectly sane.¹⁰⁵⁰
2. Dr. Costas Gazidis’s¹⁰⁵¹ first cousin Rika Nikolatos was a social worker and visited Tsafendas in prison and then in Sterkfontein Hospital. In total, she spent some ten years meeting Tsafendas and they were extremely close. She told Dr. Gazidis, “He is completely sane, there is nothing wrong with him.” Tsafendas never said anything to her to suggest he might be insane and she always maintained that he was “completely sane.” Dr. Gazidis is willing to sign an affidavit and swear under oath that this is exactly what he was told by Nikolatos.¹⁰⁵² Nikolatos’s statement is also confirmed by Father Minas Constandinou and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis. She had discussed his case extensively with

¹⁰⁴⁷ Marina Tsihlakis in a personal interview, 3 April 2015.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Dimitris Skoularikis in a personal interview, 26 April 2015.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

¹⁰⁵¹ A prominent anti-apartheid activist, member of the Communist Party of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress, and of the South African Congress of Democrats (COD). He was arrested in 1964 and spent the next two years in prison. He was released in 1966, only to be banished shortly afterwards for two years (Solomon Makgale, ‘The White Doctor in the PAC’, *IOL*, 13 November 1999. Retrieved from <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/the-white-doctor-in-the-pac-19558>)

¹⁰⁵² Dr. Costa Gazidis in a personal interview, 10 April 2015.

them both and she and Father Minas had often visited Tsafendas together.¹⁰⁵³

3. Janet Gazidis, Costas' wife is also willing to sign an affidavit and swear under oath that this is exactly what Nikolatos, too, was told.¹⁰⁵⁴

Finally, valuable testimony comes in the form of Tsafendas's medical report from Grafton State Hospital, which states that while in the United States in 1943 "he faked mental illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings (sinkings) of ships."¹⁰⁵⁵

How convincing was Tsafendas's play-acting and was he capable of putting on an authentic display of insanity? All evidence says he was, including Judge Jacques Theodore van Wyk of the Commission of Enquiry. In his final report, the judge said that Tsafendas is "quite knowledgeable about mental disorders—he also admitted to the Commission that he had read fairly extensively on the subject in order to determine what was wrong with him... and therefore adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him. It is clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act ..."¹⁰⁵⁶ Finally, Tsafendas's file at the Prison Service, File: A5078, described him as, "A person of Colour, an extremely resourceful and cunning individual who is physically and mentally able to plan and execute escape."¹⁰⁵⁷

STATEMENTS

ALFRED EDWARD GRAY¹⁰⁵⁸

K/S/Sergeant in the S.A. Police stationed at Epping and serve under the command of the District Investigation Officer, Athlone.

During November 1965 to March 1966 I often went to friends of mine in Roy Road, Lansdowne. I then also always went to a Muslim store in Delhi Road, Lansdowne. I kept the owner, Parker, company. During these times I found a male with a Jewish appearance in the

¹⁰⁵³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Janet Gazidis in a personal interview, 10 April 2015.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Jaap Marais, *Die Era van Verwoerd*, (Pretoria: Aktuele Publikasies, 1992), p. 208.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Alfred Edward Gray statement to the police, 26 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

store about three or four times. The man always bought foodstuffs. I have never seen the man previously. Parker did not tell me that he knew him. On one of those occasions, I stood outside the store when the man came to me. He was alone. He asked me what he should do to procure a Coloured person identity card because he had a white person identity card. I referred him to the Department of Coloured Affairs. He was pleased and walked off.

About 3 to 4 weeks after that I encountered the man in Yorke Road, Lansdowne. He was alone and so was I. He told me that he was unhappy because he was unsuccessful at the Department of Coloured Affairs. He continued and also said that he does not like the police, but that I will be shocked when I saw what he was going to do to one of our big chiefs. I said nothing back to him. I did not take him seriously as many Coloureds had such an attitude. He then walked off. I was aware that he was boarding at a Coloured teacher, O’Ryan, in Westminster Street, Lansdowne. I’ve seen the man go in to the mentioned address.

The man always spoke to me in English. On Thursday, 15/09/1966, I saw the picture of Tsafendas in the Herald as well as the house where he lived. I immediately recognised the man as the man I met in Lansdowne. I am not mistaken about identifying him. On 24/09/1966 I reported the matter to Captain van Niekerk, Athlone.

(SGD) G.A.G van Zyl. NR. 34069 S/A/O.

SAREL JOHANNES VENTER¹⁰⁵⁹

A major in the South African Police Force attached to the staff of the Divisional Commissioner, SA Police in Cape Town.

Major Venter was the officer in charge of police services at the Parliament Building. He described in his statement the disposition of officers and the extent of their authority. He said the police were not informed of new staff appointments, had no control over messengers and that he did not know of the employment of Tsafendas. Had he done so, he would have had him investigated because of his name and the fact that he was a stranger. Nothing else about Tsafendas or the assassination is mentioned in his statement.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Sarel Johannes Venter statement to the police, 26 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: verklaring deur Majoor S.J. Venter, NASA.

TUESDAY, 27 SEPTEMBER 1966

STATEMENTS

ELIZABETH MAGDALENA GROVES¹⁰⁶⁰

Owner of a boarding house for elderly people in Observatory, Cape Town.

Demitrio Tsafendas stayed at my lodgings for about 6-7 weeks from about April to May 1966. He had two roommates, one a Mr. Fisher who disappeared, and the other a young traffic cop, Jacobus Bornman from the Cape Traffic Department. D. Tsafendas was a very good eater. He mastered many languages and behaved properly. Besides his rough table manners, I have nothing against him. He was completely normal. I was a nurse and worked in lunatic institutions. He was a normal person to the best of my knowledge. I received complaints that he was argumentative and towards me he said that we Afrikaners are a backward nation. It was clear that he had nothing good towards Afrikaners. For the sake of my other tenants, I asked him to leave my place. He was referred to me by Mrs. Beeslaar, a social worker from Groote Schuur Hospital. When he left me, I knew he went to another part of Observatory and later at Woodstock, but I never got his address.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

REGINALD ROBERT MAILE¹⁰⁶¹

Shipguard for Larpente Agency, Cape Town.

On 24th July 1966 the Greek ship ELENI docked at the mole in Cape Town Docks. I was informed that the ship was in for repairs due to having lost its rudder. I did the day-shift guard duty to this ship (7 a.m. to 7 p.m.) for the period it remained in harbour, i.e. for 42 days.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Elizabeth Magdalena Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁰⁶¹ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

When I saw the photographs of Dr. Verwoerd's assassinator in the local papers, I realised that I knew the man. He was a regular visitor to the ship, and I knew his face quite well, and have also spoken to him, though I have not been introduced to him. During the ships stay the accused came on board approximately every day. He had the captain's permission to come aboard. This ship was not under police protection as it was not discharging or tokening on cargo. I had my meals on the boat in the general crew messroom. I had my own table. The accused also had his meals on this ship. He was eating with the crew, at their table.

The crew of the Eleni were approximately 100% Greek, The accused could speak their language very fluently. I of course could not follow their conversations. On one occasion the accused requested me to call on him if I wanted to tell the crew anything - as they could not understand English and he could then interpret. On the first occasion I asked him to tell the crew that there was a circus in Town, which would be worthwhile to see. On another occasion he asked me if there was a telephone on board. On one occasion he wanted to know if the second engineer was on board - he said this man owed him some money. This happened about 5 days before the ship left. The ship left on Saturday night the 3rd of September 1966.

The accused was on very friendly relations with the crew. It struck me though as very peculiar that on the day when he called for the second engineer, the bosun told me that the accused was mad, I should not let him onto the ship. I got the definite impression that there was some ill feeling from the bosun towards the accused. The bosun was usually eating at my table (also the ships carpenter). I cannot remember that the bosun had contact with the accused in my presence. Apart from my meals, I kept to my office which was on the ship at the telephone. The time when the accused used the phone, I went outside. I never listen to other people's phone conversations. The accused never had personal discussions with me. The times I saw him with the crew, and also when he spoke to me, I never got the impression that he could be mentally defective. He was sober, polite and perfectly normal.

On 3rd of September, 1966, when the ship left, I was on duty. It was about 5 p.m. – 5.30 p.m. The accused came to see the ship off. He joined two Greek women and a gentleman who were also waiting for the ship to depart. These people were also frequent visitors to the ship. I got the impression that they were husband, wife and daughter. I have an idea that one of the crew members was their nephew. They have also visited the captain's office, but mostly spent their time with the crew - also had meals with the crew.

When the gangway was already up I recollected that they were also at the ship in the morning when I arrived. At that time in the morning, the ship was shifted from the top of Jackson Wall to the bottom. The gangway was lifted before my arrival. The three Greeks were waiting, and we all moved down slowly with the ship. I had a Cape Times under my arm. The older woman asked me if "DR. VERWOERD WAS DEAD." I opened the Times quite surprised, and said there was nothing like that in the paper.

Witness: (1) J. Oliver. D/H/CONST. (Railways).

(2) D.J.V. Troost. 23505 D/Sergt.

MARIA KOKKINIDOU¹⁰⁶²

Visitor of the Eleni. Sea Point. 12. p.m.

I know the captain of the Greek ship Eleni. He is Michaelos Fondudos,¹⁰⁶³ who is from Kilimnos, Greece, my place of birth. When I arrived in Cape Town (from Pretoria¹⁰⁶⁴) on about the 26th of July, 1966, I heard that the Eleni had been docked about 3 days earlier. I went to the boat with a lady Mrs. Vyanos, and upon arrival at the ship, was introduced to the captain. I however recognized him as an old acquaintance - though he did not recognize me. I brought my son and daughter with me to Cape Town. My son was out of work trying to find a job in Cape Town. He also visited the ship where he met a young friend (old school mate) of his from Greece. This friend asked him why he did not join the merchant navy. As result I had a chat with the captain and my son was signed on as a crew member on 1st August, 1966.

During the delay of the ship in Table Bay, I went to the ship every day. I had my meals with the crew upon their invitation - this being a friendly Greek Custom. I went there with my daughter, and a male friend Mr. Nicolaou Christodoulos¹⁰⁶⁵. During my visits to the boat, I got to know that two persons who were not members of the crew, were also having meals there. One was a watchman who had his meals at regular mealtimes, twice daily, lunchtime and suppertime. The other man came at odd times. He was a tall man with a beard.

¹⁰⁶² Maria Kokkinidou statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

¹⁰⁶³ The correct spelling is Michalis Fountotos.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Note of the author

¹⁰⁶⁵ Christodoulos is the first name, Nicolaou is the surname.

He looked a real tough customer and had fair hair. I got to understand that he was from another ship docked nearby. I have seen photo's in the local newspapers allegedly of the man Tsafendas. I do not recognize having seen him on the ship.

On the 3rd of September 1966 when the ship was due to leave, I went to the ship again in the morning about 8.30 a.m. That time the ship was to be moved from its moorings to another anchor place. I was on the ship with Mr. Christodoulos, before it was moved. We did not know that the ship was going to be moved. We left about 10 a.m. to fetch my daughter. The ship was still not moved. The three of us went onto the boat upon our return. After lunch it was cold and Mr. Christodoulos left to fetch coats for myself and my daughter. Whilst he was gone, the boat moved with me and the daughter on board. Mr. Christodoulos walked along till the ship docked again. He came aboard and all three of us remained on board till 4.30 p.m. before the ship finally moved off. Then we waved goodbye to my son. That time we were joined by a Mr. Nichas (i.e. the man from Vacuum Dry Cleaners, Sea Point). A lot of other people were around but only the four of us were together.

In the morning when I arrived at the boat, the drawbridge was pulled up. I stood with Mr. Christodoulos on the ground. There were a lot of people waiting for the bridge to come down. The same time the ship's crane was defective and people were trying to repair it, and there were more than one person in uniform. There was one man near us with a newspaper. My son Costa and another man wearing a blue uniform were on the ship. My son called down to me "Did you hear the news - Dr. Verwoerd is dead." I asked who said so? He pointed to the man next to him, saying that this man said that the man with the newspaper had told him so - pointing down to the man next to us. I asked this man for the newspaper. He said there was nothing. (I have asked him if Dr. Verwoerd was dead). He laughed and said the man upstairs had understood him wrong. I recognized the man who was the watchman on the ship, as one man eating upstairs, but I cannot say he was the same man as the person with the newspaper. He might have been the same person, but I am not sure.

I am also not sure who had started the rumour about Dr. Verwoerd being dead. The man standing with my son upstairs, was not a Greek. He was in a blue uniform. Apart from them, there were about 5 other workmen in overalls. These were joined and mingling with other people filling the boat with fuel. In general, there were quite a few people walked about upstairs. I deny that I have on my own account said anything about Dr. Verwoerd being dead. I spoke Greek to my son. I asked for the newspaper trying to speak English. I can understand English, but have difficulty to speak it. Three days after this Dr. Verwoerd was in

fact murdered. I got to know this through newspapers. I did not even refer to the incident at the boat, as I have completely brushed this aside as nonsense. I never gave the incident a second thought.

Above statement taken by me. Translated from Greek to English by Mr. Elias Constantoras¹⁰⁶⁶ of Louis fruiterers, Sea Point.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

JAMES SUMMERS¹⁰⁶⁷

Owner of the "Barlings Tea Lounge." Woodstock. 6.55 p.m.

About the beginning of July, 1966, I got to know Demitrio Tsafendas. He came into the Tea Lounge and had tea and smoked snoek. After that he came in more regularly - practically every day. He started telling me about his travels, mentioning that he had been to 57 different countries and could speak 7 or 8 languages. He never had personal or political conversations. Ha once showed me two passports - one Portuguese and one Turkish. On the latter passport he had s beard.

He frequented the place for about 6 weeks. On the last regular occasion he came in about 6 p.m. He ordered tea and cake which I served. I told him I was closing and had to leave in half hr's time, as I was going out. Ha said it was all right, but was reluctant to leave. He was doing his latter writing at the table. I had to push him out eventually. It was his habit to do his correspondence at the table in my tea lounge. I did not really mind. He was no nuisance and appeared to be a quite normal innocent type.

Whilst I know him, I never had reason to even suspect that he could be mentally unbalanced. He acted quite normal. After the night I had to ask him to leave, he stayed away for two weeks. The Sunday morning before the assassination, at about 10.30 a.m. he walked into my Tea Lounge. He then asked as if I was cross with him and if he could have a cup of

¹⁰⁶⁶ The correct spelling is Constantaras.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Herbert James Summers statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

tea and cake. Next I heard of him was through the reports in the newspapers. When he visited me, he always had his Bible with him. I took him for a religious parson and never queried him about the bible.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

COMMENTS ON SUMMERS'S STATEMENT

Summers was interviewed on September 7 by the *Cape Argus*, when he claimed that he had ordered Tsafendas out of his shop because he called South Africa a "bastard country."¹⁰⁶⁸ However, as we see here, he did not mention any such incident to the police.

ALICE MARY THEYSER¹⁰⁶⁹

Housewife and shop-assistant at the O.K. Bazaars, Woodstock. 7.35 p.m.

On the first of July, 1966, Demitrio Tsafendas came to my house. He said that Mrs. De Vos had told him that I had a room to let. I have previously advertised the room, I knew Mrs de Vos as a member of our Trade Union. I let the room to Tsafendas, not supplying him any meals. After a very short period I found him to be an untidy character. I decided that I would not keep him so at the end of July I told him that I was not satisfied with him as a lodger, and gave him notice in writing. He chucked the notice on the floor. He left on the 30th of August 1966. During his stay with us he was very quiet, and being a lodge only, we did not have much conversations. He kept to his room most of the time. I knew that he went to some church on Sundays - he mentioned Pinelands. He said his faith did not have any church or temple, but that they attend house gatherings. I did not question him on his faith, though.

I never got the impression in any way that he might be mentally unbalanced. To me he appeared a quite normal person. He did not greet for the last two weeks that he lived here, but I took it to be, that he was annoyed because I had given him notice. He never received visitors. When he came to me he was not working. He went out every day and mentioned not

¹⁰⁶⁸ *The Cape Argus*, 'Tsafendas Seen As A Bitter, Withdrawn Man', 7 September 1966.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Alice Mary Theyser statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

having been able to find work. He did mention later that he thought he would get fixed up with a job at Parliament House, where he had been supplied with some form to fill in for a messenger's Job. He later confided that he got the job. After he left ay place, I first saw the reports about him in the papers.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

WEDNESDAY, 28 SEPTEMBER 1966

STATEMENTS

REGINALD ROBERT MAILE¹⁰⁷⁰

Shipguard for Larpen Agency, Cape Town.

Reginald Robert Maile further states:

I have now been shown a statement of one Maria Kokkinidou. It is obvious that she is the person to whom I have referred in my original statement.¹⁰⁷¹ I want to stress the following:

- (a) *She was already at the Eleni on the quay-side upon my arrival at 7 a.m.*
- (b) *The person referred by her as standing on the boat with her son, must have been the night watchman, because the drawbridge was drawn up - he could not get off the boat, same as I could not get up to take over from him.*
- (c) *She must have known Tsafendas, as she had frequent meals with him at the same table.*
- (d) *She originated the approach to me with the words "Is Dr. Verwoerd dead." Nobody had mentioned Dr. Verwoerd before that. I shouted up to the nightwatch asking if Dr. Verwoerd was dead. She spoke English to me and I am sure I did not misunderstand her.*
- (e) *I am also sure that when the boat was due to leave, Tsafendas was one of the people to see it off.*
- (f) *I know the following people who came off approximately the last, i.e. Old Mr. Faros, Captain Lamb who had to go to England by plane, the agent for supplies, a young man of whom I do not know the name, and also the agent for the ship working for J.T. Rennie. The latter is an elderly man who brought the wages for the crew and officers. I now emphatically remember that the nightwatch could not get off the ship for 2 hours - this time he wanted to claim later on as overtime from our office.*

¹⁰⁷⁰ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

¹⁰⁷¹ This was the second statement by Maile, who had given a statement the day before, September 27.

(SGD.) R.R. MAILE.

Statement taken by me. (SGD.) D.J.V. TROOST. 23505 D/Sergt.

HULSE¹⁰⁷²

Student at UCT – SRC member. Rondebosch.

Mr. Hulse knew Tsafendas met him while he was working Marine Diamond Corp during holiday December 1965-12th March ...¹⁰⁷³ Tsafendas was a machine operator. As far as he can remember, Tsafendas was still working there when he left. Tsafendas was very talkative and always expressed his ... (indecipherable word). Mr Hulse can't remember him (?) keen on the Bible. After Tsafendas started work at Parliament, Mr Hulse met him there when visiting a MP. It was approximately two weeks before 6.9.66. He chatted with him on that occasion. He again saw him at the Houses of Parliament on Friday 2.9.66

Tsafendas informed him that he left MD as the work was too hard for an old man like him although the pay was "a ..." He did not appear to be ... disturbed at any stage. Mr Hulse got the impression that Tsafendas was a wanderer. He always ... about everything. He was surprised to see him working in Parliament. When he heard the news 6.9.66, Mr Hulse immediately ... about Tsafendas and asked the police whether the messenger concerned was a man with silver capped teeth. He made a statement to the police.

PETER PROTOULIS¹⁰⁷⁴

E/M/A, manager of Hermes Ship Chandlers, Cape Town.

I know the Greek ship the Eleni since its breakdown and call at Cape Town harbour. A few days prior to the ship's arrival, as result of a message at my office, I went to the Grand Hotel where I met Captain Lamb from Brays Shipping Co., London. He requested me to attend to the ship upon arrival for attending to their supplies. The ship arrived on Sunday,

¹⁰⁷² Hulse statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁰⁷³ These queries are missing because the edge of the document was not copied, so words are missing.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Peter Protoulis statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 oor Stafendas. NASA.

July 24, 1966. I went down with Mr. Nichas (a friend) and we met the Captain of the ship — Michaelos Fountotos (pronounced phonetic Fondontos). Since that day I have been in regular contact with the ship and often visited it - every day.

I got to be very well acquainted with the Captain and his wife as also the Chief Officer John N. Toutountsolou and his wife. They often went out with me and Nichas and we took them on picnics, to bioscope and on drives, suppers and dancing. We also dined on the ship and in fact had a few parties with them. I saw who is now known as Dr. Verwoerd's assassinator (Tsafendas) on the boat. The first time I saw him, was on the first Monday after the boat's arrival - i.e. the 25th July, 1966. I went down with my driver to the ship. I looked for the chief steward in process. I went into the ship's kitchen where I saw Tsafendas in conversation with the kitchen staff. They were all attentively listening to him. They were speaking Greek. When I entered he accosted me, asking who I am, also asking if I was from Faros (another ship chandler agency). I did not confirm but said "No I am the other fellow." He said "anyway it makes no difference to me, I am not prejudiced." By that time he spoke English to me. I left him in the kitchen, ignoring him.

Upon my subsequent visits I had no dealings with the crew and do not recollect seeing him until the day the ship sailed. Then I was there with my girl-friend, Nichas and his wife and children. Mrs. Nichas asked the Chief Officer's wife who that man was, indicating Tsafendas. The latter replied that he was a merchant of clothing of sorts. Later I was standing in the Captain's corridor where the latter was busy with the Port and Immigration officials, Tsafendas came to the small inter-leading passage to the Captain's office. He stood diagonally across from me impatient, as someone in a hurry to see the Captain. The Captain's door was open and he later shouted to the Captain - "I want to see you." I thought this very rude, but did not comment. I do not know what happened to him as the Captain later came over to talk to me.

Sometime later I saw Tsafendas talking to a man who I think was the ship's bosun. This man was tall, dark-haired and dark complexioned. I have previously seen him in the Chief Officer's quarters. I did not see him leave the ship. I left the ship at about something past three p.m. for the last time. All of my company left together though Mr. Niohas said that he would return to say good-bye. The next I saw Tsafendas's photos in the local newspapers. I know the shipguard, an elderly short man, by sight. I have often spoken to him, but do not know his name.

I know that a Greek woman who had a son joining the ship, was also a visitor. I was present on the occasion when she first boarded the ship. She told the Captain in my presence that she was from his native origin: - mentioned the island Kalimnos. He stated that he couldn't recollect her, but she started mentioning names of his relatives which probably convinced him. On the day of the ship's departure she came to thank the Captain for certain courtesies he had done for her. There was also another young man on the ship whom this woman knew. I remember that she kissed him twice when greeting him. I saw her taking pictures of a baby from her bag, which she showed to us, and also to this young man. She was Mrs. Kokkinidou.

(SGD.) D.J.V. TROOST. 23505 D/Sergt

COMMENT OF PROTOULIS TO THE AUTHOR REGARDING HIS STATEMENT

Peter Protoulis remembers being questioned at his place of business by two or three policemen.¹⁰⁷⁵

¹⁰⁷⁵ Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 28 May 2016.

FRIDAY, 30 SEPTEMBER 1966

STATEMENTS

DR. C. BEEN¹⁰⁷⁶

Pretoria.

This is to certify that Mr D. Tsafendas consulted me during 1963 or 1964 for burns on his body whilst employed at Poole's. I also examined him for permanent residence and a certificate was issued.

J. BOISKIM¹⁰⁷⁷

Representative of a Tobacco Company. Cape Town.

Took cigarettes to ... (Indecipherable word) Building. Few days before the opening of Parliament. Nobody questioned me. Wrote down room numbers. Thought "this is funny." Started off with Prime Minister. Had no idea was so easy to get to Private Secretary. Surprised to note that there was no security measures.

JACOBUS JOHANNES DE KOKER¹⁰⁷⁸

Assistant Master of the High Court in Pretoria.

De Koker's declaration talks about the estate and distribution of the personal effects of the deceased Michalis Tsafandakis who died on 14 February 1962. The only mention of Dimitri Tsafendas is on paragraph 10: "*according to my records, neither Stafendas nor*

¹⁰⁷⁶ Dr. C. Been note to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁰⁷⁷ J. Borskim statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 4. NASA.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Jacobus Johannes De Koker statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

anyone else, except Marika Tsafandakis, received any amount or benefit from the above-mentioned estate.”

IAN JAMES MURDOCK BOSWELL¹⁰⁷⁹

Administrative assistant at the Department of Labour, Cape Town.

I came to know Demetrio Tsafendas in my official capacity as employment officer for the unskilled European Male section of the above department. The abovenamed was originally registered with the skilled section of the department but as he could not produce a certificate of fitness or any documents or testimonials that could prove his claims of being a tradesman, he was transferred to the unskilled section and classified in the category for caretakers or supervisors.

Mr. Tsafendas shortly after produced a certificate to the effect that he had been treated for a nasal complaint at Groote Schuur Hospital. This was accepted as a certificate of fitness and an application for Unemployment Benefits taken by myself. As the applicant had already exhausted all his benefits in a previous claim, the above mentioned application was refused by the claims officer in terms of the relevant section of the Unemployment Act. On informing me that he was fit and willing to commence work as an operator-welder (unqualified welder), I contacted the Chrysler Motor Co., at Elsie's River and was told that they required such a person. I gave the applicant a card (Lab. 141) of introduction to the Chrysler Motor co.

Some days later Mr. Tsafendas returned to the office and informed as that he had not been accepted by the above-mentioned company. This was the last time I interviewed him as a Lab. 23 card issued to him was returned to the employment section by post, informing the office that he had obtain employment in the capacity of messenger in the House of Assembly. (Lab. 23 cards are issued to all persons registering for employment. They are requested to return these cards when obtained employment in order to record the number of unemployed persons obtained employment.)

I did not and would not have sent him to the houses of Parliament, as the vacancies for messengers were always given to the better class of active pensioners. I can only

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

remember this person through originally having difficulty both in spelling and pronouncing his surname. He was at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute. Aside from being over talkative he showed no symptoms of abnormality, during his interviews with me.

MONDAY, 3 OCTOBER 1966¹⁰⁸⁰

COLONEL E.G. MCINTYRE'S REPORT ON TSAFENDAS¹⁰⁸¹

THE HISTORY OF THE PERSON HAD INFLICTED THE FATAL WOUNDS TO THE LATE

DR. VERWOERD

DRAFTED BY COLONEL E.G. MCINTYRE:

1. *The following details of the person, Demetrio Tsafendas, was compiled after examining the following documents: -*
 - a) *A voluntary statement he made to major D.J. Rossouw of the Security Police, Cape Town, on 11 and 12 September 1966.*
 - b) *An examination of the same person by major Rossouw on 09/19/1966.*
 - c) *Statements of persons who came into contact with him.*
 - d) *Secret documents from reliable contacts in other countries.*
2. *Where the subject was vague or uncertain about certain dates, names and places, the dates, names and places were determined from documents in 1(c) and (d) above.*
3. *Where subject's version of his history and relevant events differed from the documents in 1(c) and (d) above - his as well as the witnesses or reports are set out from documents in 1(d).*
4. *All the data is, where possible, confirmed by statements or documentary evidence.*
5. *All the documents and statements are available for inspection, but some documents are of a secret nature and disclosure will not be in the public interest and will likely be an embarrassment to the Government of the Republic of South Africa as the documents are from official sources of other countries and are provided on condition that this fact is not publicly disclosed.*

LIFE HISTORY OF DEMETRIO TSAFENDAS:

¹⁰⁸⁰ No evidence from October 1 and 2 were found in the archives.

¹⁰⁸¹ 'The history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds to the late Dr. Verwoerd' drafted by Col. McIntyre, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Subject: Leer W.D. 10/10/4102 der Stafendas. NASA.

1. Subject is known by the following names and surnames in different countries by different persons:

Surname: Tsafendas alias Tsafendakis, Tsafantakis, Tsafendos, Tsafendis, Tsafantakis and Williams.

Names: Demetrio alias Dimitrio, Dimitro.

2. He is born on 14.01.1918 in Lourenço Marques out of wedlock and is the child of:

Father: Michaelatos alias Michael alias Miguel Tsafendakis or Tsafandakis, a Greek citizen to Candia, Crete, born in 1885.

Mother: Amelia William aka Amelia Williams, a colored woman, citizen of Portuguese East Africa region of Mozambique. Her birth date is not confirmed.

3. Subject's father died in Pretoria on 14.02.1962.
4. His mother died in Lourenço Marques on 12.01.1927 according to him. He is in possession of a note on which his mother's first and last name is written and says that he had confirmed the date at the Registrar of Births and Deaths in Lourenço Marques.
5. He never knew his mother because when he was too young to remember, his father took him to Egypt where he lived until the age of about 8 years with his grandmother - his father's mother.
6. In the meantime, his father married Marika Sakelis, a Greek of Port Said, and during 1926 his father had him return home to Lourenço Marques to stay with him and his wife, as a member of the family.
7. Subject was then placed in an Anglican Missionary School, but according to him, he and his stepmother could not get along, and therefore his father sent him as a boarder to the English medium Primary school in Middelburg (Transvaal). He then went home twice a year with the school holidays.
8. According to him his father landed in financial difficulties during the depression years and could no longer afford to keep him in school in Middelburg. In 1930, when he was in standard three, he was sent back to the Anglican Missionary School in Lourenço Marques until 1933.
9. According to his stepmother, he then refused to continue school and he started work as an assistant in a shop. According to him he was doing evening classes at a Portuguese Missionary School and he passed st. V in English and st. IV in Portuguese in 1935.

10. *In 1936 he went to the Transvaal alone where he worked in Pretoria and Johannesburg in various cafes. For some reason he never worked at a place for longer than two or three months.*
11. *In 1939, he ran evening classes at the "Progress College", Johannesburg, where he only learned for three months to do welding and then got a job at the British Mining Supply Co. in Johannesburg.*
12. *He worked there until 1942 and then went to Cape Town ... [The rest of the sentence is cut off the page.]*
13. *He was in possession of a Greek passport nr.27 dated 18.05.1942, issued by the Greek consulate in Johannesburg under the name of Demetrius Tsafantakis and valid for one year. He was also in possession of a Portuguese passport nr.143 dated 05.03.1942, also valid for one year.*
14. *When the ship arrived in Canada, he absconded and was detained by Canadian Immigration authorities. However, he escaped and entered the United States of America by walking across the ice of the St. Croix River.*
15. *He went to Bangor, Maine, USA and was arrested in December 1942 for the breach of US Immigration Laws and was then detained.*
16. *During his detention, he showed symptoms of mental illness and was admitted into the Boston Psychopathic Hospital and from there transferred on 23.04.1943 to the Metropolitan State Hospital. Here his illness was described as "Psychoneurosis-mixed type".*
17. *He was released from hospital on 14.08.1943 and placed on the American ship "Pillory". He was also issued with American documents that allowed him to perform military service on the said ship.*
18. *He did service on several US ships but from time to time he was admitted into different hospitals, including an US Army hospital in England.*
19. *From the latter hospital, he returned to America in 1944 and was then admitted into a hospital in Charleston, South Carolina. However, he ran away from this hospital but was arrested in Boston and sent to the Ellis Island Hospital, New York.*
20. *On 25.02.1945 he was placed on the Greek ship, "Maria Nicolao", but on 03.12.1945 he returned to New York as a waiter on the ship "Robin Locksley."*
21. *He was arrested again and charged under the US Immigration Laws.*
22. *On 10.02.1946 he was placed on the ship "Hood Victory" for deportation, but on 10.03.1946 he returned with the same ship. He showed symptoms of mental illness again*

and was admitted to the Grafton State Hospital where he remained until 27.09.1947. His illness was then described as “Schizophrenia Hebephrenic¹⁰⁸² Type”.

- 23. On 27.09.1947 he was placed on the ship “Marine Jumper” and deported to Greece.*
- 24. During 1950, 1953 and 1954 while he was in Europe, he applied to be admitted into the United States but his applications were dismissed every time.*
- 25. Previously he has never been in Greece and at first could not find a job, but later found work as a foreman and interpreter at the American Reconstruction Mission. He indicates that he worked there until 1949, when the work was finished ... [The rest of sentence is cut of at end of page.]*
- 26. In Greece he could not get other work, but managed to gain a refugee-passport from the Greek Immigration Authorities. He was however obligated by them to hand in his original Greek passport.*
- 27. He then went to France by ship, but because he was not able to find any work, he went to Portugal.*
- 28. The Portuguese authorities did not want to accept his refugee passport and when he explained that he had lost his Portuguese passport, they did not believe him. Consequently, he was detained there for about six months before being allowed to seek work in Lisbon. He could not find a job but later made an existence by selling embroidery, postcards, watches and costume jewellery to travellers.*
- 29. During 1953, he tried to leave Portugal but was arrested by the Portuguese authorities and detained for about one year.*
- 30. Thereafter a Portuguese passport was issued to him and he went to Germany, Sweden and Denmark. In Germany, he fell ill again and spent about 6 months in Oxensoll¹⁰⁸³ Krankenhaus Hospital. He worked at different places, but because he could not find a suitable, rewarding job in the various countries mentioned he returned to Portugal in 1958 and continued his peddling business.*
- 31. The same year, however, he returned to Germany and again worked at different places until 1939 when he decided to go to England.*
- 32. There he could not find work and the English Immigration authority deported him back to Germany. He then worked in a tractor factory in Germany for about 6 months.*
- 33. He then went to Egypt but was immediately arrested for violating the country’s immigration laws.*

¹⁰⁸² On one document, the word is spelled “Hebephrenic” and on another it is spelled “Hebephremic.”

¹⁰⁸³ The correct spelling is Ochsenzoll.

34. *When he was released, he was put on a ship to Beirut.*
35. *From there he went to Palestine and Turkey where he got work as a teacher of English in Istanbul. He held this job only for two months.*
36. *He then went through the Balkan states and back to Greece.*
37. *From there he went to Crete during 1962 to visit his father's family. He only spent a few days and because the family could not house him, he first travelled to Italy and then back to Portugal.*
38. *In August or September of 1963, he set off to Lourenço Marques and stayed with an uncle for a short while. His stepmother in Pretoria was informed of his arrival and she fetched and took him to Pretoria.*
39. *From 09.12.1963 to 03.02.1964 he worked at the City Engineering and Carron Company in Pretoria as a fitter ... [The rest of the sentence is cut off at the end of the page.]*
40. *On 07.02.1964 he got work again as a welder at Pool Engineering, Pretoria. However, on 10.07.1964 he was fired because of shoddy work and the trouble he caused among the other employees. When his foreman, Mr. Albert Vercuil, notified him that he was dismissed, he pointed his finger in Mr. Vercuil's face as if he wanted to assault him and said: -*

"You are just like your bloody Government. I will kill your Prime Minister yet."
41. *Shortly afterwards he left Pretoria by train and on 19.07.1964 he arrived in Bulawayo, Rhodesia. He then travelled with a Portuguese passport nr.6511/63 issued on 02.11.1963 at Lourenço Marques. He listed his race as white, his marital status as single and his nationality as Portuguese.*
42. *He had R100 with him and declared that the reason of his travel was to visit his sister, in fact his stepsister, Catherine Harlanbos of Marandellas. It is now established that his stepsister's married surname is Pneuma and her husband has a business in Marandellas.*
43. *He was then issued with a stranger tourist permit by the Immigration Officers of Rhodesia, valid until 09.08.1964.*
44. *It has now been established that he had visited his stepsister in Marandellas, but according to her, she told him that he could not stay and that he immediately left.*
45. *He had to have left Rhodesia in some way without reporting to any immigration officials because on 27.07.1964 he arrived by plane in Salisbury. It has thus far not been*

established from where he came. His contact address was then given as O.E. Bottle Store, Avondale.

- 46. He immediately sought work, including at the Public Service Board of Rhodesia, and according to him also at various other towns in Rhodesia and Malawi.*
- 47. When the Rhodesian Immigration Department realized that the subject had not left the country on 09.08.1964, they wrote to him at his contact address at Avondale on 19.08.1964 and ordered him to report to their office immediately.*
- 48. He arrived on 21.08.1964 and asked to be allowed to stay longer and seek work. This request was refused and he was told to leave immediately. On 22.08.1964 he travelled by train to Mozambique.*
- 49. On 09.10.1964, however, he again entered Rhodesia from Umtali. The Immigration Officers issued him a temporary visitor's permit, valid for 14 days, but on 10.10.1964 they received notice of his previous visits and they declared him an illegal immigrant and gave him instructions to immediately leave the country. According to official records he departed on the same day, but according to a Mr. Galamakis, a Greek priest, Contos - and a Mrs. H Crispos, all of Umtali, he only departed on 11.10.1964. He visited many Greeks in Umtali, but as far as known, there is nothing ... [The rest of the sentence is cut off at end of page.]*
- 50. He then went to Beira where he got a job after some time near Gondola at the Central African Construction Corporation. He worked there for about a month when he made certain statements one night in a bar in the presence of non-whites and as a result of which he then was arrested by the Portuguese East African Police.*
- 51. According to himself he was arrested: "Because I criticised the Portuguese Government for their policy in regard to petrol distribution. I was detained for 90 days." According to Portuguese Police, he (Tsafendas) said the following: "This country is not Portugal. It is called the United States of Mocambique. Its flag is of a blue colour with a rainbow. That rainbow represents all the colours. We already have money, and any day now all this will come to an end because what is necessary is not to be fooled into saying we are Portuguese because we are Africans. Long live our country, the United States of Mozambique."*
- 52. According to the Portuguese police, he admitted that he made the remarks. Also, according to the police, he said that he had said this in response to his own ideas of independence of Mozambique separate from Portugal.*

53. *After he was released, he travelled by ship and arrived in Durban during February or March 1965.*
54. *On 15.03.1965 he found accommodation in room 166 of the home E.R. Corney, Fairwood, Durban, and on 16.03.1965, he accepted work as a Shed Attendant in Umbilo, Durban at the South African Railways and worked there until 07.04.1965. On this date he was on a night shift. He worked from 6pm on 06.04.1965 and had to remain on duty until 6am on 07.04.1965. While he was lying on a bed during the aforementioned night, another employee drenched him with a paper bag full of water. He did not see which person did it, but rose, was very angry and said that he could not work with wet clothes. So he walked off and never again returned to this work.*
55. *During this period he was used as a temporary interpreter in court at Durban on different occasions.*
56. *On 19.04.1965 he accepted work as a fitter at the company Fraser and Chalmers in Mandeni.*
57. *On 07.05.1965 he had an argument with another employee in the mess hall and in the fight that followed, he was inflicted a serious knife wound on his right arm and was admitted to the hospital. He reported the incident to the police and the person who inflicted the knife wounds, appeared in the court, but was acquitted. This person cannot be found now. He however said to the other employees on the afore-mentioned date that the subject is a dangerous Communist.*
58. *In the hospital, he underwent surgery and the scar is still visible on the right arm.*
59. *After his discharge from the hospital he found accommodation in the "Durban Men's Home" on 31.06.1965. There he ... [The rest of sentence is cut of at end of page.]*
60. *During his stay in Natal, he didn't contact, as far as could be established, any undesirable, restricted or communist people.*
61. *He however told a Roman Catholic priest whom he met in Mandeni that the Portuguese Government in Mozambique have no sense and do nothing for the non-white population. When he came to know that the priest belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, he started swearing and said that the Roman Catholic Church should be wiped out and that the Roman Catholic nurses in the hospital injected poison into non-Whites so that they die like flies and they do so with the knowledge and approval of the Mozambique Government.*

62. *He then travelled with a yet unknown person by car from Durban to Port Elizabeth and from there by train to Cape Town, where he arrived on 28.08.1965 and went straight to the home of a coloured family, Daniels, at 1 San Sousie Street, Belville.*
63. *He went there because a daughter of the Daniels family, namely Hellen Dorothy, 36 years old and unmarried had written to him in Durban after she attained the subject's address from friends in Boksburg. The Daniels family, as well as the friends in Boksburg, all belong to the same religion as the subject - and while he was in Durban – they exchanged letters.*
64. *The Daniels family took him in to their home and he immediately started looking for a job.*
65. *On 13.09.1965 he got a job at the Cape Town Municipality as a fitter in the Table Bay Power Station, Cape Town.*
66. *On 25.10.1965, however, he received seven days' notice of termination of his employment. He then resigned on the same day to avoid dishonourable discharge. The service he rendered was unsatisfactory.*
67. *After he got the job in September 1965, Helen Daniels's father told subject that since he is now employed and earns money he has to pay rent. He was angry but remained there until 16.10.1965.*
68. *He himself claimed that he got accommodation in a boarding house near the traffic-department in Green Point, Cape Town, and stayed there until about the middle of November 1965. The place where he boarded is not yet determined.*
69. *Around this time he went to the house of a certain Patrick Henry O'Ryan - a coloured teacher - at 9 Westminster Way, Lansdowne, Cape Town, with all his belongings. He met the O'Ryans during a church conference of his faith on a farm near Durbanville, Cape Town. The O'Ryans gave him a place to stay, although they did not have a room for him. He had to share a room with the children of the O'Ryans.*
70. *Another parishioner of the same faith, namely Richard Poggenpoel of "Rosedene" Walnut Street, Lansdowne, had a spare room that he offered.*
71. *The subject then lived with them for 2 weeks during December, 1965. When Poggenpoel informed the subject of the contents of the letter, he (Tsafendas) immediately returned to the O'Ryans.*
72. *During the period he lived with these people, he daily went for job interviews. He also wrote numerous letters to try and find work.*

73. *It was established that he was at some company on probation as bus conductor but he told O’Ryan that he was too fat and could not climb the stairs up and down and was therefore not employed.*
74. *He was without work for about two months and stayed at the O’Ryans for free when he finally found work during February 1966 at the Marine Diamond Corporation on the company’s barge "Colpontoon".*
75. *This job he held for only about two months and claimed that he had to abandon the work because it was too demanding for him because of his poor health.*
76. *To others he said that he had to abandon the work because he found it too dangerous when he had to get from the tow boat with a rope ladder onto a small boat to go to the transport ship "Marina".*
77. *To O’Ryan he said that another employee on the Colpontoon is jealous of him (Tsafendas) and thus does not want to teach him (Tsafendas) the job.*
78. *When he started earning money again, he got accommodation at Milton House, Milton Road, Observatory, and then departed from the O’Ryans.*
79. *He stayed there for about two months and then again moved to 5 Wrench Way, Observatory, where he rented a room from a Mrs. Vos. The latter, however, shortly thereafter gave him notice and on 01.07.1966 the subject rented a room from a Mrs. Theyser at 48 Devon Street, Woodstock. He had his meals at a Mrs. Scott at 42 Chamberlain Street, Woodstock. On 30.08.1966 he left.*
80. *On 31.08.1966 he moved to room 7, Elnor Apartments, Rustenburg Road, Rondebosch, and was arrested there for the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd.*
81. *Subject admits that before the outbreak of the Second World War he became a member of the Communist Party of South Africa in Johannesburg and that he regularly paid his monthly subscription of 25 cent per month until he left Johannesburg in 1942 and went to Canada. He expressly denies that afterwards he ever had anything to do with the Communist Party or contacted any Communists in South Africa or elsewhere.*
82. *He does admit however, that while in England he attended various political meetings in connection with:*
- a) Committee of African Organisations*
 - b) Anti-Colonial:*
83. *Subject stated that the following speakers were present at the said meetings:*
- a) Barbara Castle*
 - b) Fenner Brockway*

c) Callaghan

- 84. Above-mentioned persons are all Communists and members of the British Labour party.*
- 85. In the presence of Mrs. Scott, referred to in paragraph 79 above, he told the other tenants that he can get a good job in S.W. Africa, but that he could not go there because there is a certain task in Cape Town that he first must perform.*
- 86. Mrs. Popkiss, manageress of Eldor Apartments announced that she encountered the subject in the garden on the afternoon of 05.09.1966. She noticed that he looked very worried and talked to him. She asked him if he saw her cat and told him that she is very concerned about the animal. He replied: "I am also very worried. I have some thing on my mind."*
- 87. According to most people in the Republic of South Africa with whom the subject came into contact with, other than those already mentioned above, the subject did not talk about politics. However, he said to several people that he was upset because he was not classified as a colored.*
- 88. To Patrick O’Ryan, mentioned above, he also said that the Republic’s apartheid policy was unfair and that these policies often frustrate him.*
- 89. Subject’s stepmother claimed that he always asked for money; others said that he usually tried to get meals from others and always gave the impression that he is needy.*
- 90. Subject belongs to a religion called the Christian Church, which does not have any solid building which serves as a church. Services are held from house to house. It seems that only non-whites belong to this faith.*
- 91. No members of this faith in the R.S.A. has drawn unfavourable attention to them, and fans of this belief are not suspected of subversive activities.*
- 92. As far as has been established, the subject himself has never before been guilty of any criminal offense other than the offenses under the Immigration Laws of different countries.*
- 93. Subject is a total abstainer of strong drink and does not smoke.*
- 94. From 24.07.1966 to 03.09.1966, the Greek ship “Eleni” was in the Cape Town docks for repairs. The subject visited the ship daily. He befriended the crew and often enjoyed meals with them on ... [The rest of sentence is cut off at end of page].*
As a result, one of them offered him a revolver, which he bought. Later he found that the weapon was in fact not a revolver, but only a gas pistol. He tried to get his money back but did not succeed. The seller told him that he had spent all the money.
- 95. This gas pistol was found among his property when he was arrested for the assassination.*

COMMENTS ON COL. MCINTYRE'S REPORT

The report follows Tsafendas's life from the day he was born until his arrest for the murder of Dr. Verwoerd. It includes his hospitalizations, his travels to and within several countries, and some of his arrests and imprisonments. The report is accurate about his travel and his various jobs, but it misses many important aspects of his life, especially Tsafendas's political ideas and activities in Mozambique. Col. McIntyre and the South African police were not given Tsafendas's complete file by the Portuguese authorities and therefore were presumably unaware of some of his arrests and political activism there. Nevertheless, the report comprehensively downplays Tsafendas's politics, including crucially the fact that he was a Communist. That he was a member of the South African Communist Party before the Second World War is mentioned (par. 81), as is the fact that Nikolas Vergos characterised him as a "dangerous Communist," (par. 57) but little else.

Facts known to Col. McIntyre which are omitted include that Tsafendas was fired from a job in Lourenço Marques and banned from re-entering Mozambique due to his Communist ideas, plus that several witnesses testified that he had Communist ideas. More importantly, the report says in paragraph 87 that "according to most people in the Republic of South Africa with whom the subject came into contact, other than those already mentioned above, the subject did not talk about politics. However, he said to several people that he was upset because he was not classified as a Coloured." As to the first part of the sentence, seven witnesses testified to the contrary:

- Kenneth Ross said Tsafendas was "very fond of discussing politics and gave me the opinion that he was well versed in politics. He was blatantly opposed to the National Party policy, the policy of the present Government and was definitely pro-Russian."¹⁰⁸⁴
- Robert Smith testified that Tsafendas was "definitely pro-Communist. Tsafendas was in my opinion a fanatic on politics and seldom spoke of anything else."¹⁰⁸⁵
- Gladstone Dunn testified that Tsafendas discussed politics with him.¹⁰⁸⁶
- Horacio Ferreira also said Tsafendas discussed politics with him.¹⁰⁸⁷

¹⁰⁸⁴ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Gladstone Dunn statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

- In addition, Johannes Jacobus Botha had informed the police that Tsafendas was described by Nick Vergos as “the biggest Communist in the Republic of South Africa.”¹⁰⁸⁸
- Father Hanno Probst also characterised him and reported him to a security officer as a “Communist and a dangerous person.”¹⁰⁸⁹

Also omitted is the fact contained in the report of the South African embassy in Lisbon that Tsafendas “has a criminal record in Mozambique, where he is said to have been arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances including shouting pro-Communist and anti-Portuguese slogans.”¹⁰⁹⁰ Nothing about Tsafendas’s criminal record in Mozambique is mentioned by Col. McIntyre, but this could be because the Portuguese authorities did not reveal such information to the South African police.

The McIntyre report does not give an opinion on whether or not Tsafendas was insane, but merely records the diagnoses from some of the hospitals where he was treated, including the Grafton State Hospital (par. 22). However, McIntyre omits important information regarding this latter hospital. Although he had access to the Grafton’s document, he omits the reference to Tsafendas admitting he “faked mental illness”¹⁰⁹¹ when he was arrested for violating American immigration laws. Also omitted is the statement by the South African embassy in Washington, based on US Immigration Department documents, that Tsafendas was “unstable but not insane.”¹⁰⁹²

ATTORNEY-GENERAL’S MEMORANDUM

The same day, the Attorney-General of Cape Town, Willem M. van den Berg, who had been appointed to lead the case for the State in the forthcoming summary trial of Tsafendas, released the following memorandum:

¹⁰⁸⁷ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁰⁹¹ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Dimitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁰⁹² Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

*Detailed Information for a Memorandum Regarding Demetrio Tsafendas*¹⁰⁹³

Paragraphs 1 and 2:

Michael Tsafendakis and his common law wife Amelia Williams separated shortly after the birth of Demetrio. On 5 December 1920 Michael Tsafendakis and Maria Sakellis were married in Port Said, Egypt. Demetrio was in the care of his paternal grandmother in Alexandria, Egypt, until around the age of 6.

He was then returned to his father in Lourenço Marques, where he received his first school education at a mixed race school, the "English Mission School." Next he was sent by his father to the Middelburg Primary School, English, in the Transvaal. He possibly stayed there until 1933 and he seems to have passed Standard 6 there (the first year of high school). Thereafter he returned to Lourenço Marques when for 6 years he worked at the "Vulcan Iron Works", General Engineers, as an Oxy-Acetylene electrical welder. According to testimonials from this firm, he had performed his duties in a satisfactory manner. These testimonials were included with his application for permanent residence in South Africa.

Three daughters and one son were born out of the marriage of Michael and Maria, (now known as Marika). They are Victor, Evangeline, Helen and Catherina. Except for Catharina, who is married and lives in Salisbury, Rhodesia, they have all been living near Pretoria, South Africa, for many years. It would seem that Demetrio was estranged from them.

Paragraph 3:

It is not known whether the following kiosk still exists. According to a letter from Demetrio to the Secretary of Home Affairs on 31 December 1935 requesting permanent residence in South Africa:

"Chai et Kiosk,

Praca 7 da Marco,

P.O. Bos 702,

¹⁰⁹³ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkoperij. NASA.

LOURENÇO MARQUES.

Prop. P. Sideris”

Demetrio Tsafendas’ Communist activities were at that time restricted to the distribution of Communist propaganda. Up to 1942, when he left South Africa, no further information in this regard has been found. In a statement to the South African Police on 19 September 1966, Demitrio Tsafendas admitted that he had joined the Communist Party shortly before World War II. He also attended their meetings and paid the fees but denied the he had any further association with the Communists after he left South Africa in 1942; except that whilst in England he attended meetings in Hyde Park and Caxton Hall; he furthermore stated that the participants were Leftist members of the Labour Party and not Communists.

Paragraph 4-7:

Demetrio Tsafendas was found guilty of contravening Article 2(a) of Act 1 of 1937 in the Johannesburg Magistrates’ Court on 6 August 1941. He pleaded guilty and was sentenced to a fine of 12 pounds 10 shillings or a one month jail term. He paid the fine. However, he was not deported, but freed, as a temporary residence permit had been issued to him on the grounds that he had performed important war production work at the “British Mining Supply Company. At that time he worked for the firm as a welder in the transport department. It is not clear whether or not he lost his job there because of malingering. The Secretary of Home Affairs is in possession of a testimonial from the above firm which reads as follows: “During this period (from 7 May 1940 until the date of the testimonial, 8 August 1941) of service we have found his work to be perfectly satisfactory and his conduct good.”

Paragraph 8:

On 8 June 1942 Tsafendas applied for a permit to travel to England to join the British Army.

This request was refused in June 1942 as England refused entry to Tsafendas. His temporary residence permit was nearing the expiration date. He was unemployed and travelled to Cape Town, from where he boarded the “Eugenie Livanos” on 13 June without a

permit, with the help of the Greek Consul in Cape Town, who was unaware of the fact that Tsafendas was not permitted to leave the country. He never turned up in Lourenço Marques.

The first news of him is the letter from Boston, Massachusetts, as found in paragraph 7, in connection with the 3 pound deposit received for his expired temporary residence permit. As no notification was received from Tsafendas to his father to authorise this amount, it was declared to be forfeited on 21 July 1955. From various sources, including his own declaration, Tsafendas travelled on the Eugenie Livanos from Cape Town to St. John on the east coast of Canada. He and a friend left the ship there and were sent by the Canadian authorities to Halifax where they were detained. However, they escaped and walked over the frozen St. Croix River near Calais, Maine, in the U.S.A., where they were again arrested and sent to Boston, U.S.A. Tsafendas appeared before the U.S.A. Immigration officials on several occasions for transgression of the time limits given to sailors for temporary residency. During this period he worked on several American ships. During World War II he mainly served on "Liberty" ships. He described this as "risking my life on submarine infested seas."

Between 1942 and 1947 Tsafendas received treatment in various hospitals for "Psychosis, Psychosis undetermined, Schizophrenia" and nervous breakdowns. The U.S.A. refused to grant him permanent residence rights and in 1947 he was deported to Greece where he started work at the American Reconstruction Mission. This had something to do with the Marshall Aid Plan. He also worked as interpreter for three months for Messrs. Steers-Grove in Piraeus Harbour in Greece. This was also an American firm whose HQ was in New York. After this Tsafendas was again unemployed in Greece which led to the request mentioned in para. 8. It is not known how Tsafendas got to London in 1950.

Paragraphs 9 and 10:

Demitrio Tsafendas between his requests to Internal Affairs departments in 1950 and 1959 from Athens and London respectively, are not known. According to him, he was mostly in Portugal from 1950 to 1958, and was again imprisoned there for several years. He declared that he sold clothes in Lisbon and that he also visited West Germany and Brussels. In 1959 he reached England from West Germany and to which he was once again deported by the British in whose hospitals he had also been treated for his nervous breakdowns. In his application to Internal Affairs in SA from London, he named his former employers as "The American Reconstruction Mission, Greece and U.S. Army, Germany." The nature of the work

he did for the U.S.A. Defence Force in unknown. He also declared that for 6 months he was treated in the Oxensoll¹⁰⁹⁴ Krankenhaus, but that he absconded and went to friends in Hamburg. Before he went to England in 1959 he also travelled in Sweden and Denmark. After he left England he worked for a while in a tractor factory in Munich.

Then he decided to return to Egypt and travelled by train through the Balkans to Piraeus, Greece and thence by boat to Alexandria, Egypt. In Cairo he was jailed for 6 months. Then he travelled by boat to Beirut and thence by plane to Jerusalem. He roamed around along the Jordan River for 4 months. Then he travelled to Ankara and Istanbul, in Turkey, then returned to Athens, but en route also visited Sofia in Bulgaria. From Athens he visited his father's family on the Island of Crete. He said at he also returned to Portugal and from there decided to return to Africa. He maintained that the Portuguese Social Services gave him a ticket to return by boat to Lourenço Marques in September 1963.

Paragraphs 11 and 12:

From 1935 to 1959 all requests from Demitrio Tsafendas to Home Affairs to grant him permanent residency were dismissed out of hand. But on 2 November 1963 he received a temporary permit from the South African Consul-General in Lourenço Marques to enjoy a holiday in the Republic. It is not known to me who was responsible for issuing this permit, but it was done without reference to the HQ in Pretoria. Tsafendas soon accepted work in Pretoria. Permission was also granted to him to hold the position while waiting for the result of his application to the Immigration Board in Pretoria for permanent residence in SA.

On 20 January 1964 his request for permanent residence was approved. He also received his Identity Document soon thereafter. In March 1964 he wrote to the Dept. of Internal Affairs to complain about corruption amongst the Public Servants and accused them of demanding large amounts of money for obtaining an Identity document. These complaints were investigated by the Police but were dismissed as unfounded.

Paragraphs 13-16:

In June-July 1964 Tsafendas again left the country and travelled to Salisbury, Rhodesia and from there to Malawi. According to him he went there to look for work. He returned to

¹⁰⁹⁴ The correct spelling is Ochsenzoll.

Umtali in Rhodesia and from there he went to Beira. He worked for a while on the Beira-Umtali oil pipeline but was arrested by the Portuguese police and placed in detention for 90 days. Friends of Tsafendas then rallied round him and gave him passage by boat to Durban. He stayed there for a while and worked for Fraser & Chalmers in Mandini for a while. He was dismissed after involvement in fighting. Then he returned to Cape Town where he worked for a while for Marine Diamond Corporation. In Cape Town he stayed in various places for short periods. According to a statement in my possession there was never any question of a marriage between him and the coloured woman Helen Daniels from Bellville South. Information from Home Affairs files indicate that he applied for reclassification as a coloured because he wanted to apply for a business license in a coloured area. Investigations continue, especially overseas and any further developments will be provided as soon as I receive information.

W.M. van den Berg

Attorney-General

Cape Town. 3 October 1966.

COMMENTS ON THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S MEMORANDUM

A great deal of information about Tsafendas, some of it very important and known to the South African police, does not appear in van den Berg's so-called "detailed" account of Tsafendas's life. We are not in position to know for certain why this information is missing; it might perhaps be because van den Berg deemed it unimportant, or he wanted to downplay Tsafendas's Communism and political activities, or he was not given all the information held by the South African police.

It is impossible to state with certainty what was provided to van den Berg, but the content of the memorandum suggests that he had access to Tsafendas's affidavit from 1964, perhaps the PIDE reports given to the South African authorities, the Department of Interior reports concerning Tsafendas's applications for permanent residency, plus letters from Tsafendas to the Department of the Interior seeking permission to enter South Africa. He does not seem to have read the statements given to the police by Tsafendas during his interrogation, or the statements by people who knew Tsafendas, including his family. The secret telegrams from the South African embassies in Washington and Lisbon are also absent. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that van den Berg had access to these documents and chose not to use them.

The memorandum does not cover Tsafendas's political past, including several of his arrests. The South African embassy had informed the SA authorities that Tsafendas "has a criminal record in Mozambique, where he is said to have been arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances including, shouting pro-Communist and anti-Portuguese slogans"; this information is not included. Analytically, it is surprising that the memorandum does not mention the reason for Tsafendas's arrest in Beira in 1964: that he was accused of "making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses."¹⁰⁹⁵ Van den Berg must have known the reason as it was given in the PIDE report that was sent to the SA authorities and was contained in various other documents in the possession of the South African police. Either he considered it unimportant to mention why Tsafendas was arrested and spent ninety days in prison or he did not want to politicise the arrest. Tsafendas's second arrest by the Portuguese police in

¹⁰⁹⁵ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

February 1965 is omitted altogether. Even though there was no mention of it in PIDE's report, the South African press had referred to two arrests, not one; and since the SA press were aware of this, one would expect van den Berg to have known it also. Also missing are the facts that Tsafendas was not allowed to enter Mozambique in 1951 because of his "communist activities", his arrest that followed, and his subsequent twelve years of enforced exile.

The memorandum downplays Tsafendas's Communist and anti-colonial activities by stating that such activities in Mozambique in the mid-1930s were "restricted to the distribution of Communist propaganda." The way this sentence is written suggests that this was all that Tsafendas did; however, this was not the case. Although the Sideris Kiosk is mentioned, the fact that Tsafendas was fired from his job there for conducting Communist propaganda is not; nor is the fact that while in Mozambique, "he was on two occasions suspected of dedicating himself to communistic activities."¹⁰⁹⁶ Tsafendas was fired from his work not because he distributed Communist propaganda, but because he preached Communism and spoke against the Portuguese colonialist administration and in favour of the independence of Mozambique. Furthermore, Tsafendas had rebelled against the Portuguese government's new cotton policy, publicly speaking against it, distributing leaflets against it, and urging people to strike against it. Tsafendas's communist activities in Mozambique were the reason his early requests for permanent residency in South Africa were turned down, and they were mentioned in several documents held by the South African authorities. The reason Tsafendas's applications for permanent residency in South Africa were "dismissed out of hand" is also not given.

Van den Berg's memorandum states that Tsafendas appeared before US immigration officials "on several occasions for transgression of the time limits given to sailors for temporary residency." It also mentions the medical treatment Tsafendas received in the United States between 1942 and 1947 plus what the diagnosis was. However, that Tsafendas was regarded by American immigration officials as "unstable, but not insane" and the fact that he was caught "faking mental illness" are also not included. Naturally you would have expected the police to provide all these documents regarding Tsafendas to the Attorney-General who was handling the case. However, it seems that they either did not do it or van den

¹⁰⁹⁶ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA.

Berg did not think that these information were important to include them in his memorandum. We will get back to this issue shortly.

The memorandum contains two evident errors. It says Tsafendas went to London in 1950 when the year was 1959. It also says Tsafendas seemed to be estranged from his family. It is a fact that Tsafendas did not see his relatives between 1941 and 1963. However, he kept in touch with them across those twenty-two years, especially with his father and his half-sister Eleni, and later with his step-mother. They exchanged letters frequently and Tsafendas would send postcards from wherever he was, informing them of his whereabouts. Tsafendas had a loving, life-long relationship with his father. After he died, his step-mother Marika, his half-brother Victor and his half-sister Eleni helped Tsafendas to reunite with them in South Africa. They drove from Pretoria to Lourenço Marques to meet him and then brought him back. Van den Berg must have known about all this, apart from what occurred between Tsafendas's family and J.J. van den Berg, the South African passport control officer, who overlooked the fact that Tsafendas was on the Stop List of the Department of the Interior. On reaching Pretoria, the family gave Tsafendas a rent-free apartment and a job. This was also known to the police. Tsafendas's relations with his other two half-sisters, Evangelia and Katerina, were not as warm, but in no sense was he "estranged" from them. It is important to note that Tsafendas's family sought to distance themselves from him after the assassination, a natural reaction in the emotional frenzy of the time and knowing what the apartheid authorities were capable of.

Costas Michaletos, who knew Tsafendas from infancy, told the police that "Dimetrios Tsafantakis grew up with his half-brothers and sisters and was always treated as part of the family."¹⁰⁹⁷ Guglielmo Conte, a friend and business partner of Tsafendas's father, who also knew Tsafendas from the day he was born, denied that Dimitri was estranged from his family and stated that except for his school years in Middleburg, he always stayed with his father and stepmother and their family.¹⁰⁹⁸

The strangest section of the memorandum concerns Tsafendas's relationship with Helen Daniels and questions of his racial classification. Van den Berg says that, "According to a statement in my possession, there was never any question of a marriage between him and the Coloured woman, Helen Daniels, from Belleville South. Information from Home Affairs

¹⁰⁹⁷ Costas Michaletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Goldstein, 'Tsafendas Timid and Puny As A Boy', *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 September 1966.

files indicates that he applied for reclassification as a Coloured because he wanted to apply for a business licence in a Coloured area.” The Home Affairs files which van den Berg referred to were not found in the archives. Nor was anything discovered relating to Tsafendas’s application regarding his reclassification. As already stated, the author has not been able to establish why Tsafendas applied to be reclassified as a Coloured person. However, that is not the issue here. What is important is that van den Berg appears not to be in possession of the statements which Tsafendas and Helen Daniels gave to the police.

In those statements, Tsafendas¹⁰⁹⁹ and Daniels¹¹⁰⁰ stated clearly that there was a question of marriage between them. In his statement of September 11, 1966, Tsafendas said he applied for reclassification in order “to marry a Coloured woman named Helen Daniels.”¹¹⁰¹ Helen Daniels testified to the police on September 15 that she wrote to Tsafendas with the intention of meeting and marrying him. Tsafendas replied to her letter that he was willing to visit, but he wanted to meet her first before agreeing to marry. Daniels also stated that after they met, Tsafendas appeared to have no interest in marrying her since he made no effort to establish a relationship with her.¹¹⁰² Caroline Barbeau also testified that Tsafendas wanted to be reclassified in order to marry Helen Daniels.¹¹⁰³

Van den Berg was either not given these statements - two by Tsafendas and one by Daniels - by the police or he chose to ignore them. As Attorney-General, he was entitled to all statements taken during police interviews, especially those of the accused.¹¹⁰⁴ Had he received them, he must have included them in his memorandum and his failure to do so suggests the police did not provide them. The question therefore is why he not given these statements? Since the marriage question was relatively unimportant, the assumption must be that the documents contained other information which the police did not wish to reveal. That this was indeed the case became obvious during Tsafendas’s summary trial.

As we will see, the three statements, especially the two by Tsafendas, flatly contradicted his portrayal as an insane, apolitical man who killed Dr. Verwoerd because his

¹⁰⁹⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹¹⁰⁰ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File VDSO 17/64, NASA.

¹¹⁰¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹¹⁰² Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File VDSO 17/64, NASA.

¹¹⁰³ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹¹⁰⁴ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016; Judge Gerald Friedman in a personal interview, 11 April 2016; Judge Robin Marais in a personal interview, 3 June 2016.

tapeworm told him to. Tsafendas declared in his statement that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he was “disgusted with his policies,” that Dr. Verwoerd “did not represent all the people of South Africa,” and he believed that by killing him a “change of policy will occur.” He also testified that he was a former member of the Communist Party of South Africa, that he was against apartheid and colonialism, and that he had participated in anti-apartheid meetings in London. More importantly, there was nothing in his statements to suggest that he was insane, and not once does he mention the tapeworm that would become so central in his summary trial and would be associated with him for the remainder of his life.

It is important to mention here that the report of the Commission of Enquiry flatly contradicts van den Berg’s report. It states that, “On 30th August, 1965, he applied as Demitrio Tsafendas to the Regional Representative of the Department of the Interior to be reclassified as a Coloured person. He gave the reason that he regarded himself as a Coloured and that he wished to marry a Coloured. On 1st September, 1965, he made a sworn statement in support of his application.”¹¹⁰⁵ Clearly, the Commission and van den Berg had different information about the issue and the author is not in position to know for certainty which version is correct. The likelier guess is that the Commission is right since Tsafendas also regarded himself as a Coloured man.

We cannot rule out the possibility that van den Berg was in possession of these statements and deliberately did not use them. However, it seems in the highest degree unlikely that his motive was to cover up such an unimportant issue as Tsafendas’s reclassification. In building a case for Tsafendas’s insanity, the information that would pose the greatest danger to such a line of argument was that concerning Tsafendas’s political activities and beliefs. Therefore the likelier scenario is that the police withheld the Tsafendas and Daniels statements from van den Berg. If so, this would not be the first time the police sought to block important evidence regarding Tsafendas’s background, character and motives.

That said, the Attorney-General’s role in the case is quite strange, even suspicious, and will be examined in detail in the Summary Trial Chapter. It should be mentioned here though that as we saw in his memorandum, van den Berg mentioned that Tsafendas had told the police he was a former member of the South African Communist Party and that he had participated in distribution of Communist propaganda. None of this would become known during the summary trial and the word “Communist” would never even be heard in the court.

¹¹⁰⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 39.

However, on October 30, twenty-seven days after van den Berg wrote his memorandum, *The Post* revealed that Tsafendas was a former member of the South African Communist Party. Van den Berg was interviewed by the newspaper and when asked whether he knew about Tsafendas's membership, he lied, saying, "This is news to me – I certainly had no knowledge of it until this very moment when you brought it to my notice."¹¹⁰⁶ This was twenty-seven days after he had written about it in his memorandum.

STATEMENTS

MIKE JOSIAS GERMISHUYS¹¹⁰⁷

White male, 29 years old, sergeant in the South African Police, Mandini.

I was stationed at Nyoni from 02/05/1965 to 06/30/1966 when I took my dismissal. I remember there being received a call at Nyoni during 1965, about an assault at Mandini. As far as I can remember, Constable J. Fourie and I went to give the complaint attention. When I arrived at Mandini, I found that a certain Vergos and Tsafendas, two whites who were employed by Frazer and Charles, during duty, was involved in the case. Tsafendas was the plaintiff in the case. Tsafendas claimed that he was assaulted with a razor by Vergos. Tsafendas had lacerations on one of his arms. As far as I can remember, his shirt was also cut across the chest, but he had no cuts on his chest. Vergos was arrested and charged with assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. Vergos made no report to me that Tsafendas was a dangerous communist. I also know Mr. J.J. Botha, a security officer at Sappi, Mandini, he also never reported to me that Tsafendas was a dangerous communist. Vergos was under the influence of alcohol at the time of the arrest. I cannot furnish the dates, however if I were granted permission to view the registers, I will find it.

JOHANNES JACOBUS BOTHA¹¹⁰⁸

¹¹⁰⁶ Gordon Winter, 'Tsafendas: I Was A Communist', *The Post*, 30 October 1966: 1.

¹¹⁰⁷ Mike Josias Germishuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹¹⁰⁸ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

White male, 51 years. Security officer at South African Pulp and Paper Industries, Mandeni.

Further to my statement I made on 15/09/1966, I wish to add, that Vergos told me that Tsafandos is the biggest communist in the R.S.A. I think it was during May, 1965 when he said it to me. Vergos and Tsafandos were both still in the employ of Frazer and Chalmers at Mandeni. I can remember that I told a member of the South African Police, Nyoni, that I heard from Vergos that Tsafandos is the largest communist in South Africa. But I cannot remember who the member is to whom I said it.

Affidavit by J.J. Botha witnessed by ... (Indecipherable name) Nr. 19026 (V) S/SGT at 12.59 p.m.

JACOBUS CHRISTOFFEL SNYMAN¹¹⁰⁹

Nr. 25817 Sergeant in the South African Police, stationed at Nyoni.

Tsafendas, Vergos, M.J. Germishuys and J.J. Botha are known to me. During May 1965, I was stationed at Nyoni. During that time neither Vergos, M.J. Germishuys nor J.J. Botha gave me report that Tsafendas was a dangerous communist. Neither afterwards did any of the three of them report such things to me.

Affidavit by J.C. Snyman Nr. 25817 'V' Sgt at 5 p.m.

¹¹⁰⁹ Jacobus Christoffel Snyman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

NEVILLE JUDSON¹¹¹⁰

Salesman at Mike's outfitters. Woodstock.

During about July 1966 I got to know Demitrio Tsafendas. I met him at the shop where he came to introduce himself. The proprietor (Mr. Mike) asked me to take Tsafendas to the boats as he said he could make business contacts there. I went there about 3 occasions and in fact got some customers, some of whom I brought by car to the shop. Some came in on their own. We only went to one boat, the Greek ship Eleni. During my conversations with the accused I got to know from him about his travels abroad.

I never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers. He appeared to be an unsuccessful kind of person. He mentioned being the black sheep in his family. He said nothing detrimental against this country or the people. On the other hand, he said this country was on the right track, especially when buying the new oil tankers. He seemed very impressed by this move.

Accused appeared to have a very friendly way of talking to the sailors at the Eleni. To me he also mentioned that he wanted to married, that is why he had applied for and obtained a job with the Government as an interpreter. He did not mention to me who that woman was he wanted to marry. He mentioned that he had been to the Eleni on his own, apart from our trip there. He mentioned having had lunch and supper on the boat.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

JAN JOHANNES ALBERTUS FOURIE¹¹¹¹

Sergeant of the South African Police, Newcastle, Natal. 2 p.m.

I remember during 1965, I cannot remember the date, Mr. Nick Vergos working at Congella Erection, c/o. South African Pulp and Paper Industries assaulted a certain person,

¹¹¹⁰ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

¹¹¹¹ Jan Johannes Albertus Fourie statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Tsafendas who was working at Fraser and Chalmers, c/o. South African Pulp and Paper Industries.

The case, which was assault with intent to cause serious bodily harm was reported at the Nyoni police station by Tsafendas, I investigated the case. The accused Nick Vergos was later found innocent on the charge by the magistrate in Nyoni. I cannot remember exactly, but it must have been before the court case, Vergos one day told me that Tsafendas was a "Communist Bastard." I cannot remember whether anyone else was present. Vergos said nothing further about Tsafendas. I did not take notice of the comment because Tsafendas and Vergos were angry at each other. I did not ask Vergos why he made such an accusation. I did not report the accusation made by Vergos to my Station Commander. I do not know if Vergos has made any similar statements about any other person. Tsafendas who was the complainant at Nyoni in the assault case was the same person who murdered the late Honourable Dr. Verwoerd. I saw photos of Tsafendas in the newspapers after the murder of late Honourable Dr. Verwoerd.

Statement taken by Captain N.J. Rossouw.

WILHELMINA SOPHIA DE VOS¹¹¹²

White female, manager of "American Maid," Woodstock Observatory.

On 04/06/1966 the Demitrio Tsafendas came to my house to rent a room I advertised. I gave him the room rental. He said he is from the "Marine Diamond Corp." in South West Africa and currently here for treatment in Groote Schuur Hospital to his nose. After a few days he said that he (as outpatient) was dismissed at Groote Schuur and he need not return. I asked if he was going back South West Africa, he said no. I asked whether he should go back, he then said the men there told him if he does not "fit" in with them, then they will throw him overboard. To this I said it does not exist and that I do not believe him, because there is tight security at such places. He gave me the impression that he is work-shy. I have in the meantime discovered that he was dirty and had bad habits and his house manners were poor.

¹¹¹² Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

He later sought work, which he told me about. He said he was looking for messenger or caretaker jobs or as messenger at a bank or something. I asked if he did not have a trade, on which he said he was a "fitter and turner." I told him to look for work in his trade, but he had all kinds of excuses. I told him directly that he was strong and healthy and he had to work. He also said that he applied for a welfare pension. Later he said that if he cannot find work, he will join the Navy which lies in Mozambique. He was talking about the British Navy who was doing the oil blockade. I said to him how can you go against your own people (the Portuguese) with another superpower, then he is a traitor - he then kept quiet and walked away.

After three weeks (late June) I notified him to leave immediately, because I could not endure his messy ways any longer. He went off to Mrs. Theyser whom I saw was advertising a room. He was boastful, but I could see that he had an inferiority complex and his upbringing was not good. I considered him to be a completely normal person.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. 23505 D/Sergt.

FRED FEINAUER¹¹¹³

I am a messenger in the Assembly and I am the senior messenger in the press gallery. I am aware that the press annually holds a function in the parliament house. Many dignitaries get invited to this annual event. The prime minister is usually invited to this annual event. As far as I know, Dr. Verwoerd was invited to the press function which was held on Friday, 02.09.1966. I was in charge of the messengers serving drinks at the press function. Altogether there were seven messengers that helped to serve drinks that evening. Tsafendas was one of the messengers who helped to serve drinks. Tsafendas was one of the messengers who worked under my supervision on the press gallery. I requested Tsafendas to help on 02/09/1966 at the press function. I asked him about two days prior to this function to serve at the function. He arrived that night and helped serve at the press function. Dr. Verwoerd did not attend the function on 02/09/1966.

¹¹¹³ Fred Feinauer statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Statement taken by Major D.J. Rossouw

CORNELIUS FRANCOIS FERREIRA¹¹¹⁴

Sergeant in the South African Police, stationed at Nyoni Station as Commander.

On 07/05/1965 at 1.45 pm. Sergeant Germishuis and I were out on duty. We returned at 9.5 pm. the same day. At my return to the station, I saw that there was a complaint from Mandeni in the incident register, it was about an assault by a white on a white. Sergeant Germishuis was instructed to investigate the matter. He left at 9.20 pm the same day investigate the matter at Mandini. I have no further knowledge of what happened on 07/05/1965 in connection with this assault.

On Saturday, 08/05/1965 at 9.45 I resumed service. In the registers, I noticed that a white man, called Nicholas Vergos, was charged and detained. The white man was released on 08/05/1965 at 8.55 am on bail. I never saw said white man at any time, nor had any conversation with him. At the time of the trial I saw both Vergos and Stafendas, but I had no conversation with them. Raa 14/5/65 refers to the relevant case - Assault with intent to inflict serious injury. Mr. J.J. Botha, a security officer at Sappi, Mandini is known to me. At no time did he report anything to me regarding Stafendas. On 03/10/1966 I had access to the Raa register at Nyoni Police Station. Raa 14/5/66 refers to accused Bantu man Mbotenzi Ngwenya who was charged for failing to show pass book.

Statement taken by ... (Indecipherable name) 19026 S/Sergt at 3.45 p.m.

¹¹¹⁴ Cornelius Francois Ferreira statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

MICHAELIS AUGUSTIDES¹¹¹⁵

White male, owner of Mike's Outfitters, Woodstock

I know the man Demitrio Tsafendas. He was having meals in Woodstock with a Mrs. Scott where some of my assistants also reside and have their meals. He came to the shop about July, 1966. He said he could make contacts with people at the ships in Cape Town docks and could bring some customers to my shop. I said O.K. if he brought any customers to my shop I would give him a commission. I know in fact that some customers were brought to my shop and that I have paid him about R10 commission. I never had other dealings with him. One of my salesmen accompanied him to the boats. I got to know he was Greek and heard that he has been abroad, but did not have personal conversations with him. He appeared to be an unsettled type. He mentioned to me finding a job at court as interpreter.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

BAREND BUYTENDAG¹¹¹⁶

Lt. Col at the South African Police and Dr. Verwoerd's bodyguard.

Buytendag explained at length the measures taken to ensure the security of the prime minister, including the dispositions of his motorcades, the routes his car would use, arrival arrangements at Parliament and searches in contiguous areas. Buytendag stated that Dr. Verwoerd's appointments were made available to him and if there were doubts about any planned visitors, the local security police would be contacted. The PM's office was constantly searched for hidden microphones and his telephones were checked for espionage efforts. Dr. Verwoerd never handled post or packages. A special police guard unit was formed consisting of 82 officers and men. Nothing in Col. Buytendag's statement was directly relevant to Tsafendas.

¹¹¹⁵ Michaelis Augustides statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

¹¹¹⁶ Barend Buytendag statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Verklarings van Lt. Kol. B. Buytendag. NASA.

SYBIE BARENDILLA¹¹¹⁷

Coloured female, 28 years, Shop Assistant at Astoria Stores, Woodstock.

I belong to the Christian fellowship of which Demitrio Tsafendas was a member. During November, 1965, I attended a meeting (church) at Abrahams, 112 Kipling Street, near my house. After I have been in the house, Tsafendas arrived. He was also attending our meeting and had a bible with him. After the service he introduced himself to me.

During about May, 1966 I again met him on a bus when I was returning to work after lunch. He remembered me, spoke to me and said he was on his way to Town to buy a pair of shoes. He enquired how my uncle was in America. I do not know how he came to know that I had an uncle in America and I did not ask him. The next day after this incident he walked past the shop where I was employed. He paused in the door, waved to me and walked on. The following day he came into the shop and bought a chocolate. I got the impression that he wanted to talk to me, but I cut him short and carried on with my work.

On a public holiday, I think the 11th of July, 1966, he came to my house and enquired for me. My sister opened the door and spoke to him. He was insistent to see me, but my sister put him off. I heard the conversation and told my sister that I did not want to see him. That was the last time I have any knowledge of him. After that I saw his picture in the local papers in connection with the assassination of Hr. Dr. Verwoerd.

JACOBUS JOHANNES BORNMAN¹¹¹⁸

White male, 22 years old, Traffic officer at Tramway Company, Cape Town.

I lived at 57 Milton Road, Observatory during May to July 1966. Living with me in the same room was Demitrio Tsafendas. When I started living together with him, I found him to be a friendly and plausible person. He left the impression that he really liked me. On one occasion I had no money and then Tsafendas gave me five cents. I later wanted to return the money to him, but he would not take it.

¹¹¹⁷ Sybie Barendilla statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹¹¹⁸ Jacobus Johannes Bornman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Tsafendas read his bible late into the night and I got the impression that he was a great Christian. He also told me that he was a Christian. He went to church four or five times. It was usually during the night. I do not know what denomination he belonged to, but I believed him to belong to the Catholic Church. This, however, was of little importance to me. On one occasion he told me that he met a woman who attended the same church as he did. As far as I know, Tsafendas loves women, he talked a lot about women and I believed that he attended church services so often to make contact with the woman he met there.

There was also a person, a German, whose name I do not remember, sharing the room with us. I remember that one day Tsafendas told us that if he should marry one day and have children, those children would be either genius or mad because of all the feelings in him over the years and what he has experienced over the years. I want to mention the following incident, which I found odd, to be put on recorded. On Tsafendas's wardrobe were paper bags and on top of the paper bags were three of his hats. I reached up to a paper bag to put in certain items of clothing. When I reached for the paper bag on top of his closet, he leaped swiftly from where he lay on his bed reading. When I saw, Tsafendas stood beside me. It surprised me to see how quickly he can move since he had a big and clumsy posture and I believed that he was a lazy person. I asked him why he so quickly jumped up and he said he was afraid I would knock his hats from the closet. I have often noticed that Tsafendas removed his wallet and personal belongings at night from his pockets and place it under his pillow instead. I often saw that he placed his wallet under his pillow. Maj. Rossouw today showed me a wallet which I know belongs to Tsafendas.

As I said, Tsafendas read Bible late into the night. We had an argument because he left the light burning while I wanted to sleep. After that, he did not talk to me much, but he talked a lot with the German. Tsafendas's conversations were always about women and politics. He never talked about anything else. Tsafendas was dissatisfied with conditions in R.S.A and he has often criticized the government, his exact words I don't remember, but it seemed to me that he had a grudge against Dr. Verwoerd. He stood up a lot for the Coloureds. On a day a Bantu woman brought food for Tsafendas while he was in bed from his illness with his nose operation. He said he would like to have intercourse with her. This he said after she left the room. I rebuked him by saying that it is not allowed in the R.S.A. He said it did not bother him.

During the time I lived with Tsafendas, his behaviour was normal. He did not drink or smoke. I regarded him as a normal and very intelligent person. He told me that he was a

sickly person and therefore cannot do very hard work. He told me that he was an interpreter by profession. According to my observation, Tsafendas was a gentle person. He was neat on his person, but his eating habits were not up to scratch. He was messy.

Tsafendas said he was born in Lourenço Marques, he went to school in Middelburg and that he visited many foreign countries. I know that he could speak several languages. Of Germany he talked a lot and he also spoke of the Russians, but not that he had ever visited Russia. He and the German spoke German. What was remarkable was that Tsafendas always told everyone that he is a Christian. As far as I know he just read his Bible in his room. Tsafendas never received any visitors, but he walked around a lot. I got the impression that Tsafendas was very secretive in his actions.

Statement taken by Major D.J. Rossouw and Troost

PIETER BENJAMIN GELDENHUYS¹¹¹⁹

White male, employment officer at the Department of Labour, Cape Town.

On 05/25/1966 I was working at the department as employment officer when a white man, Demitrio Tsafendas came to seek assistance for work. At that time he was unemployed and wanted to register for work. Because he was on sickness benefits and staying in a nursing home "The Milton Convalescent Home", I insisted on a medical certificate which states that he is suitable for work. On 06/06/1966, he again came to the office, but was not in possession of the required medical certificate. On this day he was very talkative and blamed everyone except himself for the fact that he was unemployed. Because he could not produce the necessary medical certificate, I did not refer him to any work.

I got the impression that this man was eager to find work and according to his physical appearance, he appeared to be a person who is able to do work. He was neatly dressed. Because he did not have the necessary certificate, I did not take note at that time of what kind of work he can do. He did report to me that he could speak several languages and stated that he would like to be an interpreter.

¹¹¹⁹ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

I spoke with this man twice and I never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally. The first time I spoke with him, I completed the record report cards with the necessary information.”

Statement taken by J.P.F. van Wyk S/SGT.

ROSENBERGH¹¹²⁰

Demitrio Tsafendas (he has a brother and sister in Pretoria who are classified as whites) has applied to the Dept. of the Interior to be classified as Coloured because his intention was to marry a Coloured woman. Information given by Mr Rosenbergh to Coetzee in the Detective Dept.

WILLIAM MARE VOLBRECHT¹¹²¹

I am an adult white male, vice principal and chief psychologist associated to Porters Reform School, Tokai. I am also known as Billy.

I was born in Middelburg, Transvaal, where I began my schooling at the “English Medium Primary School”. I was a pupil from 1929 and stayed there until St. VI, that is to say more or less until 1935. The principal at that time was Mr. J. C. Cox.

I can remember that while I was a student, there were a group of Greek and Portuguese students who studied there mainly with the aim to improve their English. When they studied there, they were sent to a lower standard to learn the basics first. These students usually created the impression that they were at a higher level in certain subjects and we regarded them as very intelligent.

As I can remember very well, Demitrio Tsafendas was during that time, one of the group of Portuguese and Greek students.

¹¹²⁰ Rosenbergh statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150. Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/7, Subject: Department van Immigrasie. NASA; Rosenbergh's first name is not given in the statement.

¹¹²¹ William Mare Volbrecht statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Verklaring deur Majdor Venter. NASA.

This school was well known for its healthy atmosphere where personal interests in the children are given which is most important for a child in his forming years. This also applies to the residence - Nelson House - where they were living.

At that stage Tsafendas was seen as white and there was never anything that pointed to someone regarding or treating him as a non-white or to him being discriminated against. He participated in the school activities and sports, for example, without excelling.

I cannot remember any case where he was ever guilty of misconduct. He was as far as I can remember, never a loner and freely mingled with us. There were no noticeable deviations. If there are cases of which I am unaware, it is possible that it may be recorded in the punishment book.

It was clear to us during those years that this group of Portuguese and Greeks who were a bit older than us and more often mixed with each other, made a habit of sodomy.

From the time I was in Standard III, I never saw him again.

According to my knowledge Mrs. Looock was the standard II teacher who, if she is still alive, will have a very thorough knowledge of him. A certain Miss. Peters, later Mrs. Verryn and later Mrs. Piking, now residing in Middelburg, was the Grades-teacher and she should remember him very well. The housemaster at Nelson House and later a principal of a school in Potchefstroom, Mr. J. Martindale, is another person who will know him very well.

Statement taken by J.P.F. van Wyk S/Sgt.

TUESDAY, 4 OCTOBER 1966

STATEMENTS

MELDON TILLEK¹¹²²

Coloured man, Reiger Park, Boksburg.

I was born on 17/4/1941 in Benoni. I am married and live with my parents.

Approximately in 1963, on a Sunday morning, I answered the telephone in my parents' home at 100 Montague Street, ACTONVILLE, BENONI. The person on the phone said he was at Benoni station and that he desired to attend the morning church service in our home and that he needed me to give him directions to find the house. A few minutes after the phone call that person arrived alone at our house and introduced himself as DEMETRIO TSAFENDAS and said that he was a member of our Church, which is called "The Way." Our Church is also known as "Two by Two" and "True Saints of Christ." I was also a member of this Church at that time. My Father, Harry Tillek, is an Elder in this Church and he conducts a service in our home every Sunday.

Tsafendas attended the service which my father conducted that morning. We talked together after the service. Tsafendas told me that he worked at ISCOR in Pretoria. He never gave me his home address. He said that he had travelled in many different countries in the world. However, he said that he had experienced many difficulties in the Republic of South Africa because of the strict Apartheid Policies because he had a dark complexion and was regarded as a Coloured person. He added that he had applied to be registered as a Coloured, but that he had been classified as a white person instead. He said that the white people always looked down on him and that consequently he felt more at home amongst Coloured people. He attended the morning service, had lunch with us and also attended the afternoon service. He departed from Benoni Station late that afternoon.

About a month after his visit at my parents' home, Tsafendas again pitched up on a Sunday for a service which was led by my father. He left directly after the service and I do not know what happened to him after that. We did not converse on that occasion. Tsafendas

¹¹²² Meldon Tillek statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

never mentioned the name of Dr. Verwoerd in my presence and he never made any other comments about politics. His behaviour and conversations with me were normal and I never noticed anything unusual about him. I do remember that on the occasion of his first visit to my parental home, that one of the fellow residents suggested to him that as there were many Coloureds in our Church in Cape Town, he would probably find it easier to mix with the people there. I know a Coloured woman named Helen Daniels who is from Cape Town. I met her when she attended Church Conferences in Benoni and she often stayed at my parental home on those occasions. I cannot recall that any of our residents ever mentioned her name to Tsafendas.

Although Tsafendas never made any comments other than those previously mentioned, he gave the strong impression that he was very unhappy here as a result of the Government policies regarding separate development. I have read that a person named Demetrio Tsafendas has been detained in connection with murder of the late Dr. Verwoerd. I should definitely be able to identify the Tsafendas who visited my parents' house. I am prepared to testify about the facts contained in this declaration in any Court.

The declaration was taken by me in Benoni on 4/10/1966 at 10.15a.m.

Signed by Captain Pretorius.

Witnessed by Sergeant van der Merwe.

WALTER HARRY TILLEK¹¹²³

Coloured man, Reigers Park, Boksburg.

I was born on 29/12/1908 in Johannesburg. I am married and live with my family at the above address. I am a member and Elder of the "TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST." I have been living at the above address for approximately the last 18 months. Previously I lived for 38 years at 100 Montague Street, ACTONVILLE BENONI. While I live in Actonville, Benoni, we held communal Church Services at my home every Sunday. We did not have a Minister and I conducted the services as an Elder.

¹¹²³ Walton Henry Tillek statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

In about 1963, one Sunday morning, before the Church Service, a person who appeared to be a white person, arrived alone at my home, which was situated in a Coloured area. He introduced himself as Demetrio Tsafendas. He said that he had come to attend the morning Church Service in my home. He said that he was from Pretoria. He did not give me his address or any other personal details. He said that he simply was very interested in the church and that he wanted to attend the service. He never discussed either any church or government policies. I did not notice any abnormal behaviour by him and he behaved in a normal way. I led the service.

As far as I can remember Tsafendas was the only white person present at the service. The rest of the congregation were Coloureds, Bantu, and Indians. After the service which lasted about an hour, all the congregation left, including Tsafendas. About a month after the first service, Demetrio Tsafendas again arrived alone for a service. On that occasion we again did not discuss anything and he left after the service conducted by me. On both occasions Tsafendas stated that he had travelled per train from Pretoria. Tsafendas said that he had been given my address by one of our church's preachers. I know a Coloured woman named Helen Daniels and all I know about her is that she lives in Cape Town. I do not know her areas. I met her in Putfontein, Benoni, about ten years ago, at the time of a conference of our Church.

After that, I saw often saw her at Church Conferences. We never corresponded and I do not know her address. She is unmarried and a preacher in our Church. I am sure that I never gave the name or address of Helen Daniels to Demetrio Tsafendas, or discussed her with him. My church only spreads the good news of the Bible. I have been a member of this church since 1936. This church does not possess any buildings. I have no idea for how long Tsafendas has been a member of this church and do not have any knowledge of his personal details. After the death of the late Dr. Verwoerd I read that Tsafendas was being detained in this connection.

Declaration taken by me at Benoni on 4/10/66.

Signed: Captain Pretorius

Witness: Sergeant van der Merwe, 30849.

KEITH TERRENCE BERTRAM MARTINCICH¹¹²⁴

E/M/A. Lansdowne.

I am employed with Marine Diamond Corporation on the Colpontoon. When I signed on, on the 8th February, 1966, I found Tsafendas employed there as a pump operator. We were on the same shift, in adjoining cabins, and enjoying the same facilities on the boat. He spoke to me every day and I got the impression that he was sociable type. He mentioned to me that he has been to various countries. He did not have much clothing with him, and I got the impression that he was a poor man. I stood him a few drinks. When we were off and to Cape Town I stood him a meal at Cape Town station. After that we had some drinks at the buffet. He could not drink much and usually talked nonsense when he had been drinking.

On quite a few occasions he had discussed politics with me. He said he did not like the Government and that he was given a hard time in South Africa. He said the Government won't reign very long. He always referred to we don't like the Government. I asked him who was 'we'. He said "silence is Golden" and dropped the subject, and walked away. On various occasions he had said that he was staying with a coloured or Malay family in Lansdowne. He also said the coloureds were better than the Europeans. He said they were more friendly, and had more sense than the Europeans, and showed more understanding. When I said he was talking nonsense, he got cross and lifted himself as though he wanted to tackle me. I lifted myself as if I was going to defend myself, in doing so pointed my fingers pressed stiff together towards him. He immediately asked me if I was going to use Karate on him. I said yea, he was a bigger man than myself. He then sat down and asked me pardon.

I noticed that he was very familiar with the coloured crew on the boat, about which I reprimanded him. He mentioned to me about belonging to a gang or crowd of coloured people who were enjoying themselves in Cape Town. He never mentioned the church or that he was a Christian or a religious person. Mentioning the gang, I got the impression he meant a number of people. When off duty on shore leave I saw him travel the train to Lansdowne. He got off towards the coloured area. When I have been with him about 2 or 3 trips he said I must not say anything, as he was not coming back. He said he was expecting a large amount of money and is a big business man and that he was wasting his time with the firm on the boat.

¹¹²⁴ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

He appeared fit, and I never got the impression that he was sick. He never complained that he was sick. I often watched him at his work. He appeared to be one of the laziest persons that I have ever seen. The only complaint he ever had, was about climbing the stairs and the rooking of the boat, and I used to see him walk in the passages as if he had all the time in the world. He was definitely lazy. The dredge pumps sucked up crawfish quite often. He was more interested to catch the crawfish than in his work. I chased him on a few occasions away from the gravel screen on account that diamonds came up there, though it would be very difficult to get to the gravel. The crawfish come on top, and can be caught by hand. He was often saying he wished he found himself a girlfriend for the night.

He said he was against the colour bar in the country. He spoke against the Government, but never against any individual. In many ways he had very childish manners. His table manners were very bad. He had a good appetite at all meals and enjoyed his meals in a messy way. I have watched him at times from behind, and noticed he was mumbling to himself. I overheard him mentioning that he had dived-from our boat to save people, like a hero in a dreamworld. He even clapped hands by himself, and jumped up and down like a child. I found this very amusing, thinking that there was something mentally wrong with him. When he noticed me, he carried on with his work. Once he said he would not mind getting a couple of diamonds. I told him he could try if he wanted to land in gaol.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

WEDNESDAY, 5 OCTOBER 1966

STATEMENTS

CAREL SEBASTIAAN VAN HEERDEN¹¹²⁵

Senior security officer of the Colpontoon, diamond boat of Marine Diamond Corporation, Wynberg.

Around January or February 1966, Demitrio Tsafendas made his first appearance on the same shift as I on the Colpontoon. We were transferred from the Marina with a small outboard boat to the Colpontoon. It was terrible rough seas, so much so that almost all of us old hands got seasick. It struck me that Tsafendas adapted well. He was one of the few who were not sick. With landing he filled the mess-basin on the lower deck with water and started shaving. His calm way struck me that he must know the sea.

Tsafendas was employed as a pump-or engineer operator and did not work under my direct supervision. I introduced myself to him and talked to him. He was friendly, outgoing, and was not aloof.

I noticed that his eating was messy. Otherwise he was completely normal. It was notable that he never slept as long as the others slept after his shift on duty. The shifts are 12 hours on and 12 hours off. Usually the night shift sleeps until about 6 pm. Tsafendas was very often already awake by 3 or 4 pm. He then came across as fit and rested. He never complained to me that the work bored him or made him weary. I have never conducted personal conversations with him with regards to his origin or background.

My shift was 10 days on and 10 days off. He had 20 days on and 10 off with the result that afterwards we were not often together on duty. I was later transferred to another boat and lost contact with him, with the result that I do not know what has become of him. As far as I know he did not drink.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

¹¹²⁵ Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

HENDRIK JOHANNES MULDER¹¹²⁶

White male, accountant at Tecosa Knitting Mills, Claremont.

I am an expert in the field "Kung Fu" or better known as Chinese karate. I'm also an expert in the field of firearms, explosives and manufacturing of bombs. From 1944-1950 I was a professional deep sea diver in South America. I learned karate here. During this period I visited Argentina with friends and was arrested and detained, because it was alleged that I and others tried to kill Juan Peron, then the president of Argentina. We escaped and returned via a torpedo boat to Venezuela where I worked. January 1951 I returned to South Africa. I worked in Port Elizabeth for six years and then moved to Cape Town.

During 1960 or 1961, an article in the supplement to "Die Burger" appeared which discussed my skill with firearms, etc. There were also pictures of me with the article. Shortly after the article appeared, three men came to my house one night. All three were white. They did not introduce themselves to me. One person asked me: "do you like money," I replied, "of course, who does not?" He then said that they wanted me to perform an assignment of theirs. It is dangerous yet easy. I wanted to know what they want me to do. They then told me that I had to shoot Dr. Verwoerd and I will receive £20,000 in compensation. I would receive £10,000 as soon as I sign a document stating that I will do the shooting and £10,000 to me or my wife as soon as the job is done. The people spoke English and seemed to be Jews. I made them understand that I was not interested in such a thing at all. The next day I called the Security Police. The same day, two members of the Security police came to see me and took the statement. The one was Erasmus (I'm not sure, but I know he is now in diamond research), the other one was van Wyk. I gave all details and the description of the three persons.

During April the following year, Dr. Verwoerd was shot by Pratt. Before this incident, the people called me several times and asked if I would not accept their offer. I cannot remember well, but I doubt that the Security Police came to see me after the shooting. I also gave the Security Police information about the South African Freedom Movement. About a year ago, a person called me one night. I do not have a phone in my house, but my neighbours Mrs. Christian, receives phone calls for me and called me to the phone. It

¹¹²⁶ Hendrik Johannes Mulder statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

happens often so she will not be aware of this particular case. A male person referred to the earlier offer made to me and then said that it could be arranged that I get a job in the Parliamentary house and then I will be near Dr. Verwoerd and can "reach him easier." I once again said that I was not interested in it. I phoned the Security Police the next day and reported the incident. I think I spoke with Captain. Rossouw. It was by telephone. He thanked me and said everything is being done to protect our Prime Minister and I don't have to worry at all. This conversation was a roughly a year before the murder of the late Dr. Verwoerd occurred.

About 14 days ago, someone called me at work and told me that they have someone in the Parliamentary House for their work and that Advocate Vorster will be First minister for exactly six months before he will be killed. After a notice appeared in the press that an investigation will occur and where people were invited to provide information I telephoned and stated my willingness to give a statement. I gained my knowledge about explosives and time bombs in my course as deep-sea diver. The incident about Advocate Vorster I did not report to the Security Police, because I felt that I was making a fool of myself.

COMMENTS ON MULDER'S STATEMENT

On October 6, the police interviewed Petrus Gerhardus Loubser,¹¹²⁷ a former Security Police officer, in connection with Mulder's statement (his statement made on the day in question is included later in this chapter). Subsequently, on October 14 the Commission of Enquiry interviewed Mulder and Loubser again, along with Det. Sgt. Johannes Petrus Francois van Wyk, who was also involved in the case. Mulder's testimony to the Commission is similar to his statement here and is given in the following chapter, in the section titled "The Mulder Case."¹¹²⁸

Loubser testified to the Commission (his testimony is given in the following chapter, see "The Mulder Case") and to the police that he interviewed Hendrik Mulder after he told police he had been offered a large sum of money to blow up the *Die Burger* newspaper by planting a time bomb, but he could not describe the men who made the offer. On another occasion, he said he was working as a mechanic at a garage when a customer tried to

¹¹²⁷ The surname in his statement to the police is given as Loubser, while in his testimony to the COE it is given as Laubser.

¹¹²⁸ Hendrik Johannes Mulder testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

persuade him to shoot Verwoerd. He said he could not describe the customer and the garage itself was by now closed. Laubser said, “My opinion is he has a fantastic imagination.”¹¹²⁹

Detective van Wyk testified to the Commission (his testimony is available in the following chapter, see “The Mulder Case”) that after Mulder reported the alleged offer to blow up the *Die Burger* newspaper building, the police secretly observed his house. Mulder later told him the two men had returned during this period, but the police watchers said no-one visited. The detective said Mulder claimed a man at his workplace held Communist meetings, an allegation police found to be false. As for the blindfolded visit to a block of flats, van Wyk said the police considered it “altogether too fantastic and entirely implausible.”¹¹³⁰

By reading the two policemen’s testimonies about Mulder, we may note the inconsistencies in his far-fetched story (for example he was asked to kill Dr Verwoerd in 1959, but he reported it to the police only in 1962); his inability to describe any of these contacts with precision; and his two clear lies (the alleged Communist meetings and his claim that someone visited him while the police secretly had his house under observation). This strongly suggests that both men had every right to think that Mulder was lying. As to his connection with Tsafendas, the only remote connection was when Mulder claimed his contacts told him they could arrange access to Dr Verwoerd by securing a position in Parliament.

That Tsafendas had reached Dr. Verwoerd by just such a method, as a Parliamentary messenger, had been all over the newspapers for more than a month. It is well within the bounds of possibility that an evident fantasist such as Mulder could have made up such a claim retrospectively to strengthen his story.

¹¹²⁹ Petrus Gerhardus Laubser testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

¹¹³⁰ Johannes Petrus Francois van Wyk testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

THURSDAY, 6 OCTOBER 1966

TSAFENDAS'S HEARING

As instructed by the September 8, 1966 remand order of Chief Magistrate C. Willman, Tsafendas appeared on Thursday, October 6, 1966 before a specially constituted court in Caledon Square police station. The hearing lasted for four minutes and fifty seconds and Tsafendas was remanded for summary trial on October 17 at the Criminal Sessions, Cape Town, on an allegation of murder.¹¹³¹ The proceedings took place before Mr. Willman in a room measuring some fifteen feet by fifteen feet and containing seven policemen and four reporters, as well as court officers. Willman presided, Bloomberg appeared on behalf of Tsafendas, (though Wilfrid Cooper was named as defence counsel), and Mr. H. Jacobs appeared as senior prosecutor. Tsafendas wore a crumpled brown suit and white shirt without a tie; he was not handcuffed and stood with his hands clasped behind his back; he had no waist belt and hitched up his trousers from time to time.

At 10.30 am, Willman was ushered into the room and Jacobs asked that the preparatory examination opened on September 9, 1966 against Tsafendas be remitted for trial. He said the indictment had been served on Tsafendas and advocate Cooper had been informed of today's proceedings.¹¹³² The indictment read: *That DEMITRIO TSAFENDAS is guilty of the crime of MURDER IN THAT upon the 6th September, 1966, and at Cape Town, in the District of the CAPE, he did wrongfully, unlawfully and maliciously Kill and murder DR. THE HONOURABLE HENDRIK FRENSCH VERWOERD, Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa.*¹¹³³

Willman told Tsafendas he was being committed for summary trial and meanwhile would be detained in the cells at the police station. Tsafendas spoke for the first and only time. According to the South African Press of the time, Tsafendas, leaning forward slightly, said, "My lord, I do not understand the word summary." Willman replied, "It means that you will be tried without preparatory examination." Tsafendas responded, "Yes, my lord," and the court adjourned.¹¹³⁴ According to Bloomberg, Tsafendas asked him and not the magistrate

¹¹³¹ *The Cape Argus*, 'Tsafendas: Question to Court', 6 October 1966: 1.

¹¹³² *The Cape Argus*, 'Tsafendas: Question to Court', 6 October 1966: 1.

¹¹³³ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 80-81.

¹¹³⁴ *The Cape Argus*, 'Tsafendas: Question to Court', 6 October 1966: 1.

what “summary trial” meant.¹¹³⁵ With policemen holding onto his jacket sleeves, Tsafendas was escorted across a narrow passage to a lift giving access to the cells.¹¹³⁶

STATEMENTS

PETRUS GERHARDUS LOUBSER¹¹³⁷

White male, former Security Police officer, Bellville.

From September 1961 to 1963 I was involved in the security section of the SA Police in Cape Town. Then I left the police. A white man, Mr. Hendrik Mulder, is known to me. I met him in connection with work that I had done for the security police while I was still in the service. I cannot remember exactly, but it was during 1962 when Mulder telephoned the Head of Safety of that time, Colonel Van der Westhuizen. I was then instructed to meet with him. That same evening I went to see him. He then said to me said that three unknown persons paid him a visit. They told him they had seen a report in a supplication of “Die Burger” reporting his skill with firearms. They would say to him that they could use him. He would have asked them what they wanted to use him for and they would say that they want him to bomb the offices of “Die Burger.” They proposed to him that he return to the offices of “Die Burger” and give a further story about his skill with firearms. He had to take a package with him that contained a time bomb. He had to leave the package somewhere in an office.

Mr. Mulder said he wanted the people to return, therefore he had told them that he would reflect on the matter and that they can come and see him again. He wanted to, in fact, use the time to inform the police, which he did afterwards. Arrangements were made with Mr. Mulder to inform the Security Police when the men arrived again, but he never did that. I was scouting for a long period, but no one was ever noticed at his home. On a second occasion, a few days later, I spoke to Mulder again and he said that when the three persons came to see him, they also told him that they wanted to establish a “Task Force”, that they already have 20,000 members and that they wanted to use to him as an instructor. I found it strange that he didn’t give such an important report to me before. A time later I saw Mr. Mulder again at a shop in Woodstock. He told me that he took his car to a garage in District Six for repairs

¹¹³⁵ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 81.

¹¹³⁶ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Tsafendas: Question to Court’, 6 October 1966: 1.

¹¹³⁷ Petrus Gerhardus Loubser statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

and that the owner, a Jew, had requested an absurd amount for the repairs, he could not pay the amount. The Jew then offered him an absurd amount of money if he would kill Dr. Verwoerd. Mulder said that the incident happened a few years ago, just after Dr. Verwoerd became prime minister. He could not give the Jew's name and could not give the address where the garage was. He said the garage no longer exists. Mr. Mulder was usually very vague and could give no direct information that could be followed up. I deny that Mulder ever reported to me that three Jews approached him to shoot Dr. Verwoerd. I never took a statement from him.

Statement taken by J.P.F. van Wyk S/SGT.

REDVERS QUINTIN WAKFER¹¹³⁸

I am an adult white male employed by the Cape Town City Council at the Power Station, Dock Rd., Cape Town and reside at 25 Forth Ave., Fish Hoek. On 10/09/65, Mr. D. Tsafendas applied for a job as a fitter at the Power Station. I interviewed him and subsequently he was taken on as a fitter in the ash plant. This was on the 13th of September, 1965. He appeared to be quite normal and was neatly dressed. I never worked with him but received a report that he was not a good worker and I have instructions that he should be dismissed. He was then dismissed on 25/10/65. To avoid dismissal he resigned.

(SGD.) R.Q. Wakfer

Statement taken by me – (SGD.) J.P.F. van Wyk D/Sgt.

Cape Town 6/10/66.

¹¹³⁸ Redvers Quintin Wakfer statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub File: 1/5, Subject Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

OWEN SMORENBURG¹¹³⁹

White male, employed at the Power Station, Dock Hd., Cape Town.

The person Tsafendas is known to me. He worked with me during September/October, 1965. He worked with me for about five weeks. At that time I was doing work in the Cape Town docks. Mr. Tsafendas was assisting me with rough engineering fitting. During that time I got the idea that he was very headstrong. He did not want to work according to instructions but wanted to do things his way.

Mr. Tsafendas was very talkative and gave the impression that he was very friendly. He wanted to talk to everybody and it became known to me that he was able to speak different languages. While working there one day he spoke to people on a boat but he was speaking in a strange language and I could not understand him. The job we did in the docks was about 40 ft. underneath the ground and he was obviously scared of working there because it was too dangerous he said. Sometimes Mr. Tsafendas acted childish and did things which you wouldn't expect from a man of his age. One day for instance he loosen a bolt which was rusted. He asked whether he should put on a new one and when told to do so, he went along and put the rusted one back again.

He never discussed politics with me, but one day I told him laughingly that the place where we work was an ideal place for Min. Vorster to put his political prisoners. In a short discussion that followed he mentioned that Min. Vorster was the right man in that job and also said something to the effect that the then Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, was the right man to be in that position. Mr. Tsafendas was never satisfied with his salary. He always complained that it was not enough. He was no good as a fitter and was dismissed for that reason, but instead of dismissing him, he was given the opportunity to resign. On the day when he was dismissed he said that he worked all over the world but now that he was working for a stupid place like the Cape Town City Council, he was told that he was not good enough.

Statement taken by J.P.F. van Wyk S/SGT.

¹¹³⁹ Owen Smorenburg statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 oor Stafendas. NASA.

HARRY HALL¹¹⁴⁰

European male, lift technician at the Cape Town Medical School.

About during March, 1966 I first met Demitrio (now known as Tsafendas). I am a member of the Christian Church and as such meetings are held at my house for members of the faith. We have evening meetings on Wednesdays and Sundays as well as a morning meeting on Sundays. Demitrio came to my house on advice from one of the elder preachers - Mr. Johnson - who had directed him to my house. I accepted him as such. He did not attend regularly, but about 2/3s of the meetings. He participated at times in our Bible readings and discussions. I got the definite impression that he had no proper understanding at the meaning of the Bible. We could not look upon his as an enlightened person as far as the teaching of the Bible was concerned.

After meetings people never stay socially, so I had very few discussions with him. He told me he had been in the American Merchant Marine during the last war, also that he had been to many places. He never discussed anything political, I did not even know where he worked. He said he was living in Observatory, and after been missing for some time, he said he had moved to Woodstock and that it was out of the way. I regarded him as a sub-standard intellect but otherwise found him to be reasonably normal.

On Sunday 3/9/66 he attended both services at my house. I have on occasions noticed that when he sat with his hands on his knees, his legs would tremble quite violently. I cannot remember if I had noticed anything peculiar about him the very last Sunday. During the following week I learnt through the newspapers that he had been detained in connection with the assassination of the Prime Minister (Dr. Verwoerd).

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost D/Sergt. 23505

¹¹⁴⁰ Harry Hall statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

VICTOR RIBTON¹¹⁴¹

White male, proprietor of Victor Ribton Agencies Camps Bay.

On the morning of the 6th September, 1966 I was on my way to George. I stopped at the General Post Office Cape Town opposite the Darling Street entrance to post letters and to clear my post box, the time being approximately 9.15 a.m. On passing the telephone booths on the right hand side I noticed a white men whom I immediately recognised as one Carrol who served with me in the South African Naval Forces during World War 2. I did not get a full view of his face but, although I only saw him side faced I am 90% certain that it was Carrol. He did not see or recognise me.

I then noticed that he was waiting outside the centre booth, all the booths being occupied at the time. He appeared restless and agitated which I thought at the time was due to the fact that the booths were all occupied. Later on in the day, on the National Road just past Riversdale when I heard the news of the Prime Minister's death on the car radio, I had given Carrol's presence at the Post Office some thought but had not been suspicious until the following day when the newspapers reported that the assassin had left the Houses of Parliament earlier that morning to go to town and I knew that Carrol was employed at the Parliament. When I later read that all information, however trivial, should be reported, I decided to report this incident.

Statement taken by ... (Indecipherable name) D/W/Officer, S.A. Police. Commissioner of oaths.

GILLIAN CLAIRE LIEBERMAN¹¹⁴²

White female, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation. Cape Town.

About during March 1966 I got to know Demitrio Tsafendas. He came into my office at M.D.C. as an employee with a query. He said that he had some trouble with his ears and

¹¹⁴¹ Victor Ribton statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 3, Sub File: 1/5. NASA.

¹¹⁴² Gillian Claire Lieberman statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

nose and wished to see a doctor. I questioned him to ascertain whether his complaint was private or due to an injury on duty. He mentioned that the vibration and noise in the pump room (on the Colpontoon) were effecting his ears. I made an appointment with the Co. Doctor (Dr. Lazzard. It later came to my notice that he had been referred to Mr. Breme Goldman (ear and nose specialist) in Medical Centre, CT. After this, he came into my office on more than one occasion. I had various discussions with him. I got quite interested in him as an individual. He mentioned that he was well-travelled; he mentioned having been to Portugal, England and the Continent. I think he also mentioned the East. He said he could speak the language of the countries he had been to. He mentioned Portuguese, and I think German. He spoke to me quite good English but with an accent.

He complained about the type of man we had employed — meaning the people who worked with him. He mentioned particularly the Afrikaans co-workers as being intolerant of the white South African people. I asked him how can he generalize, as no person is the same. He inferred that he was a lone person and with no ties or family or friends. He also mentioned that he would like to have his meals alone on the boat. He complained about the stops and ladders which he had to climb as also again about the noise of the pumps. He was a very dissatisfied person. I told him we could not arrange separate facilities for him, and inferred that is he is so very dissatisfied, it would be better for him to resign. He said that would be the best.

About his intolerance of the South African white people, he probed me for my political opinion. By his talks he gave me the impression that he does not agree with authority (Governmental or other). I cut him short, saying that in my capacity of my work I do not discuss politics. I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation, but a strange type of person, a unique character. Apart from him being well travelled etc. I got the impression that he was physically different in dress and appearance. He was a big man, with a particularly striking big hat, stainless steel teeth, sloppy dirty clothing.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505. Commissioner of oaths.

JAMES JOHNSTON¹¹⁴³

Coloured male. Minister of the Christian Church. Plumstead.

We have no church building but we gather together for worship in the homes of members of our denomination. The Christian Church caters for both European and non-European races. We are not multi-racial but we do gather with coloured members of the church during our annual Christian Church conference. We, however, obey the apartheid laws. By this I mean that members of different races eat and sleep separately. We go out in two's and we receive no salary whatever. Our needs are met by voluntary contributions from the members of our church. The Christian Church organisation is worldwide. I am not sure of the membership for the whole of the Republic but membership for the Western Province is in the vicinity of 800. Our church does mission work. The function of the organisation consists of missionary work and evangelistic meetings. We adhere strictly to the teaching and example of Christ. We spread no literature of any kind and members are encouraged to abide strictly by the scriptures. Our members of the church gather together in their respective organs every Sunday morning and evening and Wednesday evening for the study of the scriptures. Members residing in the various suburbs gather together in an appointed home in the suburb. We have no collections. Mr. H. Hall residing at 3 Glenroy, Pinelands, is one of the members in whose home church gatherings are held.

I know Mr. Demitrio Tsafendas. I met him during last year i.e. shortly after he arrived in the Caps. He told me he was residing at Mr. Daniels in Bellville and attending services that were held in the coloured homes in Bellville South. I then asked him seeing he was Greek or Portuguese, whether he considered himself a European or a coloured man. He told me he classified himself as coloured. I asked him if he had his identity card and he said this was being attended to in Pretoria. I saw Tsafendas periodically after that, but I had no discussions with him.

In the early part of 1966 Tsafendas came to see me at Mr. Slater's home. He then told me that he has work on the Marine Diamond Corporation boats. The subject of his race came up again and he then showed me a small slip of paper, which was typed, with his name and address and identity number. I told him then that it appears that he was classified as a European and that he must on that account withdraw from worship gatherings in the

¹¹⁴³ James Johnston statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

coloured homes. He told me he had a room in Observatory and I then asked him to attend services in Mr. Hall's house in Pinelands.

I do not know Tsafendas very well and the longest discussion I had with him was for about 10 minutes at each occasion. He told me he was anxious to get married especially to some coloured girl. I told him he could not do that whilst classified as a European. He told me this could be done by going to Lourenço Marques or Basutoland. I told him it was entirely against the law and advised him strongly against it. Tsafendas never discussed politics with me. He did tell me about his travels and his knowledge of different languages.

After he had left Marine Diamond Corporation, Tsafendas came to see me and said that he would be seeking other employment but did not mention seeking employment in the House of Assembly. He never discussed his reasons for moving among the coloured people, nor did he give me to understand that he was more sympathetic towards the coloureds than towards the Europeans.

The Sunday night before the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd I saw Tsafendas at a service in Mr. Hall's home in Pinelands, but he did not discuss anything or take part in the service that night. He appeared to be perfectly normal. I must say I did not speak to him, apart from saying good night. I did think Tsafendas to be slightly unbalanced and that he seemed to have a mysterious background but otherwise he appeared to be all-right.

Statement taken by Maj. D.J. Rossouw.

FRIDAY, 7 OCTOBER 1966

STATEMENTS

FELIX GEORGE MILES¹¹⁴⁴

European male, 56 years, Messenger at the House of Assembly, Parliament House, Cape Town.

States:

I have been in the employ of the House of Assembly as a messenger since the 1st of August, 1966. I applied for a messenger's position at the House of Assembly in person about a month prior to the 1st of August, 1966. I received a written notification on 29/7/66 to the effect that I must be available on 1/8/66 for an interview.

I arrived at the House of Assembly at about 8 am on 1/8/66. There were about 6 or 7 of us who waited to be interviewed that morning, amongst others TSAFENDAS. We applicants were having a general conversation among ourselves whilst we were waiting for our turn to be interviewed. I never spoke to TSAFENDAS. I do remember him saying to someone or other that he is able to speak seven languages and that he expects to get a position as an interpreter. Both Tsafendas and I were accepted that morning and commenced duties that same day. Tsafendas and I were put to perform duties at the main entrance. I never spoke to him on that day.

The next day I was sent to work at Mr Burger's office, where I still am to this day. I do not know what happened to Tsafendas after this or what his duties entailed. I saw him occasionally after this but never bothered to talk to him. Between 2.10 and 2.15 pm on 6/9/66 I was standing in Mr Burger's office. The bell had just started to ring notifying the members that the House is about to start. I saw Tsafendas entering the office. I do not know where he had come from. He started talking to me and said that he had not seen me for a long time. I told him that I had been away for the long week-end. I was under the impression that he had come to collect newspapers. It was the usual time for various messengers to collect the newspapers for the individual members. I told him that the newspapers have not been

¹¹⁴⁴ Felix George Miles statement to the police, 7 October 1966. K150, Vol. 2, File: 1. NASA.

delivered yet. At that moment, one of the members entered my office to collect the money for a cheque I had cashed for him.

Tsafendas must have left the office when the member entered. I cannot say where Tsafendas went after he left Mr Burger's office. After I had given the member his money, the phone rang. I had been on the telephone for about a minute and had just put the receiver down when I heard people shouting at the door leading to the chamber. People were shouting that an ambulance should be requisitioned. I tried to get through to the ambulance but all the lines were engaged. I learned afterwards that Dr. Verwoerd had been stabbed by Tsafendas. When Tsafendas had been with us in Mr Burger's office I did not notice anything unusual about his clothing or behaviour. I consider it rather strange that Tsafendas should have talked to me that day. I have never spoken to him before except to greet him.

Statement taken by ... (Indecipherable signature) Comm. of Oaths

EDMUND GEORGE STOLLENKAMP¹¹⁴⁵

White, Male. 7 Allgate Street, Woodstock.

I'm a night watchman employed by the Larpens Agency. I serve at the ships in Table Bay docks and remember the ship Eleni. The last night of my service, I remember well. I served from 7am on Sunday 04/09/66 until 9am Monday, 05/09/66. My shift was over at 7am, but that morning I could not come down from the ship because the gangplank (drawbridge) was disabled and was drawn up. The ship was also moved and I had to wait until the bridge was lowered. The day guard, Maile, arrived shortly after 7am and waited below. He had the morning newspaper with him. After waiting below for a long time, he talked to me. He told me that Dr. Verwoerd is dead. Next to me stood a young man who worked on the ship. This man's mother was on the quay below. I told Maile he should not say everything. (I thought he made a joke.) He said Dr. Verwoerd - the Prime Minister. I asked the young man next to me if he had heard that Dr. Verwoerd is dead. The young man then spoke with his mother in Greek and I could not understand what he was talking about. I forgot the incident and later went home. Maile did not tell me that the woman said that Dr.

¹¹⁴⁵ Edmund George Stollenkamp statement to the police, 7 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

The Police Investigation

Friday, 7 October 1966

Verwoerd is dead. He made me understand he read it in the newspaper. I am convinced that I understood correctly. I cannot say at what time the woman came there. The young man pointed to a man who was with his mother and said his father was dead and that man is going to become his father. There was no other woman with them.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505. Commissioner of oaths.

MONDAY, 10 OCTOBER 1966

STATEMENTS

REGINALD THOMAS ARTHUR DANIELS¹¹⁴⁶

Adult European male, Cape Town.

I am a European male resides at above address. I am not in possession of a Passport and have never been outside the Union of South Africa, since my date of birth. Demetrio Tsafendas is unknown to me, and I have never seen him before. I don't know any doctor by the name of Ahlhelm and also never received letters from outside the RSA.

(Signed) R. Daniels

Cape Town. 10¹¹⁴⁷/10/66. 11 am.

Statement taken by me (Indecipherable signature.)

¹¹⁴⁶ Reginald Thomas Arthur Daniels statement to the police, 10 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹¹⁴⁷ The date could also be the 18th of October as the number is handwritten and it is not very clear.

WEDNESDAY, 12 OCTOBER 1966

THE *ELENI*

This was a crucial day for the investigation, when, exactly one month and six days after the assassination, the South African police finally interviewed the crew of the tanker *Eleni*. The vessel had arrived in Cape Town on the 24th of July 1966 and remained docked there until the 3rd of September 1966, sailing out just three days before Dr. Verwoerd's assassination.¹¹⁴⁸ Tsafendas visited the ship daily and became very friendly with the crew.¹¹⁴⁹

Tsafendas had testified to the police, as seen in his two statements of the 11th and the 19th of September, that he visited the *Eleni* every day while she was docked in Cape Town. The crew's testimonies were therefore important in determining Tsafendas's movements in the days before the assassination. Tsafendas had bought a gun from two members of the crew and was planning to escape on board the *Eleni*. Perhaps more importantly, Reginald Robert Maile, a ship guard, had testified to the police that three days before the assassination he was asked by Maria Kokkinidou, a woman who often visited the *Eleni*, where her son had been hired on a temporary basis, if "Dr. Verwoerd is dead?" Edmund George Stollenkamp, the ship's night watchman, had also participated in the conversation. As we will see in the chapter on the *Commission of Enquiry*, the *Eleni* would have a prominent role in the investigation. The *Commission of Enquiry* had a file specifically on the *Eleni* and the Report contains a big section of ten long paragraphs about it.

The report of the Commission of Enquiry declared that the statements by crew members (four of which are appended below) were taken on October 12, 1966, in Venice, Italy. Thirteen of seventeen crew members interviewed by the author confirmed that they, along with all other *Eleni* crewmen, were questioned by the South African police in Venice (The reason the other four were not questioned will be discussed shortly), though no-one remembers the exact date. However, only four statements (plus one sheet of testimony by Dimitrios Zafiriadis) from the thirty-eight men interviewed, were found in the National Archives of South Africa.

¹¹⁴⁸ Michael N. Fountotos statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

¹¹⁴⁹ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA; Peter Protoulis statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 oor Stafendas. NASA.

The report of the Commission of Enquiry talks extensively about the importance of the *Eleni*. About that specific incident, it states: “*It is impossible to establish with any certainty exactly what was said (in the Eleni about Dr. Verwoerd’s death). However, there is no doubt that Dr. Verwoerd’s death was mentioned on that morning three days before his death. What makes these incidents more than a coincidence is the fact that this was said at the ship which was visited daily for almost 40 days by the man who killed Dr. Verwoerd, where he bought a pistol and tried to buy a knife which he wanted to use —according to at least one statement made by him subsequently— to kill Dr. Verwoerd. The fact that Dr. Verwoerd’s death was mentioned at that ship was probably more than pure coincidence.*”¹¹⁵⁰

In reference to the above incident, the Commission of Enquiry asked Major Rossouw:

COMMISSION: Another thing is that there is a lot of evidence that on the Friday morning BEFORE the murder people had been running back and forth screaming to one another that Dr. Verwoerd had been murdered – are you aware of this?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes I am aware of that ...¹¹⁵¹

Taking all the above under consideration, it is logical that the police would interview all the crew and sixteen of the seventeen members of the crew interviewed by the author declared that the entire crew was indeed interviewed by the South African police in Venice. The seventeenth sailor interviewed by the author, Dionisis Lallis, met Tsafendas in Cape Town, but he does not remember being questioned by the police nor even of being in Venice at the time. It is very possible that he was not questioned, as he was almost certainly one of those crew members who were replaced by other Greek seamen after the *Eleni* left Cape Town. Lallis remembers Tsafendas clearly, but has no recollection of anything else.¹¹⁵²

Two men, Vasilis Perselis, a steward and a cousin of Emanuel Perselis who was already working on the *Eleni*, and Ilias Kokkinos, assistant cook, were with the *Eleni* in Venice at the time, but they were not questioned by the police because they were not present in Cape Town. They joined the *Eleni* in Venice as crew replacements. However, they do remember their shipmates being questioned by the police over several hours.¹¹⁵³ Emanuel Sakellaridis was captain of the *Eleni* up to April 1966, when Michael N. Fountotos took over

¹¹⁵⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 86.

¹¹⁵¹ Major Daniel Jacobus Rossouw testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

¹¹⁵² Dionisios Lallis in a personal interview, 19 June 2015.

¹¹⁵³ Ilias Kokkinos in a personal interview, 30 August 2014; Emanuel Perselis in a personal interview, 30 November 2015.

and was very familiar with the crew. He was not present in Venice or in Cape Town, but said in a personal interview with the author that he was told by Captain Fountotos and several members of the crew that everyone who met Tsafendas in Cape Town was questioned in Venice.¹¹⁵⁴ The fact that the police recorded the few remarks made by Dimitris Zafiriadis, a member of the crew who refused to give a formal statement, suggests that the police must have recorded all the other crewmen's answers or remarks, too. However, as stated before, only four of these statements were found.

THE ELENI AFTER CAPE TOWN AND BEFORE VENICE

According to fourteen of the thirty-eight men who were on board the *Eleni* in Cape Town, a radio message was transmitted to the ship from the Greek Ministry of Shipping a few days after they left Cape Town and while they were still at sea, though no one remembers the exact date. The message said that the South African police wanted to speak to them urgently regarding the South African Prime Minister's assassination by someone who had visited the *Eleni* and bought a gun from a member of the crew. The Ministry asked everyone to cooperate to the utmost with the South African authorities. According to Grigoris Pouftis, the *Eleni*'s radio operator, the South African police appeared desperate to speak to the crew and the Greek Ministry even asked the captain to return to Cape Town, so the police could question them there. After consulting with the tanker's owners, Captain Fountotos suggested to the Ministry that it made more sense to meet with the police in Mina Al-Ahmadi port in Kuwait, which was the tanker's destination, as it would take half as long to get there as to return to Cape Town.¹¹⁵⁵

According to the fourteen seamen, everyone panicked when they heard about the assassination. The captain gathered the crew together and told them they were going to be questioned by the South African police in Kuwait. He urged them to be truthful and tell the police everything they knew about Tsafendas, adding that Tsafendas himself, under questioning, would have disclosed all of his activities, including his association with them. Fearing that the ship would be searched, Kambouris and Vasilakis retrieved the banned books about apartheid which Tsafendas had given them and threw them overboard. Zafiriadis

¹¹⁵⁴ Emanuel Sakellaridis in a personal interview, 19 January 2014.

¹¹⁵⁵ Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009.

thought they were overreacting and just hid his books.¹¹⁵⁶ Zafiriadis also urged his crewmates not to co-operate with the police since this would be tantamount to supporting apartheid and also could incriminate Tsafendas, who he admired for what he had done. Captain Fountotos, though he opposed apartheid, told Zafiriadis and the crew that they would be in trouble if they did not co-operate and he urged Zafiriadis to stop trying to influence his colleagues. Captain Fountotos reminded the crew that many civilians were on board *Eleni* while they were docked in Cape Town and that the police would already know about Tsafendas's relationship with them.¹¹⁵⁷

Every day until they reached Kuwait, the crew discussed what they would tell the police. They believed that Tsafendas would have told everything under torture. Kambouris, Vasilakis, Kantas and Zafiriadis did not want to testify to the police at all, seeing them as representatives of apartheid. The crew held several meetings to decide what should be said and to agree a joint approach.¹¹⁵⁸ Vasilis Perselis and other crew members teased young Mavronas about selling a gun to Tsafendas, even though they knew he could not have killed him with it. At the time, they were not aware that Dr. Verwoerd had been stabbed to death.¹¹⁵⁹

Alachiotis, Aspras, Kantas, Billis, Pouftis and Zafiriadis decided not to reveal that they sang Communist songs with Tsafendas, since this would expose them as Communists and possibly cost them their jobs. Captain Fountotos knew that some of his crew were Communists, but did not care and probably did not know about their singing with Tsafendas. According to Alachiotis, Billis, Vasilakis, Kantas, Perselis, Mastromanolis and Pouftis, the majority of the crew were left-wing and quite a few were Communists. Most of those who were not left wingers had no interest in politics and only three-four were rightists or royalists. The Communists knew who the royalists were; they were very careful with them and never discussed politics with them.¹¹⁶⁰

¹¹⁵⁶ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

¹¹⁵⁷ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

¹¹⁵⁸ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

¹¹⁵⁹ Nicolas Mavronas in a personal interview, 25 February 2019; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015.

¹¹⁶⁰ Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Emmanuel Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

That period, late-1966, was a tense one in Greek politics. The wounds of the Greek Civil War were still open and the nation was only months away from a military coup that would herald a seven-year military dictatorship. Most important, the Greek Communist Party was illegal and Communists were watched and prosecuted. Informers were everywhere, spying on political suspects and reporting their activities to the police. The singing of Communist songs had taken place on an evening where none of the right-wingers was on board and it involved only the Communists. Since it would have been impossible for the police to know that such thing occurred, they decided not to reveal it.

The other seamen who had discussed politics with Tsafendas, decided not to reveal the fact, or at least to downplay it. They thought this would be better for them, and many knew little about politics anyway. Billis, Kantas and Zafiriadis decided to say nothing about the books Tsafendas gave them unless they were asked directly. Zafiriadis was adamant that he would not testify because he did not want to incriminate Tsafendas.¹¹⁶¹

An important issue was whether they should tell the police that Tsafendas had taken them to the township in Cape Town. Tsafendas himself had said the police had informers in most of these places. Captain Fountotos, who was aware of their visit, said they should mention it to the police. What's more, most of the crew knew about it and keeping it secret would have been next to impossible. They therefore decided to be open about their visit, saying they just wanted to see how Africans lived and perhaps buy some African souvenirs. There was also the question of sex; some seamen had slept with African women, which was forbidden by apartheid. Tsafendas had warned them against that, since the police had "ears and spies everywhere." The crew decided to take their chances and not mention it.¹¹⁶²

A crucial issue for those who had taken part in it was the discussion about justifiable homicide. On his last night aboard the tanker, Tsafendas had proposed that it was morally justifiable to kill a tyrant and that Dr. Verwoerd came into that category. Whether or not to tell the police about this discussion divided opinion. A lot of the men had been present, including some civilians. Aspras, Kantas and Pouftis believed they should mention it because it was important and the chances were Tsafendas had already told the police. Alachiotis and Billis disagreed, fearing such a topic might get them into trouble and considering it was only a theoretical discussion. The issue was argued about for days. As for Tsafendas's revelation

¹¹⁶¹ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

¹¹⁶² Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

about “playing the fool” to avoid service in the Portuguese army, this was not discussed. No one thought of it as they considered it to be unimportant and irrelevant. By the time the *Eleni* reached Mina Al-Ahmadi, opinion was still divided. However, this proved irrelevant since the South African police were not there.

After the ship left Kuwait, they did not return to the issue, thinking the police would no longer want to see them. Fifteen of the men interviewed by the author said they were not told they would be interviewed in Venice. None of the crew remembers the exact date of the interviews, but according to the report of the Commission of Enquiry, it was October 12.¹¹⁶³ Early that morning, while the tanker was docked in Venice, South African policemen went on board. They wore civilian clothes and were accompanied by an official from a Greek consulate somewhere in Italy¹¹⁶⁴ who translated for those who did not speak English. He was perhaps also intended to demonstrate the Greek Government’s willingness to assist in the matter. Captain Fountotos told his crew that he had only just been informed and asked them to co-operate with the police. Some of the crew believed the police deliberately kept them in the dark so they could not prepare their answers.¹¹⁶⁵

The number of policemen involved in the questioning was probably three, though this is not certain. Six of the men said three while the remaining nine could not remember. However, all say the interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis, that is, three policemen simultaneously interviewed three witnesses. As soon as the interview with one man was completed, another took his place.

The consular officer advised the crewmen to tell the truth and disclose everything they knew about Tsafendas. He repeatedly stated that the case was almost closed and the investigators knew everything about Tsafendas anyway. He said Tsafendas had told them about his time on the tanker, and warned that the men they would get into trouble, possibly charged as accessories, if they lied or held anything back. He said the Greek Government was co-operating fully with the South African authorities and the Government was asking them to do the same. Some of the men said their consular representative looked more “threatening” than the policemen.¹¹⁶⁶ He said Tsafendas was not Greek, but Mozambican, but that he had

¹¹⁶³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 78.

¹¹⁶⁴ None of the sailors remembers from which Consulate he came from.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Emmanuel Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

¹¹⁶⁶ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

caused Greeks in South Africa to be attacked by South Africans who considered them responsible for Dr. Verwoerd's death.¹¹⁶⁷

According to the sailors interviewed by the author, every crewman who was on the *Eleni* in Cape Town had met Tsafendas, including the captain, and was therefore questioned. Two men, Emanuel Perselis and Elias Kokkinos, were not interviewed because they were not on the ship in Cape Town, having joined in Venice. Dionisis Lallis who had met Tsafendas was also not questioned, probably because he was not present in Venice.

The crew said everyone was asked some standard questions, such as, "How did you meet Tsafendas? What did he do? What did he talk about? What was your impression of him? Did he discuss politics? Did he say anything about the Prime Minister? When did he come to the tanker and why? Did you notice anything strange about him?" They wanted to know everything Tsafendas had said to them and they asked about the sale of the gun. According to the sailors who were interviewed by the author and the police, the policemen used pens to make notes, unlike the police in South Africa, who used portable typewriters. Some of the men remember being asked to sign their statement. According to the sailors, the interviews started early in the morning and lasted until late in the afternoon and lasted between twenty and thirty minutes each.¹¹⁶⁸ This is confirmed by the fact that the statements carried times between 10.30 a.m. and 4.10 p.m.

¹¹⁶⁷ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

¹¹⁶⁸ Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emmanuel Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

THE STATEMENTS FOUND

The following are the statements from the *Eleni* crew found in the archives:

EMANUIL MASTROMANOLIS¹¹⁶⁹

White male, 37 years, Kasos Island, Greece.

I am the bosun on the Eleni. The Eleni was docked at Cape Town from 24th July, 1966 to 3rd September, 1966. While in Cape Town Harbour a man Demitri Tsafendas came on board to have lunch and to take the crew to a shop in town I did not go with him to town. He was accompanied by a man about 37 years, thin build, with bold hair, little hair on top of his head with a strip of hair in the middle, already grey.

Demitri came on board almost every day. About a week before sailing from Cape Town he asked us on board if we can sell him a pistol or knife. I knew that Nicolas had a pistol which I considered as a toy. I got the pistol from Nicolas and sold it to Demitri for 30 dollars and gave Nicolas 20 dollars.

The day 3rd September, 1966 we left Cape Town, Demitri came on board and—worked to get his money back because he claimed that the pistol did not work. We did not give his money back and he left with the pistol. It is a black pistol with a white handle. The companion of Demitri is unknown to me. I cannot say of what Nationality he is.

10.30 a.m. 12.10.1966.

EMANUIL MASTROMANOLIS IN A PERSONAL INTERVIEW¹¹⁷⁰

As we see from his statement, the police interview with Mastromanolis appeared to focus solely on the gun, but he told the author that discussion of the pistol lasted less than five minutes and the rest of the time was spent answering questions about Tsafendas's character and activities. Mastromanolis said he was questioned by a South African policeman for "around twenty-thirty minutes." He was first asked how he met Tsafendas and about his time

¹¹⁶⁹ Emanuil Mastromanolis statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

¹¹⁷⁰ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

with him. He then brought up the matter of the gun without being asked since he was aware the police knew about it.

Mastromanolis acknowledged that his statement is accurate and was what he told the policeman. He claims, however, that he lied in saying he thought the gun was a toy, because he was actually “under the impression that Mavronas’s pistol was a real one.” He had heard from Perselis that Mavronas had just bought a gun while in Cape Town and he was given the impression that it was real since Perselis also assumed it was real. Mavronas, who was only seventeen, had boasted about buying the gun and believed it was authentic, although some of the crew considered he had been fooled by the seller.

Mastromanolis thought that Mavronas might be willing to sell it to Tsafendas for a quick profit and only found out that the gun was fake when he suggested this to the boy. Mavronas proposed selling the gun to Tsafendas anyway, since Tsafendas had told everyone he needed a pistol to “scare people off,” not to kill anyone, and it could do such a job. Mastromanolis agreed reluctantly, considering it would meet Tsafendas’s requirement for a weapon just “to scare people off.” Mastromanolis claims that he could not have told the police he was willing to sell Tsafendas a real firearm, which was why he called it a toy while hiding his impression that it was real.

After the *Eleni* left Cape Town for Kuwait, according to Mastromanolis and Perselis, they and Mavronas discussed the issue of the gun’s sale to Tsafendas. Their initial thought was to tell the police that they believed Tsafendas was looking for a fake gun since he had told them that he wanted to “scare people off.” Eventually, they decided to say they intended to play a joke on Tsafendas as they believed he would not be able to tell whether or not the gun was real.

Mastromanolis was surprised and relieved when he realised that the policemen were less interested in the gun than in Tsafendas’s activities and character. Very early in the questioning, he was asked about a comment which Tsafendas attributed to him in his statement, that “the South Africans need a good whipping.” Mastromanolis was surprised and concluded that Tsafendas must have talked extensively to the police since this was something he had said after Tsafendas took some of the seamen to the township in Cape Town. He denied to the policeman making such a remark, but he admitted to the author that Tsafendas had told the truth to the police and that he did make such a statement after they left the

township. Mastromanolis does not remember if he was asked or if he told the police about the visit to the township.

Mastromanolis said the rest of the questioning was about the sort of person Tsafendas was, and realising that the police knew all about his frequent visits to the tanker and what Tsafendas talked about, he told them everything he knew. He does not remember everything he told the police, but he described Tsafendas as being a “normal, intelligent person.” He remembered Tsafendas as “a kind man, very much into politics and very well-informed about what was happening around the world,” and he believes this is what he told the police. He is certain that he was not asked whether Tsafendas had mentioned a tapeworm and is adamant that Tsafendas was sane. “I’ve met many men, all around the world, and some of them were mad. I can say for sure that this man was not insane. There was nothing ever to make me believe that he might be insane. It was impossible for him to have been insane.” He clearly remembers the police asking if Tsafendas had said anything about killing Dr. Verwoerd. Mastromanolis replied, “No, never. If he had said such thing, I would have gone to the police.”

During his interview with the author, Mastromanolis recognised his signature on the hand-written statement found in the archives. This statement was later typed out and the typed copy was found in the archives attached to the hand-written statement. However, Mastromanolis is adamant that his interview with the police lasted about “twenty-thirty minutes,” and that he said much more than appeared in his statement, although he can no longer recall precisely what else he told his interrogator. However, he is certain that he referred to Tsafendas’s state of mind and his sanity, and to the “good whipping” comment which Tsafendas attributed to him.

Given that the transcription of the interview focussed almost exclusively on the gun, which may have taken a maximum of five minutes, the questions that require answers are: What other topics were discussed and why were they omitted? Since Mastromanolis is not sure what exactly he told the police, it is difficult to establish why this information was omitted. It is also possible that the policeman who questioned him did not consider Mastromanolis’s opinion about Tsafendas’s sanity and his denial of Tsafendas’s attribution of the “good whipping” remark to be of sufficient importance to be included.

NICOLAS MAVRONAS¹¹⁷¹

White male, 17 years, Sinies Village, Corfu Island, Greece.

I am a Galley boy working on the Eleni. Eleni was docked in Cape Town from 24.7.66 to 3.9.66. I was in possession of a small pistol which I considered as a toy. I got it from a young man which I met in Cape Town namely Mr. D. Ravell, Phone 779820 (friend of his), 25 Haroldene Rd., LANSDOWNE, CAPE.

A man Dimitrio came to our ship almost every day while in Cape docks. He took some of the crew to a shop on shore. I did not go with him. About the 26 - 27 August, 1966 Dimitrio talked to some of us on board and said he wanted to buy a pistol or a knife. He told us that he get a job at a Hotel and will be paid £2000 (two thousand pounds) at this job. He needed a weapon for his protection. We considered him foolish and decided to joke with him. So we sold this pistol to him for 30 dollars. The bosun took 10 dollars and I got 20 dollars. The last day on 3.9.1966 Dimitrio came on board and told me that the pistol is not working and I must give back his money. I refused. He then asked me to sell him an automatic knife. I told him that I don't have a knife to sell. He then asked the bosun to sell him an automatic knife the bosun said "Oh leave me alone, do you think I am a Cowboy." Dimitrio then went to the galley to eat. The ship left the same day and I did not see Dimitrio again. He took the pistol with him. When he complained to me about the pistol he said, I am a poor man. I work a week to get this 30 dollars, do you expect me to lose it. He told us that he joined the Greek army during the war and that he is an expert shot.

1.20 p.m. 12.10.1966.

COMMENTS ON NICOLAS MAVRONAS'S STATEMENT AND HIS OWN COMMENTS IN A PERSONAL INTERVIEW¹¹⁷²

Nicolas Mavronas today, although he remembers Tsafendas quite well, does not remember his statement or what he told the police. He told the author that although he used to see Tsafendas every day, he had not associated with him and had not had a proper conversation with him, apart from a general, casual greeting. Mavronas confirms the sequence of events

¹¹⁷¹ Nicolas Mavronas statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

¹¹⁷² Nicolas Mavronas in a personal interview, 25 February 2019.

regarding the sale of the gun, as was described to the author by the other members of the *Eleni*. Mavronas said that he was “terrified” once he heard that Tsafendas had killed the South African Prime Minister, and that the crew made things even worse by teasing him about the fact that he had sold his gun to him.

According to Vasilis Perselis, who was a good friend of Mavronas, Tsafendas told them that he was working at a hotel and that he needed a firearm for protection and to “scare people off.”¹¹⁷³ Michael Vasilakis confirmed Perselis’s statement to the author.

Mastromanolis does not remember Tsafendas saying anything about a hotel, but he remembers him saying he needed a gun to “scare people off.”¹¹⁷⁴ Mastromanolis claims that he did indeed tell Tsafendas “Do you take me for a cowboy!” when Tsafendas asked if he could find him another pistol or a knife.¹¹⁷⁵

Billis, Kantas, Vasilakis, Kambouris, Mastromanolis and Perselis all say that Mavronas’s comment that they “decided to joke” with Tsafendas was inaccurate. They were all initially under the impression that Mavronas’s gun was real, as this is what he told them. They said Mavronas was showing off his gun unaware that it was fake. Kambouris was the first to find out that the gun was not real. Kambouris believes, though he is not 100 per cent sure, that Mavronas bought the gun under the impression that it was genuine and was fooled by its owner. Mastromanolis claimed that he only realised the gun was fake when he asked Mavronas to sell it to Tsafendas. Mavronas then admitted that the gun was not real, but still offered to sell it to Tsafendas, believing that it would be “good enough to scare people off.” All the above witnesses believe that Mavronas wanted to downplay the importance of the sale of the gun and wanted to turn it into a joke on Tsafendas. Mavronas does not remember making such a comment or the reasons why he might have made it; he states, however, that he certainly did not consider Tsafendas to have been foolish and that his colleagues’ explanation may very well be correct.

During his questioning, Mavronas said Tsafendas told him he had joined the Greek army and was an expert shot, though he does not state which war. The last war in Greece was the Civil War. According to six of the *Eleni* crew interviewed by the author, Tsafendas told them he had joined the Democratic Army of Greece during the Greek Civil War, not the

¹¹⁷³ Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015.

¹¹⁷⁴ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

¹¹⁷⁵ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

“Greek army.”¹¹⁷⁶ The South African policeman who questioned Mavronas seems to have misunderstood him, probably unaware that there had been a civil war in Greece and thought he was referring to the Second World War. The full name of the DSE was Democratic Army of Greece. During the Second World War it was called ELAS and some people continued to refer to the DSE as ELAS, since it was basically the same force. ELAS in Greek means Greece, so when Mavronas said the Greek Army, he would have meant ELAS or the DSE, certainly not the regular Greek Army. The six seamen who participated in the conversation remember clearly that Tsafendas told them that he had served with U.S. Liberty Ships during the Second World War and with the DSE during the Greek Civil War.¹¹⁷⁷ Mavronas is not in a position to shed more light on the case as he does not remember his comment or what Tsafendas told him.

The witnesses interviewed by the author do not remember Tsafendas telling them he was “an expert shot,” though they could not swear that he did not say it. The fact that Mavronas mentions the Greek Army is nevertheless important as other seamen said they were asked if Tsafendas had served in any army or if he had any military training. It is thus likely that Mavronas was questioned on this matter rather than volunteering the information. Mavronas is not in a position to shed more light on this matter as he does not remember his comment or what Tsafendas told him.

Although Mavronas did not associate with Tsafendas, he remembers him as a “normal, ordinary man. It never crossed my mind that he might not be of sound mind. None of the other guys mentioned anything being wrong with him either. He looked like a normal man.”

¹¹⁷⁶ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

¹¹⁷⁷ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

MICHAEL N. FOUNTOTOS¹¹⁷⁸

Athens, Greece

I am the Captain of the Eleni. The Eleni lost its rudder and was docked in Cape Town for repairs from 24.7.1966 to 3.9.1966. I saw this man Dimitrio Tsafendas on board of Eleni in Cape Town. He often came on board to eat and took some of the crew to town. He came to me to enquire what was wrong with the ship. He suggested that he will get an engineer to repair the rudder. I thought that he must be foolish because it is not a simple repair but a major repair to fix a rudder. So I merely dismissed him.

The last day on 3rd September, 1966 he came to me and complained that he bought a pistol from one of the crew and the thing is not working and now he wanted me to give him the money and deducted it from the boys pay. I was very busy and he was a nuisance to me, so I told him to go and arrange with the boy because I had nothing to do with their business. So he left. I considered this man as childish. His conversation is normal but very childish. How can he come and tell me that he will get an engineer to repair a rudder, which in the dry dock costs me £30.000. He must be joking. He did not appear to me to be a criminal, his appearance was friendly.

COMMENTS ABOUT CAPTAIN FOUNTOTOS

According to Peter Protoulis, a food supplier to the *Eleni* while she lay in Cape Town, Captain Fountotos was a “real gentleman, an exceptional and dignified man.”¹¹⁷⁹ The crew also characterised him as a “gentleman, a compassionate, good, quiet man,” who was very attentive to his crew and cared about them.¹¹⁸⁰ None of the crew knew his political stance, but they believed that he was leaning towards the right-centre. However, he was a democratic man and strongly opposed apartheid, and when he discovered what Tsafendas had done, he said, “I feel so sorry for him. Who knows what they are doing to him right now! God help him ...”¹¹⁸¹ However, he insisted that his crew must tell “the truth and everything they knew

¹¹⁷⁸ Michael N. Fountotos statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA. Michael Fountotos has died.

¹¹⁷⁹ Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 28 May 2016.

¹¹⁸⁰ Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Dionisios Lallis in a personal interview, 19 June 2015.

¹¹⁸¹ Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009.

about Tsafendas as they might get into trouble if they didn't.”¹¹⁸²

DIMITRIOS ZAFIRIADIS¹¹⁸³

Donkeyman, Eleni.

This man did not want to make a statement. However, he said the following:

Dimitrio Tsafendas said that he wanted to buy a pistol or knife because he travels through a Bantu area to get to his house. He needed the weapon for self-protection. He laughed at Tsafendas and said that he should get a knife from the chef because it is a good weapon. He handed a ticket over of the business to which Tsafendas took him and other members for shopping. Tsafendas was always accompanied by a man who acted as driver. About 35-40 years old, slender, slightly bald with a line of hair in the middle of his head, slightly grey, wearing glasses. They drove a grey Volkswagen station wagon. They never talked politics.

NEW INFORMATION REGARDING ZAFIRIADIS

Zafiriadis died a few years ago and was not interviewed by the author. However, he was a close friend of crew members Nicolas Billis, George Kantas and Panteleimon Speis, all of whom were interviewed by the author. According to these three, Zafiriadis was a Communist and a very good friend of Tsafendas. Zafiriadis was almost always present when Tsafendas was on board and was certainly there when Tsafendas told the crew about pretending to be mad in order to not serve in the Portuguese Army, when he made the spitting gesture towards Dr. Verwoerd and when he said that it would be justifiable to kill Dr. Verwoerd because he was a tyrant.

Zafiriadis was one of the few seamen who agreed with Tsafendas's belief in a justified assassination and strongly supported his argument. Zafiriadis was also the one who

¹¹⁸² Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

¹¹⁸³ Dimitrios Zafiriadis testimony to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

was most affected by the visit to the township.¹¹⁸⁴ He supported Tsafendas's suggestion that they should not buy anything while in South Africa, apart from absolute necessities, so as not to contribute the country's economy. Zafiriadis clearly admired Tsafendas and urged his crewmates to refuse to talk to the police in order not to incriminate him.¹¹⁸⁵

According to Billis, Kantas, Speis and Vasilakis, Zafiriadis refused to answer any questions about Tsafendas. The South African police interrogator informed the Greek Consul and the Consul tried to change his mind. However, Zafiriadis held to his position and refused to give a statement. The Consul was unhappy and asked Captain Fountotos to intervene, but the captain declined, stating that what he chose to do was up to Zafiriadis.¹¹⁸⁶

Eventually, Zafiriadis agreed to comment about the pistol and the knife since his name had been mentioned by Tsafendas with regard to the pistol. Zafiriadis claimed in this statement that he and Tsafendas never talked politics, a claim that was rejected by Vasilakis, Kambouris, Alachiotis, Kantas, Speis, Pouftis and Billis, who said Zafiriadis was always present when Tsafendas and the crew discussed politics. These men assumed that Zafiriadis lied in order not to incriminate Tsafendas by stating that he was Communist and anti-apartheid. Zafiriadis also kept a book about apartheid which Tsafendas gave him. After the questioning in Venice ended, some shipmates joked with him that he might make a lot of money in a few years by selling Tsafendas's book.¹¹⁸⁷

CONSTANTINOS KOKKINIDIS¹¹⁸⁸

I am a Greek born. My mother is Maria Kokkinidis Olympic CRT. 14, Green Point, Cape Town. My sister is Themis Zagorauou, Grape Vine, 204 Esselen Street, Sunnyside, Pretoria. My mother went to South Africa in 1964. I joined my mother in South Africa July, 1964. I stayed with my mother in Pretoria for 2 years. My mother and I left for Cape Town, July,

¹¹⁸⁴ None of the sailors remembers the name of the places or whether it was a township. The sailors are referring to it as 'village' and 'area' where Black South African lived.

¹¹⁸⁵ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 November 2013; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012;

¹¹⁸⁶ Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 November 2013; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

¹¹⁸⁷ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 November 2013; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

¹¹⁸⁸ Constantinos Kokkinidis statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

1966. My mother is a widow. I lost my father in 1961.

I was looking for work and so it came that my mother and I went to the Eleni in Cape Town docks. Mrs Vogianou - Caretaker of the flats at Olympic CRT. 14, Green Point, Cape Town, took my mother and myself with her car to the Eleni to introduce us to the Captain because she knows the Captain and told us that he is from our country. We met the Captain and he invited us for dinner at a later date. The three of us came later and had dinner with the Captain and some other people. The Captain asked my mother whether I make enough money, she said that I make good money but I spend it all because of bad friends. He suggested that I came with him on the ship so I can save my money.

I came on board on the 1st August, 1966 and started work on the 2nd August, 1966. I am still on the Eleni. On the 3rd of September, 1966 the day when we left, I was on the ship when the night-watchman told me "Do you know what." I said no. He said "Dr. Verwoerd has been killed." I asked him who said so, he actually pointed to the day watchman and said "He told me." I turned around and spoke to my mother who was standing on the harbour, and told her that "Dr. Verwoerd has been killed." She was upset, and I asked the night-watchman, how did Dr. Verwoerd got killed, he asked the day-watchman again who answered in Afrikaans, the night-watchman said to me, no I did not hear properly nothing happened. So I told my mother that it is not true. Shortly after this the ship left Cape Town.

While in Cape Town docks I saw this Dimitrio Tsafendas he came on board but I never saw how he came to the docks. I did not see anybody coming with him. I did not take much notice of him and neither did I speak to him. My mother don't know him either. I don't know if Mrs. Vogianou knows him. I don't think that they know each other. My mother went to Pretoria in August by train to fetch my sister and Mr. Christos Chistodulu a friend of us. They came to Cape Town during August with Christos' car. I met this friend Christos in Katanga in the Congo. I am sure that Christos and Tsafendas don't know each other.

4.10 p.m. 12.10.1966.

COMMENTS ON KOKKINIDIS'S STATEMENT

Alachiotis and Billis told the author that Kokkinidis strongly urged the crewmen to tell the truth about Tsafendas, warning them of the brutality of the South African police and claiming they would already have made him tell them anything they wanted. He said, "You will go

back to Greece, but I have to go back to South Africa.”¹¹⁸⁹ Kokkinidis was not present when the crew and Tsafendas sang Communist songs, or when Tsafendas made his spitting gesture when shown Dr. Verwoerd’s photo and he was probably unaware of their visit to the township. However, though no one remembers for sure, it is very possible Kokkinidis was at the table, or nearby, when the conversation regarding justifiable assassination took place and this is how the question of Dr. Verwoerd’s death being discussed on board began. We will examine his participation in the conversation regarding Dr. Verwoerd’s death in the chapter on the *Commission of Enquiry*.

INTERVIEWS OF *ELENI* SAILORS WITH THE AUTHOR

This is what the sailors the author interviewed had to say about their questioning:

CLEANTHES ALACHIOTIS

Alachiotis clearly remembers being interviewed in Venice. He was aged twenty-three and was terrified by the experience. On conclusion, he signed the record of his interview. At the start of questioning, he was asked to provide his address in Greece, which made him feel uncomfortable, thinking the police might want to talk to him again. This convinced him to be as accurate as possible.

Alachiotis says he remembers “that day very well.” He was, “like everyone else, taken by surprise,” because after Kuwait, he thought they had got away and were not going to be questioned. Alachiotis says the policeman who interviewed him was “a tough-looking guy,” but he turned out to be “very friendly and relaxed.” He says he told him the “truth and everything that had happened,” apart from singing Communist songs and the fact that Tsafendas had asked them to spend as little money as possible in South Africa. He explained how he met Tsafendas, described how he took the men to Mike’s Outfitters and to a church, and he mentioned the visit to the township. The policeman wanted to know more about this township, but Alachiotis did not remember its name and said they only went there to meet some friends of Tsafendas and buy some souvenirs from them. He did say that they had tea in a black family’s home.

Alachiotis also told the policeman that Tsafendas often spoke about his travels and

¹¹⁸⁹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011.

about politics, but he did not understand what he was talking about since personally he had no interest in politics. He said he did not understand exactly what apartheid was, and he praised South Africa for its beauty. When asked if Tsafendas had said anything about the Prime Minister, Alachiotis replied that Tsafendas “did not like him much and called him ‘Hitler’s best student.’”⁶ Alachiotis was ready to mention the ‘Hitler’ remark because he believed, as they all did, that the police must have known about it since Tsafendas used the expression so often and so widely. Alachiotis clearly remembers being asked if Tsafendas had said anything about killing Dr. Verwoerd. He assumed that the policeman was referring to the conversation on the *Eleni*’s last night in Cape Town when Tsafendas argued that it would be justifiable to kill Dr. Verwoerd because he was a tyrant, while the murder of Prince Rwagasore was to be condemned because he was a democratically elected President. Therefore, Alachiotis told the whole story to the policeman, who showed great interest in it.

Asked for his opinion about Tsafendas, Alachiotis could not remember exactly what he told the police, but believes that he must have told them he was a “harmless man, good-hearted, a quiet man ... very polite and well-mannered,” as this is the way he remembered him. When the policeman asked if he had noticed anything wrong with Tsafendas or that he might have been unbalanced, Alachiotis was surprised by the question and said, “No; he seemed 100 per cent normal.”

Alachiotis also said Tsafendas told the crew that “he had played the fool with the Portuguese army in order not to serve his military duty... I wasn’t going to mention that, but they asked me, ‘What were you talking about all these times?’ So I said that we often told stories from our army days and the policeman asked me if Tsafendas had served in the Greek army. I then told him what he had told us, that he had joined the Communists in the Civil War but had not served in the proper Greek Army, and that he had pretended to be mad in order to not serve in the Portuguese Army. I remember him laughing about it.” Other seamen told Alachiotis they were asked specifically whether Tsafendas had served in any army or if he had any military training.

As for the tapeworm, Alachiotis is certain that he was not asked about it. He was questioned about the gun, but he said that he had nothing to do with it and had only found out about it much later from the other guys. He remembers the policeman keeping notes while they were talking. At the conclusion of the interview, the policeman asked him to read over his statement, but he said that was “not necessary” and just signed it. Alachiotis says he was one of the first to be interviewed. When the interview finished, the policeman approached his

two colleagues, who were interviewing other men, took them aside and told them something.¹¹⁹⁰

PANTELEIMON ASPIOTIS

Aspiotis remembers that every member of the crew was questioned in Venice and he himself was interviewed for about twenty twenty-five minutes. He does not remember whether he signed his statement or if he was asked for his address in Greece. He recalls that it took the police several hours to interview everyone, that there were probably three policemen and that a Greek consular officer acted as translator.

Aspiotis had a very good relationship with Tsafendas and remembers him taking the crew to a Greek shop and to a church in Cape Town. He recalls Tsafendas singing Greek songs with them and teaching them how to fish for lobster. He was not among the group taken by Tsafendas to the township. He does not remember the details of what he told the police but presumes he told them most of what he remembered about Tsafendas. What he did not mention was fishing for lobster because Tsafendas had told them “not to tell anyone because it was illegal.” He remembers the issue about the gun, but he had nothing to do with it.

Aspiotis was certainly not asked about the tapeworm; “I would have remembered that. I never heard about it before.” One thing he remembered because he found it “a little strange,” was being asked “if I had noticed anything strange about Tsafendas or if I thought that he might have been mad. I said no, he was perfectly fine. He was like any other person. He was definitely not insane. Him? Insane? No, definitely not! I wasn’t expecting such a question because the man was not mad.” He was also asked if Tsafendas had said anything about Dr. Verwoerd and Aspiotis said “No.”¹¹⁹¹

¹¹⁹⁰ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010.

¹¹⁹¹ Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015.

NIKOLAOS BILLIS

Billis remembers that he was interviewed in Venice by a South African policeman, that there were three policemen and that everyone in the crew was questioned and required to sign their statements. The questioning lasted from early morning until late afternoon. “I remember everything ... I told them everything I knew. I was terrified. This was a serious case. You couldn’t mess around with it.” He remembers the Greek consul as being “pushy” and pressing them repeatedly to tell everything and to hide nothing. He thought that “Captain Fountotos was a little irritated with him as he was treating us like children, though we were all just in our early twenties ...”

Billis told the police that Tsafendas was a Communist and against apartheid, though he does not remember the details of what he said. He told them that Tsafendas frequently talked about politics, but he did not understand him since he had no knowledge or interest in the subject. Billis also mentioned the trip to the township in Cape Town and claimed they had gone there for touristic reasons, to see where the Black people lived. He does not remember being asked whether Tsafendas had served in any army, but he definitely told them about his mad act with the Portuguese, “I did not think much of this then. They wanted to know what he was telling us, so I told them about it. I thought it was not important, but I remember they wanted to know more about it.” He also told the police that Tsafendas had told them that he had fought in the Greek Civil War with the Communists. Billis believed that the Greek authorities must have known about this and told the South Africans. Billis also told the police about their discussion regarding justifiable assassinations.¹¹⁹²

NIKOLAS KAMBOURIS

Kambouris remembers being interviewed in Venice and asked to sign his statement. Although he gave his statement reluctantly, he told police “practically everything that had happened with Dimitri. The only thing I did not say was that we sang Communist songs ... I told them that he spat towards the Prime Minister’s picture ... yes, I certainly mentioned the ‘Hitler’s best student’ comment - this is something almost every one of the crew had heard.” Kambouris was asked to explain what Tsafendas meant with the remark about Hitler and Dr. Verwoerd but he pretended that he did not understand the reference. He eventually said

¹¹⁹² Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011.

“perhaps Tsafendas meant that Dr. Verwoerd had studied in Germany and Hitler was his tutor,” avoiding any further supposition.

When the policeman asked if Tsafendas had said anything about killing the Prime Minister, Kambouris assumed, like Alachiotis and as we will see Kantas, Pouftis and Vasilakis, that he was referring to Tsafendas’s claim that killing Dr. Verwoerd would be tyrannicide. Kambouris had to explain in detail to the policeman what tyrannicide was and Tsafendas’s theories about it. “I had to explain the whole thing and how it was in ancient Greece ... the policeman was very interested in this. I told him though that Tsafendas did not say he was going to kill the Prime Minister; just that it would have been justifiable if someone does.”

Kambouris was also asked if he had noticed anything abnormal about Tsafendas. “I was surprised by the question. We were all surprised by this question and we later discussed it. We were all asked this question. I said that he did not look mad to me and certainly did not act like a madman. He never said or did anything to make me think he was a madman, he seemed perfectly fine.” Kambouris does not remember being asked about the tapeworm but he was asked about the gun. He replied that Tsafendas had asked him if he had a gun or if he knew anyone among the crew who had one and that he referred him to Vasilis Perselis. He believes that he must also have told the police that Tsafendas had expressed his wish to go and live in Cuba. He described how Tsafendas told them he had fought in the Greek Civil War with the Communists and thinks this arose from a question about whether Tsafendas had mentioned serving in the army or receiving military training. What he did not mention was Tsafendas urging them to avoid spending money in South Africa, that they fished for lobster and sang Communist songs.

Kambouris said the policeman wrote everything down and he signed the statement without reading it. His statement “must have been the longest. It was three-four pages long ... we all discussed the length afterwards.” Kambouris also said:

“I remember being asked about my address in Greece at the beginning of the questioning ... that scared me a lot and I know it did the same to everyone. I thought that they might want to talk to me again or ask me to testify in court. That’s why I couldn’t lie; none of us could. We had to tell everything. We knew that if we missed anything which they knew we knew, it would look bad for us. We were all very young, almost children; if our name was involved in anything bad, we would never have worked on a ship again. Those were hard

times ...”¹¹⁹³

GEORGE KANTAS

Kantas remembers being interviewed in Venice and asked for his address in Greece, which frightened him, thinking the police might want to get in touch with him again. He signed his statement without reading it. “I was petrified,” he recalled. “The policeman who interviewed me was massive and looked quite mean. I remember him very well. He was a tall, blond guy; he did not smile at all; he was deadly serious. I thought he was German. He looked like a German, like a Nazi, and I remembered Tsafendas calling White South Africans Nazis. I told him everything I knew. We all told them everything, everything. We couldn’t take a chance and hide something. We did not tell them we were singing Communist songs together because it was only five or six of us and no-one else knew about it.”

According to Kantas, the policeman wanted to know “what kind of man Tsafendas was, what he told us and what he did with us.” Kantas told him how Tsafendas came to the tanker and how he helped them with their shopping. “I did not tell him that Tsafendas asked us to boycott South Africa and not spend any money there. Was I crazy to say it?” He does not remember what exactly he said about Tsafendas’s personality, but he remembers him as a “very well-read and well-mannered man who knew a lot about politics and history,” and he presumes this is what he told the police. When the policeman asked Kantas if he thought Tsafendas was “normal,” he replied, “Yes, perfectly normal.”

He is certain that he mentioned the Tsafendas’s mad act to dodge the Portuguese Army, and that he had joined the DSE during the Greek Civil War. He does not remember if he was asked about this or volunteered it. Like everyone else, Kantas was asked if Tsafendas had said anything about the Prime Minister. He is sure he said that Tsafendas called Dr. Verwoerd “Hitler’s best student,” and that he believed it would be justifiable for someone to kill him because he was a tyrant. He does not remember telling the policeman about the spitting incident, which he had forgotten until was mentioned to him by the author, but he presumes that he did. He remembers going to the township and he assumes he told the police but he cannot be certain. Kantas had nothing to do with the gun and he remembers saying so. He was not asked about the tapeworm. He remembers Tsafendas saying he wanted to live in

¹¹⁹³ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014.

“socialist Cuba,” but he doesn’t remember if he mentioned this to the police.¹¹⁹⁴

ELIAS KOKKINOS

Kokkinos was present in Venice but was not interviewed, as he was not present in Cape Town. He clearly remembers that all those crew members who were in Cape Town being interviewed.¹¹⁹⁵

DIONISIS LALLIS

Lallis was a crew member of the *Eleni* in Cape Town but was replaced later and was not with the tanker when it docked at Venice. He had no contacts with the crew and knew nothing about the questioning until now. However, he remembers Tsafendas well from Cape Town, although he did not associate much with him. He remembers him as being “perfectly fine. I never noticed anything or thought that he could be crazy or dangerous. I remember he was very polite. It looked like he had a good upbringing. He generally looked like a good man. I did not speak to him much and had no dealings with him, but he was very talkative and very friendly with some of the other guys on the *Eleni*.”¹¹⁹⁶

EMANUIL MASTROMANOLIS

We have seen what Mastromanolis told the author regarding his statement earlier in this chapter. In addition, he remembers that everyone on board was interviewed by the police, everyone was asked for his address in Greece and everyone had to sign his statement.¹¹⁹⁷

EMANUIL PERSELIS

E. Perselis was present in Venice and remembers the entire crew being questioned by the South African police. However, he was not questioned as he had just joined the tanker as a replacement for another man and had not been on board at Cape Town. He remembers that

¹¹⁹⁴ Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012.

¹¹⁹⁵ Elias Kokkinos in a personal interview, 30 August 2014.

¹¹⁹⁶ Dionisios Lallis in a personal interview, 19 June 2015.

¹¹⁹⁷ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

the questioning lasted “many hours.”¹¹⁹⁸

VASILIS PERSELIS

V. Perselis remembers being interviewed by the South African police in Venice, stating his address at the start of questioning and signing his statement at the end. Perselis remembers, “I was asked about the gun and told them he asked me for a pistol for self-protection because he lived in a rough area, so I referred him to Manolis [Mastromanolis] and to Nikolakis [Mavronas]. I told them I had nothing else to do with the gun issue after that.”

Perselis says he was asked if he thought “there was something wrong with him [Tsafendas].” He does not recall his exact answer, but he remembers Tsafendas as being “a very clever man, not mad at all, one hundred per cent normal.” He remembers Tsafendas telling him that he had got a job which was not paying him well and he had to wear a uniform. Perselis thought that it was in a hotel, not in the Parliament. Tsafendas had told him that he wanted to save money to go and live the rest of his life in Cuba, though he does not remember if he told the police this. He remembers Tsafendas being a Communist and considered him to be well-informed about Greek and world politics and history. Perselis did not go with Tsafendas to the township and never heard him say anything regarding Dr. Verwoerd’s death and presumes that he told the police so. He is certain that he was not asked about the tapeworm. He does not remember telling the policeman about the spitting incident, which he had also forgotten until was mentioned to him by the author, but he presumes that he did.¹¹⁹⁹

GRIGORIS POUFTIS

Pouftis remembers being interviewed in Venice, along with the rest of the crew. He thinks there were two or three policemen, each conducting interviews. He remembers signing his statement, but not being asked about his address in Greece. The policeman who conducted the questioning was “very polite and friendly. It was more like a conversation than a police questioning. Very relaxed.” The policeman wanted to know everything that had happened with Tsafendas. Pouftis described how they met and that Tsafendas visited every day. He is certain that he told the policeman about his mad act with the Portuguese Army and that

¹¹⁹⁸ Emanuil Perselis in a personal interview, 30 November 2015.

¹¹⁹⁹ Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015.

Tsafendas served in the DSE during the Greek Civil War. “I and the rest of us did not know at the time why they wanted to know more about it. I said Greeks were playing the fool all the time to avoid the army.”

Pouftis also told the policeman that Tsafendas was a Communist who despised the South African Prime Minister and mentioned both the spitting gesture and the remark that Dr. Verwoerd was Hitler’s best student. However, he did not reveal that they had sung Communist songs together. “I would have lost my job if the company had found out about it.”

Pouftis remembers being asked if Tsafendas said anything about killing the Prime Minister. “I told him ‘God no; he never said anything like this.’” As for the “justifiable killing” conversation, he remembers it vaguely but cannot remember whether or not he told the policeman. He also remembers going to the township, but doesn’t remember if he told the police. Pouftis does not remember being asked about Tsafendas’s mental state, but his own memory is of “an ordinary man, soft-spoken, knowledgeable and passionate about politics.” He was certainly not asked about the tapeworm. He remembers Tsafendas telling him he wanted to go and live in Cuba, but he doesn’t remember if he said that to the police.¹²⁰⁰

IOANNIS SPEIS

Speis did not associate much with Tsafendas but he spoke to him from time to time and saw him every day on the *Eleni*. He remembers that he and the entire crew were questioned in Venice by three South African policemen; each conducting his own interview with the help of a Greek consular officer for those who’s English was not good. He remembers his interrogator taking notes and being asked to sign his statement.

Speis does not remember everything he was asked but he recalls being questioned about Tsafendas’s character and asked his opinion of him. He believes that he told the police approximately the following: “I never noticed anything wrong with him; he was very talkative and friendly.” Speis considered Tsafendas to be “a proper gentleman.” He was familiar with hawkers selling their wares on ships but thought Tsafendas “did not look like other hawkers.” He saw him as “a proud, intelligent man with lots of dignity. He never asked for anything from the crew and was always prompt with our financial dealings.” Speis knew that Tsafendas had taken some of his crewmates to the township, but he had not gone along.

¹²⁰⁰ Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009.

However, he was one of those to whom Tsafendas demonstrated how to fish for lobster, but he did not reveal that to the police. He was certainly not asked about the tapeworm.¹²⁰¹

DIMITRIOS STAVRIANOS

Stavrianos remembers being questioned in Venice along with the rest of the crew but does not remember exactly what he was asked and what he told the police. He remembers Tsafendas, but he did not associate with him very much and therefore thinks he could not have told the police a lot about him. He remembers Tsafendas as a “normal man; very well-dressed and well-mannered” who “did not show any signs of being mentally disturbed. He never behaved like a mad man or said anything to suggest that something might be wrong with him. None of us ever thought that he could be mad.”¹²⁰² Although Stavrianos had little to do with Tsafendas, he was still interviewed by the police, confirming the crew’s claim that everyone who met him was interviewed.

EMANUIL TSABOUNIARIS

Tsabouniaris remembers being interviewed in Venice with all the other *Eleni* crew. He remembers a policeman questioning him and keeping notes and he recalls signing his statement, but he does not remember exactly what he told the police. He remembers being asked whether Tsafendas asked him for a gun or a knife. He said that, “Tsafendas had seen I had a knife and asked me to sell it to him. I did not do so because I liked it and it was a souvenir.” The policeman then asked, “Do you still have it?” and he replied, “Yes.” Tsabouniaris said it was in his suitcase and offered to bring it for him, but the policeman replied, “No, that won’t be necessary.”

Tsabouniaris remembers being asked his opinion about Tsafendas’s state of mind. Although he does not remember exactly what he said then, he presumes he told the police what he remembers about Tsafendas to this day, that he was “a very funny and good hearted man, a very friendly, talkative and polite person, a true gentleman. Always very well-dressed and always very courteous. Everyone liked him. He was certainly perfectly fine, impossible to have been insane. Impossible! This man was definitely not insane. I could swear to God that he was not insane.”

¹²⁰¹ Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015.

¹²⁰² Dimitris Stavrianos in a personal interview, 18 January 2015.

The first day Tsafendas came to the tanker, Tsabouniaris gave him money to buy him a few things ashore. He was the only who handed over cash and the other men made fun of him, saying he could forget his money because Tsafendas would not be back with it. However, the next day, Tsafendas brought everything he had asked for and the change from the money he gave him. “He was always very prompt with our financial dealings, not like other hawkers who I or the other guys had met. He was completely different; he talked more like a teacher than a hawker. He used nice words and had excellent command of the vocabulary. He seemed like a very well-educated and knowledgeable man; a sophisticated man.”

Tsabouniaris told the author:

“The only thing I found strange was that his profession of a hawker did not match his character. He was very educated and very polite for a hawker. I always believed that something must be going on with this man, that he couldn’t be just a hawker. I am sure he could have found a much better job. I thought that perhaps he could have a reason for doing this job; as a cover for something else, so he could walk freely around the harbour and aboard the ships. We discussed this with some of the guys and they also thought that there must be something happening with him... The thing that impressed me more was that he was very proud. He was doing the job with pride, not like a beggar or trying to make you buy in a sleazy way. He was a true gentleman.”

Tsabouniaris remembers Tsafendas teaching him how to fish for lobsters, but he did not mention this to the police because Tsafendas had warned him that it was illegal and he would pay a fine if caught. Tsabouniaris does not remember Tsafendas talking politics with him, but he remembers him singing Greek traditional songs with everyone on board. He was definitely not asked about the tapeworm.¹²⁰³

¹²⁰³ Emanuil Tsabouniaris in personal interview, 14 June 2016.

MICHALIS VASILAKIS

He remembers being interviewed along with all the others. He did not speak good English and the Greek consular officer acted as translator. He was one of the oldest of the crew and had been very close to Tsafendas. He remembers the Greek official asking him questions that were not asked by the policeman, things which the Greek had heard from the other men during the interviews, and this annoyed him. He remembers telling “pretty much everything” he knew about Tsafendas. “The only things I remember not telling him for sure is that he sang partisan songs with us and he gave me this anti-apartheid book. None of us mentioned these things, not even those who had not participated in the singing but just knew about it.”

Vasilakis remembers telling the police that Tsafendas took them to the township but not whether that they had tea in a Black family’s house. He told them that Tsafendas was a Communist who had also fought with the Communists in the Greek Civil War and he is pretty certain that he also told the policeman and that he had “played the fool” so as not to serve in the Portuguese army.

Vasilakis remembers mentioning that Tsafendas had spat at Dr. Verwoerd’s photograph – it was Vasilakis who showed him the picture - and called the prime minister “Hitler’s best student.” The most difficult part of the interview was when he had to explain to the policeman what tyrannicide was after telling him about Tsafendas’s belief that Dr. Verwoerd’s assassination would be justifiable because he was a tyrant. The interview lasted about thirty minutes and he spent at least half of it explaining the philosophy of tyrannicide as understood by the ancient Greeks. The most surprising thing, in the view of Vasilakis, was that the policeman was unaware of the assassination of Prince Rwagasore and he had to tell him about it, although he only knew what he had heard from Tsafendas. He does not remember being asked about Tsafendas’s mental state, but his own opinion is that he was “surely one hundred and ten per cent sane. There is absolutely no way Dimitri to have been mad. He definitely played the mad again to not be executed.”¹²⁰⁴

ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

With the exception of Kantas, who said his interviewer was mean-looking and he was scared, the crewmen who were interviewed by the author said the atmosphere at the interviews was

¹²⁰⁴ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

relaxed and often felt more like a discussion between friends than an interrogation. The South African officers were polite and often smiled. Every man was asked if he wanted the Greek translator to read out his statements, but no one did. One reason was they felt it was unnecessary, but more importantly, they did not want to look as if they did not trust the policemen. They wanted the whole business out of the way as soon as possible.

The crew said they all discussed their interviews after the policemen were gone. They concluded that all were asked approximately the same questions and everyone had told the truth and volunteered everything that had happened with Tsafendas. The only information withheld was that Tsafendas sang Communist songs with some of them and gave banned books to three of them. They discussed the fact that they were asked about Tsafendas's mental state, but paid little attention to it at the time.

Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Kantas, Perselis, Pouftis and Vasilakis told the police that Tsafendas described Dr. Verwoerd as "Hitler's best student." They are sure others testified to this since that was how Dr. Verwoerd was sometimes jokingly termed between them. By the time they were interviewed by the author, several of the men, had forgotten Dr. Verwoerd's name, but all remembered Tsafendas describing him in those words.

Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Pouftis and Vasilakis told the police about Tsafendas's spitting gesture. Kantas and Perselis remember the gesture but are not sure if they told the police.

Thirteen sailors were asked their opinion of Tsafendas. All told the author they never thought he could have been insane and that is what they told the police. They said the entire crew was asked the same question and all gave the same answer.

That Tsafendas was a Communist was stated by at least six men - Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Kantas, Pouftis and Vasilakis. These men also told the police that Tsafendas had joined the DSE, the military wing of the Greek Communist Party during the Greek Civil War.

As we have seen, a significant item of information given to the police by the crew was Tsafendas telling them that he had "played the fool" in order to evade service in the Portuguese Army. At least six men testified to this: Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Kantas, Pouftis and Vasilakis, while it is very likely Vasilis Perselis did so, too. These crewmen also stated in personal interviews with the author that some of the men were asked if Tsafendas had served in an army or had any military training. According to his statement, Mavronas mentioned that Tsafendas had served in the Greek Army. This was wrong. Either Mavronas

misunderstood what Tsafendas had told him or the policeman misunderstood Mavronas. Nevertheless, it shows that he, too, was asked the question. The South African police could easily have checked with the Portuguese Army whether Tsafendas was exempted from military service because he was insane.

The visit to the township was disclosed by at least five men - Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Kantas and Vasilakis. Mastromanolis and Pouftis, who had gone on the trip do not remember if they told the police about it but believe they most probably did.

Perhaps the most important information was that given by Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Kantas and Vasilakis that Tsafendas had characterised any killing of Dr. Verwoerd as morally justifiable because of his tyranny. Tsafendas had used the philosophy of the ancient Greeks, that it was “a democratic man’s duty to remove the tyrant from power.” Pouftis was also present during this conversation but does not remember whether he mentioned it to the police. Aspras who was also in on the conversation, probably testified likewise.

According to the crew, Tsafendas’s theory regarding justifiable homicide, his mad play-acting, their visit to the township and the fact that Tsafendas called Dr. Verwoerd “Hitler’s best student” seemed of more importance and interest to the police than the sale of the gun by Mastromanolis and Mavronas. Men who were unaware of the four issues above were asked about them.

THE ISSUE OF THE MISSING STATEMENTS FROM THE *ELENI*

It is undisputable that statements have gone missing from the National Archives of South Africa. According to the Commission’s Report, “one hundred and five persons, including Tsafendas himself, gave oral evidence before the Commission.”¹²⁰⁵ However, only forty-one of their statements were found in the archives and the missing statements included the records of Tsafendas’s two testimonies before the Commission. The important question is when these statements went missing, plus were they were available at the time to the Commission and to the Attorney-General?

It is inconceivable that fifteen men, although now aged in their late 60s to early 80s, could be mistaken about being questioned by the South African police. Mastromanolis’s

¹²⁰⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter I, Paragraph 4.

statement was found, but he insists that a statement was taken from everyone on board the *Eleni*. Even Emanuel Perselis and Ilias Kokkinos, who were not interviewed by the police, but were present in Venice, testified to the author that they clearly remember *everyone* being interviewed. Furthermore, most of these men have not seen or spoken to each other since 1966, yet all described to the author similar situations, comments and incidents from fifty years ago. The Tsafendas affair would have been the most memorable event in their seamen's lives and if some of the details had gone, the main issues remained in their minds.

The time differences between the statements also suggest that more men were questioned than those whose statements were found. The first recorded interview, according to the archives, was at 10.30 a.m. and was of Emanuil Mastromanolis, and the last was at 4.10 p.m. of Constantinos Kokkinidis. The other two were at 11.20 a.m. of Nicolaos Mavronas and at 2.30 p.m. of Captain Michalis Fountotos. The short statement of Dimitrios Zafiriadis does not have a time. Clearly, there is a big gap between each interview and according to the archived statements, the policemen took almost six hours to interview four people, or one hour and thirty minutes per person. However, it is abundantly clear from the length of the statements that the interviews could not have lasted more than twenty minutes each. That there were thirty-eight sailors to be interviewed makes perfect sense, starting early in the morning and finishing late in the afternoon, as testified by several of the men interviewed by the author.

The fact that South African policemen, probably three, were dispatched to Venice to do the interviews supports the argument that all the *Eleni* crew were interviewed. Would it have taken even one policeman six hours to question four people? There is also a three-hour gap between Mavronas's statement at 11.20 am and Captain Fountotos's at 2.30 p.m. Mavronas does not now remember for how long he was questioned, but his statement is so short, his interview could not possibly have lasted more than fifteen to twenty minutes. There is also a long gap – two hours - between Fountotos's 2.30 p.m. statement and that of Kokkinidis at 4.10 p.m. Fountotos's statement is also very brief and it is not possible that a policeman needed an hour and forty minutes to take it.

It stands to reason that the South African police would question everyone on the tanker who had been in contact with Tsafendas because of the many important issues relating to the *Eleni*, especially the fact that Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed there three days before the assassination. From those statements found in the archives it appears that only Kokkinidis was asked about that issue. We should remember here that the police questioned

people with minimal contact with Tsafendas, such as James Johnston who had spoken to him for twenty minutes in his life and had nothing significant to say. They also spoke to people who had known Tsafendas two, three and more years ago, so would they not have questioned everyone who was in constant contact with him for almost one and half months up to just before the assassination? Even more so when Tsafendas had attempted to buy a gun, intended to escape with this tanker and more importantly, had discussed Dr. Verwoerd's possible death with them.

The fact that the police went all the way to Venice to question the *Eleni* witnesses shows their importance, yet only four statements were found in the archives. Piet (Petrus) Cornelius Swanepoel, former policeman/detective in the SA police and BOSS secret agent, told the author that he believes it is "inconceivable" that the SA police would go all the way to Venice but not question everyone from the crew, since they were aware that they had associated with Tsafendas shortly before the assassination, that he had bought a gun from them, and, more importantly, that Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed on-board before it happened.¹²⁰⁶ Gordon Winter, another former BOSS agent, also concedes that the South African police "certainly" would have questioned all the crew over such an important matter.¹²⁰⁷ It is indeed inconceivable, then, that they only interviewed four people out of the thirty-eight who were in contact with Tsafendas. Serious police work required that every single person be interviewed who had been in touch with Tsafendas shortly before the assassination. Apparently this is exactly what the South African police did, but only four of the aforementioned thirty-eight statements were found in the archives. The question, then, is what happened to the other thirty-four statements.

They could have gone missing by chance, which is not impossible since evidence can go missing in any archives by accident. However, this creates the question, if they went missing by chance, why they were not used by the Commission, since if they went missing accidentally, that must have surely happened sometime after the conclusion of Tsafendas's case and not during it. It seems highly unlikely, if not impossible, that the police would lose some thirty-five statements soon after they took them. However, if they were in the possession of the Commission or the Attorney-General at the time, why they were not used? Nowhere in the Commission's Report or during the summary trial is there any reference to any of the information in these statements.

¹²⁰⁶ Piet Swanepoel in a personal interview, 6 April 2016.

¹²⁰⁷ Gordon Winter in a personal interview with Dr. James Sanders on behalf of the author, 19 August 2016.

However, the fact that there is no mention of this evidence in the Commission's Report or that they were not used by the Attorney-General does not necessarily mean that they were not in their possession. Other evidence which evidently was in their possession was not used. This includes the fact that Tsafendas was exiled by Mozambique for twelve years, also that he was arrested by the Portuguese on two occasions in addition to those mentioned in the Report; namely in Lisbon in 1952 and in Beira in 1965. Also, the Commission for sure and probably the Attorney-General, too, were in possession of several statements by witnesses showing Tsafendas as a completely different person to the one described in the summary trial and in the Commission's Report. However, they were not used by any of them. Therefore, it is also possible that the statements were suppressed by these two bodies and not by the police.

A further question concerns the *Eleni* statements found in the archives. None contains the name of the policeman who conducted the interviews. All other statements are signed by the policeman who questioned the person concerned. The author is not in position to know why the policemen who conducted these interviews did not sign them. The issue of the missing statements will be discussed in detail later in this chapter and in Chapter 6.

CONCLUSION REGARDING THE *ELENI*

As we have seen, the crew of the *Eleni* gave important information to the police about Tsafendas.

- He despised Dr. Verwoerd. He spat at a picture of him and denounced him as "Hitler's best student" because of the similarities between his national policies and those of Adolf Hitler.
- Three days before the assassination, Tsafendas told the sailors that a hypothetical killing of Dr. Verwoerd would have been justifiable because he was a tyrant and a dictator.
- He was a Communist and had fought with the Communists in the Greek Civil War.
- He spoke about politics constantly and unreservedly opposed apartheid.
- He took a group of seamen to a township in Cape Town to show them the hardships caused to Blacks by apartheid.

- The sailors believed Tsafendas was perfectly sane; none had noticed anything wrong with him.

All the above information would have been important to the police, but Tsafendas's remark about justifiable homicide was of paramount importance, given that the police and the Commission of Enquiry were trying to establish how Dr. Verwoerd's death was being discussed three days before the assassination. As we have already seen, the gossip about Dr. Verwoerd's reputed death was subject to intense speculation by the police and the Commission. Extraordinarily, none of the *Eleni* crew's statements taken in Venice would play any role in the case; neither in Tsafendas's summary trial nor the Commission of Enquiry. Why and how we will examine in the Commission chapter.

As for the fact that only four of the *Eleni* statements, plus Zafiriadis's short comment, out of thirty-eight statements taken, were found in the National Archives, this could mean only one thing: the statements were mislaid, either deliberately or by accident, the first more likely due to their importance and the fact that the South African police and General van den Bergh had withheld evidence from the judiciary before. It cannot be ruled out though that the statements were given to the Commission and to the Attorney-General and they did not use them and they then disappeared from the archives. Both the Attorney-General and the Commission had evidently suppressed important evidence about Tsafendas, as we will see.

Even if the statements disappeared accidentally through the passage of time, the fact remains that when they were available, they were ignored and not used. We will see in the next two chapters where and how these statements could have been used by the Attorney General and the Commission. The conclusion must be that they were either provided to the Attorney-General and the Commission and were suppressed by them or they were withheld from them. However, the most important issue here is not who withheld the information, but the fact that they were withheld and contributed to a distorted picture of Tsafendas and the assassination.

OTHER STATEMENTS FROM THIS DAY

CHARLES NISSIOTIS¹²⁰⁸

I am the owner of Protea Dry Cleaners and Domestic Appliances, Pretoria. My wife, Evangeline, is the stepsister of Demitrio Tsafendas, who is alleged to have murdered Dr. Verwoerd.

During 1964 I met Tsafendas for the first time. He was unemployed at that time. I asked him to assist my wife in the cafe we owned at that time. He was however so lazy that my wife told him to leave within the first two days. I afterwards heard that he took up employment with Poole's Engineering, Pretoria. After that he never visited me and my wife again. My brother-in-law, Nick Vlachopoulos, sold some furniture of Tsafendas for R40 and gave the money to my mother-in-law. My mother-in-law sent the money to me in two instalments of R20 each to get bank drafts to be sent to Beira.

To the end of 1964 or the beginning of 1965 I took out a bank draft for R20 at Volkskas Bank, Bosman Street, Pretoria and handed it to my mother-in-law, who forwarded same to Tsafendas in Beira. About two to three months later I took out another bank draft for R20 at the same bank. This draft was sent to Tsafendas in Beira. I cannot remember the address in Beira, but I think the address given by Tsafendas was c/o some Greek businessman there. In both cases Tsafendas wrote to my brother-in-law and requested the money to be sent to the address he furnished. As I knew Tsafendas he looked stupid but he was always friendly and happy. He used to talk a lot about the Bible and used to carry a Bible on him. I never saw him to be aggressive towards anybody. To me he appeared to be very absentminded. He was very fond of reading the daily English newspapers and could spend hours in doing so. He never discussed politics in my presence. As far as I could establish he never mentioned the tapeworm story to any of the family.

Statement taken by J.W. Strumpher.

¹²⁰⁸ Charles Nissiotis statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

COMMENTS ON NISSIOTIS'S STATEMENT

Nissiotis was one of those family members who appeared before the Commission. They all testified that "Tsafendas never talked to the family about his tapeworm. According to them, he was definitely not insane. He always had proper accommodation in Pretoria."¹²⁰⁹ Nissiotis had also told the police, "As far as I could established he never mentioned the tapeworm story to any of the family."¹²¹⁰

Tsafendas was indeed employed for a very short time at Nissiotis's café, but laziness was not the reason he was dismissed. Upon his return to South Africa, Tsafendas stayed at Nissiotis's house, where his step-mother was also staying at the time. The family soon discovered that Tsafendas remained a passionate Communist and a critic of apartheid who was not afraid to declare his views. Worse, they discovered that he had brought with him a large amount of banned literature. Nissiotis had no problem with this, but his wife and Marika were terrified and pleaded with Tsafendas to throw it away. Tsafendas refused and was then asked by Evangelina (Evangelia) to leave her house. The same time, he was also asked by Evangelia to stop working at the café shop because she was afraid that sooner or later he would argue with a customer over politics and get them into trouble.¹²¹¹

Nissiotis lied to the police about meeting Tsafendas for the first time in 1964. Tsafendas was a guest at his wedding to his half-sister in 1941 and gave them the gift of a coffee table which remained in Evangelia's possession until she died in 2016. He also lied when he said that Tsafendas never discussed politics in his presence. According to family members like Fotini Gavasiadis, Katerina Pnefma and Mary Eintracht, the exact opposite was the case. Unlike his wife, Nissiotis was sympathetic to Tsafendas's political views, although he avoided making this public. However, like everyone else in the family, Nissiotis could not admit the truth, that Tsafendas was a committed Communist and diehard opponent of apartheid. Nissiotis liked Tsafendas and had a good relationship with him; much better than the one Evangelia had with her half-brother, and even travelled to Cape Town to attend his summary trial as he wanted to show to Tsafendas that he was there for him.

¹²⁰⁹ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

¹²¹⁰ Charles Nissiotis statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹²¹¹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

JOHANNES CHRISTIAAN OOSTHUIZEN¹²¹²

Cape Tramway, Tollgate, Cape Town.

I am an instructor at the above firm and live in No. 3 St. Michaelshof, Bond Street, Tamboerskloof.

On 12/29/65 Demitrio Tsafendas started as my apprentice conductor. He had to attend lectures and study certain bus routes in Deep River Depot. I keep a register of my observations to record the personal progress of each apprentice conductor. I remember Tsafendas well. My registry shows an entry to his name and number, 10236. Every Tuesday pupils should report to me at 9.30 am. On such occasions I ask some questions to see how they progress. The entry show as follows: "Trainee is slow and it seems lazy too. He won't last long if he passes out. Slow in uptake. Will not last. Mind seems blank at times." The entry is in abbreviated form. I meant that he responds slowly to things that are explained to him, and had to be repeated over and over. His mind seemed to wander and he didn't concentrate on what he learned. It seemed as if he was lazy to learn the routes. I believed that he would not stay long if he did pass the test. I also believed that he may not pass the test at all.

Before he left, he said - "This is too much for me I cannot do it and I will resign." Other than his slow response, I did not at all get the impression that mentally anything was wrong with him. He is mentally normal. There are many rejected applicants because they are found to be of a bad standard. Tsafendas resigned from us on 1/12/66. He could not make the standards. He never had any political discussions or let him out against the State in my presence.

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

¹²¹² Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

EDWARD CHARLES FURNESS¹²¹³

Duncanville, Vereeniging.

I was born at Vyffontein, Vanderbijlpark on 30.4.1910. I was employed at various mines as a miner, fitter and turner. I have no family and divorced. During 1949 I left for England Where I resided until 10.6.1966 when I returned to the R.S.A. Before I left for England I was granted a disability pension. While in England I occupied myself with small scale farming on hired ground. I was an honorary member of the North Middlesex Cricket Club in Hornsey, London North 8.

While being a member of the mentioned Club I met with so-called Neo-Labour Political party members. The club itself had nothing to do with politics but members of the Neo Labour Party frequented this club. I met several South Africans who emigrated to Britain who are or where members or supporters of that Political Party. I recollect the names of two of them i.e. Tennisson and David Gardener. The latter was an elected councillor of Hornsey, London. He was a member of the Neo Labour Political Party. Gardener is a European but Tennisson is an African.

The Neo-Labour Party frequently held political meetings and was more concerned with South African affairs than local politics in England. They were against the policies of the present Government in South Africa and made sure that their views were published in London Newspapers. I attended several meetings of this party and on each occasion they spent a lot of time condemning South Africa. The following persons are also members of the Party and I have seen them addressed meetings: Canon Collins, Barbara Castle, Ted Castle (Husband of Barbara), F. Brockway (Lord), Ian Me Kardo (M. P.), Ken Robertson (M.P.), Harold Wilson (M.P. Private member) George Brown (M.P.) Frederick Messenger (Sir) (M.P.) Tennisson, David Gardener. Tennisson and David Gardener were often the main speakers at these meetings.

About a week after the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd I saw the picture of the assassin in the newspapers. I identified the photo, as that of Tsafendikis whom I met during about 1960 at the stated club. Although his name was given in the newspapers as Tsafendas, I knew him as Tsafendikis, the name by which he was known by the Neo-Labour Party. I cannot say whether he was a member of this party but he was a regular visitor to the offices of the party and I have seen him in company of several members of the party, including David Gardener,

¹²¹³ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

I never saw him at any of their meetings, but I attended only some of these meetings.

The first time I met Tsafendas was during 1960 at the club. That was during the day and I was alone at the club. He came to me and introduced himself as Tsafendikis and as a Cape Coloured. The way he pronounced "Coloured" was clear to me that he was not a coloured from South Africa. I asked him what the object of his visit was, on which he replied that he requires my help to create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned Civil disobedience and anything that would get the South African regime out of power. I asked him who gave him the idea to come to me, and his reply was that members of the Neo Labour Party advised him to approach me. He mentioned names, such as Levy, Baily, Phillips, Jelley and Wilson. The latter is not the Prime Minister. They were all local members of the Party. I then told him to go whereupon he became aggressive, but left after a few harsh words. The conversation lasted only about five minutes and that was the last and only conversation I had with this man. The only thing that struck me about Tsafendikis were, that he was obviously not a coloured but rather an Assyrian. He was well dressed and appeared to be wealthy. I do not know when he arrived or when he left Britain, but after that incident I saw him on numerous occasions for several weeks hanging around the offices of the Neo Labour Party which are situated only about half a mile from the Club and on route to places I frequented.

At the time when Pratt endeavoured to assassinate the late Dr. Verwoerd at the Rand Easter Show in Johannesburg. When they received the news, the Neo Labour Party held a meeting in London at which it was decided to collect money for the defence of Pratt. I was approached for a donation but refused. I cannot say whether Tsafendikis was a member of the Neo Labour Party in England, but can say without hesitation and beyond doubt that he associated with that Party.

Statement taken by me at Vereeniging on 12.10.66 at 11 a.m.

(Indecipherable name) ... Capt.

(Indecipherable name) ... Nr. 20365 D/Sgt.

COMMENTS ON FURNESS'S STATEMENT

The person named here as Tennyson by Furness was the ANC representative in London, Tennyson Xola Makiwane. Tsafendas spoke extensively to Father Minas Constandinou about a member of the ANC he had met in London with whom he had a very good relationship. Father Minas does not remember the name, but Tsafendas also told him that the man was assassinated. Makiwane was assassinated in 1980. Tsafendas was surprised that the South African police knew so much about his activities outside South Africa, especially in London. It seems clear that most of this information came from Furness's statement.¹²¹⁴ Furthermore, Tsafendas mentioned associating with and assisting Tennyson Makiwane to David Beresford of *The Guardian*.¹²¹⁵

DONALD NEVILLE MACKAY¹²¹⁶

E/M/A, City Tramways, Tollgate, Cape Town.

I am the personnel officer of City Tramways at above address, and I reside at 101 Costa Brava, Beach Road, Sea Point. On 12.11.1965 I interviewed D. Tsafendas, who approached me for employment as a conductor. He filled in form P.W. 1 in his own handwriting. Certain red writing in my own on this form. He had to be medically examined which examination he attended on 19.11.1965 and was found to be fit. He was to report for training on 24.11.1965, which he failed to do. He did however report on 29.12.1965, from which date he is considered to be a learner conductor. Then he was passed to the instructor Mr. Oesthuizen. Apart from signing him on, I merely asked him the essential question for Company records. I have noted his identity White – i.n. 963 081129 W, also Registration Certificate 203461, personal description and reasons for leaving previous employments –

(a) Table Bay Power Station – declared redundant, and

(b) Frazer and Chalmers – resigned. He resigned from us 12.1.66.

I remember that this man had a set of peculiar front teeth. They looked filed off and built up with silver or stainless steel.

¹²¹⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹²¹⁵ David Beresford in a personal interview, 11 April 2014.

¹²¹⁶ Donald Neville Mackay statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Cape Town 12.10.1966

Statement made to me. (SGD.) D.J.V. Troost. 23505 Sergt.

PRESS REPORTS OF THE DAY

With a trial date fixed, newspaper coverage of Tsafendas diminished, though on October 12, the big story of the day was the fact that Nikolas Vergos, the man who had fought with Tsafendas at Mandini and a sought-after witness, was finally located. “KEY WITNESS FOUND” announced the front page of the *Daily Dispatch*,¹²¹⁷ while *The Cape Times*¹²¹⁸ front-paged “IMPORTANT WITNESS TRACED.” Mr Justice J.T. van Wyk, chairman of the Verwoerd Enquiry, had appealed to the media earlier for help in locating the sixty-one-year-old Greek-born Vergos, who was thought to have “vital information” regarding Tsafendas. Six hours later, Vergos walked into the office of the *Rand Daily Mail* in Johannesburg.¹²¹⁹ The *Daily Dispatch* and *The Cape Times* also reported that the scope of the Dr. Verwoerd inquiry had been widened to include the circumstances in which Tsafendas was granted permanent residence.¹²²⁰

Regarding Vergos, even though he was labelled such an important witness by the Commission who had “vital information” regarding Tsafendas and the Commission got into a lot of trouble locating him, he was not asked to testify during Tsafendas’s summary trial. He gave a statement to the police and gave evidence before the Commission, but he was not asked by either the defence or the state to testify in the summary trial. The question is, why such an important and witness, according to the Commission, was not asked to testify in the summary trial. Of course we cannot tell for sure what the reason was, especially by looking at this incident independently. However, by looking, as we will do in the next chapter in the Summary Trial, and by placing this case together with many similar ones, we can see why Vergos was not asked to testify. Vergos was the man who asked his superior to fire Tsafendas as he was a communist¹²²¹ and denounced him to his superiors and to a security officer as

¹²¹⁷ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd: Key Witness Found’, 12 October 1966: 1.

¹²¹⁸ *The Cape Times*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry: Important Witness Traced’, 12 October 1966: 1.

¹²¹⁹ *The Cape Times*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry: Important Witness Traced’, 12 October 1966: 1.

¹²²⁰ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd: Key Witness Found’, 12 October 1966: 1; *The Cape Times*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry: Important Witness Traced’, 12 October 1966: 1.

¹²²¹ Charles Edwin Woods statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

“the biggest communist in the Republic of South Africa”¹²²² and a “communist bastard.”¹²²³ In addition Vergos had argued with Tsafendas after Vergos had refused to pay two African workers he had illegally employed. Tsafendas had defended them and asked him to pay them and this is how the fight began.¹²²⁴ The reason of their fight was not given by neither Tsafendas nor Vergos. However, given the fact that the police had questioned several workers at the canteen where the fight took place on September 9,¹²²⁵ it seems unlikely, but not of course impossible, that no one told them about it.

¹²²² Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹²²³ Jan Johannes Albertus Fourie statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹²²⁴ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

¹²²⁵ *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas in Brawl in Canteen’, 9 September 1966: 15.

THURSDAY, 13 OCTOBER 1966

STATEMENTS

ROELOF ERASMUS SWIEGERS¹²²⁶

White Male, Sidwell, Port Elizabeth.

I am employed at General Motors, Port Elizabeth at the testing department. Until 20/09/66 I lived in Durban and then came to Port Elizabeth. During my stay at Durban I met a Greek named Sideri. This person is already elderly. He was unemployed and stayed in Glen Ashley, Durban, but I do not remember his home address. He lives with his son.

The morning after the murder of the late Dr. Verwoerd, Mr. Sideri told me that he knew Tsafendas well. He knows his parents since he (Sideri) stepped ashore in Lourenço Marques during 1915 or 1917. He knows that Tsafendas is the son of a Greek and a black woman. That Tsafendas's father later married a white woman and Tsafendas then stayed with his father and the white woman in Pretoria where his father worked at Iscor. Tsafendas went to Middelburg later on, where he went to school. Tsafendas then left the country and he (Sideri) did not see him for 30 years until he ran into him about 18 months ago in Durban. Tsafendas then told him that he had travelled the world, and he also was in Russia. When Sideri ran into him in Durban, Tsafendas was staying at the "Old Man's Home" in Durban. Tsafendas did not speak with him about politics, but he is of the opinion that Tsafendas leaned towards the communist side. Tsafendas experienced lots of trouble during his travels because he was not in possession of a passport. The latter then went to Lisbon to get a passport since he was born in Lourenço Marques and thus qualifies for a Portuguese passport. There he also encountered a lot of trouble and the Portuguese government took him to Lourenço Marques to make sure that he was born there before they issued him a passport. In total, he stayed in Lisbon for three years.

Statement taken at my presence ... (Indecipherable name)

Port Elizabeth. 13.10.1966. 12 p.m.

¹²²⁶ Roelof Erasmus Swiegers statement to the police, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van vorm Z 204. NASA.

FRIDAY, 14 OCTOBER 1966

STATEMENTS

MICHAEL DAVID ERNEST NORTON¹²²⁷

European male.

I am a journalist on the Cape Town staff (Cape Branch Editor) of the Post (Tel 3 26 73) and I reside at 30 Hancock Road, Steurhof, Cape Town (Tel 774567).

On the morning of 14.10.66 I accompanied Mr Gordon Winter to Thomas Boydell Buildings where he had to give evidence before the Commission of Mr Justice van Wyk. While waiting in the passage on the second floor, I came across Isaac Vallie, who is referred to in the article in the Post. I knew him. Vallie was accompanied by his brother Suleiman Vallie, to whom Mr Winter introduced me. After Mr Winter had gone to give evidence, the two Vallies came over to me and we started chatting, mainly about Tsafendas. Isaac seemed to be worried about the story in the Post about Tsafendas which was given to us by the Vallies. After a while it came out that his friends were upset and cross with him for having talked about Tsafendas. It was a casual chat and I did not question him. He mentioned no names and I did not ask him for any. Suleiman mentioned that in 1964 Tsafendas had come to his father and on that occasion posed as an Egyptian. This is all I have to tell.

(Signed) M.D.E. Norton

Taken by me at Cape Town this 14.10.66 at 4.10 pm.

(Indecipherable signature).

¹²²⁷ Michael David Ernest Norton statement to the police, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12. File: Die post aangelegenheid, NASA.

MONDAY, 17 OCTOBER 1966

STATEMENTS

JOHN PATRICE LEACH¹²²⁸

I am an adult white male employed by Thomson, Watson & Co, Thibault House, Cape Town. On 24/7/66, the "Eleni," which is owned by Brays Shipping Co., London, called at Cape Town for repairs to the rudder. The vessel was on her way to the Persian Gulf but broke down and was brought in from High Seas by the tug Praia Grande, which left again on 27/7/66 for Luanda. My firm was asked to act as agents and if it was not for these repairs, she would not have called at Cape Town. She did not discharge anything here.

When the Eleni left Cape Town on 3/9/66 she went to the Persian Gulf where she called at Mina Al Ahmadi for orders. She left there again on 23/9/66 for Venice where she called on or about the 12th October, 1966. On her way to Venice, she also called at Suez on 5/10/66. At this stage I am unable to say whether she will ever call at Cape Town again. The "Eleni" was bound to call at Dubai, just for bunkers (?), stores (?) and water, but because of the needed repairs, she was brought to Cape Town. While at Cape Town, the crew members were allowed to go ashore and receive visitors.

(Signed) J.P. Leach

Statement taken by me ... (Indecipherable signature) D/Sgt. 17/10/66 10.10 am.

WILLEM NEL VISSER¹²²⁹

No.29097 Sergeant.

I am a sergeant in the South African Police stationed at Durban Central where I was in charge of the Immorality section. On a date before the 11th of September I was spoken to

¹²²⁸ John Patrice Leach statement to the police, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

¹²²⁹ Willem Nel Visser statement to the police, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

by Mr. Brian Rudden who is connected to the Sunday Times as a reporter. Mr. Rudden wanted to know if I knew the alleged assassin - Mr. Tsafendas - of Mr. Dr. Verwoerd. I shared that I knew Tsafendas simply as an interpreter in the Regional Courts of Durban where he (Tsafendas) worked as interpreter in a fornication case I handled. Mr. Rudden wanted to know what Tsafendas's attitude towards the Immorality Law was and I notified him the following: "That Tsafendas have asked what people say when I arrest them under the Immorality Law and whether I catch a lot of these cases. That Tsafendas was interested no more and no less in such business than a normal member of the public is interested when they hear what kind of cases I deal with."

Mr. Rudden also wanted to take a portrait of me to publish in the "Sunday Times" which I refused to allow, because of Captain du Toit, my commanding officer, had not given permission. The report of Mr. Rudden is mere sensation-ism and untrue.

Durban. 17/10/66. 4.35 p.m.

Statement taken by (Indecipherable signature) ... 29097 Sgt.

JAN ABRAHAM SWANEPOEL¹²³⁰

I'm a Lieutenant in the South African Police and in charge of the Diamond Division, Cape Town.

On 20/01/1966 I received a completed application form from the Marine Diamond Corporation, Cape Town in respect of Demitris Tsafendas, in which he applied for employment at the company. Records were checked in my office and it was found that he was not listed as an illegal diamond trade suspect. After that, the records in the office of the Investigation division, Cape Town, were also checked and it was established that there is no such a person registered with criminal records and that there is no such a person being sought for any criminal offenses. On the same day the Head Protection Officer of Marine Diamond Corporation was advised that there is no objection in employing him (Tsafendas).

Details about Demitris Tsafendas, along with a list of other employees, was sent to the South African Criminal Bureau, Pretoria, for inquiry and on 21/02/1966 I was notified in

¹²³⁰ Jan Abraham Swanepoel statement to the police, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Durban, NASA.

writing that there is no criminal convictions registered against Demitris Tsafendas. Applicants for employment with diamond companies are not seen nor spoken to in person by members of the Diamond Division. After confidential inquiries locally, a copy of a report is sent to any company, also the headquarters of the Diamond Division in Kimberley, where records of illegal diamond trafficking suspects are held for the entire Republic. In cases where it is suspected that an applicant may pose a security risk, inquiries are then also extended to the Security Police.

Cape Town. 17.10. 1966.

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE COLLECTED BY THE POLICE

STATEMENTS WITH NO DATES

The following statements were taken by the police, but they bore no dates. The first is by Albert Vercueil. This particular statement was definitely taken by the police as he was also interviewed by the Commission of Enquiry and the statement containing his evidence to the Commission was found. Thus it is safe to assume that this is the one taken by the police. The statement was taken in Pretoria, but it is undated, while the name of the Commissioner of Oaths is also missing.

ALBERT VERCUEIL¹²³¹

I work at F. A. Poole, Pretoria as foreman and reside at 669 17th Avenue, Rietfontein, Pretoria.

I know Demitrio Tsafendas. He began working at FA Poole on 7.2.64, in Pretoria as a welder and was in the firm's service to 10.7.64. His salary was 77 cents per hour. During the period he worked here he was absent from the service for 3 full days and 3 half days. I did not find the accused as a very good worker, but will say that he was an intelligent worker mainly because he quickly grasped when work was entrusted to him. However, I found him very sloppy in his work. I found him to be very friendly, but very opinionated. He would not, for example work according to the assignment, but as he decides.

The accused worked with several other people, but he could not agree with one of them. Accused was well-built and strong, and bullied the other Portuguese workers. He had fights with several white workers. I often admonished him about his sloppy work and because he always quarrelled with the other workmen. He was then usually very cocky and always placed the blame on the other party.

On July 10, 1964 I beseeched him for the sloppy work he performed, and when he began to mumble again, I told him to come to my office. In my office I told him: "Demetri you are no good to me. You are always causing trouble in the shops, and your work is no good. You must leave today. "He became extremely angry and put his finger in my face and it looked like he was going to attack me. He then said "You are just like your bloody

¹²³¹ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Government. I will kill your Prime Minister yet.” I told him to go or I’ll call the police to remove him. Thereafter I never saw him again.

During the period he worked here he showed no signs of mental disorder or any other abnormality. Personally I would say that he is an intelligent person and completely mentally balanced. I now show some tools and work produced by the accused personally and performed to give you an idea of the degree of initiative he laid to the day.

MARTINUS PETRUS VAN WYK¹²³²

Proclamation Hill, Pretoria.

I am an adult, white male residing at the above address. For the past 37 years I have been employed at “F.A. POOLE” Engineering works, Pretoria West. During 1964, Dimitrio Tsafendas was also employed at the firm. He was a fitter and also did welding. He was quiet by nature and did not easily talk to us employees. He often spoke to the Bantu people. On a certain day he had a quarrel with one of the Bantu. I do not know which Bantu it was. I heard that the accused told the Bantu he would stab him with a knife, or words to that effect. The accused came across normal. He told me that he mastered various languages and that he travelled abroad extensively. After a few months I noticed that the accused no longer worked with the firm. I have never seen him again.

AUGUST KAREL OESTRICH¹²³³

I am employed at F.A. POOLE, Pretoria as a machine shop foreman. I know Dimitrio Tsafendas, who also worked for this firm. Dimitrio used to speak to me in German and I found him very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. On one occasion he told me to complain about another man who interfered with his work. He then spoke with a raised and excited voice. This was the only time I saw him in a rage and excited. He never spoke to me about any politics. I never noticed

¹²³² Marthinus Petrus van Wyk statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹²³³ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease. The day when he left our firm he told that he had a sister in Lourenço Marques and that he was going to see her. I never saw him again.

BERNARD MICHAEL GREENBERG¹²³⁴

E/M/A. Assembly Hotel, Main Rd. Green Point.

I am the manager of the above Hotel. On the 7th of July 1966 Dimitrio Tsafendas answered to an advert I had in the papers for a receptionist. He called on me, filled in a form half-way but I decided not to take him on and told him that he would not serve my purpose. The half-filled in form I now hand over to the police. I had a bit of conversation with him. He mentioned that he had been in some kind of embroidery business in Portugal or Spain, and also in Lourenço Marques! He also mentioned that he was a teacher of sorts. He said he spoke various languages of which I have jotted down on his application form i.e. "English, French, Italian, Portuguese + Greek." He dated his form the 6th - I had to change it to the 7th, which was the day of the interview. I think that he had ...¹²³⁵

NICK VLACHOPOULOS¹²³⁶

I am the owner of the Proclamation Hill Store, Pretoria West and married to the stepsister of DEMETRIO TSAFENDAS. During 1964 TSAFENDAS left the following articles at a second hand furniture shop in Pretoria West to be sold: 1 table, 4 chairs, 2 Big chairs, 1 Divan, 1 Bed. In the meantime TSAFENDAS disappeared from Pretoria and we lost trace of him. To the end of 1964 I received a letter from him in Beira requesting that the money for which his furniture was sold be sent to him. He gave his address in Beira as c/o Olimpia Court. At this time only the table and 4 chairs had been sold for R20. I gave the money to my mother in-law to forward to him. During the beginning of 1965 the rest of the furniture was sold for R20.00

¹²³⁴ Bernard Michael Greenberg statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹²³⁵ The document ended in that manner stating s.r.s (see reverse side), but there was nothing further.

¹²³⁶ Nick Vlachopoulos statement to the police, October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

and I also handed this money to my mother in-law. TSAFENDAS also left a locked pedal cycle at my shop which is still in my storeroom. I never associated with TSAFENDAS and know very little about his associations and activities.

Statement taken by ... Indecipherable name ... Commissioner of Oaths

Date: 2 ... (Indecipherable number) /10/66. Place: Pretoria

COMMENTS ON VLACHOPOULOS'S STATEMENT

Nick Vlachopoulos was also questioned by the Commission of Enquiry on October 21, 1966. He stated that Tsafendas “habitually ate a huge amount of food but never mentioned a tape worm.”¹²³⁷ According to Vlachopoulos’s sister Fotini Gavasiadis and son Mike, as well as Tsafendas’s half-sister Katerina Pnema and first cousin, Mary Eintracht, Vlachopoulos had lied, for obvious reasons, stating that he “never associated with Tsafendas and knew very little about his associations and activities.” On the contrary, Vlachopoulos had a very good relationship with Tsafendas. He had heard about him from his wife, Eleni, Tsafendas’s half-sister, long before and was very anxious to meet him. That was why he had followed Marika, Victor and his wife to Lourenço Marques in 1963.¹²³⁸

¹²³⁷ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

¹²³⁸ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Michael Vlachopoulos in a personal interview, 14 April 2016.

It was Vlachopoulos who begged and convinced and later even gave money to J.J. van den Berg, the official of the South African embassy in Lourenço Marques, to turn a blind eye to the fact that Tsafendas was on South Africa's Stop list and to give him an entry visa. Furthermore, Vlachopoulos gave Tsafendas a rent-free apartment in Pretoria for eight months and Tsafendas regularly worked voluntarily in his café. Vlachopoulos often discussed politics with Tsafendas, as he sympathised with his ideas, but he never discussed issues in public and insisted that Tsafendas do the same. Vlachopoulos, along with Charles Nissiotis, even travelled to Cape Town to attend the summary trial to morally support Tsafendas as he wanted him to know that he had not forgotten him and that he was there at this difficult time.¹²³⁹

MISSING STATEMENTS

As already stated, several statements and other documents have gone missing from the National Archives of South Africa regarding Tsafendas's case. They include statements by Patrick O'Ryan (discussed earlier in this chapter), Eleni Vlachopoulos and Evangelia Nissiotis, Tsafendas's half-sisters, Tsafendas's statement to General van den Bergh, Tsafendas's two testimonies to the Commission of Enquiry into Verwoerd's death etc.¹²⁴⁰

Of course we are not in position to know which other ones have disappeared because there are no references to any other statements. It must also be noted that evidence relating to the Tsafendas case are not the only ones missing from the NASA. Important evidence has disappeared in several other cases, such as for example the Ahmed Timol original inquest, where 600 pages have gone missing.¹²⁴¹

This suggests that there was a systematic removal of documents from the archives. Researcher and filmmaker Liza Key and Dr. James Sanders, journalist, author and researcher specialising in South African affairs and history, told the author that in the early 1990s, with apartheid on the verge of collapse, the South African Security Police burned piles of

¹²³⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Michael Vlachopoulos in a personal interview, 14 April 2016.

¹²⁴⁰ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹²⁴¹ Nicolson, 'Timol Inquest: He Was Murdered But Culprits are Dead, Court Rules', *Daily Maverick*, 12 October 2017.

documents in order to destroy evidence contradicting official verdicts, as well to protect themselves, their witnesses and their secret informants.¹²⁴²

Liza Key said about the missing documents from the National Archives:

“Access to government archives in South Africa is a frustrating business. Researchers are subjected to restricted access to the archive by, for example, the Department of Justice and have to go through lengthy bureaucratic manoeuvrings to find - when they are finally given permission to view the holdings - that vital documents are missing, have been redacted or intentionally destroyed. Literally tons of top secret security police documents were incinerated in the early 1990’s. Housed in government diesel they smouldered away for days on the police rugby field in Johannesburg. According to former security branch members, the order to destroy was given by then Minister of Police, Hernus Kriel to protect the names of their informers. The few police files that survive are in the National Archive but names and reference numbers on flimsy dust covers that promise to unlock secrets of the past, are empty inside.”¹²⁴³

Piers Pigou, International Crisis Group’s Senior Consultant for Southern Africa and TRC Investigator, told Liza Key about the destruction of police documents and the state of the South African National Archives: “... we’ve also seen significant numbers of records being destroyed ... Records that were found by the TRC’s own archival investigation team have subsequently gone missing [from the National Archives of South Africa] - records of the security establishment and so forth.”¹²⁴⁴

Yasmin Sooka, a TRC Commissioner, told Liza Key, “The Truth Commission in South Africa did have quite extraordinary powers. It had the power to search and seize information and of course in the South African case that was really necessary because the shredding machines were very, very busy as the former State was destroying records.”¹²⁴⁵

Simanga, head of Soweto Security Branch and former MK rebel, told Liza Key about the destruction of the police documents by the police:

“The Security Police and the Bureau of State Security, which was called BOSS at that time, destroyed thousands and thousands of documents that they had in their possession.

¹²⁴² Liza Key in a personal interview, 6 November 2016; Dr. James Sanders in a personal interview, 4 June 2016.

¹²⁴³ Liza Key in a personal interview, 6 November 2016.

¹²⁴⁴ Piers Pigou to Liza Key, n.d. Liza Key’s Personal Collection.

¹²⁴⁵ Yasmin Sooka to Liza Key, n.d. Liza Key’s Personal Collection.

They used to keep meticulous records of activists in the country. But now towards the formation of the Transitional Executive Council they destroyed all the documentation. And it's not a thousand pages or five thousands of pages, its millions of pages that they destroyed...

Well, they were trying to hide the systematic ways of their operation. The systematic way that they used to kill people. There were people who just disappeared. And they have records of who they killed. That is what they were hiding. They operated exactly like Nazi Germany. Remember, towards the end of World War 2, when Hitler saw that Berlin was about to be taken over, the concentration camps and all these places where people were kept, he ordered them destroyed. That's exactly what they did, to hide evidence.”¹²⁴⁶

General Johan van der Merwe, Former Head of the Apartheid Security Police and Chief of Police, told Liza Key about the destruction of police files:

“Well... you know... you know... it was such a problem to us when the amnesty hearings started because we had no records at our disposal... and the reason why that was done [the destruction of police files] was only to protect our informers... because in all these files, information, reports... were filed in the files. Although they used code-names for the informers the circumstances were such that any person reading the files would immediately have recognized that this can only be that that person was present. And we were afraid that should that [information] fall into the hands of the ANC many of our informers would have been exposed and that would have been the end - not only their careers - but in many cases their lives.”¹²⁴⁷

Asked by Liza Key “who gave the order for the destruction of files?” General van der Merwe replied, “That order actually came from the Minister Adriaan Vlok. He was not a Minister at that time. It was Hernus Kriel who was Minister at that time. Hernus Kriel last Minister of Law and Order.”¹²⁴⁸

Paul Erasmus, former Security Branch policeman, told Liza Key about the destruction of police files:

“Political events overtook us. There was a big destruction of the entire filing system at John Vorster Square [+ 1989/90] which was something like nine hundred thousand personnel files, weighing tons, tens of tons maybe more. Huge steel filing cabinets ... In the

¹²⁴⁶ Simanga to Liza Key, n.d. Liza Key's Personal Collection.

¹²⁴⁷ General Johan van der Merwe to Liza Key, n.d. Liza Key's Personal Collection.

¹²⁴⁸ General Johan van der Merwe to Liza Key, n.d. Liza Key's Personal Collection.

mid-80s, in fact, that filing system became an engineering problem and they had to bring government PWD engineers in because it looked like the filing system was going to fall out of the building. That a side of the building was going to collapse, which would have meant that the public of Johannesburg would have been subjected to something like nine hundred thousand personnel files of top secret documents lying on the M1 highway ...

In 89/90 the main filing system at John Vorster Square as I mentioned was destroyed. It took days, if not weeks. The filing system was sanitized but some of it remained intact. Probably ninety percent was gutted out by hard labour prisoners were brought in from Johannesburg prison. They parked the trucks in the Security Branch basement and the documents went... hundreds of thousands of files, sub files, all top secret. Secret or top secret files went to the Police Sports grounds at Arthur Bloch Park and were burnt with government diesel. Literally took days. I personally witnessed it.

Well as I mentioned these documents were taken to the police rugby field at Arthur Bloch Park which is still the Police Rugby field in Newlands. They [the docs] were burnt next to the rugby which took days. Tons and tons of documents. The reason that so much documentation existed was - apart from an obsession to document everything - we didn't have computers. One can only imagine the fear of these documents becoming public, because it wasn't only what was happening on the one side, this was a record of what was happening on the other side. Amongst these documents would have been details of who were the informers in the ANC head office, in Lusaka or London or whatever. Going all the way to the right-wing on the other side because we were investigating the right wing as well."¹²⁴⁹

In addition, Paul Erasmus told Liza Key about the treatment of documents he lent to the TRC:

"I am just amazed to find that I have got anything original left, the way it's been pillaged and plundered by the TRC. I had to go down to Cape Town to fetch them and it was just a disaster. We got ten times more stuff back than what I actually gave them but it was hundreds of unnecessary photocopies. Documents disappeared. I don't know who the TRC worked with and what they did with the papers but I certainly registered my extreme discontent. I gave them an inventory of documentation- original documentation and things

¹²⁴⁹ Paul Erasmus to Liza Key, n.d. Liza Key's Personal Collection.

that I had written which is quite considerable and I got back literally as you can see, this now is how I got it back.”¹²⁵⁰

Another possibility is that this evidence in Tsafendas’s case was suppressed by General van den Bergh and the police and was never given to the Commission or to the Attorney-General. This would not be surprising since it is something that the police and van den Bergh himself had repeatedly done. That General van den Bergh, who was in charge of the investigation, attempted to downplay and omit from the Commission Tsafendas’s Communist beliefs and political activities seems to be in line with the disappearance of the statements. Since he had already withheld information about Tsafendas’s Communism, it seems logical he would seek to withhold other important information. It would not have been the first or last time that the general withheld evidence from the judiciary. For a detailed account of General van den Bergh’s possible role with the missing evidence, see Chapter 6, *The Commission of Enquiry*, page 1875.

Another person who was very probably questioned by the police, although no statement was found in the NASA, is Dr. E.L. Fisher, a psychiatrist and a United Party MP. Dr. Fisher was the first doctor to treat Dr. Verwoerd after Tsafendas’s attack in Parliament. We know this because the doctor gave a detailed account of his actions to the South African press. He told the *Daily Dispatch*, “We did everything we could to stop the bleeding. We gave mouth-to-mouth breathing and tried artificial respiration... we kept on treating him and trying respiratory treatment ... but by then he had no pulse at all. It was hopeless.”¹²⁵¹ Other doctors who rushed to help Dr. Verwoerd, like Dr. Venter, Dr. Radford and Dr. van der Verwe, were questioned by the police and their statements were found in the archives. However, it should be noted that no statements were found in the Archives from two other doctors who were present, G. de V Morrison and Maud Clark, which could mean that not all doctors at the assassination scene were questioned or that statements made by these two doctors also went missing.

What makes Dr. Fisher’s possible statement of some importance is what he told *Die Vaderland* the day after the assassination. He said, “It was clear that the assassin must have received training in the art of handling a knife. Each time, the knife slipped through the ribs,

¹²⁵⁰ Paul Erasmus to Liza Key, n.d. Liza Key’s Personal Collection.

¹²⁵¹ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Assassinated’, 7 September 1966: 1.

showing that it was not handled haphazardly as a usual stabbing would be carried out.”¹²⁵²

Later the Commission of Enquiry into Dr. Verwoerd’s death wrote in its final report:

*“The doctor who carried out the post-mortem examination informed the Commission that there were no grounds for the rumour that the wounds had been inflicted by an expert stabber. He described them as quite ordinary. The Commission had the opportunity of inspecting all the photographs showing the position and extent of the wounds and is in agreement with this opinion.”*¹²⁵³

The author agrees with the Commission’s conclusion and the issue of whether Tsafendas was an “expert stabber” is discussed later on the Commission of Enquiry Chapter. However, it seems most unlikely that the police would fail to question a doctor and an MP who was present at the assassination and had rushed to help Dr. Verwoerd, particularly after the doctor’s reported comments on the knife handling.

Finally, Mario Ferreira, Panagiotis Peroglou and Elias Constantaras stated to the author that they were questioned by the police, but their statements were not found in the archives. This is what they remember telling the police:

MARIO FERREIRA

Mario Ferreira was twenty-one at the time and worked at the Table Bay Power Station. He signed Tsafendas’s documents when he was employed and spoke to him on several occasions while they both worked there. He was questioned by the police after the assassination, as also were two of his colleagues at the Power Station (Owen Smorenberg and Redvers Quintin Wakfer). He remembers being questioned by Detective Sergeant van Wyk not only because he was Tsafendas’s colleague, but also because they were both Portuguese. Ferreira does not remember now whether his statement was written down or recorded, whether he signed it, or what he told Dt. Sgt van Wyk. However, he still remembers Tsafendas and had found him to be “very polite and easy-going. He never got excited or agitated. He was very calm ... I found him a quiet and reserved guy, perhaps a bit introvert. He never expanded on his conversations. If I asked him something he would answer, but he never expanded on any of

¹²⁵² Crowd and Revo, *The Pattern of Assassination*, p. 20.

¹²⁵³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 12.

the questions he answered.” Ferreira saw no signs of insanity in Tsafendas. “I saw nothing schizo about him or violent about him or fanatical about him, or abnormal.”¹²⁵⁴

PANAGIOTIS PEROGLOU

Peroglou met Tsafendas in Mary Scott’s boarding house where he would take his meals. He remembers being questioned at his shop sometime after the assassination, but does not remember the exact day nor by how many policemen. He does not remember what he was asked by the police nor what he told them, but he believes he must have told them everything he remembered about Tsafendas. His memory is of Tsafendas being “very well mannered, especially with women and elderly people... very talkative and friendly ... he had a lot of respect for women. He would bring them a chair or he would offer his chair ... he was very well educated, especially about Greece’s history and Christianity ...” Peroglou “never got the impression that he might be insane. He never did or said anything to make us think he was insane. He was definitely sane.” Peroglou does not remember Tsafendas talking politics.¹²⁵⁵

ELIAS CONSTANTARAS

Constantaras also met Tsafendas in Mary Scott’s boarding house and became a good friend. He clearly remembers being interviewed by “two or three policemen” who visited him at his work “two or three days after the assassination.” One of the policemen had a portable typewriter and typed his statement, which he signed at the end of the questioning. Constantaras does not remember exactly what he told the police, but says he “must have told them everything” he knew, for instance that Tsafendas talked constantly about politics and that he had fought with the Communists in the Greek Civil War.

Constantaras is certain he mentioned that Tsafendas called Dr. Verwoerd “Hitler’s best student.” He said, “I remember saying this because they asked me why he called him that and I said, ‘I don’t know, he did not say, I just overheard him saying it.’” Constantaras said, “I had to say it because there were others present at the time and I knew that they would have told the police about it, so it would have looked bad on me if I had kept it out. He (Tsafendas) had told us that Dr. Verwoerd was doing to the Africans what Hitler did to the Jews, but I couldn’t say this to the police and fortunately they did not ask me anything else

¹²⁵⁴ Mario Ferreira in a personal interview, 21 May 2019.

¹²⁵⁵ Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

about it.” Constantaras remembers talking about Tsafendas’s time in the boarding house, but not the details. He does not remember what else he was asked or said.

Tsafendas had given Constantaras a copy of Jean-Paul Sartre’s *Anti-Semite and Jew*, and as for his mental state, he remembers him as being “perfectly fine. He was not insane. None of us ever got the impression that he could be insane ... I was impressed by the way he was talking ... he talked very nicely, he knew how to speak properly. He sounded like an educated man ... he was very friendly and easy-talking with everyone ...” Constantaras does not remember if he told any of this to the police.¹²⁵⁶

OTHER DOCUMENTS COLLECTED BY THE POLICE

The archives also contain several letters, memoranda and reports from various institutions, but most of them contain repetition and information we have already seen, or information of no relevance to the case. However, the following are documents of some importance.

THE GRAFTON STATE HOSPITAL REPORT

On September 16, 1966, the US embassy in Cape Town gave to the South African authorities a report on Tsafendas by the Grafton State Hospital, North Grafton, Massachusetts, USA.¹²⁵⁷

This document later became available to the Commission of Enquiry and was mentioned in its final report. The Grafton document is of major importance since it reveals that Tsafendas had “faked mental illness” in the past, something that was not revealed during the trial and received very little attention from the Commission of Enquiry.

Tsafendas was admitted to this hospital on March 27, 1946 and remained there until July 31, 1947. The five-page hospital report, which has two appendices listing his movements in the United States, stated that when he was first admitted, Tsafendas “thought he had a tapeworm” and was “hardly convinced he hasn’t,” but he was “fairly co-operative and in good contact with the environment.” The report also stated that that Tsafendas had told the US Immigration authorities he would commit suicide if they deported him, and that “he faked mental illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings of ships.”

¹²⁵⁶ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

¹²⁵⁷ Letter of the USA Embassy in Cape Town to the South African Security Branch, 3 October 1966. Correctional Service. Subject: Demitrio Tsafendas. File: 80/0043 A123 Vol. 1. NASA.

Furthermore, according to the report, Tsafendas deteriorated in Grafton as time went on. He became “very agitated, assaultive and showed delusions and had to be put in seclusion at times.” On December 12, 1946, he was diagnosed with “schizophrenia, hebephrenic type, with deterioration: prognosis poor.”

The report also contains extensive references by Tsafendas to a man named Thomas Tuff. According to the report, Tsafendas talked often about this man, who he said was a missionary of the Christian Church and had a big influence on him. Years later, Tsafendas spoke at length to Father Minas Constandinou, Father Spiros Randos, Patrick O’Ryan and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis about a man named Tom, who he said he met at a hospital in the USA. He told these witnesses that Tom was a missionary of the Christian Church and the one who introduced him to the sect. He told them Tom claimed to have a tapeworm inside him which ate his food. Tsafendas did not believe this story and concluded that Tom made it up in order to be found insane and exempted from service in the American military, since this was during the Second World War. Nevertheless, Tsafendas also told these witnesses that he copied Tom’s tapeworm story and used it as his own. Naturally, Tsafendas did not tell the hospital doctors about Tom and the tapeworm and the hospital report makes no mention of it. Tsafendas told the story to O’Ryan and about thirty years later to the priests on separate occasions but with exactly the same details.¹²⁵⁸

The report concludes with an account of Tsafendas’s “clinical course” at the hospital, stating that he smeared the walls with faces, claimed to hear voices from the radiators, and was disoriented as to place and situation. It said, “He is wont to assume silly, grimacing expressions and is prone to misidentify the attendants and the examiner.” The last paragraph of the report stated that a course of electric shock treatment had been started and Tsafendas had shown improvement; he was no longer in seclusion and was oriented as to place and person but not as to time. It said “He could safely be deported to his native country, accompanied by one attendant.” The last line of the report said, “Diagnosis: schizophrenia hebephrenic type. Condition: Improved.”¹²⁵⁹

¹²⁵⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹²⁵⁹ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

1941 REPORT BY THE COMMISSIONER FOR IMMIGRATION AND ASIATIC AFFAIRS

This is a report about Tsafendas written by the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs in 1941 and sent to the Commissioner of the South African Police, thus clearly it was in the police files. The report concerns Tsafendas's appearance in court accused of being in South Africa illegally because no permit for permanent residence had been issued to him. A fine was imposed, which he paid. He was then given a temporary permit and released. The report states that Tsafendas's application for permanent residence was refused after the South African Consul-General in Lourenço Marques advised the police that Tsafendas was a "half-caste" and had been dismissed from employment at a kiosk in Portuguese South Africa (Mozambique) on account of his Communist leanings.¹²⁶⁰

¹²⁶⁰ Report of the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, 14 October 1941. K150, Vol. 3, File: W.D. 10/10/4102. Subject: Enquiry regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis. NASA.

CONCLUSION ABOUT THE POLICE INVESTIGATION

In the course of this chapter, we have looked at all the statements taken by the police during their investigation into Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. In total, 116 statements were found in the National Archives of South Africa, although many other witnesses were questioned, such as Patrick O'Ryan and the crew of the *Eleni*, whose statements were not found. Most importantly, we have seen Tsafendas's own words in the two statements he gave to the police while he was in custody. In clear and forthright terms, Tsafendas stated that he killed Dr. Verwoerd for political reasons. He said he was "disgusted" with his policies, considered him not to be "representative of all South African people" and wanted to see someone "who would represent all South African people," and he believed that by killing him "a change of policy would take place."

Several witnesses testified that Tsafendas was a Communist who opposed apartheid and considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator and "Hitler's best student" since he was applying some of Hitler's policies to the Black South Africans. Tsafendas himself admitted that he had been a member of the South African Communist Party. Witnesses also testified that Tsafendas had joined the Greek Communist Party and fought in the Greek civil war as a member of the party's military wing, the DSE.

Nowhere in either of his statements does Tsafendas mention a tapeworm or say anything that would suggest he was schizophrenic. He stated clearly that it was his own idea to kill Dr. Verwoerd, that no-one asked him to do it, and that he did it because he thought "a change of policy would take place" and "it was the right thing to do." The fact that not one of the 116 people questioned by police mentioned the tapeworm is of major significance since the defence at Tsafendas's summary trial would claim the tapeworm was central to Tsafendas's existence, that he had hosted it since he was a child and that it controlled his life. Tsafendas spoke about the tapeworm to all members of his defence team, plus the psychiatrists for his defence and for the state. Yet he had never mentioned it anywhere else up till then. Not a single person was aware that Tsafendas believed he had a tapeworm, not even his family. Tsafendas told no one all those years but suddenly, while in custody, he started telling everyone about a tapeworm.

Statements made to the police during their investigation portray Tsafendas as a Communist, someone who talks constantly about politics, an opponent of apartheid,

colonialism and slavery, who strongly supports the independence of Mozambique. He is described as intelligent, well-read and knowledgeable. Witnesses say he is compassionate and though poor himself, gives money to people in need, such as poor Whites in Durban and his flatmate, John Bornman. The statements are compatible with what Tsafendas himself told the police and with what was said by witnesses interviewed by the author who were not questioned by the police.

There are also contradictory statements by witnesses. Many described Tsafendas as well-mannered and polite, while others considered him selfish and messy. Since social behaviour is a subjective matter, it is not surprising that different people formed different opinions of the man. Several also testified that Tsafendas discussed politics with them while others claimed that he did not. It is perfectly normal that a person would not talk about politics to every person he met, especially in Tsafendas's case, when his views opposed those of most White South Africans at the time. There were certainly others who talked politics with Tsafendas, but did not tell the police out of fear or to protect him.

A very important issue is what happened to Tsafendas while he was in custody, how he was "punished" brutally and systematically by the South African police. This unprecedented physical and psychological torture is something that has never been discussed before. We also saw in this chapter how Tsafendas, although initially he maintained to the police that he had killed Dr. Verwoerd for political reasons, later told his defence that a tapeworm controlled his life.

A factor of crucial importance concerned PIDE, the Portuguese security police. From Lisbon, the Director of PIDE in Portugal ordered the PIDE office in Mozambique not to reveal to the South African police any information "indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique." It hid the fact that PIDE had held a file on Tsafendas (*Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis*) since 1938, containing details of his activities since then, including his five arrests for political reasons and the fact that he was banned from entering Mozambique from 1951 to 1963 due to his Communist and anti-colonial activities.¹²⁶¹ The fact that PIDE had a file on Tsafendas has remained unknown till now. However, as we have also seen, the South African police were warned of the Portuguese attitude by the South African embassy in Lisbon only two days after the assassination. Stating that Tsafendas was a Communist who had been arrested several times by the Portuguese

¹²⁶¹ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

police, the embassy told their national police investigators that the Portuguese authorities would attempt to downgrade or hide Tsafendas's political activities.

What puzzled many people about the assassination, both at the time and long after, was how Tsafendas managed to secure and hold onto a job in Parliament if he was "insane." In the first place, as we have seen and we will see later in detail, Tsafendas had three very good references. One was from Limasollu Naci College in Istanbul, one from Fries & Son in Frankfurt and one from Dimitris Apostolidis, a financial supporter and member of the ruling National Party. More germane, but a question that was never asked, was how Tsafendas managed to work for five or six months in a demanding teaching job at Limasollu Naci, the most prestigious private language college in Istanbul. Tsafendas spoke about it in his statement, the police must have had the reference, and his Istanbul employment was also reported in the South African Press.

However, no-one seemed to bother, then or later, –to check on the college and his work there. Had anyone done so, it would have been quickly apparent that six months' teaching foreign languages was much more demanding of any person, whatever his mental state, than carrying messages and bringing meals to newsmen in the Cape Town Parliament. His Istanbul employment, was also a major contradiction to what was stated at his summary trial. Neither the police nor the Press at the time paid much attention to the college and this information was just briefly mentioned.

Important information was also given to the police by the South African embassy in Washington – that Tsafendas had been hospitalised in the United States as unstable but not insane. The South African police were also given Tsafendas's medical report from Grafton State Hospital in Massachusetts, USA, which contained information regarding his time in the United States and his various hospitalisations there. The Grafton hospital's diagnosis of Tsafendas was "schizophrenia-Hebephrenic type. Condition: Improved." However, the report also contained significant information regarding Tsafendas's medical history -- the fact that in 1943 he had "faked mental illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings (sinkings) of ships."¹²⁶²

What's more, at least six of the *Eleni* crew testified that Tsafendas had also faked mental illness to avoid army service. As we have seen, these statements, along with others, have gone missing from NASA, but the fact remains that they were taken at the time by the

¹²⁶² Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

South African police. As we will see in ensuing chapters on the Summary Trial and the Commission of Enquiry, the vast majority of this information gathered by the South African police would not be used in court and would not be publicised. Only a very, very small amount would play a role at the Commission of Enquiry and almost none at all at Tsafendas's summary trial. Why and how will be examined in the respective chapters.

According to Professor John Dugard, based on the evidence presented here, "The picture comes across clearly of Tsafendas as a political person who was not insane when he killed Dr. Verwoerd. The evidence points overwhelmingly in this direction. Tsafendas was a political revolutionary, whose assassination of Dr. Verwoerd was motivated by a hatred of Dr. Verwoerd and all he stood for. He was not an insane killer but a political assassin determined to rid South Africa of the architect of apartheid."¹²⁶³

¹²⁶³ Professor John Dugard in personal interviews with the author, 31 August 2016 and 8 September 2016.

CHAPTER 5

TSAFENDAS'S SUMMARY TRIAL

THE JUDICIARY IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA¹²⁶⁴

The South African legal system was an integral part of the repressive machinery of the apartheid system¹²⁶⁵ and was seriously damaged by it. Constitutional law and administrative law were unashamedly used by apartheid in its exercise in racist social engineering, though today are undergoing a process of rehabilitation under a new Constitution.¹²⁶⁶ Over the years, several prominent jurists and scholars had exposed the biased and non-independent nature of the judiciary during apartheid, and how the National Party had appointed judges who supported its policies. The list of prominent jurists and legal experts who have written about and exposed the disgraceful conduct of the South African judiciary during apartheid is endless. For example:

- In 1986, Nicholas Haysom had exposed the bias and inaccuracy of the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry into the Langa shootings (discussed in detail in the following chapter).¹²⁶⁷
- In 1998, the TRC exposed the inaccuracies of the Commission of Enquiry into the Sharpeville Massacre (discussed in detail in the following chapter).
- In 2017, Judge Billy Mothle ruled at the conclusion of an inquest that Ahmed Timol was murdered, thereby overruling the verdict of suicide of the original inquest. Judge Mothle said in his judgement that the magistrate at the time had relied on “a limited version of events.” Archbishop Desmond Tutu said: “It is sad that it took so long and there are many other TRC matters that haven’t been resolved.”¹²⁶⁸

¹²⁶⁴ For some of the most important political trials of the 1950s and 1960s see Chapter 1.

¹²⁶⁵ Southern Africa the Imprisoned Society (SATIS), *Political Trials in South Africa: Judicial Instruments of Repression*, (London: SATIS, 1985), p. 5.

¹²⁶⁶ John Dugard, “The South African Judiciary and International Law in Apartheid Era.” *South African Journal on Human Rights*, Vol. 14, Issue 1 (1998), p. 111.

¹²⁶⁷ Haysom, N. (1986) *The Langa Shootings and the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry*.

¹²⁶⁸ Greg Nicolson, ‘Timol Inquest: He Was Murdered But Culprits are Dead, Court Rules’, *Daily Maverick*, 12 October 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2017-10-12-timol-inquest-he-was-murdered-but-culprits-are-dead-court-rules/>

Sydney Kentridge QC wrote in 1998: “In South Africa, one after another inquest into deaths in detention found that ‘no one was to blame’ as the security police, the judiciary and district surgeons conspired to keep torture and murder under wraps.”¹²⁶⁹ Ahmed Kathrada wrote on the same issue in 2004, “In later years, inquest after inquest – in the cases of Imam Haron, Ahmed Timol, Neil Aggett, to name but a few – returned verdicts of suicide. I cannot recall a single case among the scores of deaths under 90-day detention in which an inquest magistrate held the security police responsible.”¹²⁷⁰

According to Adam Sitze, Professor of Law, Commissions of Inquiry under apartheid very often hid more than they revealed. A typical example, he wrote, was the Sharpeville Enquiry, which transformed itself from a fact-finding device into a “whitewashing machine.”¹²⁷¹ Austin T. Turk, Professor of Criminology at the University of California, wrote in 1982 that apartheid South Africa may well have had “the world’s most elaborate legal structure for the repression of political resistance of all kinds.”¹²⁷² According to Peter Parker and Joyce Mokhesi-Parker, the administration of justice under apartheid “systematically favoured the state ... devised rules that turned suspects into convicts ... and moulded the rule of law to serve the law of the legal system in enforcing economic, political and racial oppression.”¹²⁷³ In effect, apartheid suborned the law and used it for its own ends.

Professor John Dugard, a leading academic critic of the apartheid legal order, has expressed “outrage and shame” about it, saying that it had “undermined faith and confidence in the whole South African legal system.”¹²⁷⁴ In 1978, he characterised the apartheid legal system as an:

“old-fashioned, inquisitional system modelled upon a code produced by the Spanish Inquisition, one which bears little resemblance to the enlightened codes of procedure found in modern Western European countries.”¹²⁷⁵ [It] is not a body of rules which preserves domestic

¹²⁶⁹ Quoted in Bizos, *No One to Blame? A Personal Account of Inquests into Some Deaths in Detention under Apartheid*, p. vii.

¹²⁷⁰ Kathrada, *Memoirs*, p. 384.

¹²⁷¹ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 157, 311.

¹²⁷² Turk, *Political Criminality: The Defiance and Defence of Authority*, p. 146.

¹²⁷³ Peter Parker and Joyce Parker-Mokhesi, *In the Shadow of Sharpeville: Apartheid and Criminal Justice*, (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), p. 3.

¹²⁷⁴ Heinz Klug, “Review: Law Before and After Apartheid: Abel’s Sociolegal Analysis.” *Law and Social Inquiry*, Volume 25, Issue 2 (Spring 2000), p. 659-660.

¹²⁷⁵ Dugard, *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*, p. 273.

security and advances commercial opportunity, but a discriminatory order which promotes personal insecurity and denies material advancement.¹²⁷⁶

Professor Dugard also wrote later:

“A legal system that excludes 70% of its population from the franchise, that excludes 70% of its population from owning land in 87% of the country, that arbitrarily deprives 8 million people of their nationality, that has forcibly relocated many millions of people on account of their race, that formally executes some 160 persons per year, that authorizes repression in the name of national security and that permits international aggression, [is] . . . a grossly abnormal one. . . .”¹²⁷⁷

On the subject of Commissions of Inquiry during the apartheid years, Professor Dugard told the author:

“One of the most disgraceful things about South Africa during this period was the way in which judicial commissions were manipulated, and also the way in which inquest inquiries were conducted and the magistrates just ignored the evidence. [The judges] knew how to make a finding that would help the government. That was very clear.”¹²⁷⁸

As for the political trials, Professor Dugard wrote:

“A highly visible, discriminatory set of rules of procedure has been constructed for the South African political trial, rules that seriously undermine the value of the political trial as a process of judicial authentication. Misgivings have been expressed about the ‘drastic process’ both inside South Africa and abroad.”¹²⁷⁹

In his 1998 article, *The South African Judiciary and International Law During the Apartheid Era*, Professor Dugard set out several instances where the Appellate Division handed down decisions which favoured the State but militated against the interests of justice. These included the court’s approval of South Africa’s unlawful integration of Namibia and the war which followed, making it culpable in part for thousands of deaths; its brushing aside of human rights treaties in regard to the Group Areas Act, thus permitting the Act to be applied in a racial manner; its failure to consider international human rights provisions in a dispute over the rights of the indigent to counsel; its ruling that South African security forces

¹²⁷⁶ Dugard, *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*, p. 401.

¹²⁷⁷ Klug, “Review: Law Before and After Apartheid: Abel’s Sociolegal Analysis”, p. 659-660.

¹²⁷⁸ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

¹²⁷⁹ Dugard, *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*, p. 273-274.

were permitted to arrest persons in a foreign country, which ran counter to international law.¹²⁸⁰

Professor Dugard wrote after examining some cases that:

“One must therefore assume - an assumption endorsed by the refusal of the court to consult a single international law treatise on a question of international law - that the court did not, quite frankly, give the proverbial damn about international law!” One ruling by the Appellate Division which was hailed as progressive was that South African courts had no competence to try a person abducted from another state. However, this decision was made after the fall of apartheid, showing that the judges were keen to go with the new order.¹²⁸¹

The TRC's findings regarding the role of the judiciary during apartheid were also very critical:

“Part of the reason for the longevity of apartheid was the superficial adherence to ‘rule by law’ by the National Party (NP), whose leaders craved the aura of legitimacy that ‘the law’ bestowed on their harsh injustice ... In the intervening thirty years, however, the courts and the organised legal profession generally and subconsciously or unwittingly connived in the legislative and executive pursuit of injustice, as was pointed out by a few at the time and acknowledged by so many at the hearing. Perhaps the most common form of subservience can be captured in the maxim *qui tacet consentire* (silence gives consent). There were, nevertheless, many parts of the profession that actively contributed to the entrenchment and defence of apartheid through the courts.”¹²⁸²

The TRC's report contained some examples of how the judiciary had aided apartheid:

- A. Prosecutors who knew that police interrogators had used brutal means to extract information from suspects, but still protected them from being questioned too closely on their methods.
- B. Attorneys-general who too easily launched prosecutions or granted ‘no-bail’ certificates on flimsy evidence.
- C. Magistrates who uncritically granted police search and seizure warrants, and whose inquests conveniently found no one responsible for injuries and deaths in detention.

¹²⁸⁰ Dugard, “The South African Judiciary and International Law in Apartheid Era”, p. 110-126.

¹²⁸¹ Dugard, “The South African Judiciary and International Law in Apartheid Era”, p. 110-126.

¹²⁸² Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter cited as TRC), *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report (hereafter cited as TRC Report): Volume Four*, (1998), p. 101-102.

- D. Attorneys who failed to accept unpopular political persons as clients, perhaps for fear of social ostracism or the loss of lucrative commercial clients.
- E. Advocates who were willing to appear for the government in civil actions in which some of the basic building blocks of apartheid, such as racial classification, influx control or group areas, were being attacked as unreasonable and invalid exercises of executive discretion.
- F. Judges who, in the greatest injustices of all, too easily made sense of the illogical and the unjust in legislative language, and who too quickly accepted the word of the police or official witnesses in preference to that of the accused. Kathleen Satchwell in her submission dealt extensively with the case of her client Linda Mogale, who was assaulted and tortured in detention. Despite evidence to this effect, the judge nevertheless rejected “as impossible” the idea of a process of police violence and system of intimidation.¹²⁸³

As for the role of the judges during apartheid, the TRC concluded:

“In the greatest injustices of all, judges who too easily made sense of the illogical and the unjust in legislative language, and who too quickly accepted the word of the police or official witness in preference to that of the accused. Kathleen Satchwell in her submission deals extensively with the case of Linda Mogale, her client who was assaulted and tortured in detention. Despite evidence to this effect, the judge nevertheless rejected ‘as impossible’ a process of police violence and system of intimidation.”¹²⁸⁴

However, the criticism of the judiciary by the TRC seems still very mild in comparison to the real extent of the role it played under apartheid, especially with regard to the role of judges in Government-appointed Commissions of Inquiry. Historically the South African judiciary reflected a largely independent stance. In 1948, when the National Party came to power, most judges supported the old United Party, with a handful backing the NP. The new government lost no time in changing the balance in its favour. Especially during the 1950s and particularly after L.C. Steyn¹²⁸⁵ became Chief Justice, political appointments

¹²⁸³ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Four*, p. 102-103.

¹²⁸⁴ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Four*, p. 103.

¹²⁸⁵ Steyn's appointment was hugely controversial at the time as he was chosen over Justice Oliver Schreiner, a man described as “the greatest chief justice South Africa never had.” The convention at the time was that the position of Chief Justice was given to the longest-serving judge in the Appellate Division. At the time, that person was Schreiner, while Steyn was a much more junior man. However, what Steyn had that Schreiner didn't was his support for the National Party. Due to the fact that Schreiner was not a supporter of the NP, he was

became the rule rather than the exception.¹²⁸⁶ The government appointed judges it knew would support its policies, selecting sympathetic Afrikaner Nationalists in preference to distinguished members of the Bar whose political orientation might lean to the Left. In this way, the ruling party changed the character of the entire judiciary.¹²⁸⁷

In 1977, according to an estimate by Professor Dugard, more than half of South Africa's judges favoured the ruling National Party. Furthermore, the same handful of judges heard virtually all political cases between 1978 and 1982. His figures showed that 17% of the judiciary heard 84% of all the political cases, and four judges heard over 50% of them.¹²⁸⁸ Although there are no official figures for 1966, Professor Dugard told the author that the situation was even worse then and the figures certainly higher.¹²⁸⁹

Thus no eyebrows were raised when Judge Andries Beyers was named to preside at Tsafendas's summary trial and Judge Jacques Theodore van Wyk became the sole member of the Commission of Enquiry into Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. Both judges were NP supporters who favoured racial separation, and both had served the National Party and apartheid in various high-profile cases.¹²⁹⁰ Professor John Dugard told the author:

“So, during the 1950s, most political appointments took place. The government was determined only to appoint its supporters and the result was that Beyers and van Wyk were both appointed. But I think, in fairness to van Wyk, he was, intellectually, one of the better judges. And Beyers, too, was intellectually good ... they were intellectual giants, so to speak, amongst the National Party judges. So I suspect that the government was very careful when it came to appointing judges to hear the Tsafendas case, and so that would explain why both Beyers and van Wyk were involved. They were certainly political persons and they owed their appointments to the government.”¹²⁹¹

twice ignored for the position. (Mungo Sogot, 'Battle Lines Drawn Over Chief Justice', *Mail and Guardian*, 20 September 1996. Retrieved from <https://mg.co.za/article/1996-09-20-battle-lines-drawn-over-chief-justice>).

¹²⁸⁶ Dugard, "The South African Judiciary and International Law in Apartheid Era", p. 113; Sachs, *Justice in South Africa*, p. 257.

¹²⁸⁷ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016; Sachs, *Justice in South Africa*, p. 257.

¹²⁸⁸ Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, *The War Against Children: South Africa's Youngest Victims*, p. 141; See also Dugard, J. (1978) *Human Rights in South Africa Legal Order*.

¹²⁸⁹ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 29 January 2016.

¹²⁹⁰ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

¹²⁹¹ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

DEFENCE'S PREPARATIONS¹²⁹²

After visiting Tsafendas and concluding that he was not right in his mind, his defence team set out to establish a case for insanity and proceeded to appoint psychiatrists to examine him.¹²⁹³ By this time, the media and politicians were already declaring Tsafendas a “madman”; given the volatile political situation, they had to do this to preserve the sense that the state was in charge. According to David Bloomberg, when the defence team said they were going to contend that he was insane, Tsafendas “sort of shrugged his shoulders... and said, ‘Well, you just do whatever you think is best.’”¹²⁹⁴

The first specialist physician was Dr. Harold Cooper, a psychiatrist who had worked in psychiatric hospitals in Johannesburg and Cape Town and had subsequently gone into private practice. He was a strange choice, given that in the 1951 case, *Rex v. Kennedy*, the court refused to accept his psychiatric evaluation. Dr. Cooper had declared the accused in this case to be “mentally disordered,” (as he was later to find Tsafendas), but the judge dismissed this opinion as based on improbable evidence and found the accused fit to stand trial.¹²⁹⁵ The other two psychiatrists were Dr. James William MacGregor, a specialist psychiatrist and neurologist since 1937 who practised in Cape Town; and Dr. Aubrey Zabow, who was working in a private practice in Cape Town and was also a part-time consultant in psychiatry at Groote Schuur Hospital and the Somerset Hospital.

Dr. MacGregor was the first to examine Tsafendas, on September 29. Tsafendas's responses were similar to those he had given at his meeting with his appointed defence team. After a ninety-minute examination in the presence of Bloomberg, Dr. MacGregor immediately diagnosed him as a paranoid schizophrenic, but requested a further consultation to decide whether he was certifiable. He went on to examine Tsafendas on a further two occasions, on October 4 and 11, for ninety minutes each time.¹²⁹⁶

Dr. Zabow examined Tsafendas the following day (September 30), also for ninety

¹²⁹² Due to lack of other sources, a lot of the information regarding the defence team's preparations is taken from David Bloomberg's memoir, *My Times*. However, we cannot take everything that Bloomberg has stated as unimpeachable, since his account contains some evident inaccuracies.

¹²⁹³ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 78-79.

¹²⁹⁴ David Bloomberg in a personal interview, 6 April 2014.

¹²⁹⁵ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Responsibility of Mentally Deranged Persons and Related Matters*, (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1967), p. 17; Tiffany Fawn Jones, *Psychiatry, Mental Institutions, and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 103.

¹²⁹⁶ Dr J.W. MacGregor's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA

minutes and in the presence of Bloomberg. He concluded that the accused was psychotic and suffering from schizophrenia and was certifiable, but asked to examine him again. He too examined him on two more occasions for ninety minutes each time, on October 4 and 11.¹²⁹⁷ Dr. Cooper examined Tsafendas on October 1, again for ninety minutes and in the company of Bloomberg. The doctor declared that he had no doubt Tsafendas was mentally disordered, but needed to see him again before he could offer a final opinion.¹²⁹⁸ Dr. Cooper would examine Tsafendas again on October 4, 11 and 14, spending a total of six hours with him, and his diagnosis remained unchanged.¹²⁹⁹ Each psychiatrist examined Tsafendas for the first time in the presence of Bloomberg, and the second time on his own. The third time (October 11), all the psychiatrists examined him together. Tsafendas's responses will be examined later in this chapter.

The last doctor appointed by the defence to examine Tsafendas was Dr. Hendrik Muller, a specialist physician with nineteen years' experience in private practice, who happened to be Judge Beyers's personal doctor. Dr. Muller's brief was to examine Tsafendas physically to determine whether he had a tapeworm.¹³⁰⁰ The consultation took place on October 12, but Dr. Muller did not carry out a physical examination as he was supposed to, having concluded from his discussions with Tsafendas that he did not have a tapeworm.¹³⁰¹

When Bloomberg became aware that Tsafendas was examined on the night of the assassination by the psychiatrist Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky, he asked for and received a copy of his detailed report. Dr. Sakinofsky diagnosed Tsafendas to be suffering from paraphrenic schizophrenia, mentally disordered in terms of the Act and thus certifiable.¹³⁰² Bloomberg stated in his memoir, and this is one of his inaccuracies, that Dr. Sakinofsky examined Tsafendas on two more occasions before Bloomberg was appointed as Tsafendas's defence lawyer on September 26, and had come to the conclusion that Tsafendas was schizophrenic. In this he is mistaken. Dr. Sakinofsky testified during the summary trial that after his first examination, he saw Tsafendas for a second time on October 6, one month after the

¹²⁹⁷ Dr Aubrey Zabow's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA

¹²⁹⁸ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 79.

¹²⁹⁹ Dr Harold Cooper's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 17 October 1966, p. 20. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹³⁰⁰ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 79.

¹³⁰¹ Dr. Hendrik Muller's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹³⁰² Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 82.

assassination.¹³⁰³ Bloomberg was appointed on September 26, ten days before Dr. Sakinofsky saw Tsafendas for the second time, and therefore Bloomberg's claim that the doctor had examined his client three times before September 26 is incorrect.

Dr. Sakinofsky, knowing it was "extremely likely" that he would be called to testify as one of the "medical witnesses," since he had examined Tsafendas on the evening of the assassination, wrote on September 19, 1966, to the Medical Director of the Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital in Hamburg, requesting Tsafendas's medical record.¹³⁰⁴ The hospital would eventually send the record on October 3 and copies would be given to Willem M. van den Berg, the Attorney-General of Cape Town and prosecutor in the case.¹³⁰⁵ Dr. Sakinofsky "wondered what was happening" about his own medical report on Tsafendas and telephoned Judge Beyers. The judge referred him to the office of the Attorney-General¹³⁰⁶ from whom he learned he and his evidence had been "allocated to the defence."¹³⁰⁷

Bloomberg also asked a clinical psychologist, Mr. Reyner van Zyl, who was recommended to him by Dr. Cooper, a friend of van Zyl, to carry out psychological tests on Tsafendas. Van Zyl remembers Bloomberg calling him and "hyperventilating over the telephone" with excitement that Judge Beyers had asked him to defend Tsafendas. Van Zyl was only 31 at the time and admitted in a personal interview with the author that he was not experienced and this was the first time he used the tests which he applied to Tsafendas.¹³⁰⁸ Van Zyl examined Tsafendas on October 13, for three and a half hours divided into two sessions; the first session lasted two hours and the second ninety minutes. Van Zyl concluded that Tsafendas was undoubtedly schizophrenic, but that his intelligence resulted in his schizophrenia not being as "florid" as was often seen in mental hospitals.¹³⁰⁹

In the course of these consultations, Tsafendas told Bloomberg that he had recently applied for a disability grant and that he had been diagnosed as schizophrenic. Naturally, he omitted the fact that he was medically examined on ten more occasions since returning to

¹³⁰³ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky's testimony at Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966, p. 132. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹³⁰⁴ Letter of Dr. Sakinofsky to the Medical Director of the Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital in Hamburg, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹³⁰⁵ Letter of Dr. Trost to Mr. Mulder of the South African Embassy in Cologne. 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹³⁰⁶ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 82.

¹³⁰⁷ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky's testimony at Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966, p. 132. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹³⁰⁸ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

¹³⁰⁹ Reyner van Zyl's testimony at the trial, 19 October 1966, p. 169. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 17 April 2016.

South Africa and was found to be perfectly fit and sane. Bloomberg confirmed from records at the Department of Social Welfare that on a date three months before the assassination, his client had indeed applied for a disability grant and was examined for ten minutes by the District Surgeon of Cape Town, Dr. Ralph Kossew.¹³¹⁰ Dr. Kossew had found Tsafendas to be “schizophrenic,” with his degree of disablement as compared with a normal individual as “severe” and listed his incapacity as “permanent.”¹³¹¹

The defence was quick to appoint three psychiatrists and a psychologist to examine their client, but did not seem concerned that Tsafendas had already been in custody for twenty days before they saw him for the first time. Although Bloomberg noticed bruises on Tsafendas's face and knew that he was a prisoner of one of the world's most brutal police forces, these considerations were not enough to convince him to appoint a doctor to examine his client.

As with Bloomberg, the psychiatrists and psychologists showed no awareness of the brutal environment in which Tsafendas was kept. The medical experts spent up to six hours with Tsafendas but it did not occur to them to ask how he was treated and what had happened during the past twenty days. Like the lawyers, they could not have been unaware of the methods used by the police with prisoners. Throughout the early 1960s there were widespread reports in the media of detainees being tortured. The lawyers and the medical men seem to have assumed contrary to widespread belief, a civil and proper police force had treated Tsafendas perfectly correctly during the twenty days he was in their care. What seems clear is that the one thing they cared about was Tsafendas's state of mind, unconcerned that his state of mind might have been affected by the conditions of his imprisonment.

Determined nevertheless to save his client's life, and by using only Telex and telephone, Bloomberg and his assistants contacted hospitals and mental institutions in Europe and the United States to locate Tsafendas's medical records. Despite the limited time at their disposal and the limitations of technology at the time, they managed to track down at least four hospitals.¹³¹² Bloomberg's team also located several people who knew Tsafendas. However, because their names were on the State's witness list, the defence could not consult them without the State's consent and this was refused by the prosecutor, Attorney-General Willem van den Bergh. The defence team then approached Judge Beyers, who gave the

¹³¹⁰ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 79.

¹³¹¹ Dr. Ralph Kossew's testimony at Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966, p. 132. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹³¹² Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 80.

lawyers permission to speak to witnesses on the State's list. The defence thereupon consulted with them without demur from the State.¹³¹³

Several of these witnesses were brought to Bloomberg's office and made detailed statements.¹³¹⁴ From all those interviewed, only the following were eventually chosen to testify for the defence: Peter Daniels, Helen Daniels's brother, and his wife Merle Daniels, Patrick O'Ryan and his wife Louisa, Gerald Shaw, James Johnstone, O.J. Smorenberg, Gillian Lieberman and Gideon Cloete. Finding suitable witnesses to support the chosen line of defence – insanity – must have been extremely difficult for Bloomberg and his associates, since none of Tsafendas's contacts questioned by the police had testified that he was schizophrenic or that he had mentioned a tapeworm. The criteria by which defence witnesses were chosen would be clear during the trial.

The choice of witnesses shows the clear desperation of the defence team to find suitable witnesses to support their defence line and save Tsafendas's life. At first glance, the strangest choices of witnesses were those of James Johnston and Gerald Shaw. Johnstone, a preacher of the Christian Church, had told the police, "I do not know Tsafendas very well and the longest discussion I had with him was for about ten minutes on each occasion." And how many occasions was that? Two. A man who had talked with Tsafendas for twenty minutes in his whole life was called to testify while people who knew him for years or lived with him in the same house for weeks and months, were not chosen. Why was Johnston chosen? Clearly because of he believed that Tsafendas was "slightly unbalanced" and had said so in his statement to the police, "I did think Tsafendas to be slightly unbalanced and that he seemed to have a mysterious background but otherwise he appeared to be all right."¹³¹⁵ As we have seen from the statements taken by the police, this was the closest a witness came to supporting the defence's line.

Similar is the case of Gerald Shaw, a parliamentary reporter for *The Cape Times*. According to Shaw, he had only a "brief acquaintanceship" with Tsafendas in the Press Gallery and had only spoken to him briefly on three occasions. Shaw had "never found Tsafendas to show signs of insanity," but he believed that he was "rather slow mentally."¹³¹⁶

¹³¹³ Cooper, *Under Devil's Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 106-107.

¹³¹⁴ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 80.

¹³¹⁵ James Johnston statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹³¹⁶ Shaw, *Believe in Miracles: South Africa from Malan to Mandela – and the Mbeki Era*, p. 64.

That Shaw did not believe Tsafendas to be insane, only slow mentally, was nevertheless enough for the defence to ask him to testify. The above two witnesses are evidence of the difficulties Bloomberg's team was having difficulty finding anyone to support its defence line. However, probably accidentally and without the defence expecting it, Gerald Shaw would be a vital witness in the summary trial.

Then we have Patrick O'Ryan, the most important defence witness who was Tsafendas's best friend at the time and knew him better than any of the other witnesses. O'Ryan said Wilfrid Cooper asked him if he knew about Tsafendas's tapeworm and he replied hesitantly yes, as he knew the truth behind the tapeworm story. O'Ryan was the only person Tsafendas ever confided to about the tapeworm before the assassination. Determined to save his client's life, Cooper asked O'Ryan to tell the court about the tapeworm and to exaggerate its importance to Tsafendas, as he put it. Cooper told him that this was the only way to "get Tsafendas free."¹³¹⁷

O'Ryan, who knew that Tsafendas did not believe he had a tapeworm, was put in a difficult position. It was not easy for him to lie to the court. Not only was it an unlawful act, but O'Ryan was very religious and considered lying to be a major sin. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate and agreed to testify as suggested to save his friend. The fact that O'Ryan had not mentioned the tapeworm to the police when he was questioned did not seem to bother the defence. Equally ignored was his statement to the police on September 17 that he "never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind."¹³¹⁸ The situation was easier for O'Ryan's wife because she believed Tsafendas really had a tapeworm. Patrick O'Ryan stated thirty years later that his testimony at the trial was the only time he ever lied in his life.¹³¹⁹

Another witness the defence spoke to was Helen Daniels, the young lady who had written to Tsafendas about a possible marriage and in whose home he had lived, along with her and her parents, for one and half months. However, Daniels was not chose to testify in the summary trial, most probably because she had already told the police on September 15 about Tsafendas that she had not "noticed anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal."¹³²⁰ The defence then asked Helen's brother, Peter

¹³¹⁷ Patrick O' Ryan in *A Question of Madness*.

¹³¹⁸ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹³¹⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹³²⁰ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

Daniels, and his wife Merle to testify, as none of them had been questioned by the police. Although they did not know Tsafendas as good as Helen, they agreed to do it in order to save his life.

Chosen to testify was also O.J. Smorenberg,¹³²¹ who had worked with Tsafendas for five weeks at Cape Town docks. When interviewed by the police, he said nothing about Tsafendas being insane, but stated that “sometimes Tsafendas acted childish and did things which you wouldn’t expect from a man of his age.” More importantly, he referred to an incident which would later be used falsely to demonstrate that Tsafendas supported apartheid and Dr. Verwoerd.¹³²² We will look at Smorenberg’s testimony in detail in the summary trial section.

Another witness interviewed by the defence team was Richard Poggenpoel, also a member of the Christian Church and a very good friend of the O’Ryans and the Daniels.¹³²³ He had known Tsafendas for about a year and Tsafendas had lived in his house for a few weeks. However, Poggenpoel had also testified to the police, on September 15, that, “There was no mention or impression that he (Tsafendas) was mentally abnormal. He lived a completely normal life.”¹³²⁴ Poggenpoel was not asked to testify.

Someone who had known Tsafendas for more than a year was Elias Constantaras. He told the police that Tsafendas was a Communist who opposed apartheid and considered Dr. Verwoerd to be “Hitler’s best student.” This clearly contradicted the defence case that Tsafendas had no political interest. Constantaras remembers being interviewed by one of Tsafendas’s lawyers, but does not remember who it was. He was not asked to testify.¹³²⁵

It is obvious from the choice of witnesses that the defence, very rightly so, did not chose people who knew Tsafendas well, but those who had a story to tell about his apparent “strangeness.” Among all his contacts, there were many who knew Tsafendas much better than the ones who testified. First of all was Tsafendas’s family, but none of them was asked to give evidence. Nick Vlachopoulos, Tsafendas’s brother-in-law and Eleni Tsafantakis’s husband, contacted the defence team to enquire about the case. The author does not know to whom he spoke to, but he was told that neither he, nor any other member of the family was

¹³²¹ The name in the statement is given as Smorenburg, however, in the trial transcript is given as Smorenberg.

¹³²² Owen Smorenburg statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 Oor Stafendas. NASA.

¹³²³ Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013.

¹³²⁴ Richard Poggenpoel statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹³²⁵ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

needed to testify.¹³²⁶ As we will see in the following chapter, every member of the Tsafendas family, including his step-mother, was questioned by the Commission of Enquiry. All said that Tsafendas was perfectly sane and that he had never told them about the tapeworm.¹³²⁷ Vlachopoulos said exactly that to Tsafendas's lawyers, which is almost certainly why the entire family was ruled out. For how could a man have a tapeworm in his stomach which controlled his life since 1935 and no one from his family knew about it?

Although most of those who knew Tsafendas better, including other family members, were in Pretoria, there were also people in Cape Town who knew him well, certainly much better than some of those chosen to testify. For example, John Bornman, a traffic policeman who shared quarters with Tsafendas for three months; Costas Michaletos a Geek man who had grown up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques; Mary Cathleen Scott, the Greek woman in whose boarding house Tsafendas lived for two months and which he visited frequently afterwards to eat; Ralph Lighton who worked with Tsafendas for nine to ten weeks; Elizabeth Groves, Tsafendas's landlady for six to seven weeks; Robert Smith, who lived under the same roof as Tsafendas for ten months; Kenneth Ross, who knew him for two months; Costas Chagios, who knew him for more than a year, James Summers, who knew Tsafendas for six weeks and Alice Theysser, who knew him for two months. We are not in position to know which of them was interviewed by the defence lawyers, but all of them had testified to the police that Tsafendas was perfectly sane and none of them had any strange story to tell about him.

More importantly, some of them had very positive views of Tsafendas while others had declared he was a Communist and against apartheid. Together, they flatly contradicted the picture the defence was trying to build of an insane person without political convictions. However, although all these witnesses were not suitable for the defence, they would have been extremely useful to the State in order to challenge the defence's claims. However, not even one of them was brought as a witness for the Prosecution.

It is important to state here that the police did not give the statements they had taken from Tsafendas to the defence and most likely also not to the State. The reasons are made clear in the summary trial section. According to Bloomberg, the defence also did not ask the police for any statements they might have taken from their client. It seems that neither the

¹³²⁶ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Michael Vlachopoulos in a personal interview, 14 April 2016.

¹³²⁷ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

defence nor the State wondered what Tsafendas had told the police during the twenty days he was in custody.

After Tsafendas's brief hearing on October 6, confident that Tsafendas was schizophrenic, as diagnosed by the defence psychiatrists, Bloomberg and Cooper decided to show their hand to Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg. According to Bloomberg, van den Berg was convinced that Tsafendas had been dispatched to South Africa by a foreign agency to murder Dr. Verwoerd.¹³²⁸ However, such claim is completely inaccurate as if van den Berg really believed that he should have used some evidence to support such claim in the summary trial and most importantly to challenge a defence witness who testified that Tsafendas practically supported apartheid and Dr. Verwoerd.

The most important evidence, that could have also challenged the fact that Tsafendas was mentally ill, was the report from the South African Embassy in Washington, on September 9, 1966, only three days after the assassination. This document informed the Secretary of the Foreign Affairs in Cape Town that according to the US Immigration authorities, which had a detailed file on Tsafendas and his hospitalization, Tsafendas had "shown under psychiatric treatment that he was unstable though not (not)¹³²⁹ insane, but type of man who would easily be used as instrument of Communist or hostile organizations. Impression of U.S. Immigration people at the time was that he had been manipulated and was under influence of someone or some organization. He was subsequently deported to Europe." If van den Berg really believed that Tsafendas was sent by some outside agency, this was perfect evidence for him, which could also have challenged the insanity plea.

In addition, there were the statements by several people who had testified to the police that Tsafendas was a Communist, a former member of the South African and Greek Communist Parties, even a member of the DSE, the military wing of the Greek Communist Party during the Civil War. He was reported to the South African Police as a "dangerous Communist" and "the biggest Communist in the Republic of South Africa." None of this evidence was used at the summary trial and the word "Communist" was never heard.

Although, according to Bloomberg, van den Berg acknowledged that Tsafendas had many strange ways and beliefs, he did not accept that he was insane, or so mentally impaired that he could not understand court proceedings and instruct his lawyers accordingly. To

¹³²⁸ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 90.

¹³²⁹ This is exactly how it appears in the telegram. There is a second 'not' within brackets.

support his view that Tsafendas was fit to stand trial, the Attorney-General gave the defence a copy of a report from a State psychiatrist, Professor Adolph Johannes van Wyk, Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Pretoria, senior psychiatrist at Pretoria General Hospital and Deputy Commissioner of Mental Health of South Africa. The government had used Professor van Wyk's services in court in the past and he had examined Tsafendas on three occasions without the knowledge or consent of the defence team.¹³³⁰

Professor van Wyk's report read:

"He is orientated. He gives a good account of himself. His comprehension is good and his answers are relevant. His emotional responses are adequate and apt. His discourse is coherent. At times he is discursive, but not vague and he never strays from the main point of conversation. The tests indicate that his intellectual abilities are above average. He maintains that he is infested with a tapeworm, and that this influences his life. He denies that he suffers from hallucinations. I have found no indications that he is incapable of following the court proceedings or that he is unable to exercise his rights and privileges and instruct his legal advisers and assist them in the conduct of his defence."¹³³¹

According to Bloomberg, he and Cooper wondered whether their three psychiatrists and Professor van Wyk had examined the same man.¹³³² What they did not know was that van Wyk had examined Tsafendas most likely before their client started his act. However, the surprising thing here is that the above diagnosis by Professor van Wyk must have been made on September 23 or 24, as according to his testimony at Tsafendas's summary trial, he examined Tsafendas again on October 4 and reached the conclusion that he was schizophrenic. This is what van Wyk testified:

"During the first two observations, on the 23rd and the 24th, I was a little uncertain, because the man was very evasive, and one could not really place him, to determine to what extent there was simulation, and I felt at that time that I definitely would not certify him with the information and with the interviews which I had had with him until then. I wanted to know more about his background; I wanted to know more about the motivation for the act,

¹³³⁰ Cooper, *Under Devil's Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 107.

¹³³¹ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 81-82.

¹³³² Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 81-82.

would he be able to give this? Although he was evasive in that respect, it could also be a schizophrenic symptom. They often say 'I don't know... It may be...'»¹³³³

However, after examining him twice on October 4, the first time with David Bloomberg present, Professor van Wyk "definitely decided" that Tsafendas was schizophrenic.¹³³⁴ Therefore, the Attorney-General must have been aware of the new diagnosis by Professor van Wyk when he met with Bloomberg and Cooper after the hearing on October 6. If we assume that Bloomberg is mistaken about the timing of this meeting and that it took place earlier than this, then again, on September 28 and 29, Mr. Jacobus Andreas Johannes Erasmus, a psychologist who was appointed by the Attorney-General and the State, examined Tsafendas. His conclusion was that there were "clear signs of schizophrenia" with Tsafendas.¹³³⁵

Thus, even if the meeting had taken place before the time Bloomberg claims it took place, then again van den Berg must have been aware that one of the experts he had appointed himself had found Tsafendas to display "clear signs of schizophrenia." Bloomberg's claim that van den Berg believed that Tsafendas was sent by a foreign agency appears to be inaccurate. Firstly, the police did not come up with even the slightest evidence to suggest that Tsafendas was sent by a foreign agency.

¹³³³ Professor Adolf Johannes van Wyk's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹³³⁴ Adolph Johannes van Wyk testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 20 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹³³⁵ Jacobus Andreas Johannes Erasmus testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 20 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

In addition, van den Berg in his October 3 memorandum regarding Tsafendas did not mention anything of the sort. If he believed that Tsafendas was anything like this, he must have surely mentioned it there. In addition, since the memorandum was written on the 3rd, that was before Bloomberg and Cooper disclose their hand, therefore he could not have made such an absurd claim, unless he was bluffing. Of course the fact that Bloomberg might be mistaken about van den Berg's alleged claim cannot also be ruled out. As for the supposed claim by van den Berg that Tsafendas's deed was premeditated, this is something that he could easily have proven by using Tsafendas's statement to Major Rossouw in which he confessed how he had planned and executed the act.

POLICE AND STATE BEFORE THE SUMMARY TRIAL

South Africa's ruling circles were in deep shock after Dr. Verwoerd's killing, stunned that an assassin had penetrated to the seat of power. However, what truly worried them was the nature of the assassin and the possibility that his action was politically inspired, perhaps a carefully plotted and defiant demonstration of opposition to the rule of apartheid.¹³³⁶ If that was the case, such a damning revelation would surely come out in a trial and world attention would be focussed on the workings of apartheid. This was not a scenario that appealed to the men of power.

Thus, as we have seen, within a short time of the assassination the South African press and especially the Afrikaans press, manipulated by the apartheid authorities, had already labelled Tsafendas as a psychopath. On some occasions the manipulation was not necessary as apartheid supporters eager to protect the memory of their beloved leader were quick to speculate with conviction that the assassin was probably a psychopath, as no sane person could have killed such a wonderful and adored prime minister. For example, in the Afrikaans-language *Dagbreek*, on which Dr. Verwoerd was chairman, Lod Spies, an advocate from Johannesburg who had never met Tsafendas, said that "the attack on the Premier was presumably done by a psychopath who was possibly not suffering from an acute form of the abnormality, but possibly shows some characteristics of the abnormality."¹³³⁷

However, this was not enough for the authorities, who wanted to be certain that nothing damaging to them would come out of the trial. Thus they left nothing to chance.

¹³³⁶ Morris, *Every Step of the Way. The Journey to Freedom in South Africa*, p. 185.

¹³³⁷ *Dagbreek*, 'Tsafendas: Party se Psigopaat ...', 11 September 1966.

Judge Beyers, the Judge President of the Cape and a supporter of the government, was named to preside over the proceedings, while the prosecution was placed in the hands of the Attorney-General of the Cape, Willem van den Bergh, who, it transpired, was more than willing to aid the government's cause. As we will see, van den Bergh did not hesitate to lie, bluntly and publicly, to protect this aim.

Finally, on September 9, only three days after the assassination, it was decided that Tsafendas would face a summary trial rather than the conventional judicial process.¹³³⁸ During the apartheid years, the Attorney-General was given the right in political cases to order a summary trial without a preparatory examination. This meant that accused persons, such as Tsafendas, were unable to prepare their defence in the normal way, being deprived of opportunities which even a murderer could enjoy in a non-political case.¹³³⁹

As far as the author can establish, Attorney-General van den Berg never interviewed Tsafendas and all the information he received about him was provided by the police. He appointed Professor Adolf Johannes van Wyk, Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Pretoria, and Jacobus Erasmus, a clinical psychologist at Weskoppies Hospital in Pretoria, to examine Tsafendas. Both concluded that Tsafendas was schizophrenic (Their cases are examined in detail later in this chapter as they contained several inconsistencies).

Furthermore, the South African authorities had in their possession more than a hundred and fifty statements by people who knew Tsafendas and none of them had stated that Tsafendas had shown any signs of schizophrenia or mental abnormality or any of the symptoms described by van den Berg's two experts; on the contrary he was characterised as a normal man, very capable and with high intelligence. The authorities were also in possession of at least six statements from people who had testified that Tsafendas had faked mental illness so as to avoid service in the Portuguese Army. In addition, a medical report from Grafton State Hospital revealed that Tsafendas had staged the pretence of madness in the USA. Other medical reports, secret telegrams, documents and PIDE reports stated that Tsafendas was not insane and that his admissions to hospitals were either voluntary or that he was taken there after showing signs of mental illness during interrogation. None of this evidence appears to have been available to the State experts or was simply ignored by them.

¹³³⁸ *The Cape Times*, 'Top Security for Trial of Assassin', 10 September 1966: 1.

¹³³⁹ A Distinguished South African Lawyer, *Verwoerd's Police State*, p. 8-10.

As we also saw, the South African police discovered ample evidence that Tsafendas was a committed Communist, that he had been a dues-paying member of the South African Communist Party, was a member of the Greek Communist Party and of the DSE, the party's military wing during the Greek Civil War; that he was fanatically opposed to apartheid, had been a member of the British anti-apartheid movement and that participated in a demonstration in London, holding a placard showing a man in a Ku Klux Klan uniform captioned "Dr. Verwoerd."

Most importantly, Tsafendas had made no secret of the fact that he considered Dr. Verwoerd personally to be a tyrant and a dictator, describing him as "Hitler's best student" who had applied some Nazi policies to South Africa's Blacks. The assassin was also anti-colonialist and had been arrested by the Portuguese police for promulgating propaganda against the Portuguese government. Finally, the police had also discovered that Tsafendas had characterised a possible assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as morally justifiable on grounds that he was a dictator and a tyrant who oppressed his people. Was there the remotest possibility that the South African authorities would allow this derogatory portrayal of South Africa and its leader to become known or permit such things to be stated in open court by a man who was demonstrably political?

PRINCIPALS AT THE SUMMARY TRIAL

The Judge President of the Cape, Mr. Justice Andries Beyers was sitting with two assessors acting in an advisory capacity. These were a Cape Town advocate, Peter William Edward Baker S.C., who was well known to Tsafendas's attorney, David Bloomberg, and who later became a judge, and a psychiatrist from Pietermaritzburg, Dr. P.H. Henning. It seemed sensible for the judge to have access to an experienced psychiatrist of his own. The Attorney-General, Willem van den Berg S.C., led for the State, with Donald Brunette as his assistant.¹³⁴⁰

JUDGE ANDRIES BEYERS (1903-1975)

Andries Brink Beyers known to his friends as Andrew or A.B.,¹³⁴¹ graduated from the

¹³⁴⁰ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 88-89; Marius A. Diemont, *Brushes with the Law*, (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1995), p. 132-133.

¹³⁴¹ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 60; Diemont, *Brushes with the Law*, p. 131.

University of Stellenbosch and was appointed as a lecturer there in 1928. It was at Stellenbosch that he met Dr. Verwoerd, who was also a lecturer there at the time.¹³⁴² He quickly gained a reputation as an outspoken and unorthodox thinker and a sound Roman Dutch Lawyer, laying the grounds for his subsequent characterisation by a Cape Bar chairman as “a legend in his lifetime.” Beyers’s introduction to politics came when he served as a secretary to a cabinet minister and came to know many politicians.¹³⁴³ He joined the Cape Bar in 1936 and became Henry Fagan¹³⁴⁴’s junior counsel on the government side in *Ndlwana*. In 1938, with a formidable reputation as a criminal lawyer behind him, Beyers took silk and went into politics. He stood as the United Party candidate for Oudtshoorn during the general election that year, but was not elected. He later gave up active politics, but he changed his political trajectory and became an adviser to the National Party.¹³⁴⁵

Beyers represented the apartheid government in several high-profile trials,¹³⁴⁶ notably as in the *Harris* case (*Harris v Dönges*) concerning the removal of Coloured voters from the Electoral Roll in the early 1950s. Ultimately, the Coloured voters were removed because the government increased the size of the Senate and of the Appellate Division, through the Appellate Division Quorum Act of 1955 and the Senate Act of the same year, and made a raft of judicial appointments.¹³⁴⁷ Beyers and his colleague, the above-mentioned van Wyk, had no hesitation in slapping down junior lawyers of the Cape Bar who dared to speak against the removal of the voters.¹³⁴⁸ The voters’ attorney, Pilkington-Jordan, wrote to United Party leader J.G.N. Strauss as follows:

“Beyers again treated the Court with scant courtesy and both he and van Wyk were thoroughly rude to Duncan (Graeme Duncan KC was the leader of the legal team for the

¹³⁴² Diemont, *Brushes with the Law*, p. 132.

¹³⁴³ Diemont, *Brushes with the Law*, p. 131, 136.

¹³⁴⁴ Henry Allan Fagan (1889-1963) was one of South Africa’s most eminent jurists and loved authors. He served as South Africa’s Chief of Justice (1957-1959) and was a member of the Fagan Commission (discussed earlier). He was also critical of apartheid and Dr. Verwoerd’s policies calling them “hopelessly impractical” (*TIME*, ‘South Africa: Rustle on the Veld’, 29 February 1960: 31).

¹³⁴⁵ Dennis Davis and Michelle le Roux, *Precedent and Possibility: The (Ab)use of Law in South Africa*, (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2009), p. 18; Gerald Friedman and Jeremy Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, (Cape Town: Siber Ink., 2013), p. 8-9; Loveland, *By Due Process of Law? Racial Discrimination and the Right to Vote in South Africa 1855-1960*, p. 208.

¹³⁴⁶ Francois Marais quoted in Geni.com. Retrieved from <https://www.geni.com/people/Jacques-Theodore-Van-Wyk/6000000008317660124>

¹³⁴⁷ Cornell, “The Statutory Background of Apartheid: A Chronological Survey of South African Legislation”, p. 184; Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016; Dugard, *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*, p. 31; Sachs, *Justice in South Africa*, p. 143-145.

¹³⁴⁸ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 8-9.

voters). They really are monkeys in dinner jackets and the sartorial elegance of that garb does not in the least conceal the barbarian beneath ...”¹³⁴⁹

Nevertheless, it was Beyers's performance at these proceedings which led to his meteoric rise. He was rewarded with an appointment to the Cape bench on October 1, 1955,¹³⁵⁰ a move held by many to be nakedly political.¹³⁵¹ Thereafter, he was promoted in short order, to the Appellate Division in 1958, and a year later as Judge President of the Cape High Court, a position he held until his retirement on July 31, 1973.¹³⁵² This latter appointment proved highly controversial. Beyers had been on the Bench for fewer than five years and was junior to Joseph Herbstein, who had been acting as Judge President for some months and was expected to be appointed as the permanent Judge President.¹³⁵³

In the early 1950s there was one Black member of the Cape Town bar, Ndhlovu. He could not be accommodated in Temple Chambers because the Group Areas Act had just been enacted barring him from a building in a “white” area. Beyers and van Wyk refused to go to the common room if Ndhlovu was expected to be there.¹³⁵⁴

According to Judge Wilfrid Cooper (and Tsafendas's advocate) Judge Beyers was

“As deeply racist as the ordinary man in the street. He had his own solution to the problem of race-mixing. He said the problem in this country was that the White man didn't understand the Black man ... and he drew a distinction between the Black man and the Coloured man ... and he said ‘As far as the Coloured people are concerned, we must fuck them white’ ... that was his solution ... The Black man remained an insoluble problem. He didn't understand ... he was at a loss ...”¹³⁵⁵

Despite such racist sentiments as outlined by Cooper and the fact that he was an outspoken government supporter, according to Judge Marius A. Diemont and David Bloomberg, Beyers deplored racial segregation in court and with the support of some of his

¹³⁴⁹ Davis and le Roux, *Precedent and Possibility: The (Ab)use of Law in South Africa*, p. 25.

¹³⁵⁰ Loveland, *By Due Process of Law? Racial Discrimination and the Right to Vote in South Africa 1855-1960*, p. 363.

¹³⁵¹ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016; Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 25.

¹³⁵² Davis and le Roux, *Precedent and Possibility: The (Ab)use of Law in South Africa*, p. 18; Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 67; Sachs, *Justice in South Africa*, p. 257-258.

¹³⁵³ Diemont, *Brushes with the Law*, p. 131.

¹³⁵⁴ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 8-9.

¹³⁵⁵ Wilfrid Cooper in *A Question of Madness*.

colleagues he managed to keep the Cape Supreme Court free of apartheid notices.¹³⁵⁶

Bloomberg told the author that Beyers

“would not allow apartheid to be practised in his court, and he was quite famous for ensuring that there were no apartheid practices in his court. He wouldn't allow a defendant, White or Black, to be handcuffed or shackled in his court. He was an Afrikaner, and pro-government – which was the apartheid government – but at the same time he was a libertarian. He had liberal instincts as well. I know that sounds a bit of a contradiction.”¹³⁵⁷

According to Reyner van Zyl, Judge “Beyers was a big, tall man – burly, highly intelligent, and emotionally, and in terms of interactions, fairly unsophisticated. He was a rough diamond of sorts – very capable.”¹³⁵⁸ The American writer Ely Jacques Kahn Jr. states that due to his insistence on keeping apartheid out of his courtroom, Judge Beyers was well-liked by many Coloureds, some of whom called him “Big Boy.”¹³⁵⁹ Once, when he went on circuit in Stellenbosch, Beyers refused to go into court because a partition separated White and Black spectators. “Unless that thing is removed, I'll sit and hear all the cases under the oak tree outside,” he said. When an official of the Department for Public Works fixed a notice on the door of a Supreme Court cloakroom saying, “White Judges Only,” Beyers asked the official, “How many Black judges have we got? Take that notice down today.”¹³⁶⁰

On another occasion, at a luncheon in Grahamstown to commemorate the establishment of the High Court in that city, Minister of Justice John Vorster delivered the keynote speech. He declared that South Africa satisfied all the requirements of a democracy in that it had regular, free and fair elections and an independent judiciary. Beyers told Vorster, “Yes, John, you say we are a democracy, but you forgot to say non-whites could not vote!” Vorster smiled and shook his head. It was the equivalent of saying, “Who takes Beyers seriously?”¹³⁶¹

According to Judge Robin Marais, who had acted as Beyers's Registrar for some time, Beyers could never understand Black people but had great empathy with Coloureds. He spoke on one occasion to the Stellenbosch University Law faculty about the injustice being done to a Coloured man who came to Cape Town to give evidence. From the railway station to the court and back again he could not find a place where he could have a coffee or use a

¹³⁵⁶ David Bloomberg in a personal interview, 6 April 2014; Sachs, *Justice in South Africa*, p. 258.

¹³⁵⁷ David Bloomberg in a personal interview, 6 April 2014.

¹³⁵⁸ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

¹³⁵⁹ Kahn, Jr., *The Separated People: A Look at Contemporary South Africa*, p. 153.

¹³⁶⁰ Diemont, *Brushes with the Law*, p. 135.

¹³⁶¹ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 69.

toilet. This, said Beyers, was “disgraceful.” This story did not go down well with the audience who booed him, and finally he sat down, wondering at his listeners’ insensitivity to something he felt was clearly outrageous.¹³⁶²

In 1962, in the *Drakenstein* case, to the embarrassment of many of his peers, Beyers urged a review of prison conditions. Beyers sentenced a Coloured prison warder to ten years’ imprisonment and ten strokes for killing an African prisoner. Beyers commented that it was strange that only the warder was in the dock. The doctor who gave testimony said that except for victims of train crashes, he had never seen a body so mangled. Judge Beyers said he hoped the case would lift the veil from conditions in the prison service and he suggested a judicial inquiry.¹³⁶³ Such a call from such a quarter made headlines countrywide, but it embarrassed the government, which was forced to explain why it did not feel that such a move was justified. Beyers also encouraged a boycott of the newly-built Nico Malan Theatre which was built with public money but admitted only Whites.¹³⁶⁴

However, Judge Beyers took a hard line when a question arose concerning conditions for detainees under the 90-day law. In 1964, in *Rossouw v. Sachs*, the argument was whether such a detainee should be allowed reading and writing materials. The detainee in question was Albie Sachs, a Cape Town advocate and anti-apartheid activist. Two senior judges of the Cape Provisional Division, Louis van Winsen and J.J. Banks, ruled that a reasonable supply of such materials should be provided since depriving a prisoner of them amounted to punishment. The judges said, “It would be surprising to find that the legislature intended punishment to be meted out to an unconvicted prisoner.” However, the Appellate Division, in a judgement delivered by Judge Newton Ogilvie Thompson, held otherwise. Judge Beyers concurred with this judgment.¹³⁶⁵

A significant historical case concerned the University of Cape Town. On June 13, 1972, Judge Beyers extended indefinitely an order restraining the police from breaking up meetings on the campus. The decision was welcomed by the students as a step towards their ultimate goal, which was the right to hold peaceful demonstrations. As Judge President of the Cape Province, Beyers ruled that anybody who interfered with students on the steps of Jameson Hall (where police had launched a baton charge) was going beyond the terms of a

¹³⁶² Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 67-70.

¹³⁶³ Judge Robin Marais in a personal interview, 3 June 2016; International Defence and Aid Fund, *South African Prisons and the Red Cross Investigation*, p. 1.

¹³⁶⁴ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p.: 67-69.

¹³⁶⁵ Dugard, *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*, p. 333, 347-348.

proclamation issued a week ago which banned open-air political gatherings in 18 university towns. The governing council of the University of Cape Town had applied for a restraining order on the grounds that the campus was not public property.¹³⁶⁶

Beyers was also characterised as a compassionate man of “pronounced personality and sometimes humanity”¹³⁶⁷ who opposed the death penalty.¹³⁶⁸ In a famous case in Cape Town, Beyers clearly dispensed justice from his heart rather than employing the letter of the law. Ronald Cohen, a prominent businessman, was on trial for murdering his wife. It became clear that there was a hidden factor in the case which Cohen refused to address. The suspicion was that his wife had been having an affair and Cohen was too proud to admit it. In what fellow lawyers described as an extraordinary decision, Judge Beyers declared: “There is no mitigating circumstance that the court has heard from Mr. Cohen, but I know Mr. Cohen is lying. I know he is concealing something. And I find that that is a mitigating circumstance.” He was therefore not sentenced to death. There was widespread sympathy for Cohen and public support for the judgment, but in truth, Beyers acted unprofessionally in that there was no evidence of any mitigating circumstance.¹³⁶⁹

In court, Beyers appeared formidable, even frightening, but his colleagues believed he had a big heart and sympathy for “the little man.” He was famous for not taking notes because he had a photographic memory.¹³⁷⁰ David Bloomberg told the author about Beyers’ ability:

“He was tremendous. In fact, there was one famous case in South Africa where the counsel was appearing before him, and then Judge Beyers closed his eyes, and was slumped over the desk. And the counsel said to him, ‘Judge, I’m afraid it appears as if you are not listening to what I am saying.’ And he came to, and he said, ‘I will repeat to you everything you said in the last three minutes.’ And he rattled off the last three minutes, where he had appeared to be slumped and asleep. So he was a very, very astute judge.”¹³⁷¹

However, as we will see, this was not the case at Tsafendas’s summary trial, when Beyers seemed not to remember exactly what some witnesses had said.

¹³⁶⁶ Michael Knipe, ‘Ban on Cape Town Police’, *The Times* (London), 14 June 1972.

¹³⁶⁷ Davis and le Roux, *Precedent and Possibility: The (Ab)use of Law in South Africa*, p. 18.

¹³⁶⁸ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

¹³⁶⁹ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

¹³⁷⁰ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 98; Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 74.

¹³⁷¹ David Bloomberg in a personal interview, 6 April 2014.

Although a supporter of Dr. Verwoerd and of the National Party, Beyers was not blind about apartheid and declared, “Dr. Verwoerd is an intellectual giant, but his policy will lead to disaster.” When he was asked by the government to represent the Cape Supreme Court at the State funeral of Dr. Verwoerd in Pretoria, he was in a dilemma. He knew that he had to preside over the trial of Tsafendas and believed that in the eyes of the public his impartiality might be suspect if he attended the funeral. He sent Judge Marius A. Diemont in his place.¹³⁷² In 1975, Andries Beyers was in hospital dying from cancer. By an extraordinary coincidence, just across the corridor, Judge van Wyk was also dying from cancer.¹³⁷³

AUTHOR'S NOTE

In this and the next chapter, I will present again the statements and other evidence that the South African police and the Commission of Enquiry had in their possession at the time. This is necessary in order to compare them with what was heard in the Court during the summary trial and, in the next chapter, with the Commission's Report. Due to this Report's length and to make it easier for the reader to remember each witness's connection with Tsafendas, I have included a short note on how they came to know him; that is why you will see some repetition in this information. Furthermore, and for the same reason, witnesses' statements and other evidence are often repeated when I examine different testimonies during the summary trial and the contents of the Commission's Report.

¹³⁷² Diemont, *Brushes with the Law*, p. 132.

¹³⁷³ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 77.

DAY 1: 17 OCTOBER 1966**INTRODUCTION**

As we have seen, the defence team, due to the extraordinary efforts of David Bloomberg, had managed in a very limited time to build a very strong defence line, based on witnesses, medical records and the diagnosis of four psychiatrists and a one psychologist. It was then up to Advocate Wilfrid Cooper, the “tiger” of the courts to use them efficiency in the summary trial. The State, should have been in a much stronger position, especially since knowing what the defence line was going to be and since the South African Police had in its possession overwhelming evidence not only to challenge the Defence’s line, but to easily break it down. However, none of this evidence was going to be used during the summary trial and most probably was never given to the State.

The State’s two experts, obviously unaware of the police’s evidence, had agreed with the Defence’s experts that the accused was schizophrenic. In addition, both sides were in possession of Tsafendas’s medical record which confirmed their diagnosis, so the summary trial should have been a straightforward case. However, this was not going to be so and instead a show (summary) trial took place.¹³⁷⁴

There trial started at 10.00 a.m. when Judge Beyers entered the packed courtroom in his traditional scarlet robes.¹³⁷⁵ Tsafendas wore a double-breasted suit and a light-coloured shirt with a maroon tie.¹³⁷⁶ A maximum three hundred spectators plus forty reporters squeezed into the courtroom, which was heavily guarded inside and out. Security was unprecedented. Plain-clothed police officers were posted inside the courtroom as well as around the court building, while police marksmen took up strategic positions on the rooftops of nearby buildings. The precautions were the most stringent for any case heard at the Cape High Court and lasted for the duration of proceedings.¹³⁷⁷

Judge Beyers briefly addressed the public: “I wish to say a few words to the public who are here in unusual numbers today. You have a right to be here because in this country we believe that justice be done publicly and must also be seen to be done, theretofore it is

¹³⁷⁴ Denis Herbstein and John Evenson, *The Devils are Among US: The War for Namibia*, (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1989), p. 16.

¹³⁷⁵ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 88-89.

¹³⁷⁶ D’Oliveira, *Vorster – The Man*, p. 208.

¹³⁷⁷ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 83-84; Schoeman, *Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd*, p. 4.

right that in a case like this the public must be here. This case might stir up emotions in certain people. These emotions would have to be controlled. If I find any behaviour on the part of the public which will disturb the quiet of this court I will not hesitate for a moment to have you all sent out of the court and continue alone.”¹³⁷⁸ Judge Beyers then addressed the press:

“In this country we believe that justice be done publicly and should be seen to be done. We realise that only a small proportion of the public can be accommodated in a court of law, and the Press represents all the many others who cannot be here. For this reason the press is welcome in this court. But this case is at the moment *sub judice*. This is a serious business, a man is being tried for his life. The trial is in the hands of myself and my two assessors and our hands alone. There is one thing that will not be allowed and which I hope will never be allowed in this country, and that is trial by newspaper. If the newspapers goes beyond the bounds of what is correct in a matter that is *sub judice*, I shall have not the least compunction in refusing that newspaper further access to this court, and if they should transgress at all the lines which the law allows, I shall not have the least compunction in applying the full rigour of the law-not that I believe it will be necessary to do so.”¹³⁷⁹

Immediately afterwards, the case was called, Advocate Wilfrid Cooper rose and, addressing the Judge, said that in the view of the defence, the accused was mentally disordered in terms Section 28 of the Mental Disorders Act of 1916 which states “This section provide that if a court finds a person to be mentally disordered, he must be committed for detention in a mental institution until the State President orders his release” and therefore unfit to plead.¹³⁸⁰

¹³⁷⁸ *Pretoria News*, ‘Press and the Public Warned’, 17 October 1966: 1.

¹³⁷⁹ *Pretoria News*, ‘Press and the Public Warned’, 17 October 1966: 1.

¹³⁸⁰ *Pretoria News*, ‘Tsafendas Mentally Disordered Defence Contends as Trial Starts’, 17 October 1966: 1.

Cooper reminded the judge that according to the Act, a person was mentally disordered if he was incapable of managing himself or his affairs, or was a danger to himself or others. Advocate Cooper then stressed that the Act referred to the mental condition of the accused at the time of his arraignment or during his trial, that being now, on October 17; the court was not concerned with his mental condition at the time of the alleged offence. Cooper said, "This, my Lord, is on the basis that this court cannot and will not try an insane person, irrespective of his culpability. I accordingly apply to your Lordship at this stage to hold an enquiry into the accused's mental condition."¹³⁸¹

The Attorney-General raised no objection to such an enquiry being held and the judge then ruled that such an enquiry would now take place, a proceeding described by Bloomberg as in effect, "a trial within a trial."¹³⁸² Advocate Cooper then outlined the evidence that the defence would offer to argue that the accused was suffering from schizophrenia and was mentally disordered. The first witness called was the psychiatrist Dr. Cooper.

THIRD-PARTY INFORMATION IN FORENSIC MENTAL HEALTH ASSESSMENTS

Before we consider the testimonies of those who examined Tsafendas, we should take under consideration a very important issue that applies to all those who examined Tsafendas at the time of the judiciary proceedings, namely the collection and evaluation of third-party information (TPI). In "any forensic mental health assessment (FMHA), third-party information is a very important aspect of the assessments in order to provide a more accurate evaluation." This is because it enables the clinician to detect "distortions in self-reported information."¹³⁸³

TPI is defined as "a type of collateral source that is not obtained directly from the individual being evaluated." It serves an essential role in forensic mental health assessment for three primary reasons: greater need for accuracy, issues with response style, and the greater scrutiny that the evaluator's conclusions may receive. TPI may be obtained through interviews with personal and professional collateral informants or through reviews of various

¹³⁸¹ Dr. Harold Cooper's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹³⁸² Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 85.

¹³⁸³ Kirk Heilbrun, Thomas Grisso and Alan M. Goldstein, *Foundations of Forensic Mental Health Assessment*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 96; Kirk Heilbrun, Barry Rosenfeld, Janet Warren and Steven Collins, "The Use of Third-Party Information in Forensic Assessments: A Two-State Comparison." *Bull Am Acad Psychiatry Law*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (1994), p. 400.

forms of written documentation. It may be used to help detect response styles and malingering, making it vital to evaluation of the validity of the examinee's self-report.¹³⁸⁴

TPI is important in forensic criminal cases for five reasons:

- The use of TPI to assess response style is an integral part of a comprehensive approach to FMHA and provides valuable collateral information.
- Some measures relevant to FMHA require the forensic clinician to incorporate TPI as part of the assessment and scoring process.
- The use of collateral and corroborative information increases accuracy in detecting deception.
- TPI information can increase the face validity of FMHA and enhance the credibility of the evaluation.
- TPI may be helpful in allowing the forensic clinician to clarify a constellation of symptoms and identify, confirm, and or/disconfirm the various forms of psychopathology.¹³⁸⁵

Forensic clinicians widely recognize the importance and value of TPI, whether in the form of documents and records, third-party interviews, or scientific data produced by researchers. It helps to promote overall accuracy, detects bias from other sources, enhances impartiality, and increases credibility.¹³⁸⁶ It also performs the important role of verifying the information collected by the patient. Putting TPI together with information from the patient greatly improves the ability of the clinician to detect the possibility of malingering. In several cases it has been proven that "lying is not accurately detected by mental health professionals and other professional groups" when their opinion is based solely on information from the patient. People such as relatives, friends, workmates, neighbours and flatmates provided the best TPI because they had close and regular contact with the accused.¹³⁸⁷

¹³⁸⁴ Elizabeth Hunt and Eva R. Kimonis, "Third-Party Information." In Robin L. Cautin, and Scott O. Lilienfeld (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Clinical Psychology*, (John Wiley & Sons, 2015).

¹³⁸⁵ Kirk Heilbrun, Geoffrey R. Marczyk and David DeMatteo, *Forensic Mental Health Assessment: A Casebook*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 220-221.

¹³⁸⁶ Kirk Heilbrun, Amanda NeMoyer, Christopher King and Meghann Galloway, "Using Third-Party Information in Forensic Mental-Health Assessment: A Critical Review." *Court Review*, Vol. 51, pp. 16-35.

¹³⁸⁷ Kirk Heilbrun, Janet Warren and Kim Picarello, "Third Party Information in Forensic Assessment." In Alan M. Goldstein and Irving B. Weiner (eds.), *Handbook of Psychology, Vol. 11: Forensic Psychology*, (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2003), p. 69-79.

Professor Kirk Heilbrun, one of the world's leading forensic psychologists, renowned for his research on TPI in forensic cases, emphasised, in a personal interview with the author, its importance and the significance of its absence in Tsafendas's case, "an important and complex case like this."¹³⁸⁸ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky, a defence witness in the case who examined Tsafendas, told the author that "in psychiatry, after one has interviewed a patient, it is best practice to seek collateral information from family, friends and medical records."¹³⁸⁹ Mr. van Zyl and Professors Tuviah Zabow, Alban Burke, Robert L. Sadoff, Kirk Heilbrun and Phillip Resnick emphasised to the author that to make an accurate diagnosis, additional information was required from outside sources and agreed to the importance of information held by people who knew Tsafendas.¹³⁹⁰ It is standard practice since the lack of input from any one of the three could lead to a wrong conclusion.

The leading forensic psychiatrist Professor John Macdonald, who was renowned for his discovery of the Macdonald triad of sociopathic traits and for his profiling of serial killers, said that "simulation is more frequent when a suspect faces the death sentence."¹³⁹¹ According to Professor Tuviah Zabow, the prime objective in a criminal case where the accused seems to be mentally unstable is to establish whether he is scheming or not. That is why it is important to have his medical records and information from his friends and family.¹³⁹²

In an interview with the author, Professor Alban Burke stressed the importance of talking to people who know the patient. He said:

"In forensic cases, and I work at Weskoppies Hospital where we get these kinds of assessments, if you are doing an assessment for legal purposes, you need to speak to as many people as possible. You need to use as many documents as possible, and it is your right to have access to a document whether the police have produced it or not ... the psychologist and psychiatrist should have questioned, and they should have done extensive interviews, because the problem with any psychiatric order is, you cannot make a diagnosis based on what you see and hear alone. It has to be backed up by your psychological tests; it has to be backed up

¹³⁸⁸ Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017.

¹³⁸⁹ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky in correspondence with the author, 30 March 2016.

¹³⁹⁰ Prof. Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016; Prof. Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017; Prof. Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 17 December 2016; Professor Robert L. Sadoff in a personal interview with the author, 12 August 2015; Prof. Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

¹³⁹¹ John M. Macdonald, *Psychiatry and the Criminal: A Guide to Psychiatric Examinations for the Criminal Courts*, (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1958), p. 61.

¹³⁹² Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky in correspondence with the author, 30 March 2016.

by a wide range of investigations, and with these kinds of observations, you speak to family, you speak to school, you speak to as many people as possible.”¹³⁹³

Despite all of the above, plus the fact that this was a forensic case and Tsafendas was known to have faked illness at least twice in the past, none of those who examined him spoke to anyone who knew him; not even a single one. What is more, none of the examiners asked for any additional TPI, with the exception of Dr. Sakinofsky, who managed, on his own initiative, to get Tsafendas's medical records from the Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital in Hamburg. None of those who examined Tsafendas was a forensic psychiatrist. Nor were any of them experienced in dealing with similar situations, with the exception of Professor van Wyk. Neither the State nor the Defence found it necessary to call a forensic psychiatrist to examine Tsafendas. Dr. Sakinofsky did tell the court in his testimony that a forensic psychiatrist should have been called to examine Tsafendas, but this was never done. Finally, no-one became aware of the fact that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in the past.

Dr. Sakinofsky cautioned that while “such a maxim certainly holds true as a goal,” it was not always possible in practice:

“Collateral information may not be available when a patient is first seen (as in an emergency room) or may never be available or it may not be available for reasons of confidentiality. Not having such collateral does not necessarily invalidate diagnoses made without such; it depends on the nature of the individual case. Most clinical diagnoses are made in practice on the clinical examination and on the mental state and treatment may be started before collateral information is forthcoming, if available.”¹³⁹⁴

Although Dr. Sakinofsky's reservation is valid and certainly applied to the circumstances in which he examined Tsafendas shortly after the assassination, it did not apply to the wider aspects of this case. It would have been very easy to seek additional information about Tsafendas as there were tens of people who knew him in Cape Town and who were interviewed by the defence and by the police. The specialists who examined Tsafendas, both for the State and the defence, could have found and interviewed these people with the help of the defence and the police. However, not one of those who examined Tsafendas spoke to anyone who knew him personally. This was not entirely their fault, however, considering the obstacles in their path. As we will see, Dr. Cooper was discouraged from making outside contacts, and there was a problem of time, since only fifteen days

¹³⁹³ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

¹³⁹⁴ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky in correspondence with the author, 16 December 2016.

elapsed between the examinations of Tsafendas and the start of his trial.

Further, the experts had no access to any written TPI. Neither Tsafendas's statements to the police nor any other information about him or his past were given to them. The only exceptions were Dr. Sakinofsky as stated before, and Dr. Cooper who was shown by the defence three medical reports on Tsafendas, although this was after he had examined him and diagnosed him as schizophrenic. The other experts did not even have sight of Tsafendas's medical records, being told orally of their contents. They were also advised that this was a straightforward case and that the man they examined was a schizophrenic with a long history of schizophrenia.

Reyner van Zyl, the clinical psychologist who examined Tsafendas on behalf of the defence and testified in his summary trial, told the author that he never spoke to anybody who knew Tsafendas and never received any written information about him. Just like some of the other psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas at the time, he was only told verbally about Tsafendas's alleged long history of mental illness by the defence lawyers and by the police. Asked whether he saw Tsafendas's medical records or if he had any TPI about him, van Zyl replied:

“No, no, no, we were just told, we were told, or I was told – the group of guys that examined him – that he had been in various mental hospitals all over the world... Yes. Well, you know, we were given this information – that he was a disturbed, schizophrenic man ... And that was the background that we had available, and nothing else. The third part [the medical reports] was given to us almost in summary. He has been to this hospital, that hospital, that hospital... I think three or four were mentioned – various hospitals overseas.”¹³⁹⁵

It is interesting to compare the Tsafendas case with that of David Pratt, who shot and wounded Dr. Verwoerd in 1960. After his defence team pleaded that he was mentally disordered and unfit to stand trial, Pratt was sent by the judge to a mental hospital for fourteen days' observation under a State psychiatrist, Professor Lamont. In an effort to get a more comprehensive understanding of Pratt, Professor Lamont interviewed five people who had different relationships with him. Two were relatives, one a very good friend, the fourth was his former doctor (a general practitioner) and the fifth was one of Pratt's employees. None of those who examined Tsafendas did anything similar, and because of time pressures,

¹³⁹⁵ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

they were unable to double-check what Tsafendas was telling them, simply taking his word for granted. Dr. MacGregor, psychiatrist and defence witness, referring to a problem common to all those who examined Tsafendas, said that due to lack of time, he “had to take shortcuts” and that he “accepted what was given” to him from the accused, without being able to check the information or to seek third-party input.¹³⁹⁶

Pratt was also examined in the relative comfort of a hospital over a period of fourteen days, seen every day by Professor Lamont.¹³⁹⁷ Tsafendas was examined by Dr. Cooper for six hours and by the other psychiatrists for four and a half hours each while in custody in Caledon Square police station. This was the place where, as well as being physically tortured, he was forced to sleep for one and half months on the concrete floor with a single, dirty blanket. Prof. Tuviah Zabow believes that the environment where the examination takes place is very important, and that Tsafendas should have been taken to a hospital to be examined.¹³⁹⁸

TPI is essential not only for psychiatrists involved in FMHA, but also for psychologists. According to *Specialty Guidelines for Forensic Psychologists* by the American Psychological Association, a forensic clinician conducting an evaluation actively seeks information “that will differentially test rival hypotheses.”¹³⁹⁹ One of the reasons this is necessary is to determine whether the patient “presents but does not actually experience the symptoms of a mental disorder.”¹⁴⁰⁰ None of the psychologists who examined Tsafendas had access to any TPI about Tsafendas, and as we have seen, van Zyl was advised verbally about his medical record and simply told that he was clearly schizophrenic.

¹³⁹⁶ Dr. James William MacGregor's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹³⁹⁷ Prof. Lamont's psychiatric report about David Prat in *Regina vs. David Beresford Pratt*, 26 September 1960. *The State versus David Beresford Pratt*. 712-60. NASA; *The Cape Argus*, 'Judge Rules Pratt is Mentally Disordered', 26 September 1960: 2.

¹³⁹⁸ Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 2 September 2016.

¹³⁹⁹ Heilbrun et al., *Forensic Mental Health Assessment: A Casebook*, p. 210.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Heilbrun et al., *Forensic Mental Health Assessment: A Casebook*, p. 221.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 1: DR. HAROLD COOPER

DR. COOPER'S PROFESSIONAL BIOGRAPHY AS RELATED BY HIM TO THE COURT

Harold Cooper graduated as a doctor in 1944, obtained a Diploma in Psychological Medicine in 1950 and with a thesis in psychiatry became a Doctor of Medicine in 1953. He held the following full-time appointments: Three and a half years at Tara Psychiatric Hospital, Johannesburg, six months at Weskoppies Hospital, a mental institution, in Pretoria, eighteen months at Valkenberg Hospital, also a mental institution in Cape Town. Since 1954 he acted as part-time consultant psychiatrist at Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town. He was in private practice continuously since 1954, dealing with a large variety of mental disturbances, including the diagnosis and treatment of schizophrenics.¹⁴⁰¹ It should also be noted, though it was not mentioned at the trial, that in a 1951 case, *Rex v. Kennedy*, the court refused to accept Dr. Cooper's psychiatric evaluation. Dr. Cooper had declared a person accused of murder to be "mentally disordered" (as he found Tsafendas to be), but the judge dismissed his diagnosis as based on improbable evidence, and found the accused fit to stand trial.¹⁴⁰²

DR. COOPER'S EXAMINATION OF TSAFENDAS

Dr. Cooper testified that he examined Tsafendas at the request of David Bloomberg for the first time on October 1, 1966. He saw him again on October 4, then on October 11 along with Dr. MacGregor and Dr. Zabow, and a final time on October 14. The average length of each session was an hour and a half, thus six hours in all.

Dr. Cooper testified:

"I made a diagnosis of schizophrenia on the basis of my interviews with him, but, in order to try and add either supportive or negative evidence towards this diagnosis, I felt it essential to elicit a history from him and try and decide whether the history I obtained from

¹⁴⁰¹ Dr. Harold Cooper's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁴⁰² *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Responsibility of Mentally Deranged Persons and Related Matters*, p. 17; Jones, *Psychiatry, Mental Institutions, and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*, p. 103.

him was consistent with my impression of him suffering from schizophrenia.”¹⁴⁰³

What Dr. Cooper is saying, and the same applies to some of the other psychiatrists and psychologists who examined Tsafendas, is that he formed his conclusions in the first place on what Tsafendas told him and instead of seeking confirming or contrary evidence from third parties, he went back and asked Tsafendas himself. Although partly forced on him by circumstances beyond his control, including a shortage of time and a rebarbative attitude by the police, this seems an extraordinary method of forming a diagnosis, particularly in a criminal case of such huge importance. As we will see, Dr. Cooper and the other psychiatrists made many assumptions about Tsafendas, and their testimonies contain inaccuracies about his character and life which could have been avoided had they spoken to friends, acquaintances and kin.

Professor Kirk Heilbrun disagreed with the method used by Dr. Cooper (and subsequently the other psychiatrists, too) to diagnose Tsafendas, and was surprised that the doctor relied only on what he was told by him. He told the author that if he was in Dr. Cooper's position, he “would have sought information from the second and third domains [collateral interviews with people who knew Tsafendas and his medical and criminal record] rather than additional information from the first domain [Tsafendas].” He added he did not believe it possible to make an accurate diagnosis about a patient, especially in a forensic case, simply by listening to him over three ninety-minute sessions without additional, extraneous information.¹⁴⁰⁴

However, the lack of TPI, at least in Dr. Cooper's case, is hardly his fault. He was discouraged by the police from probing into Tsafendas's background and his activities prior to the assassination; this, he was told, was their job. Dr. Cooper was also told by the police and the defence lawyers that Tsafendas was a perfectly straightforward case of a schizophrenic. This led Dr. Cooper to have serious misgivings about the whole procedure and to wonder if the authorities were perhaps covering up their lax security procedures and pressing for Tsafendas to be declared insane so that they could avoid any responsibility for assassination.¹⁴⁰⁵

¹⁴⁰³ Dr. Harold Cooper's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 239-240, 273.

EXTRACTS FROM DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY¹⁴⁰⁶

BACKGROUND OF THE CASE

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Who requested you to interview the accused in this case?

DR. COOPER: The attorney for the defence, Mr. David Bloomberg.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And how many interviews, to date, have you had with the accused?

DR. COOPER: I have had four interviews.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The first interview that you had, when was that?

DR. COOPER: On the 1st October, 1966.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In whose presence did you interview the accused?

DR. COOPER: In the presence of Mr. Bloomberg.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Any other person present?

DR. COOPER: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The second interview?

DR. COOPER: On the 4th October, 1966.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In the presence of anybody?

DR. COOPER: This interview was held jointly with my colleagues Dr. MacGregor and Dr. Zabow.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And the third interview?

DR. COOPER: Was similarly held jointly on the 11th October, 1966, with Dr. MacGregor and Dr. Zabow.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The fourth interview?

DR. COOPER: The fourth interview was on the 14th October, 1966; this interview was individual, without the assistance of my colleagues.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When you were introduced to the accused at your first interview,

¹⁴⁰⁶ Dr. Harold Cooper's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

was he told what your profession was? How did you introduce yourself?

DR. COOPER: He was told I was a doctor.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: These interviews, could you tell His Lordship how long did they usually last?

DR. COOPER: They varied, but the average length of each interview was an hour and a half.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was the purpose of examining the accused?

DR. COOPER: My purpose was to assess this man's mental condition.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did you find the accused when you spoke to him?

DR. COOPER: At all times I found him soft-spoken, polite, co—operative and apparently fully prepared to co-operate with all questions that were put to him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: As regards intelligence, what is your comment?

DR. COOPER: Concerning his intelligence, at an early stage I decided that this man was of normal intelligence, even quite high intelligence and throughout the interviews nothing arose to make me alter that opinion.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What language did you speak to him?

DR. COOPER: I spoke to him in English.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is his fluency in English?

DR. COOPER: His fluency in English is perfectly adequate, and I was careful in this matter, and decided in my mind that he was perfectly able to do himself justice in replying to questions in English,

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What kind of vocabulary has he?

DR. COOPER: Very adequate.

TSAFENDAS'S BEING UNABLE TO FOLLOW A CONVERSATION AFTER FIFTEEN MINUTES

DR. COOPER: This man's difficulty in thinking logically and assessing things and forming reasonable judgments and coming to reasonable conclusions becomes increasingly difficult as the complexity of what he is presented with increased, particularly in respect of time. If one talks to him over quarter of an hour, the first quarter of an hour if one asks him simple questions he gets along quite all right, but as the time goes on his thoughts drift more and more and he tends more and more to lose contact with what is going on around him.

COMMENTS ON TSAFENDAS'S ABILITY TO FOLLOW A CONVERSATION AFTER FIFTEEN MINUTES

Dr. Cooper described Tsafendas as man who is unable to follow a conversation after the first fifteen minutes and "as the time goes on his thoughts drift more and more and he tends more and more to lose contact with what is going on around him." Tsafendas spent one and a half months in police custody and throughout this period was constantly seen by Major Rossouw. Rossouw interrogated Tsafendas for several hours on several occasions and was present in Caledon Square police station throughout the time Tsafendas was held there. He testified to the Commission that Tsafendas "answered all the questions spontaneously" and that he [Rossouw] "never got the impression that he tried to evade any question." He made no mention of Tsafendas's alleged inability to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes or being unable to answer any questions.¹⁴⁰⁷

As stated before, Rossouw was not a psychiatrist, but as a very experienced interrogator, he would have noticed whether a prisoner was able to follow his questions and whether he was able to answer them in a satisfactory manner. Furthermore, both of Tsafendas's statements to the police seem to support Maj. Rossouw's testimony since Tsafendas answered all the questions perfectly sensibly while it is obvious from the length of the transcripts that each interrogation lasted far longer than fifteen minutes.

Furthermore, Tsafendas was in PIDE's custody for three months in 1964. In the transcript of the interrogation, it is obvious that Tsafendas has answered all the questions

¹⁴⁰⁷ Major Daniel Jacobus Rossouw testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

perfectly logically. None of the PIDE agents observed such symptoms, while even Inspector Horacio Ferreira told the South African police said he considered Tsafendas to be “normal and regarded him as a very intelligent person.”¹⁴⁰⁸ In addition, Judge van Wyk, who questioned Tsafendas twice, wrote in his report: “*He answered all the questions freely. At times, especially at the beginning, he stuttered slightly, sometimes he was vague, incoherent, and evasive, but otherwise his answers were logical and well formulated.*”¹⁴⁰⁹ Thus, neither Judge van Wyk nor the PIDE agents found Tsafendas to be unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes.

Professor van Wyk, the State psychiatrist appointed by the Attorney-General himself, had examined Tsafendas three times by October 6. He had written in his report, which was in the possession of the Attorney-General, that Tsafendas was “orientated,” adding, “He gives a good account of himself. His comprehension is good and his answers are relevant. His emotional responses are adequate and apt. His discourse is coherent. At times he is discursive, but not vague and he never strays from the main point of conversation...I have found no indications that he is incapable of following the court proceedings or that he is unable to exercise his rights and privileges and instruct his legal advisers and assist them in the conduct of his defence.”¹⁴¹⁰ However, although the Attorney-General had in his possession the report of his own expert-witness, which flatly contradicted Dr. Cooper’s diagnosis, he did not use it to challenge his testimony.

Furthermore, just the following day at the court, Dr. Muller, also a defence witness, would completely contradict Dr. Cooper’s argument. The following dialogue took place between Dr. Muller and the Defence Counsel:

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You had no difficulty in communicating with him?

DR. MULLER: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he have difficulty in expressing himself?

DR. MULLER: None at all.¹⁴¹¹

In addition, none of the about two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission mentioned anything like this. On the contrary some commented

¹⁴⁰⁸ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁴⁰⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

¹⁴¹⁰ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 81.

¹⁴¹¹ Dr. Hendrik Muller’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

as to the exact opposite:

- Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine-ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, “never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers.”¹⁴¹²
- Garnet Muller, Tsafendas’s supervisor at South African Railways for three weeks, testified that Tsafendas gave him to understand that he took the job on a temporary basis. He “observed Demitrio Tsafendas to possess intelligence above that of the average person.”¹⁴¹³
- Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for Mike’s Outfitters for forty-two days in July and August 1966, frequently driving him to the tanker *Eleni* while it was docked in Cape Town. Of Tsafendas, he told the police that he “never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers.”¹⁴¹⁴
- Gillian Claire Lieberman, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation, whose office Tsafendas often visited, “I had various discussions with him. I got quite interested in him as an individual. ... I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation.”¹⁴¹⁵
- J. Willemse was Tsafendas’s landlord for one month in 1965. He characterised him as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.”¹⁴¹⁶
- Patrick O’Ryan said “he was well-spoken and had good vocabulary.”¹⁴¹⁷
- Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban appointed Tsafendas as a Portuguese and Greek interpreter. Rudolph used him “on several occasions” in a period of six months and “got to know him pretty well.” He testified that “I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and

¹⁴¹² Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁴¹³ Garnet Vincent Muller statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁴¹⁴ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

¹⁴¹⁵ Gillian Claire Lieberman statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁴¹⁶ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

¹⁴¹⁷ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

intelligent. He spoke English properly.”¹⁴¹⁸

- Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas’s landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry that Tsafendas “was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman.”¹⁴¹⁹
- Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Greek Consul in Beira “was often in the company of the subject and others had several conversations with him.” He considered Tsafendas to be “a normal and very intelligent person.”¹⁴²⁰

Furthermore, Tsafendas attended many interviews in his working life and appeared perfectly capable of answering questions or he would not have got the jobs:

- Petrus Schuin, the head messenger at the Parliament and one of the three men who had interviewed him and appointed him told the Commission of Enquiry that “there was nothing out of the ordinary about him. Tsafendas was the same as any other person that had worked there.”¹⁴²¹
- Sydney Wiehand, who had also interviewed him at the Parliament, said about Tsafendas, “he was a quiet man. He wasn’t the rough type, or anything like that. He was quiet - quietly spoken, well-mannered.”¹⁴²²
- Horst Hartmann, Tsafendas’s employer at the heavy engineering company Fries and Son in Frankfurt, Germany, characterised Tsafendas “as extremely nice and friendly ... I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man. He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman...he made a good impression and he spoke good German, so I took him on... we liked him ... always laughing, a good worker.” Tsafendas “left on his own wish” although Hartmann “would have liked to keep him.”¹⁴²³

¹⁴¹⁸ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁴¹⁹ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

¹⁴²⁰ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁴²¹ Petrus Robert Samuël Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

¹⁴²² Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

¹⁴²³ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, ‘The Assassin’, 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

- Albert Vercueil, Tsafendas’s boss at F. A. Poole in Pretoria, said that in the five months he worked with Tsafendas, he found him to be “not a very good worker, but will say that he was an intelligent worker.”¹⁴²⁴ He also testified to the Commission of Enquiry that he considered Tsafendas to be “an intelligent man, just untidy and lazy in rounding off his work.” He never got the impression that Mr. Tsafendas was not right in his mind.¹⁴²⁵
- Ian Boswell, administrative assistant at the Department of Labour in Cape Town. He interviewed Tsafendas three times in 1966 and testified to the police that “he was at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute. Aside from being over-talkative, he showed no symptoms of abnormality, during his interviews with me.”¹⁴²⁶
- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour in Cape Town, interviewed Tsafendas twice. He testified to the police that Tsafendas was “neatly dressed” and he “never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally.”¹⁴²⁷
- Gideon Cloete, also employed at the Department of Labour, interviewed Tsafendas twice. According to Cloete, Tsafendas “had a neat appearance and made a good impression.” He did not notice any “signs of abnormality” and “appeared totally normal” to him.¹⁴²⁸
- Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen was Tsafendas’s tram instructor in December 1965 and January 1966. He testified to the police that “I did not at all get the impression that mentally anything was wrong with him. He is mentally normal.”¹⁴²⁹

Tsafendas was also interviewed by Limasollu Naci, owner of the private language college in Istanbul in 1961, and given the position of teacher of English. During a week’s probation, he was under observation. Obviously successful, he remained at the college for some six months before leaving on his own volition. Mrs. Advie Vedia Limasollu, wife of Limasollu Naci, does not remember Tsafendas, but stated firmly that her husband would have never appointed or kept on a teacher who was not able to follow a conversation. Teachers had

¹⁴²⁴ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁴²⁵ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁴²⁶ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

¹⁴²⁷ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

¹⁴²⁸ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas’s summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

¹⁴²⁹ Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

also to deal with the students’ parents and someone at some point would have noticed if her had problems.¹⁴³⁰ In fact, Limasollu Naci became a good friend of Tsafendas and spent a lot of time with him during those six months.¹⁴³¹ It seems unlikely that he would not have noticed such a thing about Tsafendas.

More importantly, Tsafendas was examined and interviewed twice by two state doctors for his South African permanent residency permit and neither of them found him to be “unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes,” though they were not psychiatrists:

- On November 11, 1963, Tsafendas was medically examined by Dr. C. Been for his permanent residence application and was found “not to be mentally or physically defective in any way,” and “generally in a good state of health.”¹⁴³² Dr. Been would later examine Tsafendas again “for burns on his body whilst employed at Pooles.” Again nothing about his mental state would be noted.¹⁴³³
- On November 14, 1963, Tsafendas was examined again for the permit by Dr. A.C. McDonald, who also wrote “a favourable report” and subsequently a certificate for permanent residence was issued for him.¹⁴³⁴

In addition to these two doctors, Tsafendas was examined by another eight physicians, none of them psychiatrists, over the course of three years, and no one noticed any inability to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes:

- On March 15, 1965, Tsafendas was examined by a South African Railways’ medical officer whose name is indecipherable in his report. He was found to be perfectly healthy, without any issues and therefore capable of working at the company.¹⁴³⁵
- On September 25, 1965, he was examined by Dr. G.C. Baker and nothing was reported about his mental state.¹⁴³⁶

¹⁴³⁰ Advije Vedia Limasollu in a personal interview, 8 January 2016.

¹⁴³¹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 4 November 2015.

¹⁴³² Demitrio Tsafendas medical certificate issued by Dr. Been for the Aliens Act, 1937. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

¹⁴³³ Dr. Been statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁴³⁴ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

¹⁴³⁵ South African Railways Confidential Medical Examination Certificate of Demitrio Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 7, File: S 83708, Tsafendas: D. NASA.

¹⁴³⁶ Dr. G.C. Baker Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. No date. K150, Vol. 6, File: 4, NASA.

- On November 19, 1965, Tsafendas was medically examined to insure that he was able to work for City Tramways in Cape Town. He was found fit to work and duly hired.¹⁴³⁷
- On January 13, 1966, Tsafendas applied for work at the Marine Diamond Corporation and underwent a medical check-up that same day. The doctor who examined him¹⁴³⁸ found Tsafendas to be perfectly healthy and capable of working for the company.¹⁴³⁹
- On February 25, 1966, Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by I. Eisenberg, a registrar on the Ear, Nose & Throat Department, who did not observe anything mentally wrong with him.¹⁴⁴⁰
- On April 18, 19, 26 and May 3, 1966 Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by Dr. Leon Goldman, a consultant ear, nose and throat surgeon. He did not observe anything mentally wrong with him and discharged him as “fit” on May 17, 1966.¹⁴⁴¹
- From April 19, 1966 to May 15, 1966, Tsafendas was under the medical supervision of Dr. Leon Solomon at Groote Schuur Hospital, suffering from “a deviated nasal septum and epistaxis,” and underwent surgery on his nose. Dr. Solomon during this period did not report any mental disability and found Tsafendas to be fit to return to his work at Marine Diamond Corporation. Dr. Solomon examined him again on June 7, 1966, and again did not notice anything mentally wrong with him.¹⁴⁴²
- Dr. S. Michelson, a specialist physician, examined Tsafendas in the Neurology Department of Groote Schuur Hospital on June 3, 1966 and did not notice Tsafendas’s reported inability to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes. Nothing was reported about his mental state.¹⁴⁴³

¹⁴³⁷ Donald Neville Mackay statement to the COE, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁴³⁸ The doctor’s name in the medical report is indecipherable, but in her statement to the police, Gillian Claire Lieberman, personnel secretary at the Marine Diamond Corporation, referred to Dr. Lazzard as being the company’s doctor..

¹⁴³⁹ Demitrio Tsafendas’s Marine Diamond Corporation Application for Employment, 13 January 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 3. NASA.

¹⁴⁴⁰ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁴⁴¹ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁴⁴² Dr. Leon Solomon’s medical report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA; Medical certificate issued by Dr. Solomon for the Employment Insurance Act, 1946. 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA.

¹⁴⁴³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 64.

Apart from the above doctors, Tsafendas was also examined a few hours after the assassination by another two doctors and none of them found him to be unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes.

- Dr. Ralph Kossew examined Tsafendas only half an hour after the assassination. His testimony is highly important due to its timing. Dr. Kossew found Tsafendas “not confused ... he answers questions guardedly but does not appear to be confused ... he didn’t appear anxious ... He may have been a little bit nervous but not in any marked degree ... He was calm ...”¹⁴⁴⁴
- Finally, Dr. T.A. Darby examined Tsafendas on the evening of the assassination but did not report anything to be wrong about his mental state or being unable to communicate with him.¹⁴⁴⁵

It seems inconceivable that of these twelve doctors, some of whom examined him more than once or had him under their care for several days, not one observed that Tsafendas was “unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes.” The extent of the errors in Dr. Cooper’s diagnosis regarding Tsafendas will become even more apparent later in this chapter: as we will see, he testified that he also found him “unable to function on a reasonable level”, unable to care for himself, talking in a disjointed manner, unable to give a coherent account of himself and of his actions and suffering from thought-blocking. It seems rather implausible that Tsafendas was examined by all the above doctors, and none observed any of these symptoms.

The author asked forty-six witnesses who knew Tsafendas if they thought Dr. Cooper was right about Tsafendas not being able to concentrate for more than fifteen minutes. Not a single one agreed with the doctor. Here are responses from some who knew Tsafendas over a long period and who spent a lot of time talking with him:

Father Michalis Visvinis, who visited Tsafendas in prison very regularly for five years (1989-1994) and spoke extensively with him, shook his head in disbelief upon hearing Dr. Cooper’s comment. He told the author:

“No, no, this is not true. He [Tsafendas] was always very alert. I was actually surprised that his mind was so alert after so many years in prison. Most of our conversations

¹⁴⁴⁴ Dr. Ralph Kossew’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Dr. T.A. Darby. Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. G.S.H. NO. 65/014-181, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

lasted about an hour and a half and he never lost track, nor did I feel that he was struggling to cope with our discussion... I felt that he [Tsafendas] needed to speak, so several times I would just let him speak. He enjoyed speaking and he could speak for hours. He always spoke like a normal man.

I also often asked him questions about his life, and his answers were always logical and what one would expect. He never evaded any question and I never had to repeat myself to him for a second time, nor was his answer ever off the subject... [His speech] was not disjointed or anything else. It was perfectly articulate and logical, always very coherent. He never said anything to suggest he had a mental problem or that he had any difficulty speaking or thinking and expressing himself properly. I am positive that this was not the case [Tsafendas being unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes]. This comment is entirely false.”¹⁴⁴⁶

Alexander Moumbaris spent in 1972 three months in the cell next to Tsafendas in Pretoria Prison. Moumbaris spoke to Tsafendas for an hour every day during this period, thus, he must have spent at least ninety hours talking to him. Moumbaris dismissed outright the suggestion that Tsafendas was unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes. Asked by the author if Tsafendas had any difficulty in following their conversations or understanding his questions, Moumbaris smiled dismissively. He said:

“No, no, it was nothing like this. He was absolutely normal and very serious, he always talked like a normal man, like any other man. I enjoyed talking to him, he was very intelligent and witty. He had things to tell you, you could have a serious conversation with him. He never had any difficulty expressing himself or participating in a conversation. Most times he led the conversations. There were never gaps or pauses in his speech, or anything that would make me think that he was struggling to speak or participate in our conversations.”¹⁴⁴⁷

Moumbaris also told the author that even in March 1996 when he visited him for a couple of hours in Sterkfontein Hospital, they had a perfectly normal conversation, despite the deterioration in Tsafendas’s health and hearing. How capable Tsafendas was to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes is also evident from the fact that he asked Moumbaris in 1972 to teach him Algebra. Although the warders stepped in and stopped the lessons not long

¹⁴⁴⁶ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

ago after they started, Tsafendas turned out to be an excellent student and more than capable of following Moumbaris’s teaching.¹⁴⁴⁸

Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis told the author:

“We spoke for hours about politics, religion and history and he was one of the most knowledgeable people I ever met in all these subjects. He never got lost in the conversation and he would never drop a subject until I had agreed with him. He would never give up a conversation if you disagreed. He would bombard you with examples and arguments about the point at question. Sometimes I thought he must be making up some of the examples to convince us he was right. I would then go home and check the example he had used only to find out that he was right! He was incapable of letting you go until he had convinced you he was right. The doctor’s diagnosis is 100% wrong, believe me.”¹⁴⁴⁹

Fotini Gavasiadis invited Tsafendas to be a guest in the house where she lived with her husband and small son in Pretoria in 1963. After a few weeks, he moved into an apartment next door where he stayed for the following eight months. During this period, he spent much of his time back in her house, almost like flatmates. Throughout these nine months, Tsafendas and Gavasiadis also worked together in her brother’s café. Fotini got to know Tsafendas very well and ranked among his closest friends. She smiled and shook her head after she heard Dr. Cooper’s comment. “What else am I going to hear!” she exclaimed in disbelief. She told the author:

“This is like a joke, it is ridiculous! This and all the other things you have told me these psychiatrists said are ridiculous and unbelievable. Of course they are untrue. I don’t know what type of doctors they were, but I they certainly lost the plot with Dimitri ... I told you Dimitris could buy and sell you and he could do that at any time during a conversation, in the first ten minutes, then again after thirty minutes or an hour and then again after two hours. He wouldn’t let you get up from the chair until he had made you agree with what he was saying, especially when talking politics.

He was very convincing and persuasive - he could turn black into white! If you disagreed with something with him, he would find a way to convince you that he is right and that you are wrong - even if you *know* that you are right and that he is wrong! If he made a mistake about something, he would turn things upside-down and at the end, he would even

¹⁴⁴⁸ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

make you apologise to him ... In those nine months, I saw him and spoke to him every day and not even once did he appear to have an issue with his speech or his thoughts. He was always the same. We spent hours and hours talking and his speech was never incoherent, disjointed, blocked or whatever else, it was always perfect. He never gave me even the slightest indication that he might be having the issues you mentioned. The doctor’s comment is for laughs.”¹⁴⁵⁰

Katerina Pnema, Tsafendas’s half-sister, was very surprised to hear such a comment. “This sounds to me like a comedy ... the doctor’s comment is entirely false and does not bear any resemblance to the truth. Dimitris was not like this; he was never like this. The doctor is talking nonsense.”¹⁴⁵¹

Tsafendas lived for five months at Patrick O’Ryan’s house and remained close to the family for another year. During this seventeen-month period, none of the family found Tsafendas to be unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes. On the contrary, they all considered him to be a very intelligent and soft-spoken person.¹⁴⁵² Allan O’Ryan, who was very close to him, told the author that Tsafendas was “always very sensible in his answers to anybody.”¹⁴⁵³

Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas’s first cousin, knew him since he was five years old and grew up alongside him in Mozambique and in Egypt. In Pretoria in 1963-1964, she spent a lot of time with him, including two or three weeks when they lived in the same house. She told the author:

“What are you talking about? Is this what the doctor believed about Dimitri? My God, I can’t believe it. What type of doctor was this? Of course Dimitris was able to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes; it’s laughable to suggest otherwise. He could talk for hours and hours about anything, especially politics, trying to convince you that he was right. He would continue talking to you for hours and hours until he would have convinced you that he was right.”¹⁴⁵⁴

Irene Michaletos was visited frequently by Tsafendas in her house in Beira for several months between 1964 and 1965. He even often stayed there. She strongly dismisses Dr.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

¹⁴⁵¹ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁴⁵² Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Stanley O’Ryan in a personal interview with the author, 9 April 2015.

¹⁴⁵³ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

Cooper’s claim and states that Tsafendas was “very good with words. Of course he was able to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes; he never lost track or there was never any suggestion that he was not capable of doing so. Never, never. He was talking all the time, he was really good with words; he knew how to talk.”¹⁴⁵⁵

In 1951, and between 1963 and 1965, Tsafendas spent a lot of time in his Aunt Artemis Michaletos’s house (Tsafendas’s aunt who brought him up in Egypt) and even slept there on several occasions. John Michaletos, Artemis’s son and Tsafendas’s cousin, who was always present and spent hours talking to Tsafendas, told the author:

“He [Tsafendas] talked very, very passionately about his political ideas, his cheeks sometimes getting red and sweaty from the passion. He was very self-assured about his ideas and you could not have a political debate with him, he would have cut you into pieces. He was very well read, especially in politics, while he had this ability I haven’t seen in anyone to be able to convince you that he is right. He would bring argument after argument and example after example to convince you that he is right. Sometimes, I wondered whether all these [political and historical] examples and facts he was talking about were true. I did not know. I was not aware of any of these. And you couldn’t check at the time, there was no internet, but it all sounded very, very convincing. I used to tell him, and my mother used to tell him too, that he should be a politician or a lawyer.”¹⁴⁵⁶

It is difficult to believe that Artemis and John Michaletos would have envisaged Tsafendas as a successful politician or lawyer if he was unable to follow a conversation for more than fifteen minutes. Artemis had known him since he was two and a half years old and watched him learn and grow through infancy. John Michaletos also smiled and shook his head in disbelief at Dr. Cooper’s comment. Asked by the author to comment, he said:

“What should I tell you? I have told you everything about him. He [Tsafendas] was nothing like this. He [Dr. Cooper] could not have been more wrong. Everything this doctor [Dr. Cooper] has been saying is nonsense, it’s not true about Dimitri. He was nothing like this, it’s like he had either examined a different person or he was a bad doctor.”¹⁴⁵⁷

Antony Michaletos, Artemis’s son and John’s brother, was also present in 1951 and in 1963-1965 when Tsafendas stayed at their house. He dismisses outright Dr. Cooper’s

¹⁴⁵⁵ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁴⁵⁶ John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁴⁵⁷ John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

suggestion that Tsafendas was unable to follow a conversation for longer than fifteen minutes. He told the author:

“He [Tsafendas] spoke fine, like a normal, intelligent man, no disjoint, not gibberish, nothing like this... Are you joking? Of course he was able to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes. We were talking for hours. Hours and hours. Almost every night or every other night he would come to our house; we’ll eat and then sit in the living room or the balcony and talk.”¹⁴⁵⁸

Ira Kyriakakis, Tsafendas’s childhood friend who remained very close to him until his imprisonment. She told the author:

“The doctor is making a mistake. Dimitris not only could follow a conversation for indefinite time, but could also participate in any type of conversation because he was very knowledgeable. He was never as the doctor described. Dimitri was so clever and able that he could convince the devil to buy a Bible. He was like a politician, he would turn things upside-down to make you see things from his point of view. He was talking beautifully; slowly and with authority, like a very important man. No, no, he was not like the doctor said.”¹⁴⁵⁹

Thirteen of the *Eleni* seamen who were with Tsafendas every day for forty-two days until three days before the assassination, and who were interviewed by the author, also rejected the idea that Tsafendas couldn’t follow a conversation after fifteen minutes. The author will include only the more representative of the men’s statements:

Michalis Vasilakis told the author that Tsafendas appeared to be “able to convince anyone that his political ideas were right. ... You couldn’t disagree with him about anything. He always found a way to convince you that he was right. He was very, very able in reasoning and developing and explaining an argument. He was extremely good with words and arguments.”¹⁴⁶⁰

Nikolas Kambouris, another seaman, was very surprised to hear Dr. Cooper’s statement. “I told you he had a very distinctive way of talking. It was slow, but very intelligent and sophisticated ... He was talking like a professor. It was more likely for us to not be able to follow him than him to follow us. We spent hours talking about politics and he was leading the conversation; none of us knew anything about apartheid at the time.”¹⁴⁶¹

¹⁴⁵⁸ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

¹⁴⁶¹ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014.

Shaking his head in a negative manner, Emanuil Mastromanolis said of Dr. Cooper’s comment, “No, no, I never noticed this. He could speak for hours and hours. Always clearly and logically.”¹⁴⁶²

Andreas Babiolakis lived with Tsafendas in the same house in Beira for two or three months and knew him since they were children. “No, no, never ... Dimitri was not just able to follow the conversation, most of the times he was leading the conversation, especially when talking about politics.”¹⁴⁶³

¹⁴⁶² Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

¹⁴⁶³ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

The following witnesses all strongly dismiss Dr. Cooper’s diagnosis about Tsafendas being unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes:

- Reuben O’Ryan lived in the same house as Tsafendas for five months.¹⁴⁶⁴
- Mario Ferreira, who worked with him for six weeks at the Table Power Station.¹⁴⁶⁵
- Stanley O’Ryan also lived in the same house as Tsafendas for five months.¹⁴⁶⁶
- Panagiotis Peroglou knew Tsafendas for about a year in 1965-1966.¹⁴⁶⁷
- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott’s boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest...¹⁴⁶⁸
- Costas Chagios who were Tsafendas’s friends in Cape Town for more than a year.¹⁴⁶⁹
- Nick Papadakis knew Tsafendas for two-three months and lived with him for two months in Gondola and Beira in 1964.¹⁴⁷⁰
- George Liberopoulos met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963 and associated with him for a few weeks.¹⁴⁷¹
- Alexandra Vaporidis knew Tsafendas for seven months in 1961 in Istanbul.¹⁴⁷²
- Miltiades Kaldis met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965 and kept in touch until his arrest.¹⁴⁷³
- George Ananiades met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963. They spent several hours talking.¹⁴⁷⁴

Professors Alban Burke, Phillip Resnick, Robert L. Sadoff and Tuviah Zabow believe that it is extremely unlikely, and very close to impossible, that none of the people who knew Tsafendas, some extremely well, ever noticed that he was unable to follow a conversation

¹⁴⁶⁴ Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Mario Ferreira in a personal interview, 21 May 2019.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Stanley O’Ryan in a personal interview with the author, 9 April 2015.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

¹⁴⁷¹ George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2015.

¹⁴⁷² Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

¹⁴⁷³ Miltiades Kaldis in a personal interview, 12 March 2016.

¹⁴⁷⁴ George Ananiades in a personal interview, 21 June 2016.

after fifteen minutes.¹⁴⁷⁵ Reyner van Zyl, who examined Tsafendas for the defence, told the author that it was “highly improbable.”¹⁴⁷⁶

TSAFENDAS NOT BEING CONCERNED FOR HIS FUTURE AND TALKING IN A DISJOINTED MANNER

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was the first thing that struck you when you saw this man, the accused?

DR. COOPER: The first thing that struck me was an abnormality in this man’s emotional attitude to his situation and surroundings. I was struck by him reacting rather incongruously. I felt that here was a man who had been charged in a very, very serious matter and he displayed a singular lack of anxiety. He showed no sign of agitation, stress or tension. He was not restless. On each occasion when one came to interview him one never found him pacing up and down; one found him usually sleeping or at least dozing. When one discussed this whole matter with him, he did not show any appropriate emotional reaction that one would expect...

JUDGE BEYERS: Have you had experience of murderers before?

DR. COOPER: Yes. I have never found them climbing walls yet. I have defended quite a lot of them in my life. In the instances where I have gone to various gaols to see murderers, I have found them anxious, I have found them frequently complaining of insomnia, frequently asking and pleading for sleeping tablets. They have been agitated. They have constantly intercepted with questions as to their predicament and as to their fate. These features were, I thought, significantly absent in this man...

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I want to put this to you: is the accused concerned about his fate?

DR. COOPER: No. Not as far as I was able to establish.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you probed that matter with him?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: This lack of, I think, or inappropriate emotional response to his

¹⁴⁷⁵ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016; Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 17 December 2016; Professor Robert L. Sadoff in a personal interview with the author, 12 August 2015; Professor Tuvia Zabow in a personal interview, 10 October 2016.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 17 April 2016.

present predicament, why is that important? Or is it important, first of all?

DR. COOPER: I felt it was important, firstly, on the basis that I considered this to be abnormal and different from what one had been accustomed to seeing in such cases, different from what one would expect in such a case, and, furthermore, important in that precisely this type of emotional reaction is frequently seen and completely consistent with a diagnosis of schizophrenia.

... I would describe him, for the most part, as being emotionally flat, except that, again rather incongruously, he would at times smile, at times chuckle at inappropriate moments in the interview, and also one might mention a feature, namely, that he quite frequently tends to grimace rather grossly and extensively during interviews...

... This type of grimacing, one cannot go so far certainly as to say that it is diagnostic of schizophrenia but it does frequently occur in people suffering from schizophrenia ...

DEFENCE COUNSEL: As regards his emotional response, what relevance has that in diagnosing schizophrenia?

DR. COOPER: Simply that this emotional response is commonly seen in schizophrenia and is completely consistent with the diagnosis of schizophrenia.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What does the present emotional state indicate?

DR. COOPER: It indicates to me an indifference to his whole situation,

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And in relation to reality?

DR. COOPER: In relation to reality I found him decidedly disturbed in that, although it was clear to me, because he said so, he knew what he had done, he knew that he was going to be tried, but he was unable to understand the magnitude of the situation. He was unable to fully grasp the serious consequences of the situation. This became apparent, apart from his general attitude and his mode of discussion, in certain remarks which he made, remarks that I am completely satisfied he made in all sincerity, such remarks as at one stage, he paused for a moment and he said: "I do not think that I will be able to live in Cape Town after this because of the public opinion, you know." At another stage, when we were discussing various jobs that he had held, he said that if he was ever offered a job in the House of Assembly again he does not think that he would be able to face up to that job again. These remarks perhaps are small remarks, but to me they had deep significance and confirmed my impression of this man being out of touch with reality, unable to grasp the real nature of the situation in which

he now finds himself...

... The next sign or indication of mental abnormality that I detected during my first interview, and at all subsequent interviews, concerned his thinking processes. I have already stated that he is an intelligent man. He is able to make certain quite intelligent statements. He is able to provide one with certain facts in quite an intelligent manner. But if one allows him to give free flow to his thoughts and feelings, one finds that one would be discussing a certain point or matter with him and he will start perhaps vaguely answering your questions and then gradually ramble along in a completely disjointed manner. He will lose the trend of his thinking. As a listener, one finds oneself losing the trend of what he is trying to tell you, and you end up not quite knowing at all what he is trying to put across to you... this man is an intelligent individual. In fact, I think I am prepared to go so far as to say he is above average in intelligence. And taking into account his intelligence, I find that his inability to express himself in a coherent fashion is in fact significant...

... I have spent considerable time with this man trying to elicit from him whether he has any views regarding his defence, whether he had any idea of what sort of approach his defending counsel would be adopting in this case, whether he had any personal views on how he would try to defend himself, whether he really understood the implications of this whole matter, and I came to the conclusion that he had no notion of these things, that he had no understanding of these things at all.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is he able to make a proper defence?

DR. COOPER: Most definitely not.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is he able to instruct me properly in this matter?

DR. COOPER: I don't think he is able to instruct you at all, usefully.

DR. COOPER: I found myself comparing this case with other murder cases, other murderers who I have examined, and they have always shown a lot of interest and anxiety concerning their defence, and they have always tendered to offer explanations, excuses, reasons and - whether they be worthwhile or not - ideas they had concerning why they may not be guilty. This man had nothing of this type to offer at all."

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you ever get the impression that the accused was concerned about his rights?

DR. COOPER: His rights?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes?

DR. COOPER: He showed a certain amount of concern, but I would say minimal concern and a degree of concern that I thought was completely inappropriate and unusual in circumstances of this sort.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER’S ABOVE TESTIMONY

TSAFENDAS NOT BEING CONCERNED ABOUT HIS FUTURE

Asked about Tsafendas’s lack of response to his predicament, Dr. Cooper states that “this type of emotional reaction is frequently seen and completely consistent with a diagnosis of schizophrenia ...” Tsafendas told the police in a statement he made on September 11, 1966, “I did not care about the consequences, for what would happen to me afterwards. I was so disgusted with the racial policy that I went through with my plans to kill the Prime Minister.” He repeated this in the same interview, saying, “I did not think I would get away after murdering the Prime Minister. I did not care what happened to me.”¹⁴⁷⁷ Clearly, his political convictions overrode his certainty that he would be captured and required to face the consequences of his action. That is entirely different from someone being indifferent to his fate as a result of schizophrenia. However, Dr. Cooper did not have access to Tsafendas’s statements.

In addition to this, Tsafendas could not have claimed that he was innocent. He had killed Dr. Verwoerd in front of more than a hundred witnesses and could hardly have said, “I didn’t do it!” Being aware of the consequences and ready to face them, why would he change his attitude towards Dr. Cooper? He was not the first defendant to follow court proceedings with apathy. In many cases, especially political trials, prisoners are uninterested, either because they don’t care about the outcome or they don’t recognise the authority of the court. Tsafendas knew what the outcome would be: he was going to be found unfit to stand trial and believed that he would be sent to a hospital.

Thirty years later, Tsafendas told Father Minas Constandinou and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis that it was easy to convince his defence team and everyone who examined him that he was mad. “It was easy because everyone wanted to find me mad, both the government

¹⁴⁷⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

and my defence team.”¹⁴⁷⁸ Hence his apathetic attitude. Defendants who fear death or life imprisonment would demonstrate concern or distress, but Tsafendas did not care about what would happen to him and because he was almost certain about the outcome, he was not fearful.

An alternative reason for Tsafendas’s attitude and one that has never been explored was offered to the author by Father Minas Constandinou: that Tsafendas was seeking personal redemption for what he saw as past acts of cowardice. Tsafendas felt guilty that he had not fought the Nazis during the Second World War; instead, he had repeatedly pretended to be ill so as to remain in hospital and avoid being sent into the Atlantic and exposed to German U-boats. Tsafendas often spoke of the shame these actions caused him and how this became worse when he learned of the Nazis’ atrocities. He also regretted that he had not gone to Spain to join the International Brigades against the fascists because he feared dying young. Although Tsafendas never related his guilt for these matters to the assassination, Father Minas got the impression that by carrying out an attack on Dr. Verwoerd without an escape plan and in the certain knowledge that he would be captured, Tsafendas was seeking atonement for his earlier failures.¹⁴⁷⁹

History is replete with examples of men who faced critical situations, including the prospect of death, with an equanimity similar to Tsafendas’s. These people were not schizophrenic, indeed they were entirely sane, many were highly intelligent and all were fully aware of their circumstances. Surely the last thirty days of Socrates’ life give the lie to Dr. Cooper’s conclusions that Tsafendas’s “emotional reaction” was “frequently seen and completely consistent with a diagnosis of schizophrenia.” Was Socrates also a schizophrenic?

TSAFENDAS TALKING IN A DISJOINTED MANNER

Dr. Cooper testified that Tsafendas was vague when answering questions and spoke in a rambling and disjointed manner, and the following day three more defence witnesses, Dr. Sakinofsky, Peter Daniels and Patrick O’Ryan, gave similar testimony. However, Patrick O’Ryan had also testified that Tsafendas “was well-spoken and had good vocabulary.”¹⁴⁸⁰ In addition, O’Ryan later declared that he had lied and exaggerated some of the things he said

¹⁴⁷⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

about Tsafendas in order to save his friend’s life. This was done after Wilfrid Cooper said it was the only way to prevent from being condemned to death. It is also very possible that advocate Cooper gave the same advice to Peter Daniels. We will examine these two testimonies and that of Dr. Sakinofsky later.

However, with regard to Dr. Cooper’s comment about the accused being vague and talking in a disjointed manner, none of Tsafendas’s statements to the police conveyed that impression. His words are coherent and he communicates clearly. Major Rossouw, the head of the Security Police in Cape Town, who interrogated Tsafendas several times and for many hours and who was in constant touch with him while in custody, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas “answered all the questions spontaneously,” he “never got the impression that he tried to evade any question” and reported none of the symptoms mentioned by Dr. Cooper.¹⁴⁸¹

Major Rossouw was not a psychiatrist, but he was a very experienced interrogator having also interrogated John Harris, Stephanie Kemp and other ARM members, who had all been tortured during their interrogation,¹⁴⁸² and must have been able to detect whether Tsafendas talked in a disjointed manner or presented any of the other symptoms described by Dr. Cooper. Having spent so much time with Tsafendas, he could surely tell if something was wrong with him. Both of Tsafendas’s statements to the police support Maj. Rossouw’s testimony, since Tsafendas answered all the questions he was asked perfectly ably and judging by the length of the transcripts, it is clear that each interrogation lasted far longer than fifteen minutes, allegedly Tsafendas’s maximum concentration span.

As stated before, Rossouw was not a psychiatrist, but as a very experienced interrogator, he would have noticed whether a prisoner was able to follow his questions and whether he was able to answer them in a satisfactory manner. Furthermore, both of Tsafendas’s statements to the police seem to support Maj. Rossouw’s testimony since Tsafendas answered all the questions perfectly sensibly while it is obvious from the length of the transcripts that each interrogation lasted far longer than fifteen minutes.

Furthermore, Tsafendas was in PIDE’s custody for three months in 1964. None of the PIDE agents observed Tsafendas having such symptoms, while even Inspector Horacio Ferreira told the South African police that he considered Tsafendas to be “normal and

¹⁴⁸¹ Major Daniel Jacobus Rossouw testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

¹⁴⁸² Fullard, “State Repression in the 1960s”, p. 362.

regarded him as a very intelligent person.”¹⁴⁸³ In addition, Judge van Wyk, who questioned Tsafendas twice, did not mention anything in his report about Tsafendas talking in a disjointed manner. On the contrary, he wrote: “*He answered all the questions freely. At times, especially at the beginning, he stuttered slightly, sometimes he was vague, incoherent, and evasive, but otherwise his answers were logical and well formulated.*”¹⁴⁸⁴ Thus, neither Judge van Wyk nor the PIDE agents found Tsafendas to talk in a disjointed manner.

None of the two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission or the forty-six who were interviewed by the author, including several people who knew him very well, said Tsafendas ever lost the thread of what he was saying or talked in a rambling or disjointed manner. For example:

- Gillian Claire Lieberman, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation, whose office Tsafendas often visited, “I had various discussions with him. I got quite interested in him as an individual. ... I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation.”¹⁴⁸⁵
- Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine to ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that he “never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers.”¹⁴⁸⁶
- J. Willemse was Tsafendas’s landlord for one month in 1965. He characterised him as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.”¹⁴⁸⁷
- Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Greek Consul in Beira “was often in the company of the subject and others had several conversations with him.” He considered Tsafendas to be “a normal and very intelligent person.”¹⁴⁸⁸
- August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be “very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him,

¹⁴⁸³ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁴⁸⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Gillian Claire Lieberman statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁴⁸⁷ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

¹⁴⁸⁸ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease.”¹⁴⁸⁹

- Patrick O’Ryan said “he was well-spoken and had good vocabulary.”¹⁴⁹⁰
- Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Greek Consul in Beira “was often in the company of the subject and others had several conversations with him.” He considered Tsafendas to be “a normal and very intelligent person.”¹⁴⁹¹
- Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban appointed Tsafendas as a Portuguese and Greek interpreter. Rudolph used him “on several occasions” in a period of six months and “got to know him pretty well.” He testified that “I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and intelligent. He spoke English properly.”¹⁴⁹²
- Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas’s landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry that Tsafendas, “was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance, he appeared to be a businessman.”¹⁴⁹³
- Johannes Aurets, Tsafendas’s supervisor at the South African Railways, told the police Tsafendas “was a well-mannered and well-spoken person. He associated with those working with him. He was soft-spoken and appeared to be of a good nature.”¹⁴⁹⁴

Furthermore, the author asked forty-six people who knew Tsafendas, some very well, and none ever got the impression that his speech was disjointed: two priests who met him in prison and in the hospital in the 1980s and the 1990s and who spent hundreds of hours with him are positive that Tsafendas did not talk in a disjointed manner.¹⁴⁹⁵

Father Michalis Visvinis, who visited Tsafendas in prison very regularly for five years

¹⁴⁸⁹ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁴⁹¹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁴⁹² Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁴⁹³ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Johannes Jaconus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

(1989-1994), and spent several hours talking with him, strongly denied to the author that Tsafendas spoke in a disjointed manner, or that there was anything wrong with the way he spoke. He told the author:

“No, no, this is not true; he did not talk like this [in a disjointed manner]. He never spoke like this with me, his speech was always absolutely fine. I felt that he [Tsafendas] needed to speak, so several times I would just let him speak. He enjoyed speaking and he could speak for hours. He always spoke like a normal man. [His speech] was perfectly articulate and logical, always very coherent. He never said anything to suggest he had a mental problem or that he had any difficulty speaking or thinking and expressing himself properly. This comment is also entirely false.”¹⁴⁹⁶

Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis who met Tsafendas in 1994 in Pretoria Prison hospital told the author:

“[Tsafendas] could speak for hours, telling you things about his life, his thoughts and his ideology, but he could also participate in a dialogue. We spoke for hours about politics, religion and history and he was one of the most knowledgeable people I ever met in all these subjects. He was very argumentative and insistent, especially about politics. He would never give up a conversation if you disagreed. He never, not even once, seemed to have difficulty expressing himself or talked incoherently. Every single time, everything he said made sense and was perfectly stated. I don’t believe for a moment that he could have talked in the way described by the psychiatrists unless he did it deliberately. He spoke and argued even better than most people. His speech and thought were perfectly fine.”¹⁴⁹⁷

Alexander Moumbaris, who spoke to Tsafendas for at least one hour every day for about three months in 1972 in Pretoria Prison, dismissed outright the suggestion that Tsafendas talked in a disjointed manner. He told the author:

“No, this is not true. He was not talking in a disjointed manner. I never heard him talking like this, neither in 1972 nor in 1996. He always spoke absolutely fine... There were never gaps or pauses in his speech, or anything that would make me think that he was struggling to speak or participate in our conversations.”¹⁴⁹⁸

Mary Eintracht, his first cousin, who grew up with him in Egypt and Mozambique and was constantly with him for nine months in 1963-1964, said, “Dimitri always spoke very

¹⁴⁹⁶ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

well. He sounded like a very educated man. There was nothing wrong with his speech or thoughts, both were excellent. He could argue with you for hours and hours on politics. He was very good with words and his brain was bigger than most people’s.”¹⁴⁹⁹

Tsafendas lived for five months at Patrick O’Ryan’s house and remained close to the family for another year. During this seventeen-month period, none of the family heard Tsafendas talking in a disjointed manner or saying anything that would make them doubt his sanity. During the summary trial, the whole family was convinced that Tsafendas was making it all up in order to escape the death penalty.¹⁵⁰⁰ Allan O’Ryan told the author:

“I never experienced a disjointed conversation. It might have been a ploy on his part – again, in retrospect. So, the psychiatrist would bring in things like that and might even have been able to quote situations or questions that Tsafendas didn’t answer directly. But in my mind, retrospectively, I believe, because of his intelligence, and also not to give away what he wanted to do, there could have been a possibility that it was a ploy on the part of Tsafendas to appear disjointed in his train of thought.”¹⁵⁰¹

One of the strongest comments comes from Fotini Gavasiadis, who was with him every day for nine months in Pretoria in 1963-1964. She told the author:

“Dimitris could buy and sell you and he could do that at any time during a conversation, in the first ten minutes, then again after thirty minutes or an hour and then again after two hours. He wouldn’t let you get up from the chair until he had made you agree with what he was saying, especially when talking politics ... He was very convincing and persuasive, he could turn black into white! If you disagreed with something with him, he would find a way to convince you that he is right and that you are wrong - even if you *know* that you are right and that he is wrong! If he made a mistake about something, he would turn things upside-down and at the end, he would even make you apologise to him.

In those nine months, I saw him and spoke to him every day and not even once did he appear to have an issue with his speech or his thoughts. He was always the same. We spent hours and hours talking and his speech was never incoherent, disjointed, blocked or whatever else, it was always perfect. He never gave me even the slightest indication that he might be

¹⁴⁹⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Stanley O’Ryan in a personal interview with the author, 9 April 2015.

¹⁵⁰¹ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

having the issues you mentioned.”¹⁵⁰²

Gavasiadis was not the only one impressed by the way Tsafendas spoke. None of the crewmen from the *Eleni* ever got the impression that Tsafendas’s speech was disjointed. In fact, they were impressed by the way he spoke.¹⁵⁰³ The seamen called him “Professor” because of his knowledge and mode of speech.¹⁵⁰⁴ “We were all wondering how come he knew all these things. How could he be talking like this? He talked like a university professor”, said Nikolaos Billis, one of the crew.¹⁵⁰⁵ Another crew member, Michalis Vasilakis, said, “I can’t explain it, but I remember he had a very specific way of talking, using not very common, but absolutely correct words. He knew how to speak and how to pick up words. He was talking like a professor; this is what we used to say between us and what we called him ... He was a very knowledgeable man. No, his speech was definitely not disjointed, it was excellent.”¹⁵⁰⁶

In addition, Tsafendas worked in 1961 for six months as teacher at the best private language college in Istanbul, the Limasollu Naci. He worked initially on trial basis, under observation for a week, and then was appointed permanently. He remained in the post for six months, leaving eventually on his own accord. Mrs. Adviye Vedia Limasollu, wife of Limasollu Naci, the owner of the college, does not remember Tsafendas, but she is certain that her husband would never have appointed, much less retained for a significant period, a teacher who talked in a disjointed manner.¹⁵⁰⁷

Furthermore, while in Istanbul, for about seven months in 1961, Tsafendas gave free English lessons to Greek and Turkish children. Alexandra Vaporidis, who knew him throughout this period and conversed with him at length five or six times, told the author, “He talked perfectly well whenever I spoke to him.” Her husband was Father Agathagos Vaporidis, the priest at Agia Triada Church where some of the lessons took place. He sat in on some of Tsafendas’s classes and never mentioned anything being untoward about Tsafendas’s mode of speech. On the contrary, he was very happy with Tsafendas and his wife

¹⁵⁰² Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

¹⁵⁰³ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Adviye Vedia Limasollu in a personal interview, 8 January 2016.

said he would certainly have told her if there were any speech issues.¹⁵⁰⁸

Father Nikola Banovic told the author about the way Tsafendas spoke: “the way he spoke was very distinctive ... he spoke good Greek, but he used the grammar in a very different and distinctive way, talking like a teacher or an author, using nice words.” Father Nikola also observed some of Tsafendas’s teaching in Istanbul and characterised him as a “natural,” “born to be teacher.”¹⁵⁰⁹ He would hardly have used these terms about a teacher who spoke in a disjointed manner.

In 1951, and between 1963 and 1965, Tsafendas spent a lot of time in his Aunt Artemis Michaletos’s house (Tsafendas’s aunt who brought him up in Egypt) and even slept there on several occasions. John Michaletos, Artemis’s son and Tsafendas’s cousin, who was always present and spent hours talking to Tsafendas, told the author:

“He [Tsafendas] was very self-assured about his ideas and you could not have a political debate with him, he would have cut you into pieces. He was very well read, especially in politics, while he had this ability I haven’t seen in anyone to be able to convince you that he is right. He would bring argument after argument and example after example to convince you that he is right. Sometimes, I wondered whether all these [political and historical] examples and facts he was talking about were true. I did not know. I was not aware of any of these. And you couldn’t check at the time, there was no internet, but it all sounded very, very convincing. I used to tell him, and my mother used to tell him too, that he should be a politician or a lawyer.”¹⁵¹⁰

It is difficult to believe that Artemis and John Michaletos would have envisaged Tsafendas as a successful politician or lawyer if he talking in a disjointed manner. Artemis had known him since he was two and a half years old and watched him learn and grow through infancy. John Michaletos also smiled and shook his head once again in disbelief at Dr. Cooper’s statement on which, again, he refused to comment because he found it absurd; he believes that what he already told the author about Tsafendas was enough to demonstrate how wrong Dr. Cooper’s diagnosis was.¹⁵¹¹

Nikolas Kambouris, an *Eleni* seaman who spent several hours talking with Tsafendas about politics and history, dismissed Dr. Cooper’s diagnosis: “I told you he had a very

¹⁵⁰⁸ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

¹⁵¹⁰ John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁵¹¹ John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

distinctive way of talking. It was slow, but very intelligent and sophisticated ... He was talking like a professor. It was more likely for us to not be able to follow him than him to follow us. We spent hours talking about politics and he was leading the conversation; none of us knew anything about apartheid at the time.”¹⁵¹²

For reasons of space, the study will list only a few of the witnesses who were interviewed by the author, those who knew him best or longest. All insist that Tsafendas did not talk in a disjointed manner:

- His half-sister Katerina Pnefma;¹⁵¹³
- Ira Kyriakakis, who also grew up with him and spent a lot of time together in 1964 and 1965;¹⁵¹⁴
- Andreas Babiolakis, who knew him since they were children, lived with him for two months in 1964 and associated with him for about a year then;¹⁵¹⁵
- Mario Ferreira who worked with him for six weeks at the Table Power Station.¹⁵¹⁶
- Thirteen crewmen from the *Eleni* who saw him every day for forty-two days in 1966;¹⁵¹⁷
- Elias Constantaras, who lived under the same roof for two months in Cape Town in 1966 and knew him for more than a year;¹⁵¹⁸
- Irene Michaletos, who knew him for more than a year (1963-1965), when he often visited her house in Beira;¹⁵¹⁹
- Antony Michaletos, Tsafendas’s cousin and the son of Artemis’s (Tsafendas’s aunt who brought him up in Egypt), met Tsafendas in 1951 and associated with him in 1963-1965, getting to know him very well;¹⁵²⁰

¹⁵¹² Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014.

¹⁵¹³ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁵¹⁴ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

¹⁵¹⁵ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

¹⁵¹⁶ Mario Ferreira in a personal interview, 21 May 2019.

¹⁵¹⁷ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 19 January 2016; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

¹⁵¹⁸ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

¹⁵¹⁹ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁵²⁰ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May April 2016.

- Alexandra Vaporidis, who knew him for about six months in Istanbul in 1961;¹⁵²¹
- Nick Papadakis, who knew Tsafendas for two-three months and lived with him for two months in Gondola and Beira in 1964;¹⁵²²
- Panagiotis Peroglou, Stratis Vamvarapis, Antonis Nichas and Costas Chagios, who were Tsafendas’s friends in Cape Town for more than a year.¹⁵²³

¹⁵²¹ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

¹⁵²² Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

¹⁵²³ Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015; Miltiades Kaldis in a personal interview, 12 March 2016; Antonis Nichas in a personal interview, 31 March 2016; Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016; Stratis Vamvarapis in a personal interview, 31 May 2016.

Also, in July 1966, just two months before the assassination, Tsafendas gave a 75-minute interview to a reporter named N.D. Hartford of the *Cape Argus*. They had already met at the beginning of the year when Tsafendas came to the newspaper and enquired whether there was any news of the freedom fighters of Mozambique. Hartford's impression was that Tsafendas was normal; he had no reason to believe that he was mentally defective. According to Hartford, Tsafendas spoke fluently without any noticeable gaps in the conversation.¹⁵²⁴

Professors Alban Burke, Phillip Resnick, Robert L. Sadoff and Tuviah Zabow believe that it is extremely unlikely, and very close to impossible, that none of the people who knew Tsafendas, some extremely well, ever noticed that he spoke in a disjointed manner.¹⁵²⁵ Reyner van Zyl, who examined Tsafendas for the defence, told the author that it was "highly improbable"¹⁵²⁶

As for the Attorney-General, it appears that either he did not have Tsafendas's September 11 statement in his possession or he did not think it was important to question Dr. Cooper about what Tsafendas told the police: that he knew he was not going to get away but went ahead and killed Dr. Verwoerd anyway because he was "disgusted" with his race policies and hoped that a change of policy would take place.¹⁵²⁷

COMMENT REGARDING DR. COOPER'S EXPERIENCE WITH MURDERERS

Finally Judge Beyers is unaware of the fact that Dr. Cooper has experienced with murderers from the 1951 case, *Rex v. Kennedy*. Therefore and more importantly, he is unaware of the fact that the Court in this case had dismissed his psychiatric evaluation of the defendant as based on improbable evidence.¹⁵²⁸

THE TAPEWORM

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is there any other feature that emerged from your examination of the accused?

¹⁵²⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

¹⁵²⁵ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016; Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 17 December 2016; Professor Robert L. Sadoff in a personal interview with the author, 12 August 2015; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 10 October 2016.

¹⁵²⁶ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 17 April 2016.

¹⁵²⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁵²⁸ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Responsibility of Mentally Deranged Persons and Related Matters*, p. 17; Jones, *Psychiatry, Mental Institutions, and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*, p. 103.

DR. COOPER: Yes. This feature that I am coming to is perhaps the most striking feature, or let us call it dramatic feature, of his mental state. This man tells a story that in 1935 or 1936 - I am not quite clear whether it was 1935 or 1936 - he became afflicted with a tapeworm. He describes how initially he tried to rid himself of the tapeworm, how he went to a chemist to get medicines, how he consulted a doctor. He describes, rather luridly, how he sat over a pail of water and how part of the tapeworm emerged but snapped in his hand and part of the tapeworm remained inside him. And he then goes on to explain that he had in fact consulted many doctors about this tapeworm; he has in fact been to hospitals which specialise in tropical medicine and this type of disorder; he has had X-rays; he has had numerous investigations; he has been told that he no longer has a tapeworm inside of him, but he is convinced, he has a fixed belief, that he has a tapeworm inside of him, in spite of all these negative medical investigations.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How does he believe it affects his life?

DR. COOPER: There are many aspects to this tapeworm, and it is important, and I ask the Court to bear with me if I can explain what this man says about his tapeworm. First of all, his description of the tapeworm I feel is significant. I in my mind believe, although I cannot prove it, that in 1935 or 1936 he probably did in fact have a tapeworm. But his description of the tapeworm that he now believes he has and the qualities that he attributes to it are highly significant. Firstly, he describes this tapeworm as being, sometimes he says 1½ ins. in breadth, sometimes he says 2 ins. in breadth. He describes it as having serrated edges like a serrated saw. This is a tapeworm much larger than life. It is a grossly exaggerated description of a tapeworm. He insists that he has the tapeworm in spite of all medical evidence against the fact that he has it. He says that he can feel the tapeworm crawling around in him and that if he passes delicious foods the tapeworms smells the foods and he can feel the tapeworm wriggling up towards his neck. I must explain to the Court that an individual suffering from a tapeworm cannot feel the tapeworm wriggling around him in that manner. Then he attributes a great deal to this tapeworm. He says repeatedly

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What does he call it?

DR. COOPER: He has referred to this tapeworm at different interviews variously as a devil, as a dragon, as a snake. Demon was another one. He feels that this tapeworm has changed his entire life. He believes that it is in fact because of the tapeworm that he has done many things. He believes that the tapeworm influences his thought He insists that on many

occasions he has said things which he would not otherwise have said if it had not been for the tapeworm. He insists that the tapeworm influences his behaviour. He said at one stage: "If I did not have the tapeworm I would not have killed Dr. Verwoerd, I would not have wandered round the world, I would not have become involved in a fight with Nicholas Vergos and I would not have been taken in by certain thoughts." He elaborates further on this tapeworm, particularly during my last interview with him, where he says this time that he is not absolutely convinced that it is a tapeworm, it may be some form of human snake, but whatever this demon, this devil, is inside of him. He believes that it may be possible that there may be an element of witchcraft in this whole affair. He explains that as a child - at that time he was living in the Transvaal - his stepmother indoctrinated him against the natives, and he believes that it is possible that the natives have in fact something to do with this tapeworm. Now, apart from what he says about the tapeworm, when one interviews this man one can find oneself talking about almost anything, from employment, travels, friends, the murder, the trial - virtually anything like - and it does not take very long before you are back to the tapeworm. He incorporates the tapeworm in all his thoughts, and it is as if this tapeworm is to a very large extent governing this man's thoughts, governing his feelings, governing his reaction to his environment, governing his behaviour.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: His wandering around the world, to what does he attribute that?

DR. COOPER: His wandering around the world he attributes to his tapeworm. He is vague about it, he can't elaborate on it, but he insists that it is because of the tapeworm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: His inability to hold down a job for any length of time, to what does he attribute that?

DR. COOPER: That is attributed to the tapeworm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: This belief in the existence of a tapeworm in him, which can be medically proved not to be there, what is that?

DR. COOPER: I believe that this is a delusion.

DR. COOPER: "... This man has built around his tapeworm inside of him a delusion system whereby he believes emphatically that this worm is instrumental in controlling his thoughts, in controlling his actions, in ruining his life, and even in killing Dr. Verwoerd... I asked the accused the question: 'If you had been cured of your tapeworm, would you still have killed

Dr. Verwoerd?’ His reply, his repeated reply, was emphatically ‘No, I would not have killed Dr. Verwoerd.’ I on more than one occasion asked the accused to explain to me why he killed Dr. Verwoerd, and at this point, relevant to the topic we are now dealing with, I would just like to say that he was extremely vague in his attempts to explain why he killed Dr. Verwoerd. He told me that he had a great deal of difficulty in understanding and explaining why he did, but one thing was quite definite, he said the tapeworm was right in the middle of it. I am quoting his words. I asked him whether the tapeworm actually told him to kill Dr. Verwoerd. He said: ‘No, that is not so.’ The reason why I asked him this question, quite incidentally, was from the point of deciding whether this man was simulating or not. I virtually invited him to simulate mental disorder, and he did not take up the bait...

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you consider - I am sure you did - the possibility that the accused invented this story of the tapeworm?

DR. COOPER: Most definitely I did.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did you do to test whether or not he had invented this tapeworm story?

DR. COOPER: Well, this matter tied up with one’s general approach in trying to establish whether this man was inventing or simulating as a whole. I was most careful to try and assess whether his story was consistent, whether there were not perhaps any irregularities, any things that didn’t fit in with the picture as a whole. I felt very strongly that here was a man who, after all, knew a fair amount about mental disorder, because he had told me that he had been in several mental hospitals. Patients in mental hospitals inevitably know, particularly the more intelligent ones, that hearing voices is a common symptom in mental disorder and a common symptom of schizophrenia, so I felt, if ever a man was going to simulate, here was his easy, ready opportunity. If this man had told me that he heard voices, and in fact, if he had told me that the tapeworm spoke to him and told him what to do and what not to do, this would have been difficult, let us say, to disprove; this would have been consistent with schizophrenia. I hammered on this particular angle, and at no time did this patient suggest that he heard voices and at no time did he suggest that the tapeworm spoke to him or actually told him what to do...

... Simulating in cases of serious crime, of course, is quite common, and, I might say, usually readily detected, especially if one spends approximately six hours with the individual, as I did. It is extremely difficult to imitate mental disorder and particularly to imitate the group of

symptoms, the picture as a whole, in schizophrenia. Patients often try to simulate mental disorder by telling you that they hear voices, they see visions, they can't remember, they are just confused, they say they are just unable to tell you anything. This patient did none of these things.

...He did not blame Dr. Verwoerd for the existence of it directly, but he implies that if it had not been for the tapeworm he would not have killed Dr. Verwoerd, so presumably he interrelates Dr. Verwoerd and the tapeworm in some way...

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: ... no matter what you talked about - you talked about various things; I think you mentioned various things - no matter what you talked about, you finished with the tapeworm?

DR. COOPER: Yes, my Lord, I am not suggesting ...

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: So that it is constantly there, no matter what you talked about?

DR. COOPER: Constant would mean that he talked about the tapeworm and nothing else. I am not suggesting that. He did talk of other things. But I am saying that the tapeworm played a prominent part in his overall conversation.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do I remember correctly that whatever you talked about you finished on the tapeworm?

DR. COOPER: Frequently that was so.

UNDER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

DR. COOPER: He is relating this tapeworm in this instance to something that happened in his early life.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: when his mother put him against the blacks, and the blacks in revenge, by witchcraft, put a tapeworm in him?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Isn't that what I understood you to say? Is that right?

DR. COOPER: Yes, that is right.

DR. COOPER: ... After having examined him for several hours (that is six hours including the joint interview), and, after I knew that fellow psychiatrists had also examined him for several hours (maximum five hours each one of them including the joint interview), during the course of a joint interview with him I noticed him, just in passing, saying “I must thank you very much for all the assistance you are giving me.” He rambled on a little bit, and then I took this up and I said to him “In what way do you think we are trying to assist you? In what way are we assisting you?” and he said “Well, the tapeworm is giving me a lot of pain, and you are listening to my difficulties about the tapeworm.” And it was clear to me at that time that this man had not grasped the purpose of our examination...”

DEFENCE COUNSEL: There is the bizarre aspect of the tapeworm. Does that necessarily manifest itself in his dealings with people from day to day?

DR. COOPER: Not necessarily, no. I would say that he is quite likely to refer to his tapeworm in his everyday life but not every time he is confronted by anybody, not constantly in conversation.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY REGARDING THE TAPEWORM

THE EXISTENCE OF THE TAPEWORM

According to Dr. Cooper, the tapeworm was central to Tsafendas's existence as it controlled his life and his thoughts. It appeared responsible for everything that was happening with him. However, Tsafendas's alleged belief that he had a tapeworm is as much as a myth as Mamoru Samuragochi's deafness.¹⁵²⁹

The police and the Commission questioned about two hundred people about Tsafendas and not a single one was aware of the tapeworm. Of the seventy-five witnesses who knew Tsafendas who were interviewed by the author, only four ever heard him talking about the tapeworm, and they were all members of his defence team (Bloomberg, Burger, Dr. Sakinofsky and van Zyl). The other seventy-one not only never heard him mention it; they were absolutely convinced that he had made it up in order to escape the death penalty. Tsafendas did speak of the tapeworm to Fathers Minas Constandinou, Spiros Randos and

¹⁵²⁹ Mamoru Samuragochi is a Japanese composer who claimed for many years that, like the German master, Beethoven, he was totally deaf. This extraordinary claim resulted in his being nicknamed “The Beethoven of the Dital Age.” Later, however, it was discovered that Samuragochi was a liar and could hear perfectly well.

Ioannis Tsafaridis, but made clear that it was simply a ploy to stop the torture and avoid an undignified death while in custody. He told the priests the whole truth about the tapeworm and its origins in America with Tom Tuff. Fathers Minas and Ioannis would later confirm that Tsafendas was telling the truth about the tapeworm and Tom Tuff when they met Patrick O’Ryan, the only man to whom Tsafendas had confided the whole truth about the tapeworm and how he had used it before the assassination.¹⁵³⁰ The meeting between the two priests and O’Ryan and how it came about is discussed later in this chapter in O’Ryan’s testimony.

Dr. Cooper understood Tsafendas to say that the tapeworm was responsible for the killing of Dr. Verwoerd, although it did not actually tell him to do so. However, if the tapeworm was primarily responsible, it is strange that Tsafendas failed to say so in his two statements to the police. Instead, he declared openly that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he was “disgusted with his policies” and hoped that a “change of policy would take place” after the killing. He never mentioned a tapeworm at all.¹⁵³¹

According to Dr. Cooper, Tsafendas said he had the tapeworm since 1935 or 1936. At that time and until 1941, excepting for some short absences, Tsafendas lived with his father and step-mother and his step-siblings. The Commission of Enquiry and the police questioned all family members, including his step-mother Marika, two of his three half-sisters, his half-brother, his two brothers-in-law and his sister-in-law. They all told the Commission that Tsafendas “never mentioned a tapeworm” and that he “was definitely not insane.”¹⁵³² Charles Nissiotis, Tsafendas’s brother-in-law, also testified that “As far as I could established he never mentioned the tapeworm story to any of the family.”¹⁵³³

Two more defence witnesses, Dr. Muller, a specialist physician, and Mr. van Zyl, a clinical psychologist, would testify that they were told by Tsafendas that he had the tapeworm since 1935. This is in line with Dr. Cooper saying Tsafendas told him he had the tapeworm since 1935 or 1936. However, the doctors at Ochsensoll Hospital in Hamburg said he gave the date 1937. If the tapeworm was so important in his life, one would expect him to know exactly when it first arrived. More importantly, defence witness Louisa O’Ryan would

¹⁵³⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁵³¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁵³² COE report regarding visit to family members of Demetrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

¹⁵³³ Charles Nissiotis statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demetrio Tsafendas, NASA.

testify that Tsafendas told her he had the tapeworm since he was a “little boy.”¹⁵³⁴ In 1935/1936, Tsafendas was seventeen and eighteen and not a “little boy.” The difference in dates clearly indicated that Tsafendas was making up the story as he went along but the errors were not picked up by anyone during the summary trial.

More importantly, Louisa O’Ryan would testify that Tsafendas’s step-mother, Marika, was aware of the tapeworm, indeed partly responsible for its existence, having removed and destroyed only a portion of it while the remainder stayed inside him.¹⁵³⁵ However, Marika denied in her testimony to the Commission that such an incident ever took place and even stated that Tsafendas had never mentioned a tapeworm. She, as well as Tsafendas’s entire family, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas never said anything about a tapeworm and that “he was definitely not insane.”¹⁵³⁶ All were convinced that he had made it up to escape the death penalty.¹⁵³⁷

Between 1935/1936 and 1939, Tsafendas was very close to George Grispos, Helen Kavadias-Grispos, Andreas Babiolakis and Ira Kyriakakis, none of whom ever heard him speak of the tapeworm and none of them ever doubted his sanity. They were all certain that he pretended to be mad in order to not be hanged.¹⁵³⁸ Tsafendas was always very close to his first cousin, Mary Eintracht, who was also at the time in Lourenço Marques, and he said nothing to her. She never doubted his sanity and firmly believed that he invented the tapeworm to escape the gallows.¹⁵³⁹ If this tapeworm was so important in Tsafendas’s life, and since he spoke so freely about it after the assassination, would he not have mentioned something to someone throughout his life?

In addition, while in South Africa in the three years before his arrest, Tsafendas was medically examined by ten doctors, none of whom discovered anything mentally wrong with him. Needless to say, Tsafendas did not mention the tapeworm to any of them, since he wished to be passed physically and mentally sound.

¹⁵³⁴ Louisa O’ Ryan’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁵³⁵ Louisa O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁵³⁶ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

¹⁵³⁷ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁵³⁸ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

¹⁵³⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

- On November 11, 1963, Tsafendas was examined by Dr. C. Been for a permanent residence application for South Africa and was found “not to be mentally or physically defective in any way,” and “generally in a good state of health.”¹⁵⁴⁰ Dr. Been would later examine Tsafendas again “for burns on his body whilst employed at Pooles.” Nothing about his mental state was noted.¹⁵⁴¹
- On November 14, 1963, Tsafendas was examined, also for purposes of residence, by Dr. A.C. McDonald, who also wrote “a favourable report.” Subsequently, a certificate for permanent residence was issued to him.¹⁵⁴²
- On March 15, 1965, Tsafendas was examined by a South African Railways’ medical examiner whose name is indecipherable in his report. He was found to be perfectly healthy, without any issues and therefore capable of working at the company.¹⁵⁴³
- On September 25, 1965, he was examined by Dr. G.C. Baker and nothing was reported about his mental state.¹⁵⁴⁴
- On November 19, 1965, Tsafendas was medically examined to insure that he was able to work for City Tramways in Cape Town. He was found fit to work and duly hired.¹⁵⁴⁵
- On January 13, 1966, Tsafendas applied for work at the Marine Diamond Corporation and underwent a medical check-up that same day. The doctor who examined him found Tsafendas to be perfectly healthy and capable of working for the company.¹⁵⁴⁶
- On February 25, 1966, Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by I. Eisenberg, a registrar on the Ear, Nose & Throat Department, who did not observe anything mentally wrong with him.¹⁵⁴⁷

¹⁵⁴⁰ Demitrio Tsafendas medical certificate issued by Dr. Been for the Aliens Act, 1937. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

¹⁵⁴¹ Dr. Been statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁵⁴² Memorandum re application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

¹⁵⁴³ South African Railways Confidential Medical Examination Certificate of Demitrio Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 7, File: S 83708, Tsafendas: D. NASA.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Dr. G.C. Baker Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. No date. K150, Vol. 6, File: 4, NASA.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Donald Neville Mackay statement to the COE, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Demitrio Tsafendas’s Marine Diamond Corporation Application for Employment, 13 January 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 3. NASA.

¹⁵⁴⁷ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

- On April 18, 19 and May 3, 1966 Tsafendas was examined by Dr. Leon Goldman, a consultant ear, nose and throat surgeon. He did not observe anything mentally wrong with him and discharged him as “fit” on May 17, 1966.¹⁵⁴⁸
- From April 19, 1966 to May 15, 1966, Tsafendas was under the medical supervision of Dr. Leon Solomon at Groote Schuur Hospital, suffering from “a deviated nasal septum and epistaxis,” and underwent surgery on his nose. Dr. Solomon during this period did not report any mental disability and found Tsafendas to be fit to return to his work at Marine Diamond Corporation. Dr. Solomon examined him again on June 7, 1966, and again did not notice anything mentally wrong with him.¹⁵⁴⁹
- Finally, Dr. T.A. Darby examined Tsafendas on the evening of the assassination but did not report anything to be wrong about his mental state.¹⁵⁵⁰

Nor once during all these examinations did Tsafendas mention the tapeworm and not even once did any physician spot anything strange about Tsafendas’s behaviour. What is notable is that when he was in custody, Tsafendas seemed to tell everyone he came across about the tapeworm, especially doctors who examined him, but before that, he never told anyone. The police were in possession of the medical reports written by all ten doctors, but none was used in court since presumably they were not given to the Attorney-General. It should be mentioned here that Tsafendas was also examined, in July 1966, by Dr. Ralph Kossew, Cape Town’s district surgeon, and was found to be a schizophrenic after an examination that lasted “a little bit longer” than ten minutes. However, this was after Tsafendas had applied for a disability grant and had to be found to be unable to do any work in order to qualify for it. This case will be discussed extensively later in this chapter, as Dr. Kossew was one of the defence’s witnesses.

Dr. Cooper also testified that he “is quite likely to refer to his tapeworm in his everyday life but not every time he is confronted by anybody, not constantly in conversation.” However, Tsafendas never mentioned the tapeworm to anyone, not to his family or his friends and not even to one of the about 250 people who were interviewed by the police and the Commission at the time and the author later (apart from the three priests

¹⁵⁴⁸ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Dr. Leon Solomon’s medical report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA; Medical certificate issued by Dr. Solomon for the Employment Insurance Act, 1946. 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Dr. T.A. Darby. Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. G.S.H. NO. 65/014-181, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

who testified to the author who learned about it thirty years after the assassination).

The Attorney-General must have been aware at the time that out of the scores of witnesses questioned by the police, no one mentioned the tapeworm. Having also listened to Dr. Cooper's statement above and his vivid description of Tsafendas talking about the tapeworm, should van den Bergh not have asked the doctor how nobody had ever heard of it until now? Tsafendas also did not mention the tapeworm to the police – another puzzle. We will examine some of these witnesses' statements in the section about Tsafendas "being unable to function on a reasonable level."

During the late-1970s, Father Minas Constandinou was assigned by the Greek Orthodox Church of South Africa to visit all the Greek Orthodox inmates in prisons in Gauteng. Thus, Father Minas had the chance to visit Tsafendas in Pretoria Central Prison. He was the first visitor Tsafendas had had since the one-off visit by David Bloomberg in 1976. Tsafendas immediately recognised the priest, whom he had not seen since 1965. Because of his profession, Father Minas was allowed to speak to Tsafendas in Greek and without any of the warders listening. Father Minas considered Tsafendas at that time to be a "highly intelligent person with very deep political convictions," and was sure that he had invented the tapeworm in order not to be executed. But to his surprise, when he asked his old friend about the assassination, Tsafendas pointed to his stomach and said "It was the tapeworm, my Father, the tapeworm." Father Minas understood that Tsafendas was not keen on discussing the issue and dropped the subject.¹⁵⁵¹

During his subsequent visits, Tsafendas spoke perfectly normally to him, as he always had done, and never mentioned the tapeworm again. Their conversations in the beginning were about each man's life up till then and memories of the old days in Mozambique. One day Tsafendas saw Father Minas talking to one of the warders. He then asked the priest whether the warders were asking him to reveal what they were discussing. Father Minas replied seriously, "yes." Tsafendas nodded and did not say a word. Father Minas then informed him that he had been telling the warders that he was mad and that he talked constantly about the tapeworm. Some days, he added, he would tell the warders that Tsafendas had said that the tapeworm "was hungry today", or that "it did not let him sleep last night." Tsafendas gave him a restrained smile and Father Minas smiled back, also in a

¹⁵⁵¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

restrained way.¹⁵⁵²

Subsequently, Tsafendas started asking him about politics and current affairs as he had no access to newspapers, magazines or the radio. Thus, Father Minas would always read the day's newspaper before his visit to keep himself up to date. Father Minas kept on visiting Tsafendas for a couple of years. He only asked him once more about the assassination and Tsafendas again pointed to his stomach. It was second and last time Tsafendas spoke to him about the tapeworm.¹⁵⁵³

Sometime in 1994, and after apartheid had collapsed, when Tsafendas was in the Pretoria Prison Hospital, he was visited again by Father Minas, who had not seen him since the late 1980s. The priest asked him, "How is the tapeworm Dimitri?" Tsafendas replied (smiling like he knew nothing about it), "What tapeworm my Father?" Father Minas, pretending to be taken aback, asked, "the tapeworm Dimitri, the tapeworm?" and pointed to Tsafendas's stomach, just like Tsafendas had done a few years previously in Pretoria Central Prison. Tsafendas smiled and replied, "I don't believe I have a tapeworm, my Father." He then pointed to the warders and said "They think I have one." A little later he told Father Minas smiling, "If I believed I had a tapeworm, I would have gone to a gastroenterologist, not to a psychiatrist."¹⁵⁵⁴

Tsafendas, a completely different person now from the one Father Minas had seen in the high-security prison – relaxed and witty just like the old days in Mozambique – explained how the tapeworm story had come into being, from Tom Tuff in the 1940s, and how he had taken possession of the story and used it up to his arrest in 1966.¹⁵⁵⁵ Tsafendas also repeated this account of the tapeworm's genesis a little later to Father Spiros Randos and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis.¹⁵⁵⁶ Apart from these three priests who were aware of Tsafendas's play-acting with the tapeworm, none of the other witnesses the author interviewed knew anything about such a ruse.

An important witness is Tsafendas's first cousin, Mary Eintracht, who was born in Egypt in 1923. She knew Tsafendas in Egypt in early childhood and they grew up together in Mozambique. As an adult, Eintracht maintained a friendly relationship with her cousin, who often confided to her. However, he never mentioned a tapeworm or anything else that might

¹⁵⁵² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁵⁵³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

suggest he was schizophrenic. Eintracht dismissed out of hand the notion that Tsafendas ever spoke the way his speech was presented by his defence lawyers and Dr. Cooper. She believed he was perfectly sane and made up the tapeworm story so as not to be executed. “I knew him all my life; we grew up together and I think he confided to me everything that ever happened in his life. He trusted me. I was with him every day until 1939, when he went to South Africa. He was like a real brother to me. I don’t believe for a moment he really believed he had a tapeworm and that he said these things to these people and meant them. No way!”¹⁵⁵⁷

As soon as Eintracht heard about the tapeworm, she knew Tsafendas had made it up to save himself. “If there was such thing, I would have probably been the first person Dimitri would tell. He told me everything. If he wanted advice about how to approach or what to say to a girl, he was coming to me. I never believed, and no one will ever convince me, that Dimitri really believed it or really meant these things he told these people.” She was referring to the statements he made to Dr. Cooper.¹⁵⁵⁸

Another important witness is Fotini Gavasiadis, sister of Nick Vlachopoulos, Tsafendas’s brother-in-law. Tsafendas lived in Fotini’s and her husband’s house for a few weeks, then for the next eight months in an apartment next to hers. Throughout this period in Pretoria in 1963-1964, they were very close; she saw and talked to him every day and they worked together in her brother’s café. When the transcription of Tsafendas’s halting remarks to his defence team and the psychiatrists were read to her by the author, she laughed and said:

“There is absolutely no way Dimitri would have talked like that. This is a different man speaking. This is not only nonsense, which Dimitri would have never said, but he did not talk in that way. I don’t believe he said these things. It’s true, he ate a lot, but he never attributed [his appetite] to any tapeworm. He just liked food, he was a big man; it was natural to eat more than most people.”¹⁵⁵⁹

Gavasiadis never heard Tsafendas mention a tapeworm and she ate with him at least once every day for nine months. She is certain that he was pretending to avoid being hanged, and said, “He was certainly capable of putting on an act like this. He was very, very clever.” She said, “Dimitri could buy you and sell you any time he wanted, and as many times as he wanted to. He was so clever.” Furthermore, according to Gavasiadis, Tsafendas had a very distinctive way of talking and this was not it. She does not believe that Tsafendas could have

¹⁵⁵⁷ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

meant the things he told Dr. Cooper.¹⁵⁶⁰

Important testimony came also from Father Nikola Banovic. Father Nikola had Tsafendas living with him for four-five months in Istanbul in 1961, saw him there almost every day for another two-three months and kept in touch with him by letter until 1966. He was one of those who became very close to Tsafendas. Like Gavasiadis, Father Nikola laughed when I read Tsafendas's words to him and refused to believe it was Tsafendas talking. Tsafendas "was not talking like that and would never have spoken like that; these are the words of a madman, this is not Dimitri." He said that if he had been asked at the time to testify before a court, "I would have sworn that he was not insane; there is absolutely no way this man to have been insane. I lived with him in the same house for four months; there was never even the slightest indication that he might be even slightly unbalanced, never ... he was a good-hearted man with high principles."¹⁵⁶¹

Father Nikola believes that the words attributed to Tsafendas "could not possibly have come out of his mouth. The only reason he might have talked in that way would have been to convince the police he was insane." The priest said Tsafendas never said anything that might suggest he was insane. "I assure you he was not insane. I am positive he made it up in order not to be hanged." He too did not believe Tsafendas could have meant the things he told Dr. Cooper.¹⁵⁶²

Ira Kyriakakis grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques, having been born in 1927. She was always friendly with him and never heard him say anything about a tapeworm. She is certain he did not believe he had one and was making the story up. If he truly believed he had a tapeworm, he would have told her as they were extremely close. She also does not believe Tsafendas could have spoken in the way described by the defence or the psychiatrists. She told the author:

"Dimitri was a devil since he was child; he was extremely intelligent and capable. If he wanted something, he would find a way to do it. Nothing and no one could stop him. He was not mad, he was very clever. Dimitri was so clever and able that he could convince the devil to buy a Bible. You will never meet anyone who knew him well, apart from these psychiatrists and lawyers you told me about, that will tell you he was mad. He was not."

Kyriakakis does not believe that Tsafendas could have really believed he had a

¹⁵⁶⁰ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

¹⁵⁶¹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

¹⁵⁶² Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

tapeworm or to have meant the things he told Dr. Cooper.¹⁵⁶³

Helen Grispos was born in 1930, when Tsafendas was twelve, but she lived in the house next to the Tsafendas family in Lourenço Marques. George Grispos, who became her husband, was three years older than Tsafendas, but they were boyhood best friends in Lourenço Marques. Helen Grispos's mother was the best friend of Tsafendas's step-mother, Marika in Lourenço Marques. Neither Helen nor her husband or mother ever heard Tsafendas talk about a tapeworm and Helen does not believe he would have spoken as claimed. When she and her husband read newspaper trial reports about the tapeworm, they had no doubt Tsafendas was making it up. Because a lot of people knew that Helen's husband was very close to Tsafendas, they often asked about him. According to Helen, George maintained consistently that Tsafendas never spoke about the tapeworm and that he was making it up in order not to be hanged. As for herself, she refused to believe that Tsafendas could have meant the things he told Dr. Cooper. "He was definitely not insane. He never said or did anything to make me think that he was insane. George always maintained that he had pretended to be mad in order that they would not kill him. He had no doubt about that."¹⁵⁶⁴

Father Minas Constandinou knew Tsafendas for about thirty-five years. He met him first in 1963 in Lourenço Marques, he visited him in Pretoria Central Prison in the 1980s, and he continued seeing him in the prison's hospital and the Sterkfontein Hospital in the 1990s until Tsafendas died. We have just seen what he said about the tapeworm story based on what he was told by Tsafendas. Father Minas was another who laughed when he read what Tsafendas said to Dr. Cooper. He then told the author:

"Ha, ha, he told me what he did, but not in such detail. Fascinating! If he had not told me that he had deliberately played the fool, I wouldn't have believed that these were his words. Impossible! Even at the beginning, when I asked him why he did it and he pointed with his finger to his stomach, he did not say any of these things. He didn't talk like this even then and he never told me anything like this. His speech was absolutely perfect. Even when he told me about the tapeworm, I was not sure that he was mad because everything else he was saying and the way he spoke did not suggest that he was mad ... later, when he told me that everything about the tapeworm was a lie, it all made sense."

Father Minas does not believe that Tsafendas could have really meant the things he

¹⁵⁶³ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

told Dr. Cooper.¹⁵⁶⁵

Bishop Ioannis Tsafendaris met Tsafendas in 1994 in Pretoria Prison hospital and had three very lengthy conversations with him. Tsafendas confided to him the truth about the tapeworm. As for Tsafendas's form of speaking, the priest said he could easily tell that these words were not naturally spoken by Tsafendas. "He never spoke like this. He never said anything like this, not only about the tapeworm, but generally he never said anything that would make me think this man is not mentally well. He always talked logically. I am certain that he deliberately talked like this to his lawyers and to the doctors." Bishop Ioannis does not believe Tsafendas could have said what he supposedly said to Dr. Cooper.¹⁵⁶⁶

Artemis Michaletos was Tsafendas's aunt, who helped raise him in Egypt, then lived close to him in Mozambique. The author did not interview her but spoke to her sons, Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousins, and to John's wife, Irene Michaletos, all of whom knew Tsafendas. According to them, Artemis knew Dimitri better than anyone but his father. She was devastated when she heard Tsafendas had killed Dr. Verwoerd, fearing he would be tortured and hanged. When she heard about the tapeworm during the trial and that Tsafendas was declared insane, she was very happy. "I knew it," she cried. "I knew he would find a way not to be hanged." When asked by some of her friends if he had ever mentioned the tapeworm to her, she had responded, "No! Are you crazy? He is not crazy, he is making it up. He is exceptionally clever." Artemis had known Tsafendas since he was one year old and insisted throughout her entire life that he was perfectly sane and that if he believed he really had a tapeworm, he would have told her. He had no secrets from her. Several relatives asked her if Tsafendas ever mentioned the tapeworm and she always gave the same answer, no.¹⁵⁶⁷

John Michaletos also told the author:

"What a hell of an invention, isn't it [the tapeworm]! How he thought that up I don't know. It was Antony [his brother] who first told me [that Tsafendas had spoken to his defence team about a tapeworm] and I did not believe him. I thought John was making it up, I knew Dimitris would have never said that. He insisted, but I still did not believe him. I honestly thought he was joking. I only believed it later that day when he showed me the newspapers. I burst into laughs when I read it. I remember me reading aloud from the newspaper what he had allegedly told the doctors and everyone laughing about it [his brother,

¹⁵⁶⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Bishop Ioannis Tsafendaris in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 21 June 2016.

his sister-in-law and his parents]. My mother got a real kick out of it; she really enjoyed hearing it. In our house, after we read the first day [of court proceedings] we couldn't wait for the next one to see what else will be said, and again, we will sit around the table all together and I will read out loud. I remember there was also an old woman who lived next door to our house, she lived by herself, and she knew Dimitri since he was a little child. She could not read and she would ask me to read every single thing that the newspaper was writing about Dimitri. She even understood that he was making it up, but found it very amusing to hear all about it. I remember that when I was reading something that sounded very strange to her, especially about the tapeworm, she would ask me 'Dimitri said that?' and then she would cross herself in disbelief. He [Tsafendas] made it up to save his skin, no doubt about that. I knew it, I had no doubt about it; I did not even think about it for a second, it was impossible to believe such a thing, impossible."¹⁵⁶⁸

Katerina Pnema was Tsafendas's younger half-sister. To this day, she is extremely angry with Tsafendas, believing that he ruined her life. She strongly condemned his murder of Dr. Verwoerd. In 1994, efforts were made under the first democratically elected government in South Africa to grant Tsafendas amnesty. He was aged seventy-six at the time and unable to care for himself. Judge Jody Kollapen, and subsequently governmental officials, asked Tsafendas's family to take him into their home and care for him. They refused and Tsafendas spent the remaining years of his life in Sterkfontein Hospital.¹⁵⁶⁹

Despite her anger towards her half-brother, Pnema considers it "impossible" for Dimitri to have spoken as his defence team and Dr. Cooper described. She told the author:

"He would never have said anything like this ... what you read to me, it's nonsense; he never spoke like this and I don't believe he ever said those words ... I don't believe he even said it deliberately to play the fool. He was certainly capable of doing it [pretending to be mad], but to say all this nonsense? No, I don't believe it. Dimitri never spoke like this."

Pnema does not believe that Tsafendas could have really meant the things he told Dr. Cooper or that he really believed he had a tapeworm.¹⁵⁷⁰

Important testimony comes from Andreas Babioulakis, Nick Papadakis and Ira Kyriakakis. According to these three witnesses, Tsafendas, while in Beira, associated with Dr. Vasilis Tzitzafakos, a Greek general practitioner. The witnesses all discussed Tsafendas's

¹⁵⁶⁸ John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Judge Jody Kollapen in a personal interview, 16 April 2015.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

case with him at the time of the summary trial and the doctor had no doubt that Tsafendas was pretending to be mad in order to escape the gallows. According to these three witnesses, although Tsafendas was close to the doctor, he never told him anything about the tapeworm or Saint Peter and the doctor always maintained that Tsafendas was certainly not a schizophrenic.¹⁵⁷¹ If Tsafendas really believed he had a tapeworm, he would almost certainly have discussed it with this physician, whom he knew well and trusted. Likewise with the Saint Peter story. In addition, Dr Tzitzafakos had spent several months with Tsafendas, while Dr. Cooper had spent just six hours with him.

Further testimony to Tsafendas's cleverness came from his half-sister, Eleni Vlachopoulos, who was closer to Tsafendas than any of his siblings. Eleni Vlachopoulos was born in 1936 and thus spent only her first five years in the Tsafendas family, but Tsafendas maintained contact with her thereafter through letters and postcards and he spent nine months in 1964 as her neighbour in Pretoria.¹⁵⁷² Vlachopoulos testified to the police in 1966 that Tsafendas never spoke to her or to anyone in the family about a tapeworm. She said exactly the same thing in 2007 in Manolis Dimelas's documentary about Tsafendas, *Live and Let Live*, when she also claimed that her half-brother "was not crazy, he was very, very clever; cleverer than any of us and very able. If he wanted to do something, if he had a target, he would always achieve it. He never mentioned this tapeworm." Eleni Vlachopoulos always believed that her half-brother made up the tapeworm story to escape the gallows.¹⁵⁷³

The author has read Tsafendas's alleged words to forty-six people who knew him substantially well, and all declared he could not have spoken as claimed, or if he did, it was to mislead his interrogators. Further, they never heard him mention a tapeworm. Of this total, the author have not listed those who did not know Tsafendas well or were very young at the time – Tsafendas's nephews, for instance. The thirty-five who are named below all knew Tsafendas for more at least a few months and spent substantial time with him. None of them believes that Tsafendas could have meant what he told Dr. Cooper. Brief accounts of the interviews with them follow:

- Costas Chagios, a Cape Town restaurant owner, got to know Tsafendas on a friendly

¹⁵⁷¹ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; Irene and John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

¹⁵⁷² Eleni Vlachopoulos in *Live and Let Live*; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁵⁷³ Eleni Vlachopoulos in *Live and Let Live* - this part is available in the rushes.

basis in 1965 when he walked into his restaurant. In the year up to his arrest in 1966, Tsafendas visited the restaurant more than fifty times. Chagios does not believe “even for a moment” that Tsafendas said what is claimed by Dr. Cooper. “If he did, he was lying to save himself ... He was very intelligent and this was not the way he talked, he talked very nicely; excellent use of words.”¹⁵⁷⁴

- Irene Michaletos was very close to Tsafendas between 1964 and 1965. She never heard him saying anything about a tapeworm or anything else that might seem strange. She does not believe Tsafendas meant what he told Dr. Cooper. Tsafendas, she said, was “perfectly sane” and a “very, very clever man.”¹⁵⁷⁵
- Antony Michaletos, Tsafendas’s cousin and son of Artemis Michaletos, Tsafendas’s aunt and his father’s sister who brought him up in Egypt. He first met Tsafendas in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique. He told the author “I don’t believe that this is Dimitris speaking. Or at least the real Dimitris. He clearly pretends, he makes it up ...”¹⁵⁷⁶
- Alexander Moumbaris came to know Tsafendas in late 1972 in Pretoria Maximum Security Prison while awaiting trial on political charges. He was found guilty of “conspiring with the ANC to instigate violent revolution in South Africa, aiding terrorists, distributing ANC pamphlets in Durban in 1968, and reconnoitring the Transkei to find places for seaborne landings.”¹⁵⁷⁷ Moumbaris spoke to Tsafendas for at least one hour every day for about three months. Initially, Tsafendas was cautious and although very talkative, it was obvious to Moumbaris that he did not trust him. However, as time passed, Tsafendas began opening up. Moumbaris told the author that Tsafendas never mentioned a tapeworm to him or said anything to suggest he was insane; all the conversations they had were perfectly normal. One day, Tsafendas told him proudly in Greek about Verwoerd: “I got τον Ντσή τους” (“their tough guy” or “their champion,” but in a pejorative sense). Moumbaris found Tsafendas to be “a very intelligent, witty, serious and knowledgeable person.” Tsafendas even asked him to teach him Algebra, but the lesson was short-lived as the warders forbade it. Moumbaris told the author: “I not only regard Dimitri Tsafendas as a sane man but also as the bravest and most ill-treated man I

¹⁵⁷⁴ Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

have ever met.”¹⁵⁷⁸

- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott’s boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest. He never heard Tsafendas say anything “ridiculous” such as his supposed gibberish to Dr. Cooper and has no doubt he was perfectly sane. “I remember how he talked and I cannot see these words coming from his mouth. He did not talk like that. He never said anything about the tapeworm.”¹⁵⁷⁹
- Allan O’Ryan lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and became very close; they kept in close touch for another year. He told the author that he “never heard him [Tsafendas] talking like this”, and added: “I think Tsafendas had... in his mind, he was trying to confuse these people and the give impression that he was crazy. In order to protect himself. And then they felt for it.”¹⁵⁸⁰
- Reuben O’Ryan lived with Tsafendas in the same house for five months and kept in touch with him for another year. He never heard Tsafendas talking like this and finds it “hard to believe” that this really happened; he “cannot picture him talking this way”. He and his family considered Tsafendas to be “perfectly normal,” saying, “no-one in my family ever thought that he was mad. He couldn’t have been insane.”¹⁵⁸¹
- Stanley O’Ryan lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept being in touch for another year. He described Tsafendas as a “very down to earth man, a very quiet man and very friendly. I never suspected, even in the slightest, that he might be unstable. No, never, nothing at all. Perfectly normal.” He also finds it hard to believe that Tsafendas spoke in this fashion.¹⁵⁸²
- Allan O’Ryan also lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept being in touch for another year. He told the author that no one in the house ever questioned Tsafendas’s sanity, “Never. There was no such thing as, ‘This person is mad,’ you know, or something like that. That never came through.” As for the tapeworm, he said, “there was no doubt. There was no doubt that the story about the earthworm and all the other things that went with it – the incoherent speeches that... well, everything that the psychiatrists brought up, I interpreted that as a way of protecting him from the death

¹⁵⁷⁸ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

¹⁵⁸¹ Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

¹⁵⁸² Stanley O’Ryan in a personal intervbiow with the author, 9 April 2015.

sentence.”¹⁵⁸³

- Peter Protoulis was a supplier of foodstuffs to the tanker *Eleni* and met Tsafendas on board the ship. In the forty-two days that the vessel was docked in Cape Town, he never heard him say anything to suggest he was less than sane.¹⁵⁸⁴
- Alexandra Vaporidis knew Tsafendas for about six-seven months in Istanbul. She doesn't remember everything they discussed, but she is certain he was a “completely normal man ... he never mentioned this tapeworm or anything else that sounded insane. He was always well-dressed and very courteous.” Her husband, Father Agathagos Vaporidis, was friendly with Tsafendas during his stay in Istanbul and Alexandra says he would have told her if he had noticed anything wrong with him.¹⁵⁸⁵
- Andreas Babiolakis knew Tsafendas since they were children in Lourenço Marques. Although they embraced opposing political ideologies, Babiolakis is certain that Tsafendas invented the tapeworm. He does not recognise the words quoted by Dr. Cooper and by the other psychiatrists who examined him and is convinced he made them up, too. Babiolakis heard in Beira in 1964/1965 that Tsafendas had claimed to be Saint Peter while he was in police custody. When he later asked Tsafendas about it, Tsafendas just said that he had a nervous breakdown, but he was now ok. Babiolakis believed then that Tsafendas made up the Saint Peter act and later did the same for the tapeworm. “I never heard Dimitri talking like this, this is someone else talking. He couldn't have said these things unless he did it deliberately, which is what I think he did.”¹⁵⁸⁶
- Nick Papadakis, who knew Tsafendas for two-three months and lived with him for two months in Gondola and Beira in 1964. He too had heard that Tsafendas claimed to be Saint Peter while he was in Portuguese custody. He and several other Greeks discussed the issue and concluded that Tsafendas had made it up since they were with him every single day up to his arrest and never heard him say anything strange. Papadakis does not recognise Tsafendas's words when examined by Dr. Cooper and the rest of his defence team and he is positive he was acting.¹⁵⁸⁷
- Panagiotis Peroglou was another who met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965 and kept up with him until his arrest. They were often eating together at Mary Scott's boarding house.

¹⁵⁸³ Allan O' Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 28 May 2016.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

He never heard Tsafendas say anything crazy and has no doubt that he was quite sane.¹⁵⁸⁸

- Pamela Abrahams met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965 also at Mary Scott's boarding house which she visited with her husband Panagiotis Peroglou. He made a very good impression on her due to his politeness and good manners and she never heard him say anything to indicate he might be insane.¹⁵⁸⁹
- Stratis Vamvarapis knew Tsafendas in 1965 as a resident of Mary Scott's boarding house. He never heard Tsafendas saying anything like the remarks attributed to him by Dr. Cooper and his defence team or anything else to suggest he was insane.¹⁵⁹⁰
- Costas Poriазis met Tsafendas in Beira in 1965. He is certain that Tsafendas was not insane and never heard him say anything absurd. He considered Tsafendas to be "a very smart man" and "the most politicized person" he ever met.¹⁵⁹¹
- Miltiades Kaldis met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965 and kept in touch until his arrest. He never heard Tsafendas say anything close to what he told his defence.¹⁵⁹²
- Antonis Nichas, a supplier to the *Eleni*, met Tsafendas in 1966. He never heard him say anything to suggest he was insane or anything similar to what he told the police.¹⁵⁹³
- George Liberopoulos met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963 and associated for a few weeks with him. He described him in his statement to the police as "a normal person with a very high-intelligence." He does not believe that Tsafendas was insane and always maintained that he must have been making g up the tapeworm story.¹⁵⁹⁴
- Nick Augustides is the son of the owner of Mike's Outfitters in Cape Town for whom Tsafendas worked on commission for about two months in 1966. He knew Tsafendas for three-four months and never heard him say anything to suggest he was insane. He told the author that Tsafendas "definitely did not look or sound insane."¹⁵⁹⁵
- Marina Tsihlikis. She met Tsafendas in Beira in 1964. Her father was good friend of

¹⁵⁸⁸ Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Pamela Abrahams in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Stratis Vamvarapis in a personal interview, 31 May 2016.

¹⁵⁹¹ Costas Poriазis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

¹⁵⁹² Miltiades Kaldis in a personal interview, 12 March 2016.

¹⁵⁹³ Antonis Nichas in a personal interview, 31 March 2016.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Col. van Wyk's report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Nick Augustides in a personal interview, 19 February 2016.

Tsafendas. She never heard him speak in the way his defence statement conveyed.¹⁵⁹⁶

- Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis met Tsafendas in Germany at different times in the 1950s and never heard him say anything that would indicate that he might not be sane. He also visited him in the Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital. Although Tsafendas was admitted supposedly because of the tapeworm, he did not tell Father Efthimios anything about it. The priest does not remember what Tsafendas told him was the reason for his hospitalization, but he is certain that he did not mention the tapeworm.¹⁵⁹⁷
- Dimitris Skoularikis met Tsafendas in prison in the early 1990s. He once asked Tsafendas, “How is the tapeworm, Dimitri?” Tsafendas replied “I don’t have one; they [the prison guards] think I have one.”¹⁵⁹⁸

All the above witnesses are willing to swear under oath in any court that Tsafendas did not talk in the manner attributed to him and that he would never have said any of the things attributed to him unless he was pretending to be mad. The following are testimonies from the crew of the *Eleni*, the tanker that was docked in Cape Town from July 26, 1966 to September 3. Their evidence is important since these men saw Tsafendas every day for forty-two days until three days before the assassination:

- Cleanthes Alachiotis developed a warm relationship with Tsafendas. Tsafendas told him about “pretending to be mad” in order not to serve in the Portuguese army and Alachiotis believes that his reported speech in custody was another such act since he considered it “absolutely impossible” that Tsafendas spoke as claimed. “He was either joking or he had a specific reason to do it. Obviously, it was the second, since he wanted to save his head. If the police had asked me to testify in court, I would have sworn that he was making it up. He was nothing like this, but I am not surprised he did it since he had done it before.”¹⁵⁹⁹
- Nikolas Billis is not surprised by Tsafendas’s words to his defence as he has no doubt that he made up the tapeworm story so as not to be hanged. Tsafendas had told him how he pretended to be mad to avoid service in the Portuguese Army. “No doubt he did it again. If you met him, you could tell that this man’s brain was a level above the rest. He could easily manipulate you and convince you of anything. I am not at all surprised that he told

¹⁵⁹⁶ Marina Tsihlakis in a personal interview, 3 April 2015.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Dimitris Skoularikis in a personal interview, 26 April 2015.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010

this to the police. He definitely made it up. He did not talk like this. He talked very well, like a teacher.”¹⁶⁰⁰

- Nikolas Kambouris became close with Tsafendas. He told the author:

“I would bet my house that Dimitri did not say these things ... well, if he did, he must have had a reason and he did not really mean them. I am positive about it. These are the words of a madman and Dimitri was an intelligent and cultured man ... he must have been pretending with them as he did with the Portuguese. He was saner than a lot of people I knew ... I don't believe that he told these people these things. He was a serious man; he was not talking like this. I was with him for forty-two days and he never said anything stupid like these things.”

Kambouris states that Tsafendas “did not talk rubbish; he was an idealist; a man with high principles.”¹⁶⁰¹

- Michalis Vasilakis became closer to Tsafendas than any of the crew. This was his reaction when I read to him what Tsafendas told his defence:

“A tapeworm? Did Dimitri say that? Are you sure? He couldn't have said that. A tapeworm? It's unbelievable. Dimitri was a very clever man; he was not talking nonsense. He knew as much as all of us knew and he was talking better than a professor. I was the one who first called him ‘Professor.’ I have no doubt that if he really said these things to the police he must have done it to save himself. He couldn't possibly have believed them and I am telling you he did not believe them. He would have told me if there was such thing. He told me a lot about his life and I can tell you this man was one of the smartest people I have ever met. You could see some rare dignity and pride in him. You could see from the way he was talking about politics and the world how politically passionate he was. You don't meet men like that every day. I don't think that anyone who met him would tell you that he was crazy. This is complete nonsense.”¹⁶⁰²

- Georgios Kantas, like Billis and Alachiotis, he is not surprised that Tsafendas spoke about a tapeworm, although he never mentioned any such thing to him. However, Tsafendas told him about his act with the Portuguese in order to not serve in the Portuguese army and Kantas firmly believes that this was just another mad act.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011.

¹⁶⁰¹ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014.

¹⁶⁰² Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

“He never spoke in this way and I can’t imagine him talking like this, though I believe he did it as he was capable of doing it. You could tell that this man was very able. He did not talk this way. I can’t explain it, but I remember that he had a very specific way of talking, using not very common, but absolutely correct words. He was talking like a professor. That is what we used to say and what he called him.”¹⁶⁰³

- Grigoris Pouftis agrees with his crewmates that Tsafendas was putting on another “mad” act, as he did with the Portuguese.

“He was certainly not crazy. He was a little peculiar because of the way he was talking. I mean he was sometimes over polite and it seemed to me that his personality did not fit with his job. We met hawkers all around the world and none was ever like him ... I would describe him as an aristocratic hawker, if such a thing exists! I couldn’t believe that a man with his manners and knowledge could be doing this job. That was the only peculiar thing about him.”¹⁶⁰⁴

- Emanuil Mastromanolis, the *Eleni* boatswain who was involved in procuring a firearm for Tsafendas, spent a lot of time with Tsafendas and never heard him speak in the way he did to Dr. Cooper and to his defence team. Mastromanolis does not believe that Tsafendas could have said such things. “He did not talk like that; definitely not,” he states.¹⁶⁰⁵
- Emanuel Tsabouniaris also spent a lot of time with Tsafendas. He considered Tsafendas to be “a gentleman and a very sophisticated man.” Like Pouftis, he found it strange that Tsafendas, “such an educated and well-mannered man, could do such job (hawker).” However, this was the only thing he found strange about him. He believes Tsafendas could not possibly talk as he did and mean what he said unless he did it deliberately to get something out of it.¹⁶⁰⁶
- Ioannis Speis stated that Tsafendas never said anything to him that bears the slightest resemblance to what he told his defence.¹⁶⁰⁷
- Vasilios Perselis spent a lot of time with Tsafendas and stated that he never heard him say anything like his statement and has no doubt that he did so to escape hanging. “He spoke very nicely; not nonsense like that. He knew how to speak and everything he said made

¹⁶⁰³ Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 19 January 2016.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015.

sense. He was not crazy.”¹⁶⁰⁸

- Dionisis Lallis did not associate with Tsafendas as much as some of the other crew members, but he spoke to him a few times and never got the slightest impression of insanity.¹⁶⁰⁹
- Panteleimon Aspiotis, *Eleni* seaman. A good friend of Tsafendas, also never thought that he could be insane and could not imagine him saying the nonsense he told Dr. Cooper and his defence.¹⁶¹⁰

The author also included here three witnesses who did not meet Tsafendas personally but were close to people who did. The author considers their statements, though second hand, to be entirely reliable.

- Advocate George Bizos’s mother-in-law was the best friend of Tsafendas’s step-mother and knew Tsafendas very well from childhood. She told Bizos that he was perfectly sane.¹⁶¹¹
- Dr. Costas Gazidis’s first cousin Rika Nikolatos was a social worker and visited Tsafendas in prison and then in Sterkfontein Hospital. In total, she spent some ten years meeting Tsafendas and they were extremely close. She told Dr. Gazidis, “He is completely sane, there is nothing wrong with him.” Tsafendas never said anything to her to suggest he might be insane and she always maintained that he was “completely sane.” Dr. Gazidis is willing to sign an affidavit and swear under oath that this is exactly what he was told by Nikolatos.¹⁶¹² Nikolatos’s statement is also confirmed by Father Minas Constandinou and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis. She had discussed his case extensively with them both, and she and Father Minas had often visited Tsafendas together.¹⁶¹³
- Janet Gazidis, Costas’ wife is also willing to sign an affidavit and swear under oath that this is exactly what Nikolatos, too, was told.¹⁶¹⁴

Finally, valuable testimony comes in the form of Tsafendas’s medical report from Grafton State Hospital, which states that while in the United States in 1943 “he faked mental

¹⁶⁰⁸ Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Dionisios Lallis in a personal interview, 19 June 2015.

¹⁶¹⁰ Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015.

¹⁶¹¹ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

¹⁶¹² Dr. Costa Gazidis in a personal interview, 10 April 2015.

¹⁶¹³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁶¹⁴ Janet Gazidis in a personal interview, 10 April 2015.

illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings (sinkings) of ships.”¹⁶¹⁵ Since he play-acted back in 1943 and then did the same several times with the Portuguese police, was it not an easy and natural tactic to use with the South African police in 1966?

Would it have been possible for Tsafendas to believe he had a tapeworm but that he hid it, never telling anyone about it? That, according to Professors Alban Burke, Kirk Heilbrun and Tuviah Zabow, would be almost impossible, or at least “exceedingly unlikely.”¹⁶¹⁶ Professor Heilbrun told the author that it is “exceedingly unlikely that an individual would have a delusion about a controlling tapeworm for thirty years and nobody around him ever heard or noticed anything to that effect.”¹⁶¹⁷

Professor Alban Burke told the author:

“What you need to remember about schizophrenic people is that the world they live in is a real world for them; they have no realisation that the world they are living in is not a real world, so what would be your motive for hiding that away? I mean, if I see an elephant walking in the room, I would truly believe I see it ... why would I pretend that there is not an elephant in the room? I would say to you, ‘What is that elephant doing here?’ and I would be surprised if you don’t see it, because, remember, the image that I have in my brain is a real one. You would often see with schizophrenic patients that they would touch a lot, to make sure that what they’re seeing truly exists....

So you would see very clearly in their behaviour that there is something strange going on; they would talk to themselves, but not ... all people talk to themselves... but what you would see, if there is a voice in your head, I would be speaking, ‘Go away, stop talking, can you shut up?’ So you would see in the person’s behaviour that they are responding to conversations; you would pick that up. It is not the same as just, merely, talking to yourself whilst you were doing something, it’s totally different, and my question would be, Why would you hide it away? Especially in a case like Tsafendas, where he himself goes to hospitals.”¹⁶¹⁸

It is a fact that Tsafendas spoke about the tapeworm before his arrest to some doctors

¹⁶¹⁵ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁶¹⁶ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016; Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 10 October 2016.

¹⁶¹⁷ Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 16 January 2017.

¹⁶¹⁸ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

in various hospitals, but not to friends and companions. Therefore, one can argue that Tsafendas only mentioned the tapeworm to doctors and not to the people around him, that's why nobody knew about it. However, in this case, why did he also mention it to his defence lawyers before he was examined by the psychiatrists they appointed? If he was happy to tell them, since they were not doctors, should he have not told other people too? The fact that Tsafendas mentioned the tapeworm to them suggests that he was happy to talk about it.

After the trial and while he was imprisoned, Tsafendas talked to the prison warders and to David Bloomberg, who visited him twice, about the tapeworm.¹⁶¹⁹ This again suggests that he was willing to talk about it, so to say he only talked to doctors about it is inaccurate. It is noteworthy that he only spoke of it to doctors when he admitted himself to a hospital; he never mentioned the tapeworm to those doctors who examined him for his various job applications or his application for a permanent residency permit in South Africa.

As for how the tapeworm came to feature in the case, please consult the previous chapter.

THE TAPEWORM'S RESPONSIBILITY IN THE KILLING OF DR. VERWOERD

The other important issue with Dr. Cooper's testimony is that he claims the tapeworm was responsible for the killing of Dr. Verwoerd, although he admits Tsafendas told him that the tapeworm did not ask him to do it. Tsafendas told the police on September 11, "I did believe that with the disappearance of the South African Prime Minister a change of policy would take place. I did set myself the task of destroying the Prime Minister. It was my own idea to kill him."¹⁶²⁰

In his second statement on September 19, Tsafendas said, "I did not do it at the instigation of anyone. I did it on my own because I thought it was the right thing."¹⁶²¹ On neither occasion does Tsafendas say anything about the tapeworm; indeed he states clearly that it was his own idea to kill Dr. Verwoerd because he believed a change of policy would take place. Again, we not in position to know whether the Attorney-General had access to these statements or if he ignored them, but certainly their existence could at least have challenged Dr. Cooper's testimony about the tapeworm's role in the killing.

¹⁶¹⁹ *The Cape Argus*, 'Tsafendas - Is No Broken Man-Bloomberg', 2 October 1976: 1.

¹⁶²⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶²¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Tsafendas informed Dr. Cooper about all the hospitals he had been to, as he did with the police. Also while in custody he spoke freely about the tapeworm and his hospitalizations to two other doctors, Dr. Muller, a specialist physician, and Dr. Kossew, Cape Town's district surgeon, both experts for the defence. However, between 1964 and 1966, while in South Africa, Tsafendas was examined by six physicians and did not say anything to them about either subject. These six doctors were not psychiatrists but examined Tsafendas because of his application for permanent residency in South Africa and for several job applications. Wanting a positive response, Tsafendas told the doctors and wrote on his application forms that he was in perfect health. He was passed fit in each case. If something was wrong with him, probably one or more of the six doctors would have spotted it, the same way Dr. Kossew and Dr. Muller did, who were also not psychiatrists.

Sometime in 1994, when Tsafendas was in Pretoria Prison hospital and apartheid had collapsed, he confessed to Father Minas Constandinou and Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis that the tapeworm was an invention. He explained how the story originated with the young seaman, Tom Tuff.¹⁶²² He said he decided to use it when he was in custody after the assassination because he "couldn't take the pain [of torture] anymore" and he also feared that he would be murdered in his cell by the police, who would then claim that he was insane and committed suicide.¹⁶²³ Nevertheless, Tsafendas asked Fathers Ioannis Tsaftaridis and Minas Constandinou to tell the staff in Pretoria Prison hospital that he still believed he had a tapeworm and he was definitely insane, so they would "leave him alone." When the priests or Rika Nikolatos brought food for Tsafendas, they always brought extra rations at his request; he wanted to share the food with other patients who had no visitors. However, Nikolatos and the priests, at Tsafendas's request, they would tell the staff that he had asked for the extra to feed the tapeworm.¹⁶²⁴

For additional information regarding the tapeworm and how it was used in court, see Patrick O'Ryan's important testimony and its analysis later in this chapter.

ABOUT TSAFENDAS SIMULATING

¹⁶²² For the incident see Tsafendas's biography, Chapter 2.

¹⁶²³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁶²⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

Dr. Cooper seems not to know that that Tsafendas had simulated mental illness in the past and that the Grafton State Hospital report said clearly that Tsafendas had “faked mental illness” in 1943.¹⁶²⁵ He also seems to be unaware that he pretended to be mentally ill to avoid service in the Portuguese Army in 1950.¹⁶²⁶ Or that he had faked an attack of appendicitis in 1952 when he was not allowed to disembark from the ship that had taken him to Lourenço Marques from Portugal because of his “Communist tendencies.”¹⁶²⁷ This last incident clearly demonstrates Tsafendas’s tendency to fake illness to get out of trouble. Aware that pretending to be mad would not get him off the ship in Lourenço Marques, he changed tack and staged the appendicitis act, confident that he would then be taken ashore. Of course, he escaped as soon as he entered the hospital where he was taken, proof that it was all an act. All of these deceptions were known to the South African police, but none was brought up during Dr. Cooper’s testimony or indeed throughout the summary trial.

It is possible, though unlikely, that the State was unaware of the simulations. After all, the Grafton State Hospital report was in the possession of the South African Police and the Commission of Enquiry, and it would seem natural for the State to be given this report, too. Certainly, the State was well aware of a time in the past when Tsafendas had “simulated abnormality,” as the Assistant of the Attorney-General put it in his cross-examination of Dr. MacGregor, another psychiatrist and defence witness, the last one to testify at the summary trial.

Although it is not clear from the cross-examination exactly which incident the Assistant was referring to, the fact is that the State was at the time in possession of such information and did not use it with Dr. Cooper. The Attorney-General’s Assistant asked Dr. MacGregor whether he was aware that Tsafendas’s had “simulated abnormality” before.¹⁶²⁸ It

¹⁶²⁵ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁶²⁶ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

¹⁶²⁷ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA; Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015; Henk van Woerden in the *Mouthful of Glass* also describes the same scene (2000: 70), presumably because he was told about it by Tsafendas.

¹⁶²⁸ Dr. James William MacGregor’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

was the normal question to ask in the circumstances. However, the State did not find it necessary to ask the same question of the first and most important defence witness. What happened during Dr. MacGregor's examination will be considered later in this chapter, although it should be stated here that the doctor expressed his surprise that Tsafendas had done something like this and stated that he was not aware of it. However, as we will see, nothing much came of this issue and it was easily and quickly brushed aside.

The following incident is a good example of Tsafendas's ability to adjust to a difficult situation. It happened when he was arrested with a suitcase full of "subversive" books and accused of pretending to be a Christian missionary spreading religion while in reality he was preaching "under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique's independence ..."¹⁶²⁹ While in custody, Tsafendas was asked by the police if he had "dedicated himself to preach as a missionary and, under the guise of this same religion, advertised in favour of Mozambique's independence." Tsafendas replied that he was "a Christian who considers himself a representative of God on earth, a missionary that wishes he could preach the Christian religion but that he is not allowed to because, on this earth, there is no freedom of expression."¹⁶³⁰

Since he faced accusations of pretending to be a Christian missionary and because he carried Bibles and holy books, Tsafendas came up with an idea that neatly fitted the situation. This time, during interrogation, he pretended to be Christ's apostle, Peter, and quoted the Christian scriptures at length. This was easy because he knew much of the Bible by heart and having copies with him made his act convincing. Later, Tsafendas told several witnesses exactly which passages he had parroted from the scriptures.¹⁶³¹ It should be mentioned here that the Saint Peter act was probably not known to the South African police.

Dr. Cooper acknowledges that Tsafendas is well informed about mental disorders as he has spent a lot of time in hospitals. He says that it is common for patients to try to simulate mental disorder by pretending they hear voices, see visions etc. Tsafendas, according to Dr. Cooper, never did any of these things. Dr. Cooper tried a "trick" that would later be used also by Dr. MacGregor; he asked him if he heard "any voices, which is a common thing, for mad people to hear." Tsafendas did not fall into the trap, denying any such thing. Why did

¹⁶²⁹ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁶³⁰ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁶³¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

Tsafendas react in this way? Because about twenty years earlier, he had pretended to hear voices and he was then discovered to be simulating.¹⁶³²

Tsafendas told Father Minas and Bishop Ioannis that initially he was “pretending to be mad,” by pretending to hear “voices like Joan of Arc.”¹⁶³³ This matches the Grafton State Hospital report which says Tsafendas claimed he heard voices coming from the radiators. However, Tsafendas also told the priests that this pretence did not work and he was found out, so he then started using the tapeworm story. This also agrees with the Grafton report as it states that Tsafendas had “faked mental illness” before he was admitted.¹⁶³⁴ Tsafendas told the priests that he very well aware that “voices” and “visions” were tactics employed by many people simulating schizophrenia, but the tapeworm, as he told witnesses, was a highly original story. He even “advised” them that if they ever, for whatever reason, wanted to pretend to be mad, not to claim that they heard voices as a psychiatrist could easily find out that someone was making that up. He said that the best thing a person could do was to pretend to believe that “something” lived inside him, or as the second-best solution, that he saw “things”, as this makes it much more difficult for a psychiatrist to discover the stimulation.¹⁶³⁵

The Commission of Enquiry, which had no psychiatrist, noted that Tsafendas is “quite knowledgeable about mental disorders — he also admitted to the Commission that he had read fairly extensively on the subject in order to determine what was wrong with him... and [the Commission] therefore adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him. It is clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act.”¹⁶³⁶ Of course the Commission of Enquiry was in possession of most of the documents gathered by the police, plus others. Dr. Cooper was unaware of anything about Tsafendas except what he heard from him.

Given that Tsafendas was experienced with psychiatrists, it was to be expected that he did not take Dr. Cooper’s bait. It is also evident that Dr. Cooper was not aware of the contents of the Grafton State Hospital report, where it said that Tsafendas had “faked mental

¹⁶³² Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁶³³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁶³⁴ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁶³⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁶³⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

illness” and had claimed to hear voices from the radiators.¹⁶³⁷ Naturally, Tsafendas’s experience with psychiatrists had increased since 1946 and he did not make the same mistake of claiming to hear voices. Dr. Cooper was not aware of this, unlike the Commission of Enquiry, the South African police and presumably the State. The State must have had this report in its possession as it was given to the South African authorities on September 16.¹⁶³⁸

Professors Alban Burke, Kirk Heilbrun and Tuviah Zabow believe the fact that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in the past was extremely important and should have been made known to those who examined him.¹⁶³⁹ However, even without it, Professor Heilbrun disagrees with the way Dr. Cooper attempted to find out whether Tsafendas was simulating or not. He told the author that “To draw accurate conclusions under these circumstances, you need three domains of information. The first involves interviewing and direct observations of the individual. The second involves testing, including measures of response style that are sensitive to exaggeration or fabrication. The third is historical information, including both relevant records (particularly mental health and criminal justice records) and collateral interviews. Your conclusions would be drawn based on patterns that you see recurring across these three domains.”¹⁶⁴⁰

¹⁶³⁷ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁶³⁸ Letter of the USA Embassy in Cape Town to the South African Security Branch, 3 October 1966. Correctional Service. Subject: Demitrio Tsafendas. Vol. 1, File: 80/0043 A123. NASA.

¹⁶³⁹ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016; Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017; Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 17 December 2016; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 10 October 2016.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017.

Dr. Cooper

Tsafendas's Childhood and Travels

TSAFENDAS'S CHILDHOOD AND TRAVELS

DR. COOPER: He explains that as a child - at that time he was living in the Transvaal - his stepmother indoctrinated him against the natives, and he believes that it is possible that the natives have in fact something to do with this tapeworm.

JUDGE BEYERS: When his mother put him against the blacks, and the blacks in revenge, by witchcraft, put a tapeworm in him?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

DR. COOPER: There was a poor relationship between the accused and his stepmother.

DR. COOPER: He did mention that his stepmother, I think it was, induced a relative to commit sodomy on him when he was a small youngster, and he felt that perhaps this was designed to destroy his masculinity, and he also felt it had something to do with the question of making him unfit for any inheritance. If this be true, of course, it is delusional, but one wondered a little at least whether some relative hadn't in fact committed sodomy here. But the deduction that he drew from this incident would point to him being paranoid and deluded.

DR. COOPER:...and as a result of this disturbed relationship between the accused and his stepmother, he says he was sent to a school in the Transvaal, in Middelburg, Transvaal, where he remained until about the age of twelve, and then he returned to Lourenço Marques. I would like to pause there and say that I am mentioning this aspect of his background in that, if it be proved, if it be true, it would lead one to believe that a man with such a background would be rather more prone to develop mental illness later in life than would the individual with a normal family background. Then comes a story of aimless ramblings, wanderings, around the world, from one country to another, with an apparent inability to find any sort of niche for himself; an inability to adjust himself to any one fixed abode. The number of countries that he has been to is obscure, but he listed at least 25.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S ABOVE TESTIMONY

CHILDHOOD

In reference to Tsafendas's relationship with his stepmother and his schooling in South Africa, Dr. Cooper uses the words, "if it be proved, if it be true." He could easily have discovered if it was true by talking to the family or people who knew Tsafendas. Dr. Cooper also stated that Tsafendas did not have a "normal family background," especially in relation to his stepmother, and this played a role in his developing a mental illness. This argument has no basis in truth.

Numerous witnesses declared that Tsafendas had a perfectly normal family background. His stepmother said she brought him up "as one of her own children,"¹⁶⁴¹ and Costas Michaletos, an intimate friend of the family, said Tsafendas "grew up with his half-brothers and sisters and was always treated as part of the family."¹⁶⁴² Guglielmo Conte, a friend and business partner of Tsafendas's father, who also knew Tsafendas from the day he was born, denied that Dimitri was estranged from his family and stated that except for his school years in Middleburg, he always stayed with his father and stepmother and their family.¹⁶⁴³

Tsafendas did not discover that Marika was his stepmother and not his birth mother until he was seventeen, but his relationship with her was the normal one of mother-son. Tsafendas always referred to Marika as his "mother" and not as his "step-mother."¹⁶⁴⁴ If Marika was at odds with Tsafendas, she would hardly have travelled from Pretoria to Lourenço Marques to help him return to South Africa, then give him a rent-free house in Pretoria.¹⁶⁴⁵

Katerina Pnema, Tsafendas's half-sister, Mary Eintracht, his first cousin, Advocate

¹⁶⁴¹ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

¹⁶⁴² Costas Michaletos statement to the police, 10 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁴³ Goldstein, 'Tsafendas Timid and Puny As A Boy', *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 September 1966.

¹⁶⁴⁴ For example: Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017, and several others.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Marika Tsafantakis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

George Bizos,¹⁶⁴⁶ Ira Kyriakakis, Andreas Babiolakis, Helen Grispos, Irene, Antony and John Michaletos all stated to the author that Marika brought up Dimitri as her own child and that they had a very good relationship. The only arguments they had were about Tsafendas's political activities and these started only when he was around eighteen, not in his childhood.¹⁶⁴⁷

Tsafendas spoke highly of his step-mother to several of the witnesses the author interviewed, praising her for caring for him and treating him like her own child. He talked of how she took him to the cinema, helped him with his studies and taught him many things, especially in the fields of literature and poetry. All of these witnesses were surprised to hear that Tsafendas spoke badly of his step-mother to the psychiatrists, claiming that she indoctrinated him against Black people and induced a male relative to commit a sexual act against him. Why did Tsafendas say such things?

The author has not been able to establish this for a fact, as Tsafendas never discussed this issue with anyone. However, it is quite likely, since Tsafendas was knowledgeable about mental disorders and mental institutions, that he made use of her to convince the psychiatrists that he suffered a trauma when a child, knowing that in a lot of schizophrenic conditions, a childhood trauma frequently played a role. Tsafendas himself had told Father Minas Constandinou that two claims were necessary to make an "insane act" look real and convince someone you are mad:

- To have a family history of insanity and
- To have a childhood trauma.¹⁶⁴⁸

¹⁶⁴⁶ Advocate George Bizos did not meet Tsafendas but was told about his relationship with his step-mother by his mother in law who was Marika's best friend in South Africa.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John and Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

As for his schooling at Middleburg, two of his former classmates testified as follows: William Mare Volbrecht, by then a psychologist, said, "At that stage, Tsafendas was seen as white and there was never anything that pointed to someone regarding or treating him as a non-white or to him being discriminated against. I cannot remember whether he was ever guilty of misconduct; he was never a loner and mingled freely with us."¹⁶⁴⁹ And Dr. Samuel Schmahmann, by then a physician, remembered Dimitri as "a popular boy and not the least introverted." "I particularly remember him singing a Greek song at a school concert," he said. "He was very funny and had us all in stitches."¹⁶⁵⁰

Again here, Dr. Cooper attributes the tapeworm to his childhood and to what supposedly happened back then, even though Tsafendas was not a child at the time that Dr. Cooper talks about. If Tsafendas had to create a childhood trauma and problem, he was never going to put the blame to his father whom he worshiped, so presumably he chose the mother.

TRAVELS

Dr. Cooper characterised Tsafendas's travels as "aimless ramblings, wanderings around the world, from one country to another with an apparent inability to find any short of niche for himself; an inability to adjust himself to any one fixed abode." Calling Tsafendas's travels "aimless ramblings" is like calling Odysseus's journeys "pointless wanderings." Tsafendas never travelled aimlessly or for just the sake of it. Wherever he went was for a purpose. Remember he was banned from South Africa and Mozambique and was prosecuted in Portugal. Therefore, he travelled either to find employment (Sweden, Germany, England) or because he was deported there (Greece and Germany again), or because these countries were on the way to his destination (Syria, Lebanon, France, Spain, Denmark, Italy) or simply for a holiday (Bulgaria, Rhodesia, Greece again)

Dr. Cooper seems to be unaware that Tsafendas was forced to spend the years from 1951 to 1963 in exile since he was banned from Mozambique, the country of his birth, because of his pro-Communist and anti-colonialist activities. The same period he was also barred from South Africa because he was a "half-caste" with Communist tendencies. In the years up to 1963, Tsafendas made nine applications for permanent residence in South Africa and all were rejected; he made at least six to be allowed to return to Mozambique, all of

¹⁶⁴⁹ William Mare Volbrecht statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Verklaring deur Majoor Venter. NASA.

¹⁶⁵⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Boyhood Days of Tsafendas', 8 September 1966.

which were turned down.

Mozambique was then a Province of Portugal and Tsafendas was officially a Portuguese citizen. However, not only was he banned from Mozambique, he was prosecuted and imprisoned in Portugal. The authorities objected to his past political activism in Mozambique and the fact that he was a Communist who opposed the dictatorship of Premier Antonio Salazar. As for his “aimless ramblings and wanderings around the world,” Mozambique and South Africa were the only countries Tsafendas lived in prior to being banned from them, although as a child, he had also lived for a year in Egypt. While serving the Allied cause as a merchant seaman in World War Two, he was stationed in Canada and in the United States. In 1947, he was deported from America to Greece and it was then that his odyssey began. With Mozambique, Portugal and South Africa inaccessible, he tried to find a place to live.¹⁶⁵¹

The fact is Tsafendas was travelling because he was not allowed to live where he wished to live, in Mozambique and South Africa. “Forced globe-trotting,” he called it.¹⁶⁵² If one of his visa applications had been successful, he would have gone there immediately. As to the extent of his globe-trotting, the twenty-five countries Dr. Cooper mentioned was an exaggeration. Before the war, Tsafendas had lived in Mozambique, Egypt and South Africa, but since he was only a child and taken there by his parents, this could not be considered globe-trotting.

During the war, the ship he worked on docked in Canada (1) and to the USA (2), where after the war, he was deported to Greece (3). He remained there for two years and then in an attempt to reach Portugal and Mozambique, he passed through France (4) and Spain (5). Over the next twelve years, he visited and worked in England (6), Germany (7), Belgium (8), Sweden (9), Denmark (10) and Turkey (11). He passed briefly through Jordan (12), Lebanon (13) and Syria (14), while later, on his way back to Portugal, he went through Italy (15). During his stay in Turkey, he took in Bulgaria (16) then later in Africa, Rhodesia (17) to visit a half-sister he had not seen since 1941.¹⁶⁵³ That totals seventeen countries, not “at least 25”

¹⁶⁵¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁵² Demetrios Tsafendakis Affidavit, November 1965. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen, NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁶⁵³ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

that Dr. Cooper guessed at and he travelled through at least half of them only because they were the way to his destination.

It is true that Tsafendas travelled much more widely than most people, but an analysis of his journeys and intentions comprehensively disproves Dr. Cooper's conclusion that he wandered about aimlessly, seeking and failing to find a niche in the world. He spent the first twenty-three years of his life in Mozambique, Egypt and South Africa. He lived in those countries because that was where his family was. From 1941 to 1947, he lived in the United States or, during the Second World War, at sea serving in American Liberty Ships. In 1947, and against his will, he was deported to Greece because of his Greek origins, although he wanted to return to Mozambique.

While in Greece, he joined the DSE, the military wing of the Greek Communist Party, and fought with them in the civil war. When it was obvious that the Communists had lost and the war was coming to an end, Tsafendas applied for a visa to return to South Africa. In his application he wrote, "I am here a man without a country, living in strange lands with people who have different ways of living, customs and languages."¹⁶⁵⁴ The application was turned down. He decided to try Mozambique, via Portugal. He managed to do this by taking ship from Greece to France, then travelling on foot to Portugal through Spain.¹⁶⁵⁵

In Portugal, in November 1949, Tsafendas was arrested because the authorities had questions about his identity. It was discovered that he was indeed a Portuguese citizen, but had not served his compulsory term in the military and that he had been dismissed twice from jobs in Mozambique for Communist activities.¹⁶⁵⁶ Tsafendas spent the next year in prison but was then released and boarded a ship to Mozambique. He arrived there in October 1951 but was refused entry because he was listed in official files as a Communist and suspected of involvement in subversive activities.¹⁶⁵⁷ This refusal led to his next twelve years being spent in exile. In January 1952, he was back in Portugal and was arrested in Lisbon. The police discovered that he was a Communist and an avowed anti-colonialist who was under suspicion

¹⁶⁵⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 17.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁵⁶ PIDE Confidential Report about Demetrio Tsafendas, 7 June 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁶⁵⁷ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

of “unclear activities” during his time in Mozambique and put him in jail again.¹⁶⁵⁸

Upon his eventual release a few months later, with his chosen destinations South Africa and Mozambique unattainable, he decided to go to Sweden, where he had heard he could get a job as a welder. He travelled there through Denmark, and eventually got a job as a carpenter.¹⁶⁵⁹ He did not stay in Sweden long as the weather was too cold and the money too little, so he moved to Hamburg, Germany and found work as a welder. Tsafendas remained in Germany from early 1954 to June 1955. During his time there, he sent off applications to be allowed to return to Mozambique and to South Africa. All were rejected and in mid-1955 he returned once more to Portugal and spent the next three years working as a hawker in Lisbon.¹⁶⁶⁰

Being constantly under PIDE supervision and police harassment, in 1958 Tsafendas decided to leave Portugal and he travelled to Brussels to sell embroidery at the international exhibition, Expo 58. From there, he went back to Germany and spent the next year and a half in Frankfurt, working for one and half months at Fries and Son, six months for Anglo-American Fashions and Designers, and then another six months at a US Army printing works.¹⁶⁶¹ During his time in Germany, he lived on his own but had a relationship with a German girl who was a Communist.¹⁶⁶² Again he applied several times for permission to return to Mozambique or to South Africa, but all of his applications were refused.¹⁶⁶³

In May 1959, Tsafendas travelled to Britain, hoping to find a job. He was refused a work permit and took clandestine jobs to survive.¹⁶⁶⁴ In London he became politically active with anti-apartheid and anti-fascist organisations. He was discovered to be in the country illegally and in December 1959, the British sent him back to Germany, where he spent the next six months working in a tractor factory in Munich.¹⁶⁶⁵ In March 1960, he read about the Sharpeville massacre and decided to return to South Africa and “do something” against Dr.

¹⁶⁵⁸ *Diario Popular*, ‘E Conhesido em Lisboa o Assassino do Dr. Verwoerd’, 9 September 1966.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Ochsenzoll Hospital report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas. K150. Vol. 4, File: 1, Sub-file: 1/8. NASA.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁶⁶¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁶² Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

¹⁶⁶³ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkoperij. NASA; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter VI, Paragraphs 18 and 20.

¹⁶⁶⁴ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Verwoerd and apartheid.¹⁶⁶⁶

Convinced by now that he would not be allowed to enter the country legitimately, he decided on an illegal route, “through the African states south to South Africa.” The first stage took him through the Balkan States to Piraeus, Greece, then he took a ferry to Alexandria, Egypt. There his passport expired and he was unable to renew it or replace it, but with the help of the Red Cross, he managed to get to Beirut and Jerusalem.¹⁶⁶⁷

With his Africa North-to-South plan blocked, Tsafendas decided to return to Portugal. Travelling through Lebanon and Syria by bus, he crossed the Taurus mountain range and reached Ankara, Turkey in May 1961. A month later, he arrived in Istanbul, where he worked as a teacher of English at the best private language college in Turkey at the time, the Limasollu Naci College.¹⁶⁶⁸ In December 1961, he left to visit a former comrade from the Greek Civil War who lived in Sofia, Bulgaria. His visit lasted two weeks and then he went to Greece to spend Christmas with his good friend John Michaletos and his family.¹⁶⁶⁹ In January 1962, he travelled to the island of Crete to meet his relatives and see where his beloved father and his hero great-grandfather were born. From Greece, he travelled to Italy, then took the train to Lisbon, where he arrived in February 1962.¹⁶⁷⁰

Tsafendas worked as a welder in Lisbon until July 1962, when he went back to England and again participated in anti-apartheid and anti-fascist demonstrations. In late 1962, he learned that his father had died and he determined to visit his grave in South Africa. After several more unsuccessful applications for a visa for Mozambique and South Africa, in August or September of 1963, after twelve years of exile, the Portuguese government relented. Convinced by an “act” he put that he was mad but harmless, and “reformed” in terms of his political ideology, the authorities gave him amnesty and permission to return to Mozambique.¹⁶⁷¹

In October 1963, he arrived in Mozambique and a month later, with the help of his family, he was back in South Africa in Pretoria. He remained in Pretoria until July 1964,

¹⁶⁶⁶ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁷¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

working for five months for F.A. Poole Engineering and the rest of the time at his half-sister's café. He crossed into Rhodesia to visit another half-sister he had not seen since 1941, and from there went again to Mozambique. He remained in Beira from October 10, 1964, until November 16, 1964, working at the Hume Pipe Company,¹⁶⁷² before being arrested by the Portuguese police for “making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.”¹⁶⁷³

After three months in jail in Beira, he left Mozambique for Durban in March 1965. He remained there until October 1965, working off and on as an interpreter at the Durban Court, as a welder at Fraser and Chalmers for two months and for a month for South African Railways. After receiving a letter from a girl who said she wanted to meet and marry him, he travelled from Durban to Cape Town, where he met her. He remained in Cape Town from October 1965 until September 1966.

None of the above travels can be described as aimless. Tsafendas himself characterised them in his affidavit, but also to friends and family as “forced globetrotting”¹⁶⁷⁴ and he was right. Several countries happened to be on the way to his destination, like France, Italy, Spain, Syria, Lebanon, Denmark and Turkey. Naturally, he spent little time there because he was just passing through. This does not apply to Turkey, where he got a teaching job and stayed for seven months. He visited Greece for the second time, Rhodesia and Bulgaria for holidays. For business and work, he travelled England, Belgium and Sweden, while one of the Liberty ships during the Second World War also took him to Canada. Apart from places where he stayed only weeks or a few months, this is his life story:

- Six years in Egypt, all in Alexandria (1919-1925)
- Seventeen years in Mozambique: 16 years in Lourenço Marques and one in Beira (1918-1919, 1925-1939, 1963-1964)
- Five years in South Africa: approximately two years in Pretoria, one in Johannesburg, one

¹⁶⁷² South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA; Demetrio Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁷³ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Demetrios Tsafendakis Affidavit, November 1965. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen, NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

in Cape Town and a eight months in Durban (1939-1941, 1963-1966, plus school in Middleburg)

- Six years in the USA in Boston and New York, a lot of this time at sea (1941-1947)
- Two years in Greece, all in Athens (1947-1949)
- Six years in Portugal, all in Lisbon (1951-1953, 1955-1958, 1962-1963)
- Three years in Germany, all in three cities, Munich, Frankfurt and Hamburg (1953-1955, 1958-1959)
- Seven months in Turkey in Istanbul (1961)¹⁶⁷⁵

This is not drifting, it is the odyssey of a man who was forced to live in exile from the country where he was born (Mozambique) for twelve years, who for sixteen years was not allowed to enter the country where his family lived (South Africa) and who was prosecuted and imprisoned because of his political beliefs in the country of his official nationality and where, after Mozambique, he spent most of his time (Portugal). Wherever he was, he always applied for permission to return to Mozambique and South Africa. Had he been allowed to return to either country or left in peace in Portugal, this vast Baedeker of travel would never have been opened.

Tsafendas travelled through so many countries mainly for two reasons:

- In search of a better place to stay and work
- He needed to cross through many countries to reach his destination.

Tsafendas's desperate efforts to return to Mozambique or South Africa and find a place to live and work without being followed by the police do not constitute "aimless ramblings." His life, as he said, was "forced globetrotting," peregrinations similar to those of Odysseus, who travelled for ten years through many different places to reach his destination. Tsafendas's odyssey is misunderstood by Dr. Cooper, who is clearly not aware of the circumstances of Tsafendas's travels.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Finally, Tsafendas's travels and their planning and how he managed not only to merely survive, but in some occasions, like in Istanbul, thrive, is further proof of Tsafendas's ability to plan and adjust to any situation, something a schizophrenic is most unlikely to do. Professor Burke told the author, "The other thing, as well, that we have to question is how he could plan his behaviour and his trips, so perfectly? What you typically find with schizophrenic patients, is they become homeless people, so they can't find a job, or whatever the case may be, so, in his case, he was very rational and planning in what he did."¹⁶⁷⁶

TSAFENDAS'S EMPLOYMENT AND BEING "UNABLE TO FUNCTION ON A REASONABLE LEVEL"

DR. COOPER: Then one tried to go into the question of employment...his employment was again of the same ilk, in the sense that it appears from his story that he was never able to hold down a job for more than a couple of months at a time. And I was particularly interested in his employment recently in Cape Town, because there one could at least have some grasp of what he was talking about. And the fact that here was an intelligent man first of all taking up menial, simple forms of employment was to me significant. And furthermore the fact that, having taken up these menial, simple, jobs, that he was unable to hold down these jobs was also important and indicative of something being wrong...

DR. COOPER: He was usually sacked, I think, but occasionally left on his own accord... The explanation again usually revolves around the tapeworm, that because of the tapeworm he could not hold down the job, and this made him move on...

DR. COOPER: He said the tapeworm had destroyed his entire personality, both mentally and physically. That it made him weak, feeble and infirm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: If it is shown that between August 1965 and the 6th of September of this year the accused had five jobs in which he never stayed longer than two months in any one of those jobs, what do you feel about this?

¹⁶⁷⁶ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

DR. COOPER: This would be consistent with his mental condition as I saw it, in that I would not be able to, I would not expect this man to be able to hold down sustained employment even of a relatively simple type.

JUDGE BEYERS: May I put the opposite to you – the other side? Again it is not unusual - we in these courts know it is not unusual - for people not to hold jobs. It is not unusual for them never to do a stroke of work?

DR. COOPER: I went into this carefully.

JUDGE BEYERS: That is so, isn't it?

DR. COOPER: That is so.

JUDGE BEYERS: You have come across people who won't work and who don't hold jobs, haven't you?

DR. COOPER: Yes, but, when I do, I try and establish the reason therefore, the reason why they don't hold these jobs.

JUDGE BEYERS: You don't believe that they just don't want to work, and are lazy?

DR. COOPER: I am sure that there are those people, but this man did not fall into that category. He was continually seeking employment; he was continually getting employment, but, having sought it, and got it, he was unable to hold it; he was unable to function on a reasonable level. If his story is correct, there is nothing to suggest, from what he told me, that he is a won't-work.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: His inability to hold down a job for any length of time, to what does he attribute that?

DR. COOPER: That is attributed to the tapeworm.

DR. COOPER: I believe that this type of employment record is completely consistent with a man suffering from chronic schizophrenia and I believe that he is suffering from chronic schizophrenia and, therefore, I relate his employment record to this mental illness.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S ABOVE TESTIMONY

TSAFENDAS'S EMPLOYMENT

Perhaps the most inaccurate statement of all by Dr. Cooper was that Tsafendas was “unable to function on a reasonable level” and that was why he lost his jobs. More than fifty former colleagues testified to the police about Tsafendas. Only one of them, Owen Smorenberg, who would be produced as a witness for the defence, suggested Tsafendas was any kind of failure. He stated that Tsafendas “was no good as a fitter and was dismissed for that reason, but instead of dismissing him, he was given the opportunity to resign.”¹⁶⁷⁷ However, Smorenberg said nothing to suggest that Tsafendas was unable to function on a reasonable level. Not being good at your job is not the same thing as being unable to function on a reasonable level. Far from perceiving functional failure in Tsafendas, many of those who worked with him praised his skills, efficiency and intelligence. For example:

- The Attorney-General himself was in possession of testimonials from the Vulcan Iron Works in Lourenço Marques, where Tsafendas had worked for six years, 1933-1939, stating that “he had performed his duties in a satisfactory manner.”¹⁶⁷⁸ This was during the time when Tsafendas allegedly started believing he had a tapeworm in 1935 or 1936.
- Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine to ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that he “never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers.”¹⁶⁷⁹
- Charles Woods, Tsafendas's supervisor at Fraser and Chalmers, characterised him as a “good tradesman,”¹⁶⁸⁰ “a very good worker, far from being a crank, fairly intelligent, but a violent type.”¹⁶⁸¹
- Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden was senior security officer for the Marine Diamond Corporation and worked with Tsafendas for around three months in 1966. He testified to the police:

“We were transferred from the Marina on a small outboard boat to the Colpontoon. It was terrible, rough seas, so much so that almost all of us old hands got seasick. It struck me

¹⁶⁷⁷ Owen Smorenburg statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 oor Stafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkoperij. NASA.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Charles Edwin Woods statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁶⁸¹ *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas in Brawl in Canteen’, 9 September 1966: 15.

that Tsafendas adapted well. He was one of the few who was not seasick. Upon landing, he filled the mess basin on the lower deck with water and started shaving. His calm way struck me that he must know the sea. Tsafendas was employed as a pump, or engineer, operator and did not work under my direct supervision. I introduced myself to him and talked to him. He was friendly, outgoing, and not aloof. I noticed that his eating was messy. Otherwise he was completely normal.”¹⁶⁸²

- Johannes Aurets, Tsafendas's supervisor at the South African Railways, told the police Tsafendas “was a well-mannered and well-spoken person. He associated with those working with him. He was soft-spoken and appeared to be of a good nature. During the time he was employed under my supervision, i.e. for approximately three weeks, I did not see him being cross at any time. He was a good worker.”¹⁶⁸³
- Garnet Muller, Tsafendas's supervisor at South African Railways for three weeks, testified that Tsafendas gave him to understand that he took the job on a temporary basis. He “observed Demitrio Tsafendas to possess intelligence above that of the average person who is likely to accept a position with the little responsibility which is attached to that of shed attendant.”¹⁶⁸⁴
- Hulse, who worked with Tsafendas at Marine Diamond Cooperation from December 1965 to March 12, 1966, stated that Tsafendas “did not appear to be disturbed at any stage.”¹⁶⁸⁵
- Antonio Teixeira Da Silva, who worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole's engineering works in 1965, testified that Tsafendas “was acting normal and I never noticed anything wrong with him. I have seen an insane person before but I can state that the accused never behaved as an insane person whilst employed here.”¹⁶⁸⁶
- Gillian Claire Lieberman was a personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation who was often visited by Tsafendas in her office. She “found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation, but a strange type of person, a unique character.

¹⁶⁸² Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁶⁸³ Johannes Jaconus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Garnet Vincent Muller statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Hulse statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Antonio Teixeira Da Silva statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

I got the impression that he was physically different in dress and appearance. He was a big man, with a particularly striking big hat, stainless steel teeth, sloppy, dirty clothing.”¹⁶⁸⁷

- Albert Vercueil, Tsafendas's boss at F. A. Poole in Pretoria, said that in the five months he worked with Tsafendas, he found him to be “not a very good worker, but will say that he was an intelligent worker.”¹⁶⁸⁸ He also testified to the Commission of Enquiry that he considered Tsafendas to be “an intelligent man, just untidy and lazy in rounding off his work.” He said “Tsafendas was a very friendly, social and talkative person but he was always looking to quarrel with the white workers. Mr. Vercueil would usually receive complaints from the other (white) foremen, but never from the Black workers. He never got the impression that Mr. Tsafendas was not right in his mind. F.A. Poole moved from their warehouse and Mr. Tsafendas was tasked with organizing the move and he handled it effortlessly.”¹⁶⁸⁹
- August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be “very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease.”¹⁶⁹⁰
- Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban, was approached by Tsafendas offering his services as a Portuguese or Greek interpreter. Rudolph appointed him and said Tsafendas “was in the habit of regularly reporting two or three times a week to ask whether there is any interpretation work.” He used him “on several occasions” over a period of six months and “got to know him pretty well.” He told police, “I spoke with him several times. He seemed to be a normal person and intelligent. He spoke English properly.”¹⁶⁹¹

¹⁶⁸⁷ Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁶⁹⁰ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁶⁹¹ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

- Nikolaas Nel worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole and told the police that Tsafendas “seemed normal.”¹⁶⁹²
- Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for Mike’s Outfitters for forty-two days in July and August 1966, frequently driving him to the tanker *Eleni* while it was docked in Cape Town. Of Tsafendas, he told the police that he “never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers.”¹⁶⁹³ Judson later said that Tsafendas was “competent at his job but overly talkative and sociable.”¹⁶⁹⁴
- Michaelis Augustides, owner of Mike’s Outfitters, also found Tsafendas to be “competent at his job but overly talkative and sociable.”¹⁶⁹⁵
- Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen, was Tsafendas’s tram instructor in December 1965 and January 1966. He testified to the police that “other than his slow response, I did not at all get the impression that mentally anything was wrong with him. He is mentally normal.”¹⁶⁹⁶
- Horst Hartmann, a senior officer at the heavy engineering company, Fries and Son, in Frankfurt, Germany, characterised Tsafendas “as extremely nice and friendly ... I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man. He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman...he made a good impression and he spoke good German, so I took him on... we liked him ... always laughing, a good worker.” Six weeks later Tsafendas left the company voluntarily with a very good reference in his suitcase. Hartmann said, “He left of his own accord ... we would have liked to keep him.” Hartman gave him a reference which Tsafendas used when he applied for the messenger job in Parliament. Would Hartmann have given him a reference and regretted his departure if Tsafendas was not able to function on a reasonable level?
- Although he worked at Fries and Son for only six weeks, Tsafendas made a lasting impression on Guenter Haafe, the fifty-seven-year -old factory doorman, who eight years

¹⁶⁹² Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁶⁹³ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 241.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 241.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

later, still remembered the jovial greeting Tsafendas gave him every morning: “He was a jolly man, always smiling and friendly. He would almost always come into my locker to say hi. He was really one of the friendliest workers I have met and trust me, in my twelve years as a doorman I have seen thousands and thousands of faces coming in and out; this man was courteous, they do not make them like that anymore.”¹⁶⁹⁷ Is this the sort of man Dr. Cooper described?

- Tsafendas made a “good impression” on his colleagues in Frankfurt; they said he was “always smiling” and characterized him as being “very kind”, “a nice guy” and a “good comrade.”¹⁶⁹⁸
- Tsafendas lived in the house of Fotini Gavasiadis and her husband Markos for several weeks. When he left, he moved into an apartment next to their house, where he stayed for the next eight months, seeing Fotini and Markos every day, and spending a lot of his time their home. Tsafendas and Fotini also worked together for nine months in her brother’s café. According to Gavasiadis:

“[Tsafendas] had a quick mind and was very intelligent. He worked out prices in head and was invariably correct... he was very good, very polite and friendly. All the customers liked him and some of them used to come just to chat with him, mostly about his travels around the world. Some old men really adored him. My brother was initially not very keen on having him there because he was told that he would start arguing with customers over politics, but he never argued with anyone as long as he was there.”

Some customers angered him but Tsafendas kept his counsel. Gavasiadis told the author:

“Many times he told me, ‘These people are bloody racists,’ but he never told them anything out of respect for my brother because it was his business. A lot of times he complained about some customers, that they were getting into his head with what they were telling him and the blood was going to his head because of his anger, but still he never said anything and carried on his work.”

¹⁶⁹⁷ *The Daily News*, ‘Tsafendas Seen As ‘Mystery Man’’, 8 September 1966: 17; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

¹⁶⁹⁸ PIDE’s News Digest; *Le Courrier d’Afrique*, ‘Em Torno Do Assassinado do Primeiro Ministro Sulafricano; Versoes Contraditorias Circulam Sobre A Personalidade Do Assassino’, 9 September 1966: 1. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

Tsafendas worked voluntarily at the café because Nick Vlachopoulos had given him a rent-free apartment. Tsafendas was so good that Vlachopoulos offered him a permanent job with good wages, but Tsafendas refused. He did not want to take any money after accepting the free apartment. He worked full-time at the café when he was unemployed and part-time when he was at F.A. Poole Engineering. Gavasiadis strongly denies the suggestion that Tsafendas was not able to hold down a job because he was unable to function on a reasonable level. She states however, that she was told by Tsafendas himself and by members of his family, that he had lost jobs in the past because of his outspokenness with regards to politics.¹⁶⁹⁹

- Nick Augustides is the son of the owner of Mike's Outfitters in Cape Town for whom Tsafendas worked on commission. He knew Tsafendas for three-four months and never heard him say anything to suggest he was insane. He told the author that Tsafendas "definitely did not look or sound insane."¹⁷⁰⁰
- In addition, Tsafendas functioned perfectly well in Istanbul where he was able to hold a teacher's job for five or six months. Mrs. Advije Vedia Limasollu, wife of the college owner, Mr. Limasollu Naci, stressed that her husband would not have kept anyone on the teaching staff who was not good.¹⁷⁰¹ That Tsafendas taught at the college was reported by the South African press¹⁷⁰² and was known to the police,¹⁷⁰³ but apparently not to Dr. Cooper and to the Attorney-General.
- Finally, Tsafendas worked for a little over a month in Parliament. None of the five colleagues who worked with him and were questioned by the police and the Commission of Enquiry mentioned anything being wrong with him.¹⁷⁰⁴ Petrus Schuin, the head messenger, was one of the three who interviewed and appointed him. He told the Commission of Enquiry that "there was nothing out of the ordinary about him. Tsafendas

¹⁶⁹⁹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Nick Augustides in a personal interview, 19 February 2016.

¹⁷⁰¹ Advije Vedia Limasollu in a personal interview, 8 January 2016.

¹⁷⁰² *The Cape Times*, 'Tsafendas Taught Turks English', 8 September 1966; *Daily Dispatch*, 'Tsafendas Taught English in Turkey', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17.

¹⁷⁰³ 'The history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds to the late Dr. Verwoerd' drafted by Col. McIntyre, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Subject: Leer W.D. 10/10/4102 der Stafendas. NASA.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Piet Bester Burger testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA; Fred Feinauer statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Feliz George Miles statement to the police, 7 October 1966. K150, Vol. 2, File: 1. NASA; Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA; Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

was the same as any other person that had worked there.”¹⁷⁰⁵ Sydney Wiehand, also on the interview panel, said, “he was a quiet man. He wasn’t the rough type or anything like that. He was quiet, quietly-spoken, well-mannered.”¹⁷⁰⁶ The evidence of these witnesses was important because it came from people who had dealt with him recently and in a professional environment.

None of the above statements given to the police or the Commission of Enquiry was used by the Attorney-General to challenge Dr. Cooper’s testimony. We do not know if the Attorney-General was in possession of these documents or if he ignored them. The fact remains that the statements flatly contradicted Dr. Cooper’s testimony, revealing yet another error in his diagnosis. Even if the Attorney-General was not in possession of the above statements, he was certainly in possession of several others from Tsafendas’s bosses at the Vulcan Iron Works, where he was employed for six years stating that “he had performed his duties in a satisfactory manner.”¹⁷⁰⁷ Still, the Attorney-General did not use this evidence.

Dr. Cooper also said, “I would not expect this man to be able to hold down sustained employment, even of a relatively simple type.” This is clearly incorrect and the argument would be contradicted the following day when another defence witness, Dr. Muller, testified that he found Tsafendas to be intelligent and healthy enough to hold down a job with ease. Asked by the Defence Counsel, “With his health and his intelligence, should he be able to hold down a job?” Dr. Muller replied, “Yes. Yes, I would think he could very easily.”¹⁷⁰⁸

However, at this stage, the State should have been able to challenge Dr. Cooper’s argument by itself since the police had ample evidence to contradict it. Firstly, Tsafendas worked in 1961 as a teacher of English for nearly six months at Limasollu Naci, the leading private language college in Istanbul. The State must have been aware of this. Not only did Tsafendas mention it in his statement to the police on September 11, his teaching stint was reported in the South African press,¹⁷⁰⁹ it was mentioned in a report by Col. McIntyre of the

¹⁷⁰⁵ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkoperij. NASA.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Dr. Hendrik Muller’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁷⁰⁹ *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas Taught Turks English’, 8 September 1966; ‘*Daily Dispatch*, ‘Tsafendas Taught English in Turkey’, 8 September 1966: 1; *The Daily News*, ‘Tsafendas Seen As ‘Mystery Man’’, 8 September 1966: 17.

South African police¹⁷¹⁰ and it was known to the Commission of Enquiry.¹⁷¹¹ The police also found a separate note stating that Tsafendas worked at this language school.¹⁷¹² However, the Attorney-General did not mention the Istanbul work.

The obvious question is how could a man as described by Dr. Cooper work as a teacher at a prestigious college for six months? Teaching a foreign language at such a place is not a “menial, simple form of employment.” Tsafendas had to work on a trial basis, under observation by his colleagues for a week, to determine if he was good enough. Professor Burke believes it would have been impossible for a man with schizophrenia as described by Dr. Cooper to hold down an intellectual post for such an extended period: “There would have been symptoms a lot earlier. If it was schizophrenia, why was he able to hold down a job? If his functioning was so impaired, how could he possibly have performed his job?”¹⁷¹³ According to van Zyl, it would have been “impossible” for Tsafendas, as described by Dr. Cooper, to have been able to work at the college, “He certainly was bright and intelligent. The person that I dealt with at the time was so beset by symptoms of schizophrenia that that would not have been possible ...”¹⁷¹⁴ However, Tsafendas managed to keep the job for five or six months and then left of his own accord with a glowing reference that he used to get the job in the House of Assembly.

Advocate Cooper's statement that Tsafendas did not stay longer than two months in any job in the year before the assassination is inaccurate, as he worked for at least four months (December 1965-March 1966) for the Marine Diamond Corporation.¹⁷¹⁵ Tsafendas left all his jobs voluntarily except for one in Mandini, where he was dismissed for fighting with a fellow worker, Nick Vergos. Tsafendas said Vergos had refused to pay Black workers he had illegally employed to do some work for him, and when he intervened, they fought.¹⁷¹⁶ As to the level of expertise required in his various jobs, Tsafendas worked as a welder for five months, from February 7, 1964 to July 10, 1964, at F.A. Poole in Pretoria,¹⁷¹⁷ as a part-

¹⁷¹⁰ ‘The history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds to the late Dr. Verwoerd’ drafted by Col. McIntyre, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Subject: Leer W.D. 10/10/4102 der Stafendas. NASA.

¹⁷¹¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 37; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter VI, Paragraph 4.

¹⁷¹² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter VI, Paragraph 4.

¹⁷¹³ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

¹⁷¹⁴ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

¹⁷¹⁵ Hulse statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷¹⁶ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 5 August 2011; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

¹⁷¹⁷ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

time interpreter for seven to eight months at the Court in Durban¹⁷¹⁸ and for nine months at his half-sister's café shop in Pretoria in 1963-1964.¹⁷¹⁹

Tsafendas also worked at several jobs for much longer than two months. The author is not in position to know all the jobs Tsafendas did and has relied mostly on the documents found in the archives. Naturally, not all his jobs are listed there, but here are a dozen:

- For six years (1933-1939) in Vulcan Iron Works, General Engineers, in Lourenço Marques. The Attorney-General was aware of this information as it was contained in his Memorandum about Tsafendas. In addition, he was in possession of “testimonials from this firm” affirming that “he had performed his duties in a satisfactory manner.”¹⁷²⁰
- For two years (1936-1938) at the Imperial Airways factory in Quilemane.¹⁷²¹
- For about two years (1933-1935) at Spanos's bookshop in Lourenço Marques.¹⁷²²
- For about a year (around 1938-1939) as a waiter at Gerry Kyriakakis's restaurant. He was fired after he argued with a German customer who supported the Nazis.¹⁷²³
- For almost two years (May 1940-early 1942) as a welder with the British Mining Supply Company in Johannesburg.¹⁷²⁴
- While in Athens (October 1947-April 1949), Tsafendas was employed for twelve months as an interpreter and foreman with the American Reconstruction Mission, under the US Marshall Plan.¹⁷²⁵

¹⁷¹⁸ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷¹⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015.

¹⁷²⁰ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkoperij. NASA.

¹⁷²¹ Marika Tsafantakis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁷²² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁷²³ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

¹⁷²⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷²⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

- For about three years (1955-1958), Tsafendas worked as hawker in Lisbon, going “on board ships lying in the Tagus to ply his trade of itinerant vendor of regional articles and embroideries.”¹⁷²⁶
- For six months (1958) with Anglo-American Fashions and Designers in Frankfurt.
- For around six months (1958-1959) at a US Army printing works in Hochst, a district of Frankfurt.
- For six months (1959) in a tractor factory in Munich.¹⁷²⁷
- For six-seven months (June-December 1961) as teacher of English at Limasollu Naci College in Istanbul.¹⁷²⁸
- For four months full-time, five months part-time (November 1963-July 1964) at Proclamation Hill Café, Pretoria.¹⁷²⁹
- For five months (2 February-10 July 1964) at F.A. Poole Engineering in Pretoria.¹⁷³⁰
- For seven-eight months (March-October 1965) in the court in Durban; although he only worked there when needed, this was on “several occasions.”¹⁷³¹
- For three-four months (December 1965-March 1966) at Marine Diamond Corporation in Cape Town.¹⁷³²

Tsafendas liked casual work and being his own boss. In 1951, he requested and received from the Director of the International Police in Lisbon a card which declared him to be a maritime salesman.¹⁷³³ He spent the next three years, then after a break another two, in Portugal and then again in South Africa as a hawker, selling “embroidery, postcards and watches, mainly to holidaymakers on cruise ships.” He travelled to Belgium in 1958 for the

¹⁷²⁶ PIDE report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas or Dimitrie Tsafandakis. 21 February 1962. K150, Vol. 4, Sub-file 1/6. Department of Justice. NASA.

¹⁷²⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷²⁸ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 4 November 2015; Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷²⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

¹⁷³⁰ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷³¹ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷³² Hulse statement to the police, 28 September 1966, K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷³³ Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

Brussels World Fair (Expo 58) to sell his embroidery.¹⁷³⁴ Hawking became Tsafendas's favourite work and he would often return to it when he was out of a steady job. He liked running his own life and working whenever he wanted. If it had been more profitable and less tiring, he would have done it permanently, he said.¹⁷³⁵

There is no doubt that Tsafendas was fired from some jobs, but this was usually due not to incompetence but his outspokenness on politics and workers' rights. As we have seen in his biography, this started shortly after Tsafendas became an active Communist. In 1937, he was dismissed from the Sideris kiosk in Lourenço Marques "owing to his Communist leanings."¹⁷³⁶ The *Chai et Kiosk*, was owned by P. Sideris, a good friend of his father. Sideris, a conservative Greek loyal to the Portuguese government, often berated his young employee for arguing about politics with his customers.¹⁷³⁷

One day, Dimitri crossed swords with a wealthy Portuguese businessman and city councillor. He denounced the man as a "fascist" and accused him of exploiting Mozambicans. Then aged seventeen, Tsafendas said, "One day the Mozambicans will rebel against the Portuguese and take back everything you stole from them." The businessman reported the incident to Sideris and told him he would inform the police because he considered his employee to be a "dangerous Communist." Although reluctant to do so, but feeling he had no choice, Sideris dismissed Tsafendas. He knew he would be in trouble with the colonial authorities if he did not do so.¹⁷³⁸

In 1938, while working at the Imperial Airways factory in Quilemane, Tsafendas came under suspicion by PIDE of "spreading Communist propaganda."¹⁷³⁹ Tsafendas had distributed the Communist Manifesto to some of his colleagues,¹⁷⁴⁰ but he was not arrested as

¹⁷³⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷³⁵ Emmanuel Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 January 2014.

¹⁷³⁶ Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 16.

¹⁷³⁷ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁷³⁸ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁷³⁹ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

the accusation was “never proven.”¹⁷⁴¹ This incident dogged Tsafendas throughout his life since it led to the creation of a file, *Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis*, by the International and State Defence Police (PIDE), the Portuguese security police, which would only get bigger with the passage of time.¹⁷⁴² A 1961 PIDE report referred to the two above incidents, stating that while Tsafendas was “residing in that Province (Mozambique), he was twice a suspect of Communist activities, but evidence of such activities was never found.”¹⁷⁴³ The SA police also had in its possession PIDEs’ report, which stated clearly that while in Mozambique, Tsafendas “was on two occasions suspected of dedicating himself to communistic activities.”¹⁷⁴⁴

Later in 1938 or in 1939, the twenty-year-old Dimitri worked as a waiter at a hotel owned by Gerry Kyriakakis, a friend of his father. Once again, he argued politics with the guests, despite Kyriakakis’s threats of dismissal. One day he got into an argument with a German guest about the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany. The German asked if he was a Jew himself, whereupon Dimitri replied proudly that indeed he was and the German dropped the argument. News of this dispute and of Tsafendas’s Jewish background spread through the Greek community and when the political disputes continued, Kyriakakis decided they were jeopardising business and finally dismissed his young waiter.¹⁷⁴⁵

Sometime in early 1965, Tsafendas asked his half-sister Katerina Pnefma and her husband Gerry to help him find a job in Mozambique. Gerry Pnefma was friendly with the manager of a dock in Beira and persuaded him to hire his brother-in-law as an interpreter. Tsafendas lasted only a few days before being dismissed for urging the Mozambican workers to strike because of their working conditions. Tsafendas denounced the manager and the company as “capitalists exploiting the workers.” The manager told Gerry Pnefma about the incident and said the “only reason he did not call the police was that he did not want to cause his family problems.” He urged his friend not to help Tsafendas again because he was a “dangerous Communist.”¹⁷⁴⁶

¹⁷⁴¹ Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁷⁴² *Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis*. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁷⁴³ Letter of the Director of PIDE to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 04 November 1961. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

During his time with the Hume Pipe Company in Gondola in October and November 1964,¹⁷⁴⁷ Tsafendas often complained that Portugal was exploiting Mozambique's oil wealth¹⁷⁴⁸ and urged the Black workers to go on strike because they were mistreated by the Whites.¹⁷⁴⁹ During his five months with Poole Engineering in Pretoria in 1965, "Tsafendas bullied the other Portuguese workers and had fights with several white workers",¹⁷⁵⁰ but he never argued with Black workers.¹⁷⁵¹ He was "unpopular among white workers" and "adapted more to the non-whites."¹⁷⁵² The reason Tsafendas was unpopular with White workers and bullied the Portuguese workers is perhaps provided by a Portuguese colleague, Antonio Da Silva. He testified to the police that Tsafendas learned that he had served in the Portuguese army in Mozambique and asked him what he thought of Dr. Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal. Da Silva claimed that he did not discuss the issue further with Tsafendas, but Tsafendas became aggressive towards him after that.¹⁷⁵³ In May 1965, while Tsafendas was working for Fraser and Chalmers in Durban, he fought physically with Nick Vergos in an attempt to protect the rights of some African workers, as noted, and was dismissed.¹⁷⁵⁴ Finally, Katerina Pnema said that Tsafendas "couldn't keep his mouth shut about politics" and that "he could not keep his mouth shut if he saw something he considered to be wrong."¹⁷⁵⁵

¹⁷⁴⁷ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA; Demetrio Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Demetrio Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷⁵¹ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁵² Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁵³ Antonio Teixeira Da Silva statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File Verklarings. NASA.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

Dr. Cooper

Tsafendas “Unable to Function on a Reasonable Level”

TSAFENDAS BEING “UNABLE TO FUNCTION ON A REASONABLE LEVEL”

The South African police and the Commission of Enquiry questioned about two hundred people regarding Tsafendas. Only three raised questions as to his mental stability, one, James Johnston, in a rather confused manner:

- Caroline Barbeau, a member of the Christian Church who met Tsafendas in Durban in 1965, got the impression that he was “not all there,” although she did not state why she got such an impression.¹⁷⁵⁶
- James Johnston, a minister of the Christian Church, spoke to Tsafendas twice for ten minutes on each occasion. He told the police that “I do not know Tsafendas very well and the longest discussion I had with him was for about 10 minutes at each occasion ... He appeared to be perfectly normal ... I did think Tsafendas to be slightly unbalanced and that he seemed to have a mysterious background, but otherwise he appeared to be all right.”¹⁷⁵⁷
- Keith Martincich, who worked with Tsafendas for two to three weeks at Marine Diamond Cooperation, thought that there “was something mentally wrong with him” because Tsafendas sometimes mumbled to himself.¹⁷⁵⁸

Johnston and Barbeau were members of the Christian Church and Johnston’s contradictory statement should be read in that context. The Daniels and O’Ryan families, who would testify as defence witnesses, were also members of the Christian Church and one of them, Merle Daniels, admitted to the Court that she “would like to protect the name of the Christian Church.”¹⁷⁵⁹ According to Patrick O’Ryan, Reuben O’Ryan and Richard Poggenpoel, all three friends of Tsafendas and members of the Church, the assassination embarrassed the Church and some of its members tried to distance themselves and their Church from Tsafendas.¹⁷⁶⁰

Peter and Helen Daniels had asked Gordon Winter, the *Post* journalist who interviewed them, not to mention that Helen was a preacher in the Christian Church because

¹⁷⁵⁶ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁵⁷ James Johnston statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Merle Daniels testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

it “would bring disgrace” on the Church.¹⁷⁶¹ Like the majority of the Greek community, some members of the sect tried to portray Tsafendas as not one of them in order to protect their reputation. In addition, Tsafendas also often clashed with leaders and members of the Christian Church because they advocated obedience to rule, including that of the governing National Party and its policy of apartheid.¹⁷⁶² Witnesses did not want to admit to the police that they had discussed various issues with Tsafendas and most likely made their comments so as to persuade the police that they did not respect Tsafendas or hold him in any sort of esteem.

As for Martincich, his conclusion is preposterous. If everyone who talked to himself were to be considered mentally unstable, the world would not be big enough to hold all their asylums. What is more, Martincich was the only one out of some three hundred witnesses who were interviewed by the police, the Commission and the author, who noticed Tsafendas mumbling to himself. This was a man who had known Tsafendas for three weeks, while people who lived with him in the same house or worked with him or socialised with him for many months and even years, failed to spot such a habit.

Others questioned by the South African police about Tsafendas’s mental state testified as follows:

- Reginald Robert Maile was the guard on the *Eleni* while it was docked in Cape Town from July 26, 1966 to September 3, 1966. He saw Tsafendas every day and told the police that he “never got the impression that he could be mentally defective. He was sober, polite and perfectly normal.”¹⁷⁶³
- Inspector Horacio Ferreira of the Portuguese Security Police was in charge of the cells where Tsafendas was held in custody in Beira in 1964. His statement to the police said he considered Tsafendas to be “normal and regarded him as a very intelligent person.”¹⁷⁶⁴
- Lt. Col. P.J.B. van Wyk of the South African police interviewed several people in Rhodesia and in Mozambique, including in Beira and Lourenço Marques, who knew Tsafendas. He stated in his report that Tsafendas, “for all purposes, can be seen as a

¹⁷⁶¹ Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes; Gordon Winter in a personal interview with Dr. James Sanders on behalf of the author, 19 August 2016.

¹⁷⁶² Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013.

¹⁷⁶³ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

¹⁷⁶⁴ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

normal, intelligent person.”¹⁷⁶⁵

- Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Greek Consul in Beira “was often in the company of the subject and others had several conversations with him.” He considered Tsafendas to be “a normal and very intelligent person.”¹⁷⁶⁶
- Hendrik van Loggenberg knew Tsafendas and his family well in Pretoria. He told the police that Tsafendas “definitely came across as normal ... he also seemed healthy ...”¹⁷⁶⁷
- Helen Grispos knew Tsafendas from birth and grew up with him, while her husband was Tsafendas’s best childhood friend. She told the police that Tsafendas was “well-mannered and intelligent.”¹⁷⁶⁸ She also told the author that she never thought Tsafendas was insane. “He never did or said anything to make me or George (her husband) think that he was insane.”¹⁷⁶⁹
- Albert Vercueil, Tsafendas’s boss at F. A. Poole in Pretoria, said that in the five months he worked with Tsafendas, he found him to be “not a very good worker, but will say that he was an intelligent worker.”¹⁷⁷⁰ He also testified to the Commission of Enquiry that he considered Tsafendas to be “an intelligent man, just untidy and lazy in rounding off his work.” He never got the impression that Mr. Tsafendas was not right in his mind.¹⁷⁷¹
- James Summers, owner of the “Barlings Tea Lounge,” which Tsafendas frequented from July 1966 until the assassination, testified that Tsafendas “was no nuisance, and appeared to be a quite normal, innocent type. I never had reason to even suspect that he could be mentally unbalanced. He acted quite normal.”¹⁷⁷²
- John Gianouris, the Greek Vice Consul at Lourenço Marques, described

¹⁷⁶⁵ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁷⁶⁶ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Hendrik Johannes van Loggenberg statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷⁷¹ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁷² Herbert James Summers statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Tsafendas as “a normal and intelligent person.”¹⁷⁷³

- August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be “very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease.”¹⁷⁷⁴
- Kyriakos Skordis who Tsafendas used to visit at his coffee shop in Durban for several months in 1965, testified that he “appeared to be quite normal and was apparently in a poor financial position.”¹⁷⁷⁵
- Costas Michaeletos,¹⁷⁷⁶ who knew Tsafendas from birth, stated, “Ever since I knew Dimetrios Tsafantakis, I never, any time observed that he showed any deviations. He also never was an aggressive type person.”¹⁷⁷⁷
- John Galanakis, who met Tsafendas in Umtali in 1964, told police that he found Tsafendas to be “an intelligent man.”¹⁷⁷⁸
- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour in Cape Town, interviewed Tsafendas twice. He testified to the police that Tsafendas was “neatly dressed” and he “never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally.”¹⁷⁷⁹
- Gideon Cloete, an employee in the Department of Labour, met Tsafendas twice and said he “seemed eager to get employment, was neatly dressed and had a clean appearance.” Cloete said he saw no signs of abnormality, that “he seemed perfectly normal.”¹⁷⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷³ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁷⁷⁴ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Kyriakos Skordis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁷⁶ The correct spelling is Michaeletos, not Michaeletos. Costas Michaeletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Costas Michaeletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas’s summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

- George Liberopoulos met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963 and described him to the police as a “normal person with a very high intelligence.”¹⁷⁸¹ Liberopoulos also stated to the author that he “never believed that Tsafendas was insane. He was perfectly normal; very clever man.”¹⁷⁸²
- Harry Hall, a member of the Christian Church, knew Tsafendas from March 1966 until his arrest. He testified to the police that he regarded Tsafendas “as a sub-standard intellect, but otherwise found him to be reasonably normal.”¹⁷⁸³
- George Ananiades met Tsafendas in 1963. He described him to the police as a “normal person with a very high-intelligence.”¹⁷⁸⁴ He later told the author that Tsafendas “is impossible to have been insane. He was a very intelligent and educated man. He was definitely able to function on a reasonable level.”¹⁷⁸⁵
- Ian Boswell, administrative assistant at the Department of Labour in Cape Town. He interviewed Tsafendas three times in 1966 and testified that “he was at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute. Aside from being over-talkative, he showed no symptoms of abnormality, during his interviews with me.”¹⁷⁸⁶
- John Verghis, owner of a coffee shop in Beira which Tsafendas visited often for several months, said he considered him to be a “normal person.”¹⁷⁸⁷
- None of Tsafendas’s five colleagues at the Parliament mentioned anything being wrong with him.¹⁷⁸⁸
- Petrus Schuin, the head messenger at the Parliament, was one of the three

¹⁷⁸¹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁷⁸² George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2015.

¹⁷⁸³ Harry Hall statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁷⁸⁴ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁷⁸⁵ George Ananiades in a personal interview, 21 June 2016.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

¹⁷⁸⁷ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Piet Bester Burger testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA; Fred Feinauer statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Feliz George Miles statement to the police, 7 October 1966. K150, Vol. 2, File: 1. NASA; Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA; Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

messengers who interviewed and appointed him. He told the Commission of Enquiry that “there was nothing out of the ordinary about him. Tsafendas was the same as any other person that had worked there.”¹⁷⁸⁹

- Sydney Wiehand, who was also one of the three messengers who had interviewed him at the Parliament, said about Tsafendas, “he was a quiet man. He wasn’t the rough type, or anything like that. He was quiet - quietly spoken, well-mannered.”¹⁷⁹⁰
- Mrs. Tsafandakis, Tsafendas’s sister in law, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas was “definitely not insane.”¹⁷⁹¹

Several people lived under the same roof or in close proximity to Tsafendas for substantial periods. None of them noticed anything wrong with him:

- Tsafendas lived in Fotini Gavasiadis’s house for a few weeks, then for the next eight months in an apartment next to hers. Throughout this period in Pretoria in 1963-1964, they were very close; she saw and talked to him every day and they worked together in her brother’s café. Gavasiadis never noticed anything wrong with Tsafendas and has no doubt that he was perfectly able to function, not just at a “reasonable level” but beyond that, since he was extremely intelligent and lucid. She told the author:

“Dimitris could buy you and sell you any time he wanted and as many times as he wanted to. He was so clever. He was very convincing and persuasive - he could turn black into white! If you disagreed with something with him, he would find a way to convince you that he is right and that you are wrong - even if you *know* that you are right and that he is wrong! If he made a mistake about something, he would turn things upside-down and at the end, he would even make you apologise to him.”

Gavasiadis laughed at the suggestion that Tsafendas was “unable to function on a reasonable level”:

“In those nine months, I saw him and spoke to him every day and not even once did he appear to have an issue with his speech or his thoughts. He was always the same. We spent hours and hours talking and his speech was never incoherent, disjointed, blocked or

¹⁷⁸⁹ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

¹⁷⁹¹ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

whatever else, it was always perfect. He never gave me even the slightest indication that he might be having the issues you mentioned. It must have been the doctor who said it, who was himself not able to function on a reasonable level if this was his diagnosis about Dimitri. Dimitri was not just able, but much more than able to function on a reasonable level. It’s absolutely ludicrous for someone to say this about Dimitri and it shows how little he knew him.”¹⁷⁹²

According to Professor Burke, “if you lived with somebody for nine months, you would know if this person was strange.”¹⁷⁹³

- Father Nikola Banovic lived in the same house as Tsafendas for four-five months in 1961, and then for another two-three months, he lived in a house next door. In all this time, he saw him every day. He declares that Tsafendas “was perfectly sane” and he does “not have the slightest doubt about it. It is impossible; Dimitri was not schizophrenic. With God as my witness, he was not crazy. He was more than capable of functioning on a reasonable level; he was a very intelligent and capable man. His brain was a level above most of ours.”¹⁷⁹⁴
- Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas’s first cousin, knew him since he was five years old and grew up alongside him in Mozambique and in Egypt. In Pretoria in 1964, she spent a lot of time with him, including two or three weeks when they lived in the same house. She told the author: “Dimitris unable to function on a reasonable level? Are you sure a doctor said that? I don’t know what kind of doctor he was, but he either examined a different person or he had completely lost the plot with Dimitris. Dimitris was one of the most capable and intelligent persons I ever met. Nobody who knew him is going to agree with what this doctor said.”¹⁷⁹⁵
- John Bornman lived with Tsafendas for six-seven weeks in April and May of 1966. He testified to the police that he found Tsafendas to be “normal, intelligent and friendly. He was neat in his person, but his eating habits were messy.”¹⁷⁹⁶
- Patrick O’Ryan hosted Tsafendas in his home for five months in 1965-1966 and was close to him up to his arrest. Tsafendas was described to him by a preacher of the

¹⁷⁹² Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

¹⁷⁹³ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Christian Church as a “highly cultured gentleman, a very refined gentleman who speaks seven languages.”¹⁷⁹⁷ He formed a “deep liking”¹⁷⁹⁸ for Tsafendas and considered him to be an “enlightened person.”¹⁷⁹⁹ He also testified that “I had confidence in him and used to like him. He was a very kindly man. In my experience of him he had a good heart ... I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind,” or that he “was mentally disturbed.”¹⁸⁰⁰ He also found Tsafendas to be “well-spoken and had good vocabulary.”¹⁸⁰¹

- Reuben O’Ryan lived in the same house as Tsafendas for five months. He considered him “perfectly normal,” saying, “no-one in my family ever thought that he was mad. He couldn’t have been insane.”¹⁸⁰²
- Stanley O’Ryan also lived in the same house as Tsafendas for five months and described him as a “very down to earth man, a very quiet man and very friendly. I never suspected, even in the slightest, that he might be unstable. No, never, nothing at all. Perfectly normal.”¹⁸⁰³
- Allan O’Ryan also lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept being in touch for another year. He told the author that no one in the house ever questioned Tsafendas’s sanity, “Never. There was no such thing as, ‘This person is mad,’ you know, or something like that. That never came through. [He was] always very sensible in his answers to anybody.”¹⁸⁰⁴
- Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas’s landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry: “it was a serviced room but I found him making his own bed. When he came to me he was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman. When he paid me, he had a bundle of notes and I took him to be a man of means.”¹⁸⁰⁵
- Elizabeth Groves was Tsafendas’s landlady for six or seven weeks and a retired

¹⁷⁹⁷ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁸⁰¹ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁸⁰² Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

¹⁸⁰³ Stanley O’Ryan in a personal interview with the author, 9 April 2015.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

psychiatric nurse. About Tsafendas she said, “I was a nurse and worked in lunatic institutions. He was a normal person to the best of my knowledge.”¹⁸⁰⁶

- Alice Mary Theyser was Tsafendas’s landlady from July 1, 1966 to August 30, 1966, just six days before the assassination. She testified to the police that she “never got the impression in any way that he might be mentally unbalanced. To me he appeared a quite normal person.”¹⁸⁰⁷
- Helen Daniels lived with Tsafendas in her parents’ house for six weeks in 1965 and “did not notice anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal.”¹⁸⁰⁸
- Marika Tsafantakis, Tsafendas’s stepmother, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas was “definitely not insane.”¹⁸⁰⁹
- Victor Tsafandakis, Tsafendas’s stepbrother, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas was “definitely not insane.”¹⁸¹⁰
- Kenneth Ross was Tsafendas’s landlord in Durban for two months in 1965. He did not mention anything to suggest that Tsafendas was unable to function on a reasonable level and even stated that he “was very fond of discussing politics and gave me the opinion that he was well-versed in politics.”¹⁸¹¹
- For two months in 1966 Tsafendas had his meals in Mary Scott’s boarding house. She told police that she “never got the impression that he could be mentally unbalanced. To me he appeared perfectly normal.”¹⁸¹²
- Richard Poggenpoel lived with him for two weeks in his house and kept on associating up to his arrest, “there was no mention or impression that he was mentally

¹⁸⁰⁶ Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Alice Mary Theyser statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

¹⁸⁰⁹ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

¹⁸¹⁰ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

¹⁸¹¹ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸¹² Mary Kathleen Scott statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

abnormal. He lived a completely normal life.”¹⁸¹³

- J. Willemse was Tsafendas’s landlord for one month in 1965. He characterised him as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.”¹⁸¹⁴
- In 1972, Alexander Moumbaris spent three months in the cell next to Tsafendas in Pretoria Prison. They spoke every day for an hour when they exercised together in the prison yard. Moumbaris laughed when the author told him of Dr. Cooper’s comment [that Tsafendas was unable to function on a reasonable level]. He said:

“It’s not true. Tsafendas was highly intelligent and lucid. He was very able and determined, if he wanted to do something, he would do it... The fact that he managed to survive the prison and remain sane after all he went through also shows you how capable and how strong he was.”

Moumbaris also told the author that he found Tsafendas to be “perfectly normal, a very intelligent, witty, serious and knowledgeable person.”¹⁸¹⁵

- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott’s boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest. He, too, disagrees with Dr. Cooper’s diagnosis. “Dimitri was not mad, not even a little. He was an exceptional man, very clever too.”¹⁸¹⁶
- Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos was Tsafendas’s landlady for three weeks in 1966. She testified to the police that she “considered him to be a completely normal person.”¹⁸¹⁷
- Andreas Babiolakis lived with Tsafendas in the same house in Beira for two or three months and knew him since they were children. As for Tsafendas being mad, he told the author:

“If he was mad, then the whole world must be mad. He was not even the slightest disturbed. Every single Greek in Mozambique discussed Dimitri after we heard about the tapeworm; not even one from those who had met him believed that he was mad. He was not; we all said the same thing. He made it up, as he did with the Saint Peter act. If someone believes that he was mad, he did not meet him Dimitri, but someone else.

¹⁸¹³ Richard Poggenpoel statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸¹⁴ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

¹⁸¹⁵ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

¹⁸¹⁶ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

¹⁸¹⁷ Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Dimitris was ahead of his time. Everything he was saying about Africa and Mozambique was correct and have happened. He was telling us [the Greeks], including me, to take our money and leave as long as there was time, because sooner or later the Portuguese would be kicked out and everything we had ‘stolen’ from the Mozambicans would be returned to them. We should have heard him, but none of us did and I told you what happened ... he was a good and bright man. The things he was saying at the time seemed wrong and maybe stupid, but we couldn’t see beyond our noses.”¹⁸¹⁸

- Nick Papadakis also lived with Tsafendas in the same flat for two months in Beira and Gondola. He told the author: “I never believed, not even after I read what happened in the trial, that he was insane. He played the fool and they believed him. It’s impossible that he was insane, he was absolutely fine and very clever.”¹⁸¹⁹
- Eleni Vlachopoulos, Tsafendas’s stepsister, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas was “definitely not insane.”¹⁸²⁰
- Evangelia Nissiotis, Tsafendas’s stepsister, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas was “definitely not insane.”¹⁸²¹
- Irene Michaletos was visited frequently by Tsafendas in her house in Beira for several months between 1964 and 1965. He even spent the night there several times. She never noticed anything wrong with him and was sure that he was perfectly sane. She flatly denied to the author the suggestion that Tsafendas was unable to function on a reasonable level.¹⁸²²
- In 1951 and between 1963 and 1965, Tsafendas slept for several nights in the house of his aunt Artemis Michaletos in Lourenço Marques. Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas’s cousins and Artemis’s sons, who also lived at the same house at the time, spent several hours talking to him. They both strongly denied to the author that Tsafendas was unable to function at a reasonable level. They both consider him to be “a very intelligent and capable person.” Furthermore, they told the author that their mother who had brought Tsafendas up in Egypt and lived in Lourenço Marques while he was growing

¹⁸¹⁸ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

¹⁸¹⁹ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

¹⁸²⁰ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

¹⁸²¹ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

¹⁸²² Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

up there, always maintained that he was “perfectly sane and very intelligent.” John Michaletos also told the author that he and his mother used to tell Tsafendas that “he should be a politician or a lawyer,” on account of cleverness and excellent fluency in talking.¹⁸²³ It is difficult to believe that Artemis and John Michaletos would have envisaged Tsafendas as a successful politician or lawyer if he was unable to function on a reasonable level. Artemis had known him since he was two and a half years old and watched him learn and grow through infancy. It is difficult to believe that Artemis and John Michaletos would have envisaged Tsafendas as a successful politician or lawyer if he talking in a disjointed manner. Artemis had known him since he was two and a half years old and watched him learn and grow through infancy. John Michaletos also smiled and shook his head in disbelief at Dr. Cooper’s statement on which he refused to comment because he found it absurd; he believes that what he already told the author about Tsafendas was enough to demonstrate how wrong Dr. Cooper’s diagnosis was.¹⁸²⁴

- Stelios Marangos was Tsafendas’s landlord in Beira for six weeks. He did not mention anything to the police about Tsafendas being “unstable” or strange.¹⁸²⁵

In addition to the above testimonies, the author asked fifty-eight people who knew Tsafendas and none of them believed that Tsafendas was unable to function on a reasonable level. The statements of those who knew him better are listed in the Tapeworm section.

Furthermore, Tsafendas was a frequent babysitter for the sons of his half-sister Elena Vlachopoulos, who were seven and five-years old, and for the three-year-old son of his sister-in-law Fotini Gavasiadis in Pretoria, as well as for the four-year-old daughter of his friend Patrick O’Ryan in Cape Town.¹⁸²⁶ It is unthinkable that parents would trust a person to look after their children if they thought there was something wrong with him or that he was unable to function on a reasonable level.

Furthermore, Tsafendas’s “activities” while in prison after the assassination is further proof of his ability to function and adjust to any given circumstances. While imprisoned on Robben Island and later in Pretoria Central Prison, he spent most of his time in solitary confinement, separated from other prisoners and without access to books, newspapers, radio

¹⁸²³ John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁸²⁴ John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁸²⁵ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁸²⁶ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015; Michael Vlachopoulos in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

or magazines. After a few years in Pretoria Central Prison he was allowed to read the Bible and a little later he was allowed to read dictionaries, but nothing else. In both prisons, even the warders were not allowed to talk to him. He was in complete isolation. Sometimes he spent several days without being allowed to come out of his cell. In order to fill his time and to not go crazy (as he said), resourceful as ever, he found ways of passing the time and having something to do. Since he had no one to talk to and nothing to do Tsafendas developed a programme of mind activities to do while in the cell; partly to fill his time, but mostly, as he specifically said, to keep his mind active and sharp. He had loved music since he was a child, and there had not been many days when he had not listened to it. Since he was now not allowed access to a radio, Tsafendas started signing inside himself (in his mind and with the back of his mouth, but not out loud) revolutionary songs, such as the *Song of Freedom* and *Bella Ciao*. He believed that the lyrics of the songs gave him strength, but it was also a form of entertainment for him.¹⁸²⁷

Tsafendas believed that in order to keep his mind active and sharp, he had to be creative. Throughout his time in jail, he had created a “reading hour” and a “writing hour” for each day, in which he would read in his mind some of his favourite books and try to recreate them with pictures in his mind, or else create a completely new story. He told Father Minas that it was like watching a movie in his mind. Generally, he tried to sleep as much as possible, so he could dream.¹⁸²⁸

Tsafendas said that he was trying to keep his mind constantly busy and thought that the best way of doing it, also because it was helping to beat the boredom, was to create stories. He claimed that he had created thousands of stories in this fashion. He stopped this technique as soon as he was transferred to the Sterkfontein hospital where he had access to newspapers, radio, books and even TV. On other occasions, while he was trying to sleep, he would think of a historical event, for example the Storming of the Bastille, and imagine how it must have happened; how it must have been, how the events had unfolded as he knew them, based on what he had read.¹⁸²⁹

Furthermore, in order to keep his mind sharp and active, he even came up with mathematical problems. He would quickly come up with large and complicated numbers, usually dividing them and multiplying them with other large numbers. For example, 2.764

¹⁸²⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁸²⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁸²⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

times 23 divided by 8 and things like that. Tsafendas enjoyed this enormously and created each day a “mathematical hour” in which he attempted to solve mathematical problems like this. Books, fictional stories and mathematical problems were not the only things in his mind. He also dreamt of his life outside the prison once he was released. He hoped that one day he would be released. He was dreaming of another life in Cuba or in a democratic South Africa or Mozambique.¹⁸³⁰

Sleeping was Tsafendas’s favourite activity in prison. He went to sleep, hoping that he would have a pleasant dream. It was during his time in prison that he first started sleeping in the afternoons. Before this, he had generally believed that sleeping was a waste of time and had tried to sleep as little as possible: just enough to give him strength. Usually he slept for six hours every day and eight on Sundays. However, in prison, he slept much more than that. He was desperate to dream and carry himself outside of the prison, and he believed that by making up stories in his mind and revisiting books he had read, he was helping himself to dream better.¹⁸³¹

Finally, the Commission of Enquiry questioned all of Tsafendas’s closest family, including his step-mother, Marika, two of his three half-sisters, his half-brother, his two brothers-in-law and his sister-in-law. Every one of them told the Commission that Tsafendas “was definitely not insane.”¹⁸³² Furthermore, the Commission of Enquiry reported that persons who knew Tsafendas and his family in Pretoria considered him to be “eccentric, but did not think he was mentally disordered.”¹⁸³³

According to Professor Burke it would have been impossible for these people, especially those who lived with him under the same roof, not to notice if Tsafendas was mentally unstable. It would not have been possible for Tsafendas to hide his schizophrenia for so long from so many. He said:

“If Tsafendas’s functioning was so impaired, someone would have noticed - all these years and all these people. How would people not have picked this up? His employers, his family members, whatever? Schizophrenia is blatant, you can see it, and there would have been times that he would have been overtly, observably, psychotic, and if you know psychotic people, you see it. Schizophrenic patients, typically, do not look after themselves;

¹⁸³⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁸³¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁸³² COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

¹⁸³³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 6.

they would not bath, they would not shave, they would act in strange ways, you would see that they are hallucinating, so there would be some very clear indicators that there is something wrong with them, in any kind of environment. His family would have picked it up, his employers would have picked it up; those people would have picked it up.

The other thing that we have to question is how he could plan his behaviour and his trips, so perfectly? What you typically find with schizophrenic patients, is they become homeless people, so they can't find a job, or whatever the case may be, so, in his case, he was very rational and planning in what he did. I mean, if the story about the hospital in England is true (about visiting the Isle of Wight and immediately admitting himself to the hospital), that requires a lot of planning: 'I'm going to go there, and I'm going to stay in the hospital, and I'm going to go ...' that, typically doesn't happen. You would see paranoid schizophrenic patients as homeless people, because they drop out of society, they can't think, they can't plan, they can't really care for themselves, and that's the giveaway. So, your first indication of schizophrenia is to what extent personal hygiene is intact, to what extent the person can function properly, because if you have schizophrenia, you can't do any of those things.”¹⁸³⁴

A man who was able to find a job wherever he wanted in almost every country he went to can clearly function on a reasonable level. In addition, Tsafendas was able to plan and find a solution to his financial problem when he was stuck in Istanbul without money. He sold his blood at a hospital in order to earn some money.¹⁸³⁵ Finally, two examples of Tsafendas's powers of observation and his supposed “inability” to function on a reasonable level:

In August 1976, the British Sunday newspaper *The Observer* published a story which claimed that Tsafendas was a broken, old man, who was being ill-treated by the warders in Pretoria Maximum Security Central Prison. General H.J. van den Bergh, the head of BOSS, the South African intelligence agency, sent Gordon Winter, a journalist employed by the government newspaper *The Citizen*¹⁸³⁶ and an undercover agent for BOSS, to do a story

¹⁸³⁴ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

¹⁸³⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁸³⁶ *The Citizen* was a government-funded English-language newspaper, launched in 1976. It was a pro-apartheid propaganda sheet designed to counter the liberal political position of the long-established *Rand Daily Mail* and to positively promote apartheid (Hachten and Giffard, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 250-251, 275; Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*, p. 99).

refuting these claims.¹⁸³⁷

Winter visited Tsafendas accompanied by General Jannie Roux, the Deputy Commissioner of Prisons and by Brigadier Gerrie Visser, the Commanding Officer of the Pretoria prison. Speaking in front of the prison officials, Tsafendas denied being ill-treated. However, when Winter found himself alone with Tsafendas for a few minutes, he whispered to him, “Of course, you must have been ill-treated at *some* time, haven’t you?” Tsafendas turned to him and said coolly, “You are obviously here to do a denial story for the new government newspaper *The Citizen*, so what’s that question supposed to mean?” Winter was stunned. Tsafendas had not only deduced that Winter’s instructions were to produce a denial of *The Observer* story, but he had realised that *The Citizen*, which had only recently been launched, was the government’s mouthpiece. Winter then said, “I can’t write a completely one-sided story saying what a bed of roses you have in jail. I’ve got to put a few small niggles in to make it look credible.” Tsafendas got the point and a little later, when Roux and Visser returned, Winter asked him if he had any complaints. Taking his cue, Tsafendas smiled at Brigadier Visser, “Yes,” he said, “there was one warder who was always abusive and tormented me. One day when he pretended to spit in my tray of food I complained to the Brigadier. And you reprimanded him severely, didn’t you sir?” Visser was caught off guard by Tsafendas and, flustered, agreed that he had done so. Winter said later that Tsafendas was not just sane, but “a highly intelligent man, seriously highly intelligent, remarkably astute, charming and even witty.”¹⁸³⁸

¹⁸³⁷ Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness*; Winter, *Inside BOSS: South Africa’s Secret Police*, p. 477-479.

¹⁸³⁸ Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness*; Winter, *Inside BOSS: South Africa’s Secret Police*, p. 477-479.

The first time Father Minas Constandinou visited him in prison, their guard was walking nervously up and down. Tsafendas said he was trying to decide if the guard was getting a divorce or if his wife was just untidy. When the priest asked what he meant, Tsafendas pointed out that the guard was wearing a wedding ring, proof that he was married. His shoes were always shined but often his uniform was not ironed. While it was easy for a man to clean his shoes, Tsafendas said, many men could not iron their clothes. This suggested to him that either his wife was incompetent or lax in domestic affairs or they were not living together.¹⁸³⁹

The very next defence witnesses, next day, Dr. Muller, would contradict Dr. Cooper's testimony. Dr. Muller, although not a psychiatrist, would find Tsafendas "not particularly disturbed", "intelligent and able to understand what was said to him", with "no difficulty at all in expressing himself" and with no problem communicating and answering his questions.¹⁸⁴⁰

Professors Alban Burke, Phillip Resnick, Robert L. Sadoff and Tuviah Zabow believe that it is extremely unlikely, and very close to impossible, that none of the people who knew Tsafendas, some extremely well, ever noticed that he was unable to function on a reasonable level.¹⁸⁴¹ Reyner van Zyl, who examined Tsafendas for the defence, told the author that it was "highly improbable."¹⁸⁴²

TSAFENDAS NOT BEING LAZY

The Court attempted to claim that Tsafendas was probably lazy, but Dr. Cooper dismissed this suggestion. He said Tsafendas "did not fall into that category" and that it was the tapeworm perception which caused Tsafendas to lose all these jobs. What is surprising here is that the police and the Attorney-General were in possession of evidence supporting the argument that Tsafendas was indeed lazy, which was why he had lost several jobs, but none of this evidence was used. The following facts and statements were available:

- On June 12, 1942, the Deputy Commissioner of Witwatersrand Division of the South African Police, informed the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs that

¹⁸³⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Dr. Hendrik Muller testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁸⁴¹ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016; Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 17 December 2016; Professor Robert L. Sadoff in a personal interview with the author, 12 August 2015; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 10 October 2016.

¹⁸⁴² Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 17 April 2016.

when working for the British Mining Supply Company, Tsafendas “was discharged from his employment on account of irregular attendance and loafing.”¹⁸⁴³

- Keith Martincich told the police that Tsafendas “appeared to be one of the laziest persons that I have ever seen ... He was definitely lazy.”¹⁸⁴⁴
- Ralph Lighton told the police: “I got to know that he was lazy and inefficient.”¹⁸⁴⁵
- Jacobus Bornman told the police: “I believed that he was a lazy person.”¹⁸⁴⁶
- Charles Nissiotis told the police: “I asked him to assist my wife in the cafe we owned at that time. He was however so lazy that my wife told him to leave within the first two days.”¹⁸⁴⁷
- Hendrik Johannes van Loggenberg: “the accused was work-shy for hard work.”¹⁸⁴⁸
- Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos He: “he gave me the impression that he is work-shy.”¹⁸⁴⁹
- Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen, Tsafendas’s tram instructor, testified to the police that he was “slow” and “lazy.”¹⁸⁵⁰
- According to a PIDE report given to the South African police, in 1962 Tsafendas was dismissed for being lazy while working as a welder on a bridge over the river Tejo in Lisbon.¹⁸⁵¹

Because none of this bountiful available evidence was led, Dr. Cooper’s misdiagnosis prevailed. What is certain is that his diagnosis would have been entirely different had he been aware of such information. Tsafendas himself admitted to many witnesses that he was lazy.

¹⁸⁴³ Confidential Letter of the Lieutenant for the Deputy Commissioner of Witwatersrand Division to the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs. 12 June 1942. K150, Vol. 3, File: W.D. 10/10/4102. Subject: Enquiry regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis. NASA.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Charles Nissiotis statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁴⁸ Hendrik Johannes van Loggenberg statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁵¹ Confidential PIDE report regarding Dimitro Tsafendas, 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

He said that he would work only hard enough to make ends meet and only when absolutely necessary.

His half-sister Katerina Pnefma described him to the author as being “bone-lazy.” She said: “If you told him to come and help clean the house, he would tell you, ‘I can’t be bothered.’ But if you told him, ‘Let’s go to clean the place where a political meeting was going to take place or to distribute political leaflets,’ he would have come immediately.”¹⁸⁵² Andreas Babiolakis stated to the author that Tsafendas “was one of the laziest persons I have ever seen. You could tell from the way he was walking he was lazy; he was so slow.”¹⁸⁵³ Generally, he found work boring, except when he liked the job. He said his favourite job was that of a teacher, and said that he could even do it for free, which was one reason why he taught children voluntarily in Mozambique and in Istanbul.

Although Tsafendas’s tendency was to indolence, he would often work without pay when he wanted to help people. He taught the children freely in Turkey and Mozambique because he thought it was important for them to learn. He helped an elderly Indian man in Beira to build an additional room to his house for his daughter’s wedding, joining in the physical labour.¹⁸⁵⁴ He helped the sister of his brother in law in her café in Pretoria. The volunteering jobs, were probably unknown to the State, but his teaching stint in Istanbul and the one with F.A. Poole must have been known and could have been used against the argument that Tsafendas was unable to hold a job, and only simple and menial ones at that - unless the Attorney-General considered college-level teaching to be simple and menial.

During Dr. Cooper’s testimony, he refers to something Tsafendas told him, adding “if his story is correct.” However he does not check if it is correct when it would have been relatively easy to do so. In fairness, much of the evidence for Tsafendas’s laziness would have been unknown to Dr. Cooper. As for the Attorney-General, once again, the author is not in position to know whether he was given all relevant information or chose not to use it.

There is further evidence which contradicts Dr. Cooper’s conclusion regarding Tsafendas’s employment record and activities. This will be considered in relation to Dr. Kossew as some of it is more relevant to his testimony.

¹⁸⁵² Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁸⁵³ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

TSAFENDAS'S RELATIONSHIPS

DR. COOPER: In this type of mental illness, the individual tends to be rather isolated from his surroundings in the sense that he tends to not make any close friends, not maintain any close friendships - he does not really concern himself terribly with any intimate relationship and is in fact quite unable to form and maintain any intimate relationships. He tends to be rather untidy, neglectful of his appearance; he tends to have difficulties in concentrating and applying himself consistently; he tends in fact to be a daydreamer, preoccupied with his own inner thoughts which are not in fact directly related to the environment around him; and he quite often tends to lead an aimless, almost vagrant, useless sort of life, with very little go, very little ambition, very little achievement, very little worthwhile.”

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S RELATIONSHIPS

a. *“In this type of mental illness the individual tends to be rather isolated from his surroundings in the sense that he tends to not make any close friends, not maintain any close friendships - he does not really concern himself terribly with any intimate relationship and is in fact quite unable to form and maintain any intimate relationships.”*

To relate this condition to Tsafendas and claim that he was “isolated from his surroundings,” unable to form an intimate relationship and that he did not maintain any close friendship is entirely inaccurate. Tsafendas had two very good childhood friends and kept in touch with them all his life.

The first was Manuel, who he knew as a small boy when they played together. After leaving Mozambique, Tsafendas kept in touch with Manuel, corresponding regularly and often sending him gifts from wherever he was in the world at that time. In 1951, when Tsafendas was denied entry in Lourenço Marques, he took refuge in Manuel's house, and when he returned to the city in 1963, they were together almost every day. He also spent a few evenings in Manuel's house. He stayed in touch with Manuel up until his arrest for Verwoerd's assassination.¹⁸⁵⁵

Another childhood friend was John Michaletos,¹⁸⁵⁶ who corresponded with Tsafendas even while he was in jail; in 1947 he recruited Tsafendas to the Greek Communist Party and

¹⁸⁵⁵ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Again we do not know whether it is the doctor or the professor.

its military wing the DSE, and Tsafendas spent Christmas with him in 1961. The two were together consistently from 1926 to 1941 and from 1947 to 1949.¹⁸⁵⁷

Another friend from school days was George Grispos, who also kept in touch over the years; Tsafendas visited him in Umtali in 1963.¹⁸⁵⁸ Another friendship which endured over the years was between Tsafendas and Ira Kyriakakis¹⁸⁵⁹ and he was also very friendly with Irene Michaletos, daughter-in-law of his aunt Artemis Michaletos.¹⁸⁶⁰

Tsafendas's best friend was Patrick O'Ryan. Tsafendas lived in his house for five months and then visited him at his home at least once every ten days. He rated him the best person he ever met. Patrick O'Ryan testified openly that he thought very highly of Tsafendas.¹⁸⁶¹ When he died, O'Ryan travelled from Cape Town to Sterkfontein for his funeral.¹⁸⁶²

Father Nikola Banovic who lived with Tsafendas for four to five months in Istanbul in 1961 also formed a strong relationship with Tsafendas and they kept in touch until Tsafendas was imprisoned. Tsafendas formed a strong bond with Limasollu Naci, the language college owner in Istanbul who hired him to teach English.¹⁸⁶³ Tsafendas also had a very warm friendship with Fotini Gavasiadis, the sister of Nikos Vlachopoulos, his brother in law. Fotini invited Tsafendas to be a guest in the house where she lived with her husband and small son in Pretoria in 1963. After a few weeks, he moved into an apartment next door where he stayed for the following eight months. During this period, he spent much of his time back in her house, almost like flatmates. Throughout these nine months, Tsafendas and Gavasiadis also worked together in her brother's café. Fotini got to know Tsafendas very well and ranked among his closest friends.¹⁸⁶⁴ Finally, he also had a very good friendship with Helen Kavadias-Grispos, Giorgos Grispos's wife, another he had known since they were children.¹⁸⁶⁵

The above were all "close friendships." When it came to "intimate relationships,"

¹⁸⁵⁷ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁸⁶¹ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA; Patrick O' Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

¹⁸⁶² *South African Press Association*, 'Small Group Gather for Tsafendas' Funeral', 9 October 1999.

¹⁸⁶³ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

Tsafendas was keen to marry and raise a family, as was testified Helen Daniels,¹⁸⁶⁶ Caroline Barbeau¹⁸⁶⁷ and Tsafendas himself.¹⁸⁶⁸ Tsafendas, Helen Daniels and Caroline Barbeau¹⁸⁶⁹ told the police that he wanted to be reclassified as Coloured in order to marry Helen Daniels. Tsafendas also had a special interest in Sybie Barendilla.¹⁸⁷⁰

It is impossible to know specifics of the love life of a peripatetic person such as Tsafendas, but as an adult, he certainly had at least two long and serious relationships. They were both in the 1950s; with a German woman while he lived in Germany which lasted for at least two years, and with a Portuguese woman while he lived in Lisbon which lasted at least a year. In addition, Tsafendas also had a relationship with a Turkish woman in Istanbul which lasted a few months but ended because neither was willing to accept the other's religion in order to marry, and with a Greek woman in Athens in the late 1940s. In his younger years, he had another two relationships of at least a year each with Stella, a Mozambican woman around 1936-1939, and a Jewish woman in South Africa for a year around 1940.¹⁸⁷¹ Jacobus Bornman, Tsafendas's flatmate for two months told the police, "As far as I know, Tsafendas loves women, he talked a lot about women and I believed that he attended church services so often to make contact with the woman he met there."¹⁸⁷²

Dr. Cooper characterised the Tsafendas type as "isolated... a day-dreamer preoccupied with his own inner thoughts." While two witnesses out of around two hundred who testified to the police and to the Commission that Tsafendas "did not mix freely and kept to himself most of the time",¹⁸⁷³ and that he was "not very talkative,"¹⁸⁷⁴ the vast majority declared the opposite.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Demitrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Sybie Barendilla statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁷¹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; van Woerden, *A Mouthful of Glass*, p. 139.

¹⁸⁷² Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁷³ Charles Edwin Woods statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

- William Mare Volbrecht, a friend and schoolmate at the English Medium Primary School in Middleburg, testified to the police that Tsafendas was “never a loner and freely mingled with us.”¹⁸⁷⁵ Tsafendas’s half-sister, Katerina Pnefma, his first cousin who grew up with him in Egypt and Lourenço Marques, and Ira Kyriakakis, Helen Grispos and Andreas Babiolakis, who also grew up with him, said that from childhood Tsafendas was sociable, friendly and very talkative.¹⁸⁷⁶
- Johannes Aurets, Tsafendas’s supervisor at the South African Railways, told the police Tsafendas “was a well-mannered and well-spoken person. He associated with those working with him. He was soft-spoken and appeared to be of a good nature. During the time he was employed under my supervision, i.e. for approximately three weeks, I did not see him being cross at any time.”¹⁸⁷⁷
- An unnamed “respected member of the Press gallery” in the House of Assembly “who knew Tsafendas well” spoke to René MacColl, *Daily Express*’s chief foreign correspondent, about Tsafendas. He said that “far from being a withdrawn sort of man, he seemed to be intent on impressing his personality on one. There was always the big smile, the ready chat and an almost obsessive intention to make you remember him. There couldn’t have been a less grey or faceless figure.”¹⁸⁷⁸
- J. Willemse was Tsafendas’s landlord for one month in 1965. He characterised him as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.”¹⁸⁷⁹
- Keith Martincich who worked with him at the Marine Diamond Corporation testified that Tsafendas “spoke to me every day and I got the impression that he was sociable type.”¹⁸⁸⁰
- Hulse, who worked with him at the Marine Diamond Corporation for nine or ten weeks said “Tsafendas was very talkative and always expressed his...”¹⁸⁸¹
- Ian Boswell of the Department of Labour, in his description of Tsafendas, included the

¹⁸⁷⁵ William Mare Volbrecht statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Verklaring deur Majdor Venter. NASA.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Johannes Jaconus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁷⁸ *Daily Express*, ‘Was It Murder Incorporated?’, 9 September 1966: 2.

¹⁸⁷⁹ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁸¹ Hulse statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; The edge of the document was not copied, so the word is missing.

phrase, “aside from being over talkative ...”¹⁸⁸²

- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, another employment officer at the Department of Labour, testified that “he was very talkative.”¹⁸⁸³
- Owen Smorenberg, who worked with him for five-six weeks, testified that “Tsafendas was very talkative and gave the impression that he was very friendly. He wanted to talk to everybody and it became known to me that he was able to speak different languages.”¹⁸⁸⁴
- Albert Vercueil, his boss at F.A. Poole Engineering for five months, found him to be a “very friendly, social and talkative person.”¹⁸⁸⁵
- Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden worked with Tsafendas for some three months at the Marine Diamond Corporation and testified that “he was friendly, outgoing, and was not aloof.”¹⁸⁸⁶
- Jacobus Bormman, his flatmate for two months, summed Tsafendas up as “a friendly and plausible person.”¹⁸⁸⁷
- Michaelis Augustides, Tsafendas’s employer for two months, found him to be “overly talkative and sociable.”¹⁸⁸⁸
- Mario Ferreira, who worked with him for six weeks at the Table Power Station, found him to be “very polite and easy-going ... I don’t think he struck up conversations, I think you basically had to talk to him.”¹⁸⁸⁹
- His colleagues in Frankfurt found Tsafendas to be “always smiling,” and characterized him as being “very kind”, “a nice guy” and a “good comrade.”¹⁸⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸² Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

¹⁸⁸³ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Owen Smorenburg statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 oor Stafendas. NASA.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Jacobus Johannes Bormman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 241.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Mario Ferreira in a personal interview, 21 May 2019.

¹⁸⁹⁰ PIDE’s News Digest; *Le Courrier d’Afrique*, ‘Em Torno Do Assassinado do Primeiro Ministro Sulafricano; Versoes Contraditorias Circulam Sobre A Personalidade Do Assassino’, 9 September 1966: 1. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1;

- August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be “very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease.”¹⁸⁹¹
- Jose Lopez Baltazar a fireman in Beira, testified that “when Tsafendas was in the presence of Whites he said little or nothing, but was friendly and talkative with the Bantu. On one or two occasions Tsafendas, while talking with Bantu, stopped talking when he approached.”¹⁸⁹²
- Reginald Maile, shipguard on the *Eleni*, testified that Tsafendas was “on very friendly relations with the crew.”¹⁸⁹³
- Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for two months and testified to the police that he had “a very friendly way of talking.”¹⁸⁹⁴ Judson later said that Tsafendas was “overly talkative and sociable.”¹⁸⁹⁵
- Jose Baltazar, a fireman in Beira, testified to the police that when Tsafendas “was in the presence of whites he said little or nothing, but was friendly and talkative with the Bantu.”¹⁸⁹⁶
- Panagiotis Peroglou who knew Tsafendas for about a year, testified to the police but his statements have gone missing, However, in a personal interview, he and his wife Pamela Abrahams, who had also met Tsafendas, characterised him as “very talkative, courteous and friendly.”¹⁸⁹⁷
- Peter Pappas said that Tsafendas often ate at his cafe and he found him pleasant. Pappas also stated that Tsafendas was friendly with white down-and-outs and when he had some

Natal Witness, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

¹⁸⁹¹ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁸⁹² Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁸⁹³ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 241.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁸⁹⁷ Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

money he would give them a few cents.¹⁸⁹⁸

- Colleagues at Durban Magistrate's Court described him as the "chatty Greek."¹⁸⁹⁹

Perhaps, the most convincing proof that Tsafendas was not "rather isolated from his surroundings in the sense that he tends to not make any close friends, not maintain any close friendships - he does not really concern himself terribly with any intimate relationship," as Dr. Cooper suggested, comes from Guenter Haafe, doorman at the Frankfurt factory where Tsafendas worked for six weeks in 1958. Haafe was interviewed eight years later, shortly after the assassination, and vividly remembered the jovial greeting Tsafendas gave him every morning. "He was a jolly man, always smiling and friendly. He would almost always come into my locker (room) to say Hi. He was really one of the friendliest workers I have met and trust me, in my twelve years as a doorman I have seen thousands and thousands of faces coming in and out. This man was courteous, they do not make them like that anymore."¹⁹⁰⁰ Horst Hartmann, Tsafendas's chief on the Frankfurt job, said Tsafendas was "well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous ... a very pleasant man... he looked like a satisfied, successful businessman we liked him ... always laughing, a good worker."¹⁹⁰¹

As well as the witnesses questioned by the police, most of the seventy-five interviewed by the author characterised Tsafendas as very friendly, very sociable and very talkative. None agreed with Dr. Cooper's diagnosis. Their testimonies cannot be listed here for reasons of space, but the words of those reproduced above clearly prove Dr Cooper's diagnosis was wrong.¹⁹⁰² Again, none of the statements given to the police was used to challenge Dr. Cooper.

b. "He tends to be rather untidy, neglectful of his appearance."

Wholly or partly inaccurate is the reference to Tsafendas looking untidy and neglected. Four witnesses made statements to the police supporting Dr. Cooper's testimony:

¹⁸⁹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend', 14 September 1966.

¹⁸⁹⁹ *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Algumas Versoes Sobre A Vida de Tsafendas', 8 September 1966.

¹⁹⁰⁰ *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17; *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

¹⁹⁰¹ *Daily Dispatch*, 'He Made A Good Impression', 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, 'The Assassin', 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

¹⁹⁰² If someone is not satisfied with the evidence presented here, the study can produce all the statements regarding this issue.

- Helen Daniels testified to the police that when she first saw Tsafendas his “clothes were dirty and neglected.” However, Tsafendas had just arrived in Cape Town from Durban after a twenty-four-hour journey by train but also hitch-hiking. Helen Daniels also testified that Tsafendas had with him a “large bundle of dirty laundry.” All this suggests is that Tsafendas had not been able to wash his clothes. This was confirmed by Merle Daniels, Helen’s sister-in-law, who testified that as soon as Tsafendas arrived, he gave her all his clothes to be washed and after that, his clothes were always clean.¹⁹⁰³
- Nickolas Nel, who had an argument with Tsafendas while they were working at F.A. Poole Engineering, testified that he “had a messy and dirty appearance.”¹⁹⁰⁴
- Landlady Wilhelmina de Vos testified that Tsafendas was “dirty.”¹⁹⁰⁵
- Gillian Claire Lieberman, personnel secretary with Marine Diamond Corporation, told the police that Tsafendas had “dirty, sloppy clothes.”¹⁹⁰⁶ But she had only seen Tsafendas at work, where dirty clothes were the norm.

However, the majority who talked to the police said Tsafendas’s appearance was neat and clean and that he was very well dressed:

- The report by Police Col. van Wyk, which contained interviews with people from Rhodesia and Mozambique, concluded that Tsafendas “was always neatly dressed.”¹⁹⁰⁷
- Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas’s landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry, “It was a serviced room but I found him making his own bed. When he came to me, he was well-dressed, well-spoken and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman. When he paid me, he had a bundle of notes and I took him to be a man of means.”¹⁹⁰⁸

¹⁹⁰³ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Marle Daniels testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

¹⁹⁰⁵ Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁹⁰⁷ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

- Ian Boswell, an officer at the Department of Labour, testified that Tsafendas was “at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute.”¹⁹⁰⁹
- Gideon Cloete, an officer at the Department of Labour, testified that Tsafendas “was neatly dressed and had a clean appearance.”¹⁹¹⁰
- Jacobus Borman testified that “according to my observation, Tsafendas was a gentle person. He was neat in his person, but his eating habits were not up to scratch.”¹⁹¹¹
- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys of the Department of Labour in Cape Town interviewed Tsafendas twice. He told the police that Tsafendas was “neatly dressed.”¹⁹¹²
- Redvers Quintin Wakfer, who worked with Tsafendas for six weeks at the Power Station in Cape Town, testified that Tsafendas was “neatly dressed.”¹⁹¹³
- Edward Furness testified that Tsafendas “was well-dressed and appeared to be wealthy.”¹⁹¹⁴
- Katerina Pnema, his half-sister, testified that Tsafendas “was well-dressed and gave a good appearance” although as far as she could see he had no visible means of support.¹⁹¹⁵ She later also stated that Tsafendas was always very well dressed and never saw him wearing dirty clothes except when he was coming back from work. “He was always well-dressed. I remember my poor mother often knitting something for him.” She also remembers Tsafendas being overly clean as a child, refusing to eat without washing his hands first. “When we were playing outside the house and someone had a chocolate or some bread, he would first go to the house, wash his hands and then he would eat it.”¹⁹¹⁶
- For two months in 1966 Tsafendas had his meals in Mary Scott’s boarding house. She told the police, “Whilst the accused had his meals with me, I found him to be very poorly

¹⁹⁰⁹ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

¹⁹¹⁰ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas’s summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

¹⁹¹¹ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁹¹² Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

¹⁹¹³ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA; Redvers Quintin Wakfer statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub File: 1/5, Subject Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

¹⁹¹⁴ Edward Furness statement to the police 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁹¹⁵ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

¹⁹¹⁶ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

mannered - so-much-so that I named him "Vark." His clothing however was clean and always tidy.¹⁹¹⁷

- Sidney Wiehand, one of the three senior messengers who interviewed Tsafendas for a job in Parliament, said that in order to be hired, one "must always be neat."¹⁹¹⁸ The fact that Tsafendas was appointed suggests that he met the dress criterion.

The author asked forty-six witnesses who knew Tsafendas well about the way he was dressed. Only two of them, Andreas Babiolakis and Costas Poriakis, said that they once saw Tsafendas looking neglected and wearing a torn shirt. However, that was on the day he was released from jail in Beira in February 1965. Having just spent several days in a prison cell, wearing the same clothes every day and being beaten up, he could hardly have appeared otherwise. Both witnesses said this was the only time they saw Tsafendas looking less than perfectly dressed.¹⁹¹⁹ None of the rest said Tsafendas was of a dirty or neglected appearance. Indeed, the vast majority remembered him as dressing well and looking like a gentleman. It is not possible to reproduce here more than a hundred statements that contradict Dr. Cooper's view. The following are only from those who knew Tsafendas well or saw him very often:

- Father Nikola Banovic, in 1961, lived in the same house as Tsafendas for four months and in a house next door for another two or three months. He saw Tsafendas virtually every day and says he was always a very clean person and well-dressed, wearing a different hat each day.¹⁹²⁰
- Allan O'Ryan lived with Tsafendas for five months and kept in touch for another year. He remembers Tsafendas being always "very well-dressed. Firstly, he always went out in a suit. He had a grey striped suit that he always wore. He was always very smart when he left the house. That I picked up – that he always looked very business-like. He was never casual about his dress. And his hair, though it was crinkly, it was neatly brushed. He was always well-dressed and he seemed to be going on business or going out for the day. And even the people in the street got to know him and greeted him as a man of... you know, as a distinguished gentleman, because of the way he dressed." However, O'Ryan also stated that Tsafendas had some messy habits. He said, "for example, sometimes, when he did

¹⁹¹⁷ Mary Kathleen Scott statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

¹⁹¹⁸ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

¹⁹¹⁹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Costas Poriakis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

¹⁹²⁰ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

bathe, the bathroom would be wet. The floor would be wet, the way he had splashed the water. And I remember my mum, she complained once or twice, you know, 'When Dimi has finished bathing, then I have to clean the floor of the bathroom.'"¹⁹²¹

- Fotini Gavasiadis invited Tsafendas to be a guest in the house where she lived with her husband and small son in Pretoria in 1963. After a few weeks, he moved into an apartment next door where he stayed for the following eight months. During this period, he spent much of his time back in her house, almost like flatmates. Throughout these nine months, Tsafendas and Gavasiadis also worked together in her brother's café. Fotini got to know Tsafendas very well and ranked among his closest friends, along with Patrick O'Ryan, Manuel and Father Nikola.

Gavasiadis told the author that it is "nonsense" to say Tsafendas was not well-dressed or dirty, that in fact he always very well dressed and clean. "Sometimes it took him longer than it took me to get ready, trying to find a more suitable hat or tie. He adored hats and ties. He never wore the same clothes for two days in a row and when it was hot he would even change twice per day. He adored hats and ties."¹⁹²²

- Reuben O'Ryan lived with Tsafendas in the same house for five months and kept in touch with him for another year. He said Tsafendas "was always very clean and well-dressed, apart from when he was coming home from work. That was the only time I saw him wearing dirty clothes. He always wore nice clothes and he always shaved."¹⁹²³
- Stanley O'Ryan lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept being in touch for another year. He remembers Tsafendas as "clean and well-dressed person."¹⁹²⁴
- Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas's first cousin, knew him since he was five years old and grew up with him in Mozambique. She spent a lot of time with him in Pretoria in 1964, when they occupied the same house for two or three months. She insists that Tsafendas was always well-dressed and clean. She was impressed by his suits and Tsafendas told her that most of them were bought in Europe. "He was always well-dressed, very often wearing a hat, and was a very clean person. He was very fussy with clean hands when he was a child, and I think he was also like this when he grew up, but I can't remember for

¹⁹²¹ Allan O' Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

¹⁹²² Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

¹⁹²³ Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

¹⁹²⁴ Stanley O' Ryan in a personal interview, 9 April 2015.

sure.”¹⁹²⁵

- Ira Kyriakakis, who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques and remained a lifelong friend, described as “absolutely absurd” claims that Tsafendas was not well-dressed and clean. “He was always very well dressed; since he was a child. He looked like a gentleman. He used to wear hats he had bought from all over the world. He loved hats and he must have had tens of them. He came back to Lourenço Marques in the 1960s and brought me a hat for a present from Lisbon.”¹⁹²⁶
- Irene Michaletos was very close to Tsafendas between 1964 and 1965 and remembers him as always well dressed and clean.¹⁹²⁷
- Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas’s cousins, first met him in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique. They both remember Tsafendas being “always well dressed and clean.”¹⁹²⁸
- Andreas Babiolakis knew Tsafendas since they were children and had lived in the same house as him in Beira for about two-three months. He finds the thought that Tsafendas had a dirty and neglected appearance as “absurd.” He recalls that Tsafendas “had a shower every morning when he woke and in the evening when he returned from work. He believed that he sweated in the night, so he had one in the morning.” Apart from the day mentioned before, he never saw Tsafendas with dirty clothes.¹⁹²⁹
- Costas Chagios, a Cape Town café owner, got to know Tsafendas in 1965 when he walked into his restaurant, which thereafter he patronised more than fifty times. Chagios remembers Tsafendas as always well dressed and clean.¹⁹³⁰
- Alexandra Vaporidis knew Tsafendas for about six-seven months in Istanbul in 1961. She was impressed by his many hats and remembers people commenting about how neatly he dressed. “I remember him coming to the church always wearing a tie.”¹⁹³¹
- Joyce Dick, one of Helen Daniels’s best friends at the time, stated to the author that

¹⁹²⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

¹⁹²⁶ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

¹⁹²⁷ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁹²⁸ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

¹⁹²⁹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

¹⁹³⁰ Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015.

¹⁹³¹ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

whenever she saw Tsafendas, “he was always very neatly dressed.”¹⁹³²

- Peter Protoulis was a supplier of foodstuffs to the tanker *Eleni*. He met Tsafendas on board and says, “I was very impressed by the way he was dressed. He always wore a suit and very often a tie and a hat. I never show him wearing the same clothes two days in a row.”¹⁹³³
- Mario Ferreira, who worked with him for six weeks in 1966, found Tsafendas to be “clean.” Asked whether Tsafendas’s appearance was neglected or dirty, Ferreira replied, “no, no; not all.”¹⁹³⁴
- Miltiades Kaldis knew Tsafendas for about a year, having met him in 1965 in Cape Town. He remembers him “looking clean and well-dressed.”¹⁹³⁵
- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott’s boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest. He remembers Tsafendas as always well-dressed and clean, often wearing suits and hats.¹⁹³⁶
- Helen Grispos was another who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques, and her mother was the best friend of Tsafendas’s step-mother. “He was always very well dressed, even as a child; his step-mother always looked after him. When he visited us in the 1960s, I remember he wore a big hat he said he had bought somewhere in Europe. I don’t remember what he was wearing, but I remember the hat. It was very distinctive. He was certainly well-dressed.”¹⁹³⁷
- Peter Peroglou ate at the same place as Tsafendas for several months in 1966. He remembers him being well-dressed and very courteous.¹⁹³⁸
- Pamela Abrahams, Peroglou’s wife, also ate at the same place as Tsafendas for several months in 1966. She also remembers him being well-dressed and very courteous.¹⁹³⁹
- Nick Augustides is the son of the owner of Mike’s Outfitters in Cape Town for whom Tsafendas worked on commission for about two months in 1966. He knew Tsafendas for

¹⁹³² Joyce Dick in a personal interview, 6 August 2016.

¹⁹³³ Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 3 August 2016.

¹⁹³⁴ Mario Ferreira in a personal interview, 21 May 2019.

¹⁹³⁵ Miltiades Kaldis in a personal interview, 12 March 2016.

¹⁹³⁶ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

¹⁹³⁷ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

¹⁹³⁸ Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

¹⁹³⁹ Pamela Abrahams in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

three-four months and his memory is of “a well-dressed man.”¹⁹⁴⁰

- The thirteen *Eleni* crewmen were impressed with the way Tsafendas dressed. He told some of them that most of his suits were bought in Europe a few years ago and that he had not bought any new clothes since he returned to South Africa.¹⁹⁴¹

In addition, Horst Hartmann, senior personnel officer at the heavy engineering company Fries and Son in Frankfurt, where Tsafendas worked as a welder, said in a newspaper interview in 1966:

“He drove up here in a big, battered American car. He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman. I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man...he made a good impression and he spoke good German, so I took him on... we liked him ... always laughing, a good worker.”

Tsafendas “left on his own wish” although Hartmann “would have liked to keep him.”¹⁹⁴²

A point worth making is that opinions on dress and appearance are subjective. A man who seems dirty and neglected to one person is simply dishevelled or workaday to another. It is important also to remember that Tsafendas was a poor man, often forced to stay in cheap places without laundering facilities. Plus, his jobs, as a welder or fitter, for instance, were not conducive to smart dressing. The most important point regarding Dr. Cooper’s statement, however, is not so much Tsafendas’s appearance as the fact that the Attorney-General did nothing to challenge Dr. Cooper’s deposition, despite witnesses’ testimony to the contrary. Again, we do not know if this happened because of van den Berg’s incompetence or because he was not given the necessary information. The result was that Dr. Cooper’s diagnosis, much of it inaccurate, went seriously unchallenged.

¹⁹⁴⁰ Nick Augustides in a personal interview, 19 February 2016.

¹⁹⁴¹ Kleanthis Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

¹⁹⁴² *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, ‘The Assassin’, 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

- c. *“He tends in fact to be a daydreamer, preoccupied with his own inner thoughts, which are not in fact directly related to the environment around him; and he quite often tends to lead an aimless, almost vagrant, useless sort of life, with very little go, very little ambition, very little achievement, very little worthwhile.”*

This third part of the psychiatrist's testimony is partly accurate. Tsafendas could be considered a daydreamer insofar as he dreamt that one day the people of South Africa would storm Parliament, as the French revolutionaries did at Versailles, and that apartheid would then collapse and everyone would be allowed to live altogether without any kind of separation. He also dreamt that Mozambique would become independent.¹⁹⁴³

As for an “aimless... useless sort of life,” Tsafendas taught English without charge for six months to Greek and Turkish children in Istanbul and did the same for poor children in Mozambique. He became an active member of the British anti-apartheid and anti-fascist movements, participated in demonstrations and smuggled anti-apartheid literature into South Africa. By standing up for his political beliefs, he was exiled for twelve years from Mozambique, while in Portugal he was prosecuted, arrested, imprisoned and tortured. He toured villages in Beira trying to raise awareness of the independence cause and for this suffered further imprisonment and torture.¹⁹⁴⁴ He joined the Greek Communist Party and its military wing, the DSE, during the Greek Civil War and fought for a cause was the achievement of an aim.¹⁹⁴⁵

However his political activities may be viewed by others, they cannot be considered “aimless” and representative of a “useless sort of life.” Many people go through life without really achieving anything or just live a simple life with very little “go” or “ambition.” Are they all schizophrenic? Tsafendas did enough during his lifetime to render significant service to society and far from being, aimless, he had well-defined goals that could never be described as “daydreaming.” He wanted “to create a resistance to the regime of South Africa” and was willing to do “anything that would get the South African regime out of power.”¹⁹⁴⁶

¹⁹⁴³ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁹⁴⁴ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁹⁴⁵ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

¹⁹⁴⁶ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

The removal of Dr. Verwoerd was aimed at a change of national policy.¹⁹⁴⁷

Tsafendas fearlessly told the PIDE agents who were questioning him that he wanted to see “a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the Mother-nation” and that he was strongly in favour of the independence of Mozambique.”¹⁹⁴⁸ The fact that the Director-General of PIDE in Portugal instructed the Sub-Director of PIDE in Mozambique that “information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of your country should not be transmitted to the South African authorities,”¹⁹⁴⁹ can also be seen as an achievement for Tsafendas.

Tsafendas worked tirelessly and at a hands-on level to achieve his goals of independence for Mozambique and political change in South Africa. He toured villages in Beira conducting “subversive” propaganda, distributing leaflets and books and telling people of the possibilities of independence for Mozambique, his country, always seeking to raise their awareness. The fact that PIDE considered him to be “a partisan for the independence of Mozambique” and deliberately hid his detailed file from the South African authorities certainly proves that he was far from just a “daydreamer.”

As for South Africa, smuggling anti-apartheid literature into that country, asking visitors not to spend money there which would boost the apartheid economy and finally killing the man he believed had “created apartheid” and was “the brains behind apartheid,”¹⁹⁵⁰ hoping that it would bring a change of policy¹⁹⁵¹ were the actions of a practical man with practical aims, He was no dreamer.

¹⁹⁴⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁹⁴⁸ PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁹⁴⁹ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁹⁵⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁹⁵¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

TSAFENDAS'S MEDICAL REPORTS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you been shown a copy of a report from the University College, St. Pancras Hospital, London?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I don't want you to tell the Court what is in that report, but would you describe whether that report relates to the accused's state of mind, mental health?

DR. COOPER: It does relate to his state of mind, and in fact describes the state of mind.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Are the contents of that report relevant to the present enquiry?

DR. COOPER: I believe so, yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How important are they to the present enquiry?

DR. COOPER: Very important.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How important will it be for the Court to hear the evidence of the medical practitioners who in fact interviewed the accused and who wrote up these reports?

JUDGE BEYERS: When was that?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: 1959.

DR. COOPER: That would depend on the Court's attitude towards this matter. If the Court would require evidence in addition to what evidence has been presented now, to satisfy or to elaborate on the evidence, then it would be very important.

JUDGE BEYERS: It would be somebody else's opinion on the clinical examination which he held?

DR. COOPER: More than that. It would be somebody else's opinion and the fact that, if this other opinion was to the effect that this man was suffering from schizophrenia at that time, it would be very relevant to whether he is suffering from schizophrenia or not.

JUDGE BEYERS: That I follow. I will put it to you again: it will merely be some other person's opinion.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I don't know if it was a psychiatrist or what it was - on certain observations made by that person as to what his opinion is?

DR. COOPER: That is correct. Except - I would like to elaborate on that and explain that when a patient is admitted to a mental hospital, eventually a report may emerge which will almost always be signed by the superintendent, but very often it is in fact the opinion of the group of psychiatrists who have dealt with this particular individual. So it is the opinion of perhaps several people ... I am unable to say whether the individual who wrote this report actually was involved in the examination or not...

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Assume the investigators are alive and are able and willing, in London, to give evidence that this man was a paranoid, they diagnosed him to be a paranoid schizophrenic, that he did attribute everything to the tapeworm - assume that - how relevant, and how important would that be?

DR. COOPER: It would be important, very important, from many points of view. It would tend to certainly confirm one's present clinical impressions of the man, and I feel strongly it would obliterate finally and conclusively any question of simulation in this case, malingering.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You have also seen a report from the Whitecroft Hospital, Newport, Isle of Wight?

DR. COOPER: Yes, I have.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is your observation on that report?

DR. COOPER: The general observation is that again there is reference, extensive reference, to the tapeworm, and again there is a diagnosis of psychotic illness. I don't know whether I am permitted to read a line or not ...

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Don't read. There is reference, you say, to tapeworm, reference to a psychotic illness?

DR. COOPER: Yes. And there is reference to the fact that he has not recovered, on discharge.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Again, how important would it be if we are able to find the doctor who did examine the accused, who did make this diagnosis, and I am led to believe that he is available? How important is that, to have that evidence before this Court?

DR. COOPER: It is important. And I must point out that in this report the person who has signed the report said "I found this" and "I found that," so presumably he is reporting on his own findings.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In regard to the White Croft Hospital, there are in fact two doctors, not so, who have signed reports — it is actually a composite report?

DR. COOPER: I have not got the report here.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: We will deal with it at a later stage. Furthermore, you have seen a report from a German hospital near Hamburg?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Does that contain a diagnosis of the accused's mental condition in 1955?

DR. COOPER: Yes. That also refers to him as suffering from a psychotic illness.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Again there is reference to the tapeworm, and that the patient attributed everything to the tapeworm?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How important is that in your opinion?

DR. COOPER: That is very important.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Again, if we are able to get the evidence of the practitioner or practitioners who diagnosed the accused's condition at the time, would that be material evidence?

DR. COOPER: Yes, it would.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And further, you have seen the American report as well, haven't you?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What do they show?

DR. COOPER: There is a report from America in 1946 describing or, let us say, making a diagnosis of schizophrenia.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Again, would it be relevant and material to this enquiry, if possible, to obtain the evidence and have it before the Court?

DR. COOPER: Yes, it would.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I want you to give us your final assessment?

DR. COOPER: My final assessment of this man's mental condition is that he is suffering from a mental illness known as schizophrenia; that I feel I have good reason to believe that he has been suffering from this mental illness for probably at least twenty years, and that this mental illness is of such a degree as to make him certifiably mentally disordered in terms of the Mental Disorders Act.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S MEDICAL RECORDS

Advocate Cooper refers to a number of Tsafendas's medical reports which he has in his possession, and which obviously Dr. Cooper saw at one point since he refers to signatory doctors who might be asked to testify. Apparently the purpose of this exhibition of documents is to demonstrate to the court that Tsafendas had a long history of mental illnesses.

Tsafendas had given a detailed account of all the hospitals where he had been treated, including how he was diagnosed each time, in his statement to the police on September 19. However, he only revealed information about the occasions on which he was diagnosed as schizophrenic or psychotic, not the times when he was found to be perfectly healthy. He also hid the fact that he was caught faking mental illness in the United States and that he once claimed to be Saint Peter. That the South African authorities possessed at least some of these records is evident from the fact that some were found by the author in the National Archives of South Africa. Documents reveal that the South African authorities had the reports from the US hospitals from the 16th of September.¹⁹⁵² There are also references to them in the report of the Commission of Enquiry. However we cannot be sure if they were in the State's possession at the time of the summary trial.

Reyner van Zyl, the clinical psychologist who examined Tsafendas at the request of the defence, told the author that he never saw any of the medical reports from the hospitals where he was treated, as was the case with others who examined the prisoner. He said he was verbally informed by Tsafendas's defence lawyers that he had been diagnosed as schizophrenic in overseas hospitals and took it for granted. Asked by the author if he and the other psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas had read or seen any of these medical reports, van Zyl conceded that Tsafendas's alleged long medical history was only verbally transmitted

¹⁹⁵² Letter of the USA Embassy in Cape Town to the South African Security Branch, 3 October 1966. Correctional Service. Subject: Demitrio Tsafendas. File: 80/0043 A123 Vol. 1. NASA.

to him and to some of the psychiatrists; they were not given any actual medical reports. He said:

“No, no, no, we were just told. We were told, or I was told – the group of guys that examined him – that he had been in various mental hospitals all over the world... Yes. Well, you know, we were given this information – that he was a disturbed, schizophrenic man ... And that was the background that we had available, and nothing else. The third part [the medical reports] was given to us almost in summary. He has been to this hospital, that hospital, that hospital... I think three or four were mentioned – various hospitals overseas.”¹⁹⁵³

Advocate Cooper's questioning of Dr. Cooper revealed one major issue that is extremely important for the summary trial. Advocate Cooper refers to a “report from America in 1946” where Tsafendas was diagnosed as schizophrenic. This is the report from the Grafton State Hospital and it is entirely true that the diagnosis for Tsafendas was “Schizophrenia – hebephrenic type. Condition: Improved.” However, this report also contains important information that is not mentioned. It states that in 1943, Tsafendas “faked mental illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings of ships.”¹⁹⁵⁴ It is understandable that neither Dr. Cooper nor advocate Cooper mentioned this as it had the potential to cause serious problems for their line of defence.

The author is not in position to know whether Dr. Cooper had actually read all of the Grafton report or if the diagnosis was just conveyed to him verbally, as was the case with his friend van Zyl. Certainly, the report was not available to Dr. Cooper at least during his first two consultations with Tsafendas, on October 1 and 4. Indeed, it was not available to anyone from the defence because on October 3, 1966, the Consul of the US Embassy in Cape Town wrote to the South African Security Branch that “Mr. Tsafandakis's legal representatives have asked permission to see the medical reports in question.” The letter also states that the US authorities discussed the matter and agreed to provide the defence with the files in question. However, they ask the “appropriate South African authorities” to give the reports to the defence representatives if “they deem it appropriate.”¹⁹⁵⁵

That this letter was written on October 3 suggests that it would have been highly

¹⁹⁵³ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁹⁵⁵ Letter of the USA Embassy in Cape Town to the South African Security Branch, 3 October 1966. Correctional Service. Subject: Demitrio Tsafendas. File: 80/0043 A123 Vol. 1. NASA.

unlikely for the “appropriate authorities” to have discussed the matter and given their permission the same or the following day. Since it was an official request, certainly a written response must have been made to the US Embassy. Even if it had arrived at the Embassy the next day, which would be highly unlikely, still the defence would not have had the records on the 4th as it would have certainly taken at least one day for them to receive them from the Embassy. This suggests the 5th as a more likely date, though that is a very optimistic scenario, given the bureaucracy involved and the fact that mail services at the time were not as fast as today.

If at any point Dr. Cooper had read the complete Grafton report, he would not have mentioned the fact that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in the past since such a claim would have raised serious questions about the defence case. Although it was understandable for the defence to conceal such information, is this not something that the State should have enquired about? The State must have had this report in its possession as it was given to the South African authorities on September 16.¹⁹⁵⁶ Yet the State did not find it important enough to mention it, assuming that it did have the report among its files. This was the first, but not the only, time that the State overlooked evidence, or was ignorant of evidence, which stated clearly that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in the past.

An equally important issue is the following: Advocate Cooper mentions four medical reports, one from Hamburg, one from the Isle of Wight, one from London and one from America, and states that all agree that Tsafendas is schizophrenic. He also states that the first three (Hamburg, Isle of Wight and London) refer to the tapeworm which Tsafendas blames for everything. Then Advocate Cooper mentions the report from America which also diagnoses Tsafendas as schizophrenic. However, he does not mention the tapeworm and says nothing else about the hospital's diagnostic report. This goes on to say that Tsafendas “is in the habit of smearing the walls in his room with faeces and is hallucinated and suspicious. He hears voices coming though the radiators. He is orientated as to the month but completely disorientated as to place and situation. He has peculiar mannerisms. He is wont to assume silly grimacing expressions and is prone to misidentify the attendants and the examiner.”¹⁹⁵⁷ This is very important information for a psychiatrist as it shows that Tsafendas, apart from believing that he has a tapeworm, also believed, at least at one point in his life, that he also

¹⁹⁵⁶ Letter of the USA Embassy in Cape Town to the South African Security Branch, 3 October 1966. Correctional Service. Subject: Demitrio Tsafendas. File: 80/0043 A123 Vol. 1. NASA.

¹⁹⁵⁷ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

heard voices from radiators. Dr. Cooper was asked by the Attorney-General in reference to the tapeworm:

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: That is the only delusion he had, isn't it, that you discovered? You didn't discover any other delusion?

DR. COOPER: No, but I found other aspects of his mental disorder which in my opinion are equally important to simply his being deluded.

This surely suggests that Tsafendas's delusions from 1946 were gone by 1966, or that Dr. Cooper had not read the Grafton report carefully or he had not seen it at all or that he ignored information which any psychiatrist would consider highly important. Again, the Attorney-General does not raise the issue of the "other delusion." According to Dr. Cooper, Tsafendas had the tapeworm since sometime in the mid-1930s, thus he still had it in 1946. However, the Grafton report suggests that Tsafendas was hearing voices from the radiators when he also had a tapeworm, meaning he had two delusions at the same time. How possible is it for someone to be doubly deluded?

The information about the radiators takes on extra importance because in 1965, Tsafendas had claimed to be suffering from a third delusion, that he was the Apostle Peter. This diagnosis was made after Tsafendas was arrested by the Portuguese Security Police in Beira accused of pretending to be a Christian missionary, while in reality he was preaching "under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique's independence."¹⁹⁵⁸ During interrogation, Tsafendas had claimed to be Jesus Christ's Apostle Peter.¹⁹⁵⁹ Tsafendas used this act as it fitted nicely with his missionary pretext. Therefore, again Tsafendas had simultaneous delusions involving at any one time, the tapeworm, radiator voices and Saint Peter.

Then on June 26, 1966, just two months before the assassination, Tsafendas was examined by Dr. Kossew and appeared to have yet another delusional idea, this time of a persecutory nature. He claimed that more than twenty people had died from food poisoning in the house where he was staying.¹⁹⁶⁰ The author interviewed several people who knew Tsafendas at that time, including two of his flatmates and two others who took their meals

¹⁹⁵⁸ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁹⁶⁰ Dr. Ralph Kossew testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

there. Tsafendas never told them about this “suspicion,” but he continued eating there up to the assassination - for two months taking food he had told the doctor was poisonous!¹⁹⁶¹

According to Professor Burke:

“There are a lot of contradictions in the story ... let's assume he was schizophrenic, for the sake of this argument, and that in the past, he had the delusion of being one of the apostles, that delusion would have stayed. So why would he, then, have created a new delusion around a tapeworm? It does not make sense, because your delusion stays fixed, so if he really did believe he was one of the apostles, early on, that story would have stuck because the delusions will not have shifted. What happens with delusions is, they can become bigger and they could include more things, but a shift from one delusion to another one is highly unlikely. Why would you go from the apostle and that worked for you ... well, let's say he truly believed he was an apostle, why did that change as he went along? It makes no sense.

Even if the schizophrenia had been treated, and it came back, then the same delusion would have come back, so it's inconsistent in terms of the delusions. You typically have a very fixed delusion, and it becomes bigger, but it doesn't change significantly, so if he had been truly schizophrenic, and he had been admitted to these hospitals previously, based on what he said, that he believed he was an apostle, then he would have killed Dr. Verwoerd based on the delusion that he was an apostle. He wouldn't have changed to say there was a tapeworm, or whatever the case may be. So, there's, already, some kind of inconsistency.”¹⁹⁶²

The Grafton report contains another important piece of information which was not mentioned in court. It states that while in custody in Bangor, Maine¹⁹⁶³ on charges of contravening US immigration laws,¹⁹⁶⁴ Tsafendas “showed symptoms of mental disorder” and was admitted to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, Massachusetts.¹⁹⁶⁵ This perhaps did not sound very important at the time, especially to the defence, but it was very important for the State. There was also, as we will see, a report from a hospital in Lisbon which stated the same thing, that Tsafendas, “during his interrogations, gave signs of having some sort of

¹⁹⁶¹ Pamela Abrahams and Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016; Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015; Stratis Vamvarapis in a personal interview, 31 May 2016.

¹⁹⁶² Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

¹⁹⁶³ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁹⁶⁴ Demitrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw, 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 2.

¹⁹⁶⁵ ‘The history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds to the late Dr. Verwoerd’ drafted by Col. McIntyre, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Subject: Leer W.D. 10/10/4102 der Stafendas. NASA; Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

mental disability, which was confirmed by the Hospital do Ultramar.¹⁹⁶⁶

There was also a third report, from the Government Hospital in Beira, which is not in the possession of the author. This must have contained a similar statement about Tsafendas's behaviour, as he was taken there by the Portuguese police after he had claimed to be St Peter.

What makes these reports so important is the fact that Tsafendas had also shown signs of mental illness while in custody for Dr. Verwoerd's assassination, at least the fourth time that something like this happened. Significantly, no ordinary person testified to the police that Tsafendas was unstable or had mentioned the tapeworm to them. When he rambled about the tapeworm and appeared insane was invariably when he talked to the police in custody or to doctors in hospitals where he was taken by the police or to which he had admitted himself. Apart from those hospitals to which he was taken by police, all the others had admitted Tsafendas at his own request, indicating that Tsafendas had a reason of his own for seeking admission. The Grafton State Hospital report also states that Tsafendas voluntarily admitted himself to the Boston Psychiatric Hospital on March 1946 before he was transferred to the Grafton.¹⁹⁶⁷

The South African embassy in Washington informed the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs on September 9, 1966, just three days after the assassination, that the US Immigration authorities had a file on Tsafendas which contained "full particulars" of his time in the United States. The embassy's letter stated that Tsafendas "is understood to have shown under psychiatric treatment that he was unstable though not (not)¹⁹⁶⁸ insane, but the type of man who would easily be used as an instrument of Communist or hostile organizations." It said the impression of American Immigration officials was that Tsafendas had been manipulated and was "under the influence of someone or some organization." He had subsequently been deported to Europe.¹⁹⁶⁹ This information was also not used during the summary trial and most likely was not given to the psychiatrists for consideration.

The Grafton State Hospital report stated that Tsafendas had a paternal uncle who was mentally ill and had died in a mental hospital. According to his close relatives Katerina Pnema, Michael Vlachopoulos, Mike Pnema, John Michaletos and Mary Eintracht, this is a

¹⁹⁶⁶ PIDE Report regarding Tsafendas, 5 May 1956. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

¹⁹⁶⁷ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁹⁶⁸ This is exactly how it appears in the telegram. There is a second 'not' within brackets.

¹⁹⁶⁹ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

lie.¹⁹⁷⁰ The Commission of Enquiry pointed out that Tsafendas was knowledgeable about mental disorders and well-acquainted with hospital situations.¹⁹⁷¹

Presumably Tsafendas claimed there was mental illness in the family to strengthen his own claims. In fact he later said he knew that to appear convincingly mad, it was helpful to invent insanity in the family and suggest suffering a childhood trauma. That Tsafendas lied whenever it was convenient for him is also evident from the fact that on at least one other occasion when he was hospitalised, after an alleged suicide attempt, he stated that there was no history of mental illness in the family.¹⁹⁷² Whenever he needed to back up his claim that he was schizophrenic, Tsafendas referred to a history of mental illness in the family, an “uncle” who was mentally ill and had died in a mental hospital. However, when he was hospitalised for other reasons, he denied that there was a history of mental illness in the family.

Advocate Cooper also referred to a report from a hospital in Hamburg – clearly the Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital in whose psychiatric section Tsafendas stayed from February 11, until June 7, 1955. Tsafendas had admitted himself to the hospital claiming he had taken twenty sleeping pills. This was soon after he was discharged from the Tropen Krankenhaus in Hamburg, where he had admitted himself claiming to suffer from tapeworm trouble. However, nothing was found and he was discharged immediately.¹⁹⁷³ Advocate Cooper said the Hamburg hospital report referred to a “psychotic illness” and that Tsafendas attributed everything to the tapeworm. Both references are correct, but they tell only half of the story.

Advocate Cooper phrased his words carefully and in such a way as to reveal only what was helpful for the defence. There was no mention in the hospital’s report of schizophrenia as such, although Tsafendas did refer to the tapeworm. Furthermore, there were two concluding diagnoses made at this hospital: Dr. Bieser, a senior physician, labelled Tsafendas’s condition as “*mixed – pictured phasic psychose*,”¹⁹⁷⁴ and Dr. Nachtwey, a

¹⁹⁷⁰ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Mike Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Michael Vlachopoulos in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

¹⁹⁷¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

¹⁹⁷² Medical Buletin of Dimitrio Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

¹⁹⁷³ Dr Bieser’s medical report on Tsafendas, Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital, 6 April 1955. K150. Vol. 4, Sub-file 1/8. NASA.

¹⁹⁷⁴ Dr. Bieser and Dr. Schmidt-Janssen report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 7 June 1955. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

psychiatrist, diagnosed “*endogenous depression, mixed-picture.*”¹⁹⁷⁵ Tsafendas's condition thus appears to be much less serious than that depicted. He was diagnosed as suffering from depression and so treated and not for schizophrenia. Naturally, Advocate Cooper took from the report only what was convenient for the defence's case.

Professor Tuviah Zabow told the author about Tsafendas's condition as it appeared in the hospital's records:

“He was admitted without escort from his residence suggests he came voluntarily to the hospital requesting admission and presented with depression and an account of an overdose suicidal attempt. The impression recorded initially and ultimately concluded as diagnosis was ‘depression with hypochondriacally features’ or psychosomatic symptoms. He spontaneously presented the ‘tapeworm’ story mentioning it as present since 1937 and continued to emphasise this at interviews in detail. Was this again the method he uses to gain admission? Supporting a mood disorder rather than a process psychosis such as schizophrenia is the record that his thought processes were normal but slower. This would be again in keeping with depression rather than schizophrenia. Schizophrenia would have been more representative of a syndrome i.e. presenting with a group and other symptoms as well such as disordered thought processes.

Notably if this had been present since 1937 or even since 1955 it would have been expected to have deteriorated in his general function. He recovered rather quickly and was treated with only two shock treatments and left with a sympathetic acquaintance who provided the care he again required or manipulated for. The diagnosis of ‘Endogenous Depression – mixed picture’ was referring to the old terminology of manic-depression but no clear note of hypomanic features are recorded. The ‘mixed picture’ label or the ‘phasic psychosis’ label also fits this suggested clinical picture and the recovery so rapid.”¹⁹⁷⁶

What is also strange about Dr. Cooper's questioning is that there is no mention of how Tsafendas came to be admitted to the Whitecroft Hospital, on the Isle of Wight. The Isle of Wight is a small island in the English Channel off the country's south coast. No one seemed to wonder how Tsafendas ended up in a hospital there. Patients in such a hospital were either local islanders or were referred from other hospitals in Britain.¹⁹⁷⁷

Tsafendas was unique in presenting himself in the lobby and being admitted on his

¹⁹⁷⁵ Medical Bulettn of Dimitrio Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 10 October 2016.

¹⁹⁷⁷ E.F. Laidlaw, *A History of the Isle of Wight Hospitals*, (Newport: Cross Publishing, 1994), p. 100-103.

own cognisance. Why would he travel all the way to this small island and admit himself to a hospital there? The only logical explanation, and it fits with Tsafendas's impetuous curiosity and love of travel, is what he later said: that he had heard about this beautiful island that it had a hospital which looked like a castle and he decided to visit it. According to Professor Burke, this sort of planning is not something that a schizophrenic can do: "That requires a lot of planning -- I'm going to go there, and I'm going to stay in the hospital, and I'm going to go ... that, typically doesn't happen."¹⁹⁷⁸

Dr. Cooper, referring to Tsafendas's medical report from the Isle of Wight hospital, states that, "there is reference to the fact that he has not recovered, on discharge." According to the report of the Commission of Enquiry¹⁹⁷⁹ and to a secret telegram from the South African embassy in London, Tsafendas was given a certificate which described his mental condition as good enough for him to travel to any country.¹⁹⁸⁰

As we have seen before, Tsafendas was medically examined over the previous three years while he was in South African by at least nine doctors on ten separate occasions and none of them noticed anything wrong with him. None of these doctors was a psychiatrist, but then one of the defence's main witnesses was a district surgeon who diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic.

¹⁹⁷⁸ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

¹⁹⁷⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 33.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, London to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

Another fact nobody appeared to notice was that Tsafendas told the police and his defence team the names of all the hospitals to which he was admitted and the exact dates of his stays there, as well as the precise diagnosis in every case. However, he concealed all the examinations he had by doctors and hospitals where nothing was reported about his “schizophrenia” and the tapeworm. A fact that also seems to have been overlooked is how Tsafendas managed to avoid being certified and detained in hospital before 1966 if he was as described by Dr. Cooper and later by other psychiatrists. He was admitted in several hospitals and examined by numerous doctors and no one thought he was certifiable or as bad as Dr. Cooper described. Indeed no doctor described him in the way Dr. Cooper did. It is true that his condition could have deteriorated since 1959, when he was last hospitalised because of the tapeworm, if he was really a schizophrenic. However, seven years had passed since then and no change was noted in his behaviour.

More importantly, between November 1963 and September 1966, Tsafendas was examined by ten doctors and he did not mention the tapeworm to any of them, which again suggests that either the tapeworm had not become more important in his mind or that he simply did not use it to his advantage. Finally, if his health had deteriorated, he would almost certainly have admitted himself to a hospital, something he had no problem with. He had admitted himself to all the hospitals claiming a “fixation about a tapeworm.”¹⁹⁸¹ If he had no problem admitting to the tapeworm problem in 1946, in 1955 and in 1959, why would he hide it afterwards, especially since he was not “cured”?

Finally, the medical records mentioned in court told only half the truth about Tsafendas's hospitalizations, with important information, for example from the Grafton State Hospital report, omitted by the defence and not raised by the State. None of Tsafendas's medical records mentioned by the defence would be submitted as evidence during the summary trial and no one will know the detailed contents, apart from the diagnosis. However, as we have already seen, the contents of two of the four records mentioned in court were misrepresented by the defence in order to suit its needs, mentioning only what was convenient for them. It is highly likely therefore the same thing happened with the other two reports that the author did not have access to.

THE ISSUE OF TSAFENDAS'S HOSPITALIZATIONS

¹⁹⁸¹ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, London to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

What is interesting about all these hospitalizations is that no-one enquires how or why Tsafendas ended up there. He admitted himself to the mental ward of St Pancras Hospital in London, telling doctors that “he had a fixation about a tapeworm.” Then he did the same on the Isle of Wight.¹⁹⁸² He admitted himself to the Ochsenzoll Hospital in Hamburg by claiming, falsely, that he had taken twenty sleeping tablets.¹⁹⁸³ The Grafton State Hospital had confirmation that Tsafendas had admitted himself to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, Massachusetts, before he was transferred there.¹⁹⁸⁴

Why did Tsafendas admit himself to these hospitals? He gave a frank explanation to three different witnesses, the priests Minas Constandinou, Spiros Randos and Ioannis Tsaftaridis, when he spoke to them on separate occasions after the assassination. He said he did it when he had no money and needed a place to stay. He said he saw hospitals as “hotels.” At other times, he told the priests, he was taken to hospitals after he “pretended to be mad,” but this was to stop police questioning and sometimes torturing him.¹⁹⁸⁵

The only hospital which Tsafendas named to the priests the Whitecroft on the Isle of Wight. He told two of them on separate occasions that he admitted himself there because he wanted to see the island and he was without money and a place to stay.¹⁹⁸⁶ In all of his travels, Tsafendas admitted himself to hospitals in only three countries, England, the United States and Germany. What is the common factor? Tsafendas was not permitted to work legally in those three nations and sometimes he was there illegally. At the same time, he was jobless, penniless and without a place to stay. In each case, the medical records confirm that Tsafendas himself sought admission and was not taken to the hospitals.

The most obvious example of his hospital ruse was in Britain. In 1959, the first time he visited that country, he was unable to get a work permit and therefore could not work legally. He remained in the country from May until October. His money ran out at some point and he had nowhere to stay. Tom Fox Pitt, the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, who Tsafendas had met on his frequent visits to the Society's office, arranged for him to stay at a

¹⁹⁸² Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, London to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA; Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁹⁸³ Dr. Bieser and Dr. Schmidt-Janssen report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 7 June 1955. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

¹⁹⁸⁴ ‘The history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds to the late Dr. Verwoerd’ drafted by Col. McIntyre, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Subject: Leer W.D. 10/10/4102 der Stafendas. NASA; Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demetrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁹⁸⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁹⁸⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

hostel in Victoria, London. Concluding that Tsafendas was destitute, Pitt gave him a grey, flannel suit.¹⁹⁸⁷ Tsafendas chose not to stay permanently at the hostel while having his costs met by Pitt or the Society, so he left and admitted himself to the hospital in St. Pancras. He later followed the same pattern at the Whitecroft Hospital, on the Isle of Wight.

Tsafendas made one more visit to Britain, in 1962, although he stayed a shorter time. Still, he was not hospitalized. However, nor did he have any financial concerns, with enough money saved from Portugal to get by or from illegal jobs. Edward Furness, who met him then said Tsafendas, “was well-dressed and appeared to be wealthy.”¹⁹⁸⁸ It is clear that when Tsafendas was without money, jobless and on the run from the British police because of his illegal status, he got himself admitted to the two hospitals. When he was financially secure, however, he had no need of free bed and board.

Germany followed the same pattern. Tsafendas was hospitalised in Hamburg in 1955 when he had spent a few months in the city unsuccessfully looking for work. However, in 1958, when he was back in Germany and stayed there for one and a half years, he was not hospitalised anywhere since he was constantly in work. In 1955, after spending a few weeks unsuccessful seeking a job in Hamburg, Tsafendas told his friends that he was going to look for work in Frankfurt. However, it appears that instead he admitted himself to the hospital, where he was discovered by Fathers Damaskinos Doxiartis and Efthimios Eleftheriadis, from the Greek Orthodox church of St Nicholas in Hamburg. They were surprised to see Tsafendas there as they thought he had gone to Frankfurt.¹⁹⁸⁹

According to Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis, Tsafendas “seemed perfectly fine... I can’t remember what he told us about why he was hospitalised, but he definitely never told me or Father Damaskinos anything about this tapeworm, not even when we were in the hospital, I would have remembered such thing ... I remember he looked embarrassed when he saw us, but I really can’t remember what he told us; why he was there ... he came to the church to see us when he was released from the hospital and he seemed fine ... he never said or did anything to make me or Father Damaskinos believe that he was insane or even a little unbalanced.”¹⁹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁸⁷ *The Guardian*, ‘Winding Back’, 30 September 1966: 10.

¹⁹⁸⁸ Edward Furness statement to the police 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

¹⁹⁹⁰ Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

Asked by the author if he or Father Damaskinos got the impression that Tsafendas might be faking his illness, the priest said, "He did not give me that impression ... I am not sure about Father Damaskinos, but I think he also did not get such an impression. I certainly did not get the impression that he was faking it, why would he do such thing? But I also certainly did not get the impression that he was mentally ill. Definitely not, he was perfectly normal."¹⁹⁹¹

Tsafendas spent most of his time in Mozambique and in South Africa. Surprisingly, he was not hospitalised in any hospital in these countries for psychiatric problems, apart from when he was taken by PIDE to the hospital in Beira while he had claimed to be Saint Peter during integration. The rest of his time in these countries, he was not only never hospitalised, but examined by several doctors and no one noticed anything. Tsafendas also spent two years in Greece, seven months in Turkey, some months in Sweden and one and a half year in Germany in 1958-1959. He had jobs all these times and he was not hospitalised at any of these places during this time, which again it confirms what Tsafendas told the witnesses, about admitting himself when he was penniless and homeless.

Tsafendas also told several witnesses that he had "pretended to be mad" on some occasions in order to stop being tortured while he was in detention.¹⁹⁹² Again, Tsafendas's medical record seems to confirm this too. Whenever he did not admit himself to the hospital, he was taken there by the police after he had shown signs of mental illness during his interrogation, as happened in the USA, in all the hospitals in Portugal and in Beira.

In addition, the psychiatrists claimed in court that Tsafendas had the tapeworm since 1935. However, he made no mention of such a thing to any of his family or to a doctor, nor did he ever seek treatment in a hospital. The tapeworm made its appearance for the first time in 1946, eleven years later. When he was admitted to a hospital for the first time in 1943, while in detention in a prison in Bangor, Maine,¹⁹⁹³ on charges of contravening US immigration laws,¹⁹⁹⁴ Tsafendas "showed symptoms of mental disorder." He was admitted to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, Massachusetts, from where he was transferred on April 23, 1943 to the Metropolitan State Hospital. He was initially diagnosed as having

¹⁹⁹¹ Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

¹⁹⁹² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁹⁹³ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw, 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 2.

“psychoneurosis – mixed type” plus “many psychopathic traits.”¹⁹⁹⁵ However, psychiatrists in this hospital discovered that Tsafendas was play-acting. According to a report by the Grafton State Hospital, Massachusetts, to which he was admitted in 1946, Tsafendas then confessed that in 1943 “he faked mental illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings (sinkings) of ships.”¹⁹⁹⁶ The tapeworm finally emerged in 1946 while he was in Grafton State hospital in Massachusetts, eleven years after he was allegedly infected and three years after his first hospitalization. If Tsafendas really believed what was stated in court about the tapeworm, he must have told the doctors when he was first hospitalised in 1943 or someone else before that. Furthermore, Tsafendas's claim that he began talking about a tapeworm only after he was first found pretending to be mad is confirmed by the above.

As stated above, Tsafendas spoke extensively to Fathers Minas Constandinou, Spiros Randos and Ioannis Tsafaridis about his hospitalizations. He said that the first time he ever did it was in the USA when he was arrested and put to jail for being illegally there. He said that it was very tough there and feared for his life, so he pretended to be mad by hearing voices, as he did not know what else to say or do, in order to be taken away from there. Although he was later caught faking it, he then came across Tom Tuff who gave him the idea for the tapeworm and began using it.¹⁹⁹⁷ While the time was passing, he developed his “performances” further and he knew what to say and what to do whenever he wanted to be found insane.¹⁹⁹⁸

In January 1952, Tsafendas was arrested in Lisbon as security reports from Mozambique told the Portuguese that Tsafendas was a half-caste, a Communist and an anti-colonialist who was under suspicion of “unclear activities” during his time in Mozambique.¹⁹⁹⁹ Tsafendas spent more a year in a prison cell in the Cascais Fort.²⁰⁰⁰ Tsafendas told several witnesses that at the time he was severely tortured, including been given electric shocks and at one point, he said, he could not take the pain and so played the

¹⁹⁹⁵ ‘The history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds to the late Dr. Verwoerd’ drafted by Col. McIntyre, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Subject: Leer W.D. 10/10/4102 der Stafendas. NASA; Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁹⁹⁶ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

¹⁹⁹⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

¹⁹⁹⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness*.

¹⁹⁹⁹ *Diario Popular*, ‘E Conhesido em Lisboa o Assassino do Dr. Verwoerd’, 9 September 1966.

²⁰⁰⁰ PIDE Report regarding Tsafendas, 05 May 1956. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

madman again and the police then stopped torturing him.²⁰⁰¹ He was then taken to the Instituto de Medicina Tropical and then to the Hospital do Ultramar for psychiatric examination. A PIDE report said that “during his interrogations he gave signs of having some sort of mental disability, which was confirmed by the Overseas Hospital.”²⁰⁰²

In 1964, after he was arrested in Beira accused of campaigning for the independence of Mozambique, once again during interrogation he showed signs of mental illness and was taken to the Government Hospital in Beira. Soon, he was declared to be mentally ill and was subsequently released.²⁰⁰³ It must be more than coincidence that Tsafendas showed signs of mental illness to his interrogators, but not to any of the people who came across him. This fact was not picked up by the State although Tsafendas showed signs of mental illness while he was in custody for Dr. Verwoerd's death, as he had done at least three times before in a similar situation; meanwhile, one hundred and fifty people who were questioned by the South African police failed to notice any signs of mental disturbance in Tsafendas.

In 1998, Gordon Winter, a former BOSS agent, journalist and very close friend of General van den Bergh, was interviewed by David Beresford, South Africa correspondent for the British newspaper, *The Guardian*. He said:

“Wherever Tsafendas went, he usually booked himself into a hospital under some pretext, for the simple reason that after having enjoyed a good look round as a tourist, Tsafendas himself admitted to me that he was lazy and hated working, that he always got himself booked into some hospital for a while. He said he loved hospitals because in them, he got a comfortable bed, clean sheets, three meals a day, the company of other patients - and, equally important, the attention of nurses and doctors.

When Tsafendas really liked a hospital (or the country it was in) and he looked as though he would be thrown out, he would go into his ‘mad’ mode, which lengthened his stay. If that didn't work he would tell them about his tape worm. That story lengthened his stay so that the doctors could check to see whether he had a tape worm or not. When they discovered he did not have a tape worm inside him, he would act madder and insist that the doctors were part of a conspiracy against him - which also lengthened his stay so that psychiatrists could

²⁰⁰¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁰⁰² PIDE report regarding Demetri Tsafendas to the Minister of Interior. 7 June 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; PIDE report regarding Demetri Tsafendas to the Director General of the Civil and Political Administration Overseas Ministry. 18 April 1958. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰⁰³ Alberto Henriques de Matos Rodrigues conclusion to the Subdirector, 23 January 1965. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

then examine him. Tsafendas himself told me in Pretoria Central, that psychiatrists were stupid and that (from their questioning) he had learnt their verbals and was thus able to work out what they wanted him to say - which would fit in with their theories. No, I will never believe Tsafendas was as mad as they say. As I told Liza and Sylvia, Tsafendas loved mind games and he was very clever at playing stupid when it suited him.”²⁰⁰⁴

What Winter told Beresford is exactly what Tsafendas later told the three priests. Tsafendas's *modus operandi* with hospitals was very easy to figure out for anyone who had carefully studied his medical and police files and also talked to him. Furthermore, eighteen years after he talked to Beresford, Winter repeated the exact same story of Tsafendas and the hospitals virtually word for word to Dr. James Sanders. He added that General van den Bergh had asked Tsafendas when he interrogated him how he came to be admitted to all these hospitals. Tsafendas gave him precisely the same reason he later gave to Winter and finally the three priests; that he saw the hospitals as hotels whenever he was penniless and homeless.²⁰⁰⁵ As we have also seen, the other witnesses who had access to Tsafendas's first interrogation transcript (Terry Bell, David Beresford, Liza Key, Jan-Ake Kjellberg), also confirmed the content of it as described above by Winter.

As for Tsafendas admitting himself to hospital, how common is it for a “deluded schizophrenic” to seek treatment in a hospital, admitting that he has a fixation, a delusion he told no-one else about? According to Professor Burke, it makes no sense: “He admits himself, so why would he want to hide any of this away? I mean, it's paradoxical. If I was scared that I was going to be hospitalised, I would keep this to myself, but here's a man who goes to the hospital, and reports by himself, so why would he hide it away, because he was clearly not scared of a mental hospital, so what would be his motive for hiding it away?”²⁰⁰⁶

In later life, Tsafendas was deeply embarrassed about misusing hospitals as he had in America, Britain and Germany, and he avoided talking about it, simply saying he had wanted a place to stay and found refuge in hospitals.²⁰⁰⁷

MISSING MEDICAL REPORTS FROM MOZAMBIQUE AND PORTUGAL

²⁰⁰⁴ Gordon Winter to David Beresford, 8 September 1998. From David Beresford's personal collection.

²⁰⁰⁵ Gordon Winter in a personal interview with Dr. James Sanders on behalf of the author, 19 August 2016.

²⁰⁰⁶ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

²⁰⁰⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

The defence refers to medical reports from hospitals in the United States, England and West Germany, the most recent being from England in 1959. However, Tsafendas was also admitted to the Government Hospital in Beira sometime in late 1964 or early 1965, when he claimed that he was Saint Peter.²⁰⁰⁸ This was after he was arrested by the Portuguese Security Police accused of pretending to be a Christian missionary while actually campaigning for Mozambique's independence.²⁰⁰⁹

The South African police were aware of this because Tsafendas stated it in his statement of September 19, it was mentioned in PIDE's report given to the South African police on September 7 and Lt.-Colonel P.J.B. van Wyk had mentioned it in his report from Beira on September 20. More importantly, van Wyk had then taken the "necessary steps" and "formally applied" to obtain a copy of Tsafendas's medical report from the hospital.²⁰¹⁰ It must have been a simple formality to obtain it, since the Portuguese authorities had provided all of Tsafendas's medical reports from Portugal, and it must have been by then in the possession of the South African police. However, the author is not in a position to know this for a fact, nor is it in a position to know whether Tsafendas's defence team was aware of this hospitalization. The fact that this was the last time Tsafendas was in a hospital before the assassination, with the exception of his cosmetic nose surgery in Groote Schuur hospital in April/May 1966, makes the Beira admission extremely important.

It is also important because seven years had passed since the last time Tsafendas was hospitalised for a psychiatric condition, according to his defence, and such a report would have strengthened their line that he was still a schizophrenic and diagnosed as such also in 1965. The South African police and the defence team got hold of all of Tsafendas's other medical reports, from hospitals in Europe and the United States going back decades, in the case of the Grafton State Hospital to 1946. A report from Beira was important because it would contain the most recent medical information on Tsafendas and it would surely have been quite easy to get, given the excellent bilateral relationship between South Africa and Portugal and their collaboration on Dr. Verwoerd's murder investigation. That the PIDE had deliberately hidden all "information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique" while highlighting that he had been declared mentally disabled by their

²⁰⁰⁸ This report was not found in the archives and therefore the study is not in position to know its content.

²⁰⁰⁹ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰¹⁰ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

hospitals, demonstrates their willingness to impart such information to the South African police.

Indeed, the PIDE had already included in one of its reports an earlier diagnosis by Dr. Pegado of the Institute of Psychiatric Welfare, who examined Tsafendas in Lisbon and on April 6, 1962 diagnosed him as a psychopath.²⁰¹¹ This is when Tsafendas had pretended to be slightly but harmlessly mad in order to convince the Portuguese to give him amnesty to return to Mozambique. However, still, his detailed medical report is missing and we have only the final diagnosis. The Commission of Enquiry evidently had access to one of Tsafendas's medical reports from Lisbon since it stated that in 1952 he was diagnosed with "intestinal parasitosis, manic-depressive psychosis."²⁰¹² The fact that the above two reports were given to the South African authorities confirms that the Portuguese had no problem in handing Tsafendas's medical records to the South African police. Since, as we have already seen, it would be to their benefit that Tsafendas be found to be insane, the Portuguese were only too happy to co-operate.

The fact is, however, that neither the State nor the defence make any reference to a Beira report of Tsafendas's 1964/1965 hospitalization. If we assume that both the Defence and the South African police got hold of this report, what would they have found? That Tsafendas, apart from believing he had a tapeworm, also believed he was Saint Peter. They were not his only imaginings. When he was examined by Dr Kossew on June 16, 1966, Tsafendas appeared to have a delusion of a persecutory nature, believing that twenty people had been murdered in the house where he lived.²⁰¹³ Over the years, Tsafendas mentioned four different delusions:

- hearing voices from the radiators;
- believing he has a tapeworm inside him;
- believing that he is Saint Peter;
- having feelings of a persecutory nature and believing that twenty people died in the house where he was staying from deliberate food poisoning.

Chronologically, Tsafendas heard voices from the radiators in the 1940s, later in the following decade he believed he had a tapeworm, then on one occasion in 1965 concluded

²⁰¹¹ Dr. Pegado's report regarding Dimitrio Tsafandakis, 6 April 1962. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/6, subject: Departement van Verdediging. NASA.

²⁰¹² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 24.

²⁰¹³ Dr. Ralph Kossew testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

that he was Saint Peter and in June 1966 expressed illusions of persecution. Since the tapeworm delusion was constant since the 1930s, as Dr. Cooper and the other psychiatrists claimed, then Tsafendas had at different periods, one different and additional delusion.

Psychiatrists say that it is highly unlikely if not impossible for a person to have multiple delusions. That is why as we have seen, the Grafton hospital reference to Tsafendas hearing voices from the radiators is also not mentioned. According to Professor Alban Burke, to have two delusions at the same time or for a delusion to come and go or be replaced by another delusion is not impossible but unlikely:

“It’s not impossible, because the human brain is difficult to understand. It’s not impossible, but it is unlikely. It’s possible but it’s improbable. Let’s assume he was schizophrenic... and, in the past, he had the delusion of being one of the apostles, that delusion would have stayed. So why would he then have created a new delusion around a tapeworm? It does not make sense because your delusion stays fixed, so if he really did believe he was one of the apostles, early on, that story would have stuck because the delusions will not have shifted. What happens with delusions is, they can become bigger, so they could include more things, but a shift from one delusion to another one is highly unlikely, so why would you go from apostle, and that worked for you, let’s say he truly believed he was an apostle, why did that change as he went along?”

Even if the schizophrenia had been treated, and it came back, then the same delusion would have come back, so it’s inconsistent in terms of the delusions. You typically have a very fixed delusion, and it becomes bigger, but doesn’t change significantly, so if he had been truly schizophrenic, and he had been admitted to these hospitals previously, based on what he said, that he believed he was an apostle, then he would have killed Dr. Verwoerd based on the delusion that he was an apostle! He wouldn’t have changed to say there was a tapeworm, or whatever the case may be. So, there’s, already, some kind of inconsistency.”²⁰¹⁴

Reyner van Zyl, agrees that it is almost impossible, “One may disappear, and the other one may then appear, but two at the same time? I don’t think so, because these delusions are usually very powerful.”²⁰¹⁵

²⁰¹⁴ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

²⁰¹⁵ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

Naturally, the defence lawyers, even if they were in possession of this report, were never going to use it as it would have damaged their argument. However, if the State had the report, it could easily have used it and raised the issue of the three different delusions. It was already aware of the tapeworm issue because the defence had “opened their hands” about it two weeks before the summary trial,²⁰¹⁶ but also because Dr. van Wyk, the State’s expert psychiatrist, was also told about it by Tsafendas.²⁰¹⁷

Thus, why did Tsafendas use the tapeworm story and not the more recent one of Saint Peter? Tsafendas never discussed it. However, it seems logical that he would have wheeled out his most “experienced” act, the one he had used often and which always worked. The Saint Peter show was a one-off, which fitted the religion-related Portuguese accusation, and as for hearing voices a la Joan of Arc, this had failed once before, and anyway hearing voices was the most common way for someone to pretend madness. Tsafendas himself said later that “everyone hears voices or pretends to be Napoleon, but who would ever suspect anyone who believes he has a tapeworm?”²⁰¹⁸

Although there is no evidence to confirm that the Beira report was in the possession of the South African police, everything indicates that it must have been. The fact that Tsafendas had claimed that he was Saint Peter, while in custody just two years before the assassination was of major importance for the summary trial and for his psychiatric evaluation. Even though it did not become known at the time, it demonstrates Tsafendas ability to pretend to be “unstable” whenever necessary. That he managed to adjust himself to his circumstances - accused of pretending to be a Christian missionary, but in reality pressing for the independence of Mozambique – and dream up the Saint Peter idea, so fitting to the situation, suggests that Tsafendas was more than capable of pretending to be unstable, improvising according to his needs at each time.

TSAFENDAS’S ABILITY TO MANAGE HIMSELF

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is he capable of managing himself?

DR. COOPER: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Why? Because of the mental disorder?

²⁰¹⁶ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 90.

²⁰¹⁷ Professor Adolph Johannes van Wyk testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 20 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁰¹⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

DR. COOPER: Why? Because I believe that he is quite incapable of fending for himself. He is incapable of holding down employment. He is dependent all the time on others for help and assistance.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Therefore you say he is incapable of managing his own affairs?

DR. COOPER: And he is incapable of managing his own affairs.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: To what extent is he a danger to himself or others?

DR. COOPER: He has certainly proved himself to be a danger to others. And in schizophrenia the thought processes are so confused and unpredictable that one might say he may well become a danger to himself. I believe that this man has been suffering from schizophrenia for longer than five years, and therefore, on this basis alone, I believe that his outlook is now extremely unfavourable. I am of the opinion that the accused is not able to understand the exact nature of the evidence which will be led here, that he is not able to grasp...

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S ABILITY TO MANAGE HIMSELF

Once again, an entirely inaccurate diagnosis by Dr. Cooper. Here was a man who travelled on his own through a large number of countries, who found employment wherever he went, who, when penniless, sold his blood to earn some money,²⁰¹⁹ who was arrested five times by the Portuguese Police on serious accusations and secured his release each time. Could such a man be incapable of managing his own affairs? Tsafendas was forty-eight years old at the time of his arrest and did not seem to have any problem getting through life up to then.

If we accept for a moment that Tsafendas was indeed schizophrenic, he must have been extremely good at hiding it from doctors, since he was invariably found sane whenever it was in his interests to be found sane. For example, between 1964 and 1966, a period in South Africa when he was looking for jobs, he was examined by six doctors and no one noticed anything wrong with him. On none of his job application forms did he report any hallucinations or that he had been hospitalised in the past, always claiming to be in exceptional health. Furthermore, he flatly lied when he applied for permanent residency in South Africa, denying anything that might result in a refusal. He wrote in his application that

²⁰¹⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

he had “never previously applied for permanent residence in South Africa, had never been found guilty of a criminal or unlawful action, had never been refused entry to any South African harbour and had never been deported from South Africa or any other country.”²⁰²⁰

He then attended three interviews with three different officers at the Department of Immigration and made a favourable impression on all of them.²⁰²¹ In addition, on November 11, 1963, he was examined by Dr. C. Been for his permanent residence permit and was found “not to be mentally or physically defective in any way,” and “generally in a good state of health.”²⁰²² On November 14, 1963, Tsafendas was examined again for the same reason by Dr. A.C. McDonald, who also wrote “a favourable report.”²⁰²³

If Tsafendas was unable to manage himself, how did he manage to survive the forty-eight previous years of his life? A man who, although penniless most of the time, managed to travel to sixteen countries where he knew no-one yet never spent an evening without a bed. A stranger in all these countries, he always managed to find a job and sometimes he even thrived, as he did in Istanbul, where he worked for almost half a year at the Limasollu Naci College.

Tsafendas always seemed to find a way of achieving his goals. During the Greek Civil War, he managed to join the Democratic Army of Greece, the military wing of the Greek Communist Party, and he survived. Arrested five times by the Portuguese police because of his political ideas and political activities, he managed to secure his release each time. Banned from entering Mozambique due to his anti-colonialist beliefs, he convinced the Portuguese that he was harmlessly mad so they allowed him to return. He also attended several job interviews and no one noticed anything wrong with him, and that included three officials at the Ministry of the Interior who interviewed him three times over his application for permanent residency in South Africa.²⁰²⁴ PIDE would not have held a detailed 130-pages file

²⁰²⁰ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

²⁰²¹ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

²⁰²² Demitrio Tsafendas medical certificate issued by Dr. Been for the Aliens Act, 1937. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

²⁰²³ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

²⁰²⁴ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

on Tsafendas and withheld from South Africa information on his political activities if he was a man who was not able to look after himself.

The author asked forty-six relatives and friends of Tsafendas if they ever got the impression he was not able to care for himself. Not a single one agreed. Again, we list opinions by those who knew him well:

Fotini Gavasiadis, who was with Tsafendas every day for nine months in 1963-4, was shocked and asked, "Are you serious? Are you sure the doctor said this about Dimitri? He must have examined a different man."²⁰²⁵ Mary Eintracht, the cousin who grew up with him in Egypt and Mozambique, his half-sister Katerina Pnema, childhood friends Helen Grispos, Ira Kyriakakis and Andreas Babiolakis, Father Nikola Banovic who knew him for seven months in Istanbul and Nick Papadakis, who was close to him for two-three months in 1964 in Mozambique all discounted Dr. Cooper's diagnosis as, at least, inaccurate. Other comments they used to describe it were "ludicrous" and "for laughs."²⁰²⁶

The following are some incidents and statements which are indicative of Tsafendas's character and ability to manage himself:

- Tsafendas lived with the O'Ryans for five months. No one in the family saw him as someone unable to care for himself. On the contrary, they thought of him as a "resourceful and capable" man. Because Patrick O'Ryan refused to take any rent from him, Tsafendas would bring food to the house almost every day. He often bought sweets and toys for the children,²⁰²⁷ and he also gave money to Allan O'Ryan for his bus fare to school when his mother was unable to do so.²⁰²⁸ Reuben O'Ryan, Patrick's son said about Tsafendas: "We all loved him ... he was an adorable man ... he was the answer to our prayers. We were poor and he brought food to our house."²⁰²⁹
- Peter Pappas, owner of a Greek café in Durban, said when Tsafendas had some money he would give "a few cents to the white down-and-outs of the city." Furthermore, Pappas said about Tsafendas "When his luck was out, I sometimes gave him a free meal, but

²⁰²⁵ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 18 March 2016.

²⁰²⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁰²⁷ Allan O' Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019; Stanley O' Ryan in a personal interview, 9 April 2015; Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

²⁰²⁸ Allan O' Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

²⁰²⁹ Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

when he started work he paid me,”²⁰³⁰ These are hardly the actions of a man who is unable to look after himself.

- Jacobus Bornman was Tsafendas's flatmate. He told the police, “On one occasion I had no money and then Tsafendas gave me five cents. I later wanted to return the money to him, but he would not take it”²⁰³¹
- On January 25, 1965, Tsafendas was released after three months' imprisonment in Beira for subversive propaganda. Penniless as without a roof over his head, Tsafendas asked if he could sleep at the Beira fire department premises and the fire-fighters agreed. He slept there for ten nights, making sure that “he arrived at mealtimes, when he was invited to share in the food.”²⁰³²
- Tsafendas was penniless when he arrived in Istanbul in June 1961. He went to a hospital and donated blood for money to survive.²⁰³³
- When Tsafendas was arrested in Beira by the Portuguese police with a suitcase full of anti-fascist and anti-colonialist books, but also some Bibles, he was accused of pretending to be a Christian missionary spreading the word about religion, while in reality preaching “under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique's independence.”²⁰³⁴ Questioned in custody, Tsafendas came up with the idea of pretending to be Saint Peter, which fitted perfectly with his story of Christian missionary preaching. The Portuguese thought he was mad and released him.²⁰³⁵
- In 1964, in Beira, John Emmanuel Marvis lent him twenty escudos, which Tsafendas paid back a few days later.²⁰³⁶
- When Tsafendas was ordered to fulfil his duty of compulsory military service in the

²⁰³⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend’, 14 September 1966.

²⁰³¹ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰³² South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

²⁰³³ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁰³⁴ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰³⁵ Alberto Henriques de Matos Rodrigues conclusion to the Subdirector, 23 January 1965. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Conclusion, signed by António Fernandes Vaz, 22 January 1965. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰³⁶ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

Portuguese army, he pretended to be mad and got away with it.²⁰³⁷

- In 1963, Tsafendas managed to convince the Portuguese that he was a “reformed man,” no longer a Communist or a supporter of the independence of Mozambique, but just a little bit mad and harmless, so they granted him amnesty and allowed him to return to Mozambique after twelve years of exile.²⁰³⁸

This Report could go on listing evidence to prove how wrong Dr. Cooper’s testimony was, but the author feels that this particular statement is best disproved by reading Tsafendas’s biography, Chapter 2. It is obvious there that he was well able to manage himself.

Dr. Cooper’s statement that Tsafendas depended “all the time on others for help and assistance,” is inaccurate. The author asked forty-six people who knew Tsafendas well if this was the case and they all strongly denied it. Twenty-four of these witnesses who knew him very well told the author that this was untrue and that he was not like this. Some of them even characterised him as a very proud man and no beggar. Another forty-two witnesses who met him and knew him reasonably well agreed with the above statement.

However there were people who testified to the police and to the Commission that Tsafendas had asked them for help. For example: his family told the Commission of Enquiry that Tsafendas “only wrote to them when he needed money.” According to his half-sister, Katerina Pnefma, this was not true. She said that as far as she could remember, Tsafendas never asked for money. On the contrary, his father continually asked in letters to his son if he needed money or anything else. Michalis was deeply concerned about Dimitri’s welfare while living abroad. Pnefma believes her family made that remark in order to explain why Tsafendas wrote to them from overseas and in an attempt to show that they did not have a close relationship. Pnefma said Tsafendas corresponded regularly with her father and her sister, Eleni, and often sent presents for everyone in the family from overseas, including his step-mother.²⁰³⁹ Mary Eintracht and Fotini Gavasiadis also strongly denies that Tsafendas wrote to the family asking for money and confirm that he often sent gifts along with his

²⁰³⁷ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

²⁰³⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁰³⁹ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

letters from overseas.²⁰⁴⁰ Some of the gifts are still in the family's possession. Pniefma, Gavasiadis and Eintracht are "absolutely certain" that Marika made this comment in order to show that she had very little relationship with Tsafendas.²⁰⁴¹

Two more witnesses are John Gianouris, the Greek Vice Consul at Lourenço Marques, and Jose Lopez Baltazar, a fire-fighter in Beira, who testified that Tsafendas asked for their help. Gianouris told the police that he "met Tsafendas during the beginning of 1965 when Tsafendas called on him for financial assistance. Tsafendas could not convince him that he was a Greek citizen and therefore he did not meet Tsafendas's request. He describes the subject as a normal and intelligent person."²⁰⁴² What was not stated here is that Tsafendas had just been released, having spent the previous three months (16 November 1964- 26 January 1965) in police custody.²⁰⁴³ Tsafendas had asked the firemen for permission to sleep in the fire station and was allowed to do so, sharing in the men's meals.²⁰⁴⁴ Looking for a bed in a fire station was unusual, but this was also the same day Tsafendas was released from prison, and he was penniless and homeless.

Tsafendas himself had also admitted to the police that he had to borrow money from some Greeks in order to leave Mozambique for South Africa by boat in March 1965. However, he had spent three of the previous five months in solitary confinement in Beira accused of "making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses."²⁰⁴⁵ Penniless, homeless, jobless and with PIDE following him closely, Tsafendas needed to leave Mozambique. Some of his friends in Mozambique, including Costas Poriazis and Andreas and Giangos Babiolakis, voluntarily gave him money to travel from Beira to Durban. About a month later, Tsafendas paid back the money, even though they had insisted they did not want it back.²⁰⁴⁶

Another person who had helped Tsafendas was Peter Pappas, a Greek café proprietor in Durban. Pappas said he would "sometimes gave him (Tsafendas) a free meal, but when he

²⁰⁴⁰ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²⁰⁴¹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pniefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁰⁴² South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁰⁴³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 19.

²⁰⁴⁴ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁰⁴⁵ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰⁴⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

started work he paid me.” Pappas also said that Tsafendas was friendly with white down-and-outs and when he had some money he would give them a few cents.²⁰⁴⁷ This was not the first time Tsafendas helped poor people, though penniless himself. In Cape Town, he helped his young flatmate, Jacobus Bornman, when he was out of funds, and then declined to take the money back.²⁰⁴⁸ He constantly bought food and sweets and toys for the family of Patrick O’Ryan who was hosting him²⁰⁴⁹ and he voluntarily helped a colleague in Beira to build a room for his daughter who was to get married.²⁰⁵⁰

Regarding Tsafendas being incapable of keeping a job, this is arguable. It is a fact that he was lazy, doing the minimum of work, especially when it did not interest him. However, he was perfectly capable of keeping a job when he wanted to, as he did for six months at the language college in Istanbul, for another six months in the tractor factory in Munich, for six-seven months as part-time interpreter in the court in Durban and when he worked for three years as a hawker in Portugal. He also taught English voluntarily for a year or so in Lourenço Marques in the late 1930s, for six-seven months in Istanbul in 1961 and for five-six months in Beira in 1964.²⁰⁵¹ Tsafendas was always able to find work, even when he was not legally permitted to do so, as happened in England.

²⁰⁴⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend’, 14 September 1966.

²⁰⁴⁸ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁰⁴⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁰⁵⁰ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

²⁰⁵¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Irene and John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 April 2015; Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 4 November 2015.

Far from being incapable of managing his own affairs, Tsafendas worked all over Europe, as a welder and an engineer in Germany, as a carpenter in Sweden, as a teacher in Turkey, as an interpreter in Greece and as a welder and hawker in Portugal. In England, he was refused a work permit but still managed to find work ‘clandestinely’ and therefore survive.²⁰⁵² In Portugal in 1952, he requested and received from the Director of the International Police in Lisbon a certificate which declared him to be a maritime salesman.²⁰⁵³ Whenever he was jobless, he would return to this form of work, which he liked because he was his own boss could work whenever and wherever he wanted. Had it been more profitable and less tiring, he would have done it permanently, he said.²⁰⁵⁴

Dr. Cooper was probably unaware of all this, but the police knew of it and one would have expected the State to be aware, too. However, no effort was made by the Attorney-General to challenge Dr. Cooper’s testimony with this bountiful evidence that Tsafendas was perfectly capable of managing his affairs. Once more, we are not in position to know whether van den Berg was given this information by the police or that he just did not use it.

DR. COOPER ON WHAT A SCHIZOPHRENIC CAN ACHIEVE

DEFENCE COUNSEL: If you had a man that you found was a schizophrenic - at least you thought he was - you go and find out who he is; you find he is a capitalist, he’s got a match factory or something like that, would you then discard your diagnosis?

DR. COOPER: If he was - yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: He is a successful business man?

DR. COOPER: Oh yes, I would say there was something wrong with me because a schizophrenic...

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Can’t be a successful business man?

DR. COOPER: No.

²⁰⁵² PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰⁵³ Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰⁵⁴ Emmanuel Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 January 2014.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY REGARDING WHAT A SCHIZOPHRENIC CAN ACHIEVE

Dr. Cooper stated that he would disregard his diagnosis of schizophrenia if his patient was found to be a successful businessman. Tsafendas worked for five years as a hawker-salesman and obviously made enough money to meet his living costs. Perhaps this was not enough to characterise him as a successful businessman in Dr. Cooper's eyes, though it is more likely that he was not aware of it. Dr. Cooper believes that a schizophrenic cannot be a successful businessman. Perhaps this was a reflection on Dr. Cooper's knowledge at the time, because there have been many examples of schizophrenic people who became exceptionally successful in their field. To name a few, Elyn R. Saks, a Law Professor at the University of Southern California²⁰⁵⁵; John Nash, a mathematician who won a Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences; Rufus May, prominent clinical psychologist; Jack Kerouac, the author of *On the Road*;²⁰⁵⁶ Robin Cunningham, successful businessman and scientist.²⁰⁵⁷

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL AND THE JUDGE

TSAFENDAS'S MOTIVE, PART I

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: If there is evidence that the accused gave other reasons for killing the deceased as well as for his travels, do you still say that this delusion is constant?

DR. COOPER: Yes, but I have not said that the accused gives the tapeworm as an excuse for killing Dr. Verwoerd. All I have said is that the accused has said that the tapeworm was in the middle of whatever that may he identified Dr. Verwoerd as the leader. I think he was fed up with society as a whole, and the obvious man to attack was the man that he considered to be the leader of the society in which he was...

JUDGE BEYERS: I don't quite follow. You told me you think the real reason is that this man found all society was against him?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: This was the leader of society, and he kills him. Aren't you now

²⁰⁵⁵ Elyn Saks, 'Successful and Schizophrenic', *The New York Times*, 25 January 2015.

²⁰⁵⁶ Schizophrenia.com, (n.d.) 'Famous People and Schizophrenia.' Retrieved from: <http://schizophrenia.com/famous.htm>

²⁰⁵⁷ HealthCentral.com, (n.d.) 'Meet Robin Cunningham, Schizophrenia Expert Patient', retrieved from: <https://www.healthcentral.com/article/meet-robin-cunningham-schizophrenia-expert-patient>.

describing to me a paranoic par excellence? Isn't this a paranoic that you are describing to me, a man who believes the hand of all society is against him at all times. You told me this man only showed very slight paranoic tendencies. I am a layman, I am not an expert. I don't know where I am?

DR. COOPER: I don't regard this as being particularly paranoic, in that I don't think - he doesn't feel that people have been persecuting him or trying to poison him or any of these things that paranoics sometimes do believe. But he believes that his whole life has been hopeless, that he is helpless, that he just can't make any headway, and he is only being paranoic in the sense of being unable to understand that this failure is the product of his own sick mind, and he is rather blaming society for this hopeless and helpless situation he finds himself in.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Then he should have had a grudge against the doctors?

DR. COOPER: Which doctors?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: The doctors who couldn't kill the tapeworm?

DR. COOPER: Yes, he certainly has a grudge against these doctors, which he expressed.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Why didn't he kill a doctor, why did he kill the Prime Minister?

DR. COOPER: It is very hard. If one could creep into this man's mind one would be able to understand. But I think the Prime Minister was a much bigger and greater authority figure in this man's mind than a doctor.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Was that the reason or was that not the reason for killing the Prime Minister?

DR. COOPER: I believe that the reason for killing the Prime Minister can only be explained on the basis of a very complex, confused, deluded mind; that one cannot say there was any one element and blame that one element for his killing of Dr. Verwoerd. I believe it was a complex, confused, muddled issue, of which the tapeworm played a part, and which other things also played a part.

DR. COOPER: If the Court wishes me to expound on why I think this man killed Dr. Verwoerd, I am afraid it is the only way in which I can answer this question. This is very complicated ground that we are on now, and it is impossible for me just to answer in a simple

way, but perhaps just as a preliminary answer I believe that this man has feelings that throughout his life he has been frustrated, that he has been up against it. I believe that he feels that society as a whole is against him. And I believe that he, in his peculiar assessment, assessed Dr. Verwoerd as the head of society, I think he identified Dr. Verwoerd as the leader. I think he was fed up with society as a whole, and the obvious man to attack was the man that he considered to be the leader of the society in which he was.

DR. COOPER: I asked him whether he blamed Dr. Verwoerd for everything. No, he didn't care to go so far as to say that he blamed Dr. Verwoerd for everything.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: How far did he go?

DR. COOPER: There was a big pause, there was a big 'or' and a hesitation, as there is in so many of the questions one put to him, but he said no, he cannot blame Dr. Verwoerd directly for what happened to him.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: How far did you probe this? You are a trained psychiatrist?

DR. COOPER: I probed it very far.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And did you get anything at all beyond that he didn't kill him because he disliked him? Did you get any idea as to why he did kill him?

DR. COOPER: I spent a great deal of time on this question of "Why did you kill Dr. Verwoerd?" In fact I tried to give him the impression that in fact I was getting fed up. I said to him - this I said to him at my last interview again. - I said "Look, I am going to ask you a simple question: why did you kill Dr. Verwoerd? And I want a simple answer." He said "I don't know. I can't explain. It is complex. Frustrations, you know", and we got no answer to this question. I asked him this question many times. I probed as forcefully as I could, and I could not get him to tell me why he killed Dr. Verwoerd, and, with respect, I came to the conclusion that he doesn't really exactly know why he killed Dr. Verwoerd.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: If he killed him as a result of the machinations of a delusion and he was a deluded individual, wouldn't he immediately be able to tell you what his delusion was and why he killed him?

DR. COOPER: My answer is yes, provided that the reason for him killing the man was purely and simply in response to the delusion. Then I would say yes, he would.

JUDGE BEYERS: I am sorry, I do not understand that. I have asked you that before, and I don't understand it now. You did tell me that in his telling you about killing the Prime Minister there was a political motive as well as other things probably. Didn't you tell me that he did not like his politics?

DR. COOPER: He told me that he didn't like his politics.

JUDGE BEYERS: And wasn't that associated with his killing?

DR. COOPER: It was associated with it but only indirectly.

JUDGE BEYERS: Then I cannot understand your giving an answer and saying he didn't give you any reason for doing so. I cannot understand that answer.

DR. COOPER: I say that because I repeatedly asked him to try and explain to me why he killed Dr. Verwoerd, and at no time was he able to offer me any explanation. When I am talking about these political issues, these are things I elicited from him quite apart from this question of: "Why did you kill Dr. Verwoerd?" He did not tell me about his political feelings directly in relation to my question of: "Why did you kill Dr. Verwoerd?" When I asked him that question, at no time was I able to elicit any coherent account of why he thought he did it. He said, in fact, that he doesn't know why he did it. He can hardly believe that he did do it. He knows he did it but he doesn't know why and

JUDGE BEYERS: Again I am having difficulty with this, as you have just told me that at least - according to what he told you - for days, if not longer - at least for a matter of days he was considering and contemplating and premeditating this killing.

DR. COOPER: That is correct.

DR. COOPER: He pointed out to me that there are many people that he hasn't liked in this world, that there are many people that have made him fed up, that he has been resentful towards, and he said that his not liking Dr. Verwoerd, that his dislike of Dr. Verwoerd was not such that he would therefore kill Dr. Verwoerd, and that he in fact couldn't understand really why exactly he killed Dr. Verwoerd.

JUDGE BEYERS: So this really had nothing to do with the tapeworm?

DR. COOPER: It did have something to do with the tapeworm, because the tapeworm has,

in his mind, been instrumental in placing himself in a society and having been placed in that situation in society he is resentful of Dr. Verwoerd as an authority figure, and resentful in a personal sort of confused way to his policies... He said that he felt that the reasons underlying his killing of Dr. Verwoerd were far too complex. He couldn't explain to me why. And then he started talking about frustration, frustration, and the tapeworm, and not holding jobs, and having nowhere to live, and the whole thing became jumbled in his mind.

JUDGE BEYERS: I am sorry, I do not understand that. I have asked you that before, and I don't understand it now. You did tell me that in his telling you about killing the Prime Minister there was a political motive as well as other things probably. Didn't you tell me that he did not like his politics?

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JUDGE BEYERS: That is the only delusion he had, isn't it, that you discovered? You didn't discover any other delusion?

DR. COOPER: No, hut X...

JUDGE BEYERS: Except vague ones that "society isn't very nice to me"?

DR. COOPER: No, but I found other aspects of his mental disorder which in my opinion are equally important to simply his being deluded.

JUDGE BEYERS: I must put it again. The fact that he could not give you a definite answer when you pressed him as to why he had killed Dr. Verwoerd shows that he did not kill him as a result of any definite delusion. Am I wrong in that?

DR. COOPER: That is correct. He did not kill Dr. Verwoerd because he believed he had a tapeworm ... I believe delusion did play a role in the killing.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he give you any other considerations that played a role, other than this political side?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What were the others?

DR. COOPER: The other consideration was his own personal feelings - what has happened to him personally. He talked in terms of: "Frustration, frustration, for years frustration, Doctor. You don't understand what it has meant to me this terrible frustration." Then one would say to him: "What frustration"? And he would say: "Well, for years I have just been wandering about. I have never been able to do anything." And then you'd say to him: "What has this got to do with killing Dr. Verwoerd?" "Well, you don't understand, it is frustration and tension building up."

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: If there is evidence that the accused killed the deceased for political motives, would this factor strongly suggest that he is responsible for his actions?

DR. COOPER: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You say "No"?

DR. COOPER: That is what I said.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Why not?

DR. COOPER: Because I believe that there was at least that there certainly was at least an element of political resentment in this man's mind. This man's background was such that he did in fact talk in terms of being opposed to certain aspects of Dr. Verwoerd's policy. He admitted that quite openly. It was clear to me that he had no liking for Dr. Verwoerd, and I asked him - I told him in fact that it seemed to me that this was a straightforward affair that he didn't like Dr. Verwoerd and therefore he killed Dr. Verwoerd. He pointed out to me that

there are many people that he hasn't liked in this world, that there are many people that have made him fed up, that he has been resentful towards, and he said that his not liking Dr. Verwoerd, that his dislike of Dr. Verwoerd was not such that he would therefore kill Dr. Verwoerd, and that he in fact couldn't understand really why exactly he killed Dr. Verwoerd.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused tell you that he may have killed the Prime Minister because he blamed him for his own troubles? The accused's own troubles?

DR. COOPER: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He never said that?

DR. COOPER: No. I put that specifically to him and he said he could not go so far as to say that.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused perhaps say to you that he didn't know why he killed the deceased?

DR. COOPER: He did definitely say he didn't know why he killed the deceased.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you know that on the night of the day that Dr. Verwoerd was killed, the accused only gave political reasons for the killing of Dr. Verwoerd to Dr. Sakinofsky?

DR. COOPER: I think he gave predominantly political - he spoke about things political in attempting to explain what happened.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you have Dr. Sakinofsky's report there?

DR. COOPER: Yes, I've got Dr. Sakinofsky's report and if I can read just one paragraph that my eye happened to light on to explain why I have difficulty with this political angle. Dr. Sakinofsky reports: "He said that Dr. Verwoerd had been against the ideal of a Cape to Cairo union which he (the patient) identified with the Commonwealth," I don't know what that means and I...

JUDGE BEYERS: I do.

DR. COOPER: If one wishes one can place some interpretations into it.

JUDGE BEYERS: I certainly can.

DR. COOPER: But if that was produced in an English examination it would be sent back as not a completely rational, coherent sentence. This is an intelligent man writing this, and he speaks all the time of these vague concepts.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: If I may interrupt, doctor, I don't think you read the whole paragraph. According to this report, it is reported as follows: He said that Dr. Verwoerd had been against the ideal of a Cape to Cairo union which he (the patient) identified with the Commonwealth. He claimed that his mother, from whom he had been separated, was called Von Willem, and that she was a member of an overseas Royal family, and this idea he apparently connected with his concern for the Commonwealth. He stated that he had brooded over the weekend.

JUDGE BEYERS: Why does that come before me, Mr. van den Berg? If that witness is being called then he can say that that is what he had been told. Now you are putting it to somebody else for what purpose? It does not go in via this witness, I can tell you that.

JUDGE BEYERS: So you mean that he was emphatic that his idea of killing the Prime Minister arose in his mind only after he had taken the job?

DR. COOPER: He spoke in terms of vaguely associating his mind with thoughts of killing Dr. Verwoerd at odd times long before, for instance, when he was in England. He heard people talking and he thought vaguely, he says, about the killing of Dr. Verwoerd. But he is quite adamant that when he took this post it was not in any way related to his wanting to plan to kill Dr. Verwoerd.

JUDGE BEYERS: So in England already - which I presume now puts us not days but possibly years before the event, does it?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: He was already - his mind was on this assassination of the Prime Minister?

DR. COOPER: Except that it was on the assassination of a lot of people. He says he thought vaguely in terms of killing a lot of people. It was not an isolated thing.

JUDGE BEYERS: That may be. It is a fair correction you make to what you have said. But

let me get back again: You said years ago, when he was still in England, he admitted to you that he had formed an idea (you said a vague one) of wanting to kill the Prime Minister of South Africa?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: He then comes to this country and he takes a position in the House of Assembly?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: On the floor of the House, which is only by virtue of that position, he kills the Prime Minister?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: He doesn't, you say, relate all this lot together, but I must.

DR. COOPER: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: You say he never did it?

DR. COOPER: No, he said that at the time of taking this post at the Assembly it was not with the intention of killing Dr. Verwoerd. That this final plan to kill Dr. Verwoerd came up in his mind after he took this position.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S MOTIVE FOR KILLING DR. VERWOERD, PART I

Dr. Cooper's testimony and his cross-examination by van den Berg constitute the most persuasive proof that the Attorney-General is incompetent, or unaware of Tsafendas's statements to the police, or deliberately does not use the evidence in his possession in order to challenge Dr. Cooper's testimony. According to Dr. Cooper, Tsafendas could not really understand or explain to him why he killed Dr. Verwoerd. Dr. Cooper believed that it was because of his deluded mind, because Dr. Verwoerd was head of a society which was against Tsafendas, that the tapeworm was partly responsible and that he was "frustrated." Nevertheless, Dr. Cooper admits that Tsafendas never said to him that the tapeworm told him to kill Dr. Verwoerd or that it influenced his decision to do it; it is Dr. Cooper's conclusion that the tapeworm delusion played a role in the killing. In addition, Dr. Cooper testified that Tsafendas said he "didn't know why he killed the deceased."

However, Tsafendas knew perfectly well why he killed Dr. Verwoerd, according to the two statements he gave to the police. He explained it very clearly and in detail, with no suggestion that he was deluded or psychotic. Tsafendas told the police that he was “anti-apartheid, anti-colonialist,” that he had “a grudge against the South African government on account of its racial policies” and that he was in “sympathy with people fighting racialism.” He told the police that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he was “disgusted with his policies” and hoped that by killing him “a change of policy would take place.” He considered the Nationalist Government not to be “the real representative of all the South African people” and wanted to see a government that would represent all South Africans.²⁰⁵⁸ Tsafendas never said anything to the police about society being against him, or that he was frustrated or that he believed he had a tapeworm which controlled his life. What he told the police was exactly what he told people who knew him, which is what they testified to the police and to the author. Not a single one of those who were interviewed by the police or the author stated that Tsafendas ever told them what Dr. Cooper said that he told him.

The Attorney-General's comments showed that he had knowledge of Tsafendas's plan and his movements prior to the assassination. This information could have only been supplied to him by the police. This could have been done by giving him Tsafendas's statements or perhaps by a precis of them. If the Attorney-General had Tsafendas's statements, he would have seen all of the above and could have very easily used them to challenge Dr. Cooper's testimony. Again, we are not in position to know for sure what happened and whether van den Berg was in possession of this evidence.

The most astonishing thing of the cross-examination regarding Tsafendas's motive is the fact that van den Berg claims Tsafendas had given political reasons for killing Dr. Verwoerd and attempts to support his argument by using Dr. Sakinofsky's medical report on Tsafendas instead of Tsafendas's two statements to the police. The report stated clearly that Dr. Sakinofsky had found Tsafendas to be a schizophrenic based on what he was told by him, which were allegedly mostly his “political ideas.” Dr. Sakinofsky was the only person in the world who ever heard Tsafendas mention any of these “political ideas” of his. This section from Dr. Sakinofsky's report is extensively analysed in his testimony later in this chapter and therefore it is not included here. However, it would be best for the reader to read the analysis before proceeding further in this section. It is there proven that everything Tsafendas told Dr.

²⁰⁵⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Sakinofsky was a deliberate lie, the same way he lied to Dr. Cooper.

Therefore, instead of using Tsafendas's two statements where he had given clear and logical political reasons for the killing of Dr. Verwoerd, van den Berg attempts to challenge Dr. Cooper's testimony about Tsafendas's motive by using a report where Tsafendas has also been diagnosed as schizophrenic. A report which, apart from the fact that it states that Tsafendas was diagnosed as schizophrenic, also does not contain Tsafendas's real political ideas as expressed by him to the police and to tens of witnesses! A report whose content's would appear as the words of a schizophrenic and not as a politically motivated man to anyone who might have heard it; but still van den Berg used it in an "attempt" to challenge Dr. Cooper.

The astonishing thing with this move by the Attorney-General is that while he could have very easily broken down Dr. Cooper's testimony about the motive by using Tsafendas's own words, he used instead a report that contained "confused and deluded ideas," similar to the ones mentioned by Tsafendas to Dr. Cooper. The result, instead of challenging Dr. Cooper's testimony, was to further reinforce the idea of Tsafendas as a schizophrenic but also, and perhaps more importantly, that he did not have any clear political thought! The damage for the Attorney-General could have been far bigger if he was not stopped from proceeding further with the report by Judge Beyers.

Instead of attempting to challenge the motive by giving Tsafendas's reasons as he told them to the police and which have been much quoted here – disgust with Dr. Verwoerd's racial policies, hopes that his death would change things etc. etc. - van den Berg claims the reasons were that Dr. Verwoerd was against the Cape to Cairo movement etc.! These are ideas that not a single witness ever heard Tsafendas mention while they were the exact opposite of his true ideas.

Van den Berg is shooting himself in the foot, and apparently deliberately. Was there any possibility that van den Berg really believed he could have challenged Dr. Cooper's testimony by using the report of Dr. Sakinofsky, a report where Tsafendas was diagnosed as schizophrenic? This must be unique in the history of law, where an Attorney-General attempts to challenge a diagnosis of schizophrenia by using a medical report that has found the accused to be schizophrenic. In addition, he attempts to challenge Tsafendas's supposedly deluded motive, but only presents more deluded and confused ideas about his motive. All this when van den Berg could have so easily challenged Dr. Cooper's testimony about motive by

simply using Tsafendas's own two statements to the police.

None of Tsafendas's "political reasons" in Dr. Sakinofsky's report were really his own. More importantly, there couldn't have been a person who would have heard these reasons and would not have concluded that the person was not schizophrenic, apart from van den Berg. Even if we accept that van den Berg did not have in his possession Tsafendas's statements to the police, still he could surely not have believed he could challenge Dr. Cooper on the motive issue by using Dr. Sakinofsky's report. The above incident should be taught in law schools about how to NOT cross-examine someone, although the author has serious doubts if anyone in a fair trial in a democratic country would have even done what the Attorney-General did here.

Professor Alban Burke commented to the author about the motive and the 'delusion':

"It doesn't matter what the delusion is, what the content of the delusion is, the fact that he killed Dr. Verwoerd has got nothing to do with the tapeworm, because if he had heard voices, if the voice had said to him, 'kill Dr. Verwoerd', it was an idea that he already had, that was triggered by this hallucination, but he already had the idea that he was going to kill him. If he had been psychotic at the time that he was committing the murder, he would have been psychotic at the time of his arrest, because it doesn't disappear like that, so you would have picked up traces of that already in his statement. His statement [to the police] would not have made sense; you would have had a lot of irrelevant detail in there, so it is, again, not the picture of somebody who committed a crime whilst he was under, or in, a state of psychosis. I just want to give you a counter-argument on this, and it doesn't take anything of this away. The human brain does not create new information out of nothing, so let's say he had been exposed to stories of tapeworms, during a state of psychosis that story would have come out, that he could have blamed this on a tapeworm, but the motive for killing Dr. Verwoerd must have been there altogether, so whether he committed the crime whilst he was psychotic, or not, the motive must have been there. You don't suddenly decide, I don't like someone, when you're psychotic.

Whether he was psychotic or not, the motive was there before he was psychotic, so you can argue it a number of ways, whether he was psychotic or not doesn't really matter, but there was already the plan that he was going to ... or there was enough anger and hostility towards Dr. Verwoerd, for him to have created that. If he was a psychotic person, with murderous intent, there would have been other incidents of him attacking people, 'Don't look

at me a strange way, don't follow me, I think you're a spy', whatever the case may be. There would have incidents of him, then, at least assaulting somebody else, which we don't find any evidence of, anywhere. So, if you say that Dr. Verwoerd is a dictator, yes he was; was he oppressing his people, yes, so by saying that Dr. Verwoerd is all these things, does not make him delusional. The fact that he killed Dr. Verwoerd still doesn't make him delusional. Assuming that he had an auditory hallucination that instructed him to kill Dr. Verwoerd, that could maybe have been the trigger for it, but the thinking, the planning, all of those things, were in place before he got the instruction to do it. He didn't walk into the parliamentary chamber that day and suddenly the voice came up and said, 'I must kill this person.'²⁰⁵⁹

Furthermore, as we have already seen, the police gathered evidence during their investigation which supported Tsafendas's statements regarding his political ideas. They took statements from people who knew him, declaring that Tsafendas was a Communist and anti-colonialist, politically engaged and a strong opponent of Dr. Verwoerd's policies and of apartheid:

- Edward Furness testified that Tsafendas wanted to "create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned civil disobedience and anything that would get the South African regime out of power."²⁰⁶⁰
- Tsafendas himself had testified to the police that he was a member of the South African Communist Party from 1937 to 1942, that he was against apartheid and colonialism, that he had joined the British anti-apartheid movement and the anti-slavery movement, and that he took part in anti-apartheid demonstrations in London.²⁰⁶¹
- The South African police had FOUR files on Tsafendas because of his Communist beliefs and political activities.²⁰⁶²
- PIDE held a 130-page file on Tsafendas, the *Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis*.²⁰⁶³ It opened in 1938, when he was just twenty-years old, when he

²⁰⁵⁹ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

²⁰⁶⁰ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰⁶¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁰⁶² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter XI, Paragraphs 4 and 5.

²⁰⁶³ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

was “suspected of distributing communist propaganda”²⁰⁶⁴ and went up to his release from PIDE custody on January 26, 1965 after spending three months in a cell in Beira accused of pretending to be a Christian missionary while in reality preaching “under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique’s independence.”²⁰⁶⁵

- PIDE had withheld from the South African police the fact that they had such a file, along with other information “indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique,”²⁰⁶⁶ thus hiding the extent of Tsafendas’s political activities. However, the South African embassy in Lisbon was aware of all this and on September 7, the day after the assassination, informed the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Cape Town that Tsafendas “has a criminal record in Mozambique, where he is said to have been arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances, including shouting pro-Communist anti-Portuguese slogans.” The communication said he had “never been convicted as courts have found him to be of unsound mind” and added, “If information correct, we suspect Portuguese may play down assassin’s previous political activities and we would suggest full details in this connection be sought.”²⁰⁶⁷
- Tsafendas was on the Stop List of the Department of Immigration because of his Communist beliefs and activities.²⁰⁶⁸ This list was also in the possession of the Security Police.²⁰⁶⁹
- The Department of Immigration had two files on Tsafendas:
 - a. “On file B.7771 there were, *inter alia*, references to Demitrios Tsafendakis’s alleged communist activities, as well as references to his unsuccessful applications for permanent residence. It is also evident from the file that he had been placed on the stop list.”²⁰⁷⁰
 - b. “On file G.8226 there were references to his alleged communist activities, and detailed references to his unsuccessful applications of 1936, 1938, 1941, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1950

²⁰⁶⁴ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰⁶⁵ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰⁶⁶ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰⁶⁷ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 07 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁰⁶⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter IV, Paragraph 19.

²⁰⁶⁹ General H. J. Den Bergh memorandum to the COE, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File VDSO 17-64, NASA.

²⁰⁷⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter IV, Paragraph 19.

and 1959 to enter the Union of South Africa.”²⁰⁷¹

- It was known to the South African police that Tsafendas was deported and exiled from Mozambique due to his Communist and anti-colonialist beliefs and activities.²⁰⁷²
- It was known that Tsafendas was arrested in Mozambique by the Portuguese Public Security Police on November 16, 1964 and subsequently handed to PIDE accused of “making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.” It was also known that he had spent three months in custody being interrogated because of the accusations.²⁰⁷³
- It was known to the South African police that while he was in South Africa from 1939 to 1942 Tsafendas was “engaged actively in Communistic propaganda.”²⁰⁷⁴
- It was known that in 1938 in Mozambique he was dismissed from a job “owing to his Communist leanings” and that he was suspected of being “engaged in disseminating Communistic propaganda.”²⁰⁷⁵
- It was known that Tsafendas supported Mozambique’s independence from Portugal and wanted to see “a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the Mother-nation.”²⁰⁷⁶
- It was known to the police that Tsafendas, while in London, had associated with Commander Thomas Fox-Pitt, the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society and one of the leading figures in the modern anti-slavery movement.²⁰⁷⁷
- It was known to the police that Tsafendas, while in London, had associated with prominent anti-apartheid activists David Gardener, Solly Sachs and Canon John

²⁰⁷¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter IV, Paragraph 20.

²⁰⁷² Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 07 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA; *Pretoria News*, ‘Dimitrio A Red, They Alleged’, 7 September 1966: 1; *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), ‘Tsafendas: Mystery Man of Parliament’, 8 September 1966: 1; *The Daily News*, ‘Tsafendas Seen As ‘Mystery Man’’, 8 September 1966: 17; *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘The Killer: Five Passports and A Record of Subversion’, 8 September 1966: 1; *The Rhodesia Herald*, ‘Assassin Said To Have Been Deported From P.E.A. for Communist Connections’, 8 September 1966: 1.

²⁰⁷³ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰⁷⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 26.

²⁰⁷⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 16.

²⁰⁷⁶ PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰⁷⁷ *The Guardian*, ‘Winding Back’, 30 September 1966: 10; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

Collins.²⁰⁷⁸

- Although PIDE had concealed important information about Tsafendas's political activities, it confided in a report which it gave to the South African police that Tsafendas had admitted after being arrested on one occasion that he was "a partisan of the independence of this province." The same report also stated that although "Tsafendas is mentally deficient", "it is true that one finds in him an obvious spirit of revolt in relation to the Portuguese Administration, and favouring the independence of Mocambique."²⁰⁷⁹
- Kenneth Ross was Tsafendas's landlord in Durban for two months in 1965. He told the police that Tsafendas "was very fond of discussing politics and gave me the opinion that he was well versed in politics. Tsafendas objected to the Communists being banished to Robin-Island [sic] because of their political opinions and actions. In general, Tsafendas opposed to every decision taken by the South African Government and freely voiced his opinion to me. He was blatantly opposed to the National Party policy, the policy of the present Government, and was definitely pro-Russian."²⁰⁸⁰
- Patrick O'Ryan told the police that Tsafendas "was against the state policy of both South Africa and Portugal" and that he "labelled the apartheid policies as unfair."²⁰⁸¹ Later O'Ryan described Tsafendas as getting "excited" when he talked about politics and saying that Dr. Verwoerd was a tyrant who was oppressing his people, that he was 'Hitler's best student' and if he (Tsafendas) ever get hold of him "he would bash his skull." He did not tell the police about Dr. Verwoerd being a tyrant as he believed it would be bad for Tsafendas.²⁰⁸²
- Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren, a security officer at the Mandini Paper Factory in Zululand, told the police that Nick Vergos said Tsafendas "was not Greek, but a kaffir

²⁰⁷⁸ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰⁷⁹ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁰⁸⁰ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰⁸¹ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁰⁸² Patrick O'Ryan in *A Question of Madness*, this part is available in the rushes; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

and a Communist.”²⁰⁸³

- Robert Smith was a night clerk at the Durban Men’s Home where Tsafendas stayed for two months in 1965. He testified that Tsafendas was a Communist, “a fanatic on politics and seldom spoke of anything else” and had described “United Party and National Party officials and members as capitalistic roughs.” Tsafendas had told him that the “South African government’s policy was ‘rotten’” and often compared conditions in South Africa with those of Russia, stating, “Look at all the poor people in South Africa... such conditions don’t exist in Russia because Russia is a Communistic state.”²⁰⁸⁴
- Albert Vercueil said Tsafendas told him, “You are like your bloody government, but I will get you, and I will get your Prime Minister too.”²⁰⁸⁵
- Johannes Botha, a security officer, told the police that Nick Vergos characterised Tsafendas in a remark to him as the “biggest Communist in the Republic of South Africa.”²⁰⁸⁶
- Jan Johannes Albertus Fourie, a sergeant of the South African police, testified that Nick Vergos reported Tsafendas to him as “Communist bastard.”²⁰⁸⁷
- Father Hanno Probst reported Tsafendas to a security officer as a “communist and a dangerous person.”²⁰⁸⁸ He also suspected Tsafendas of being a political agitator, stirring up disaffection among young Blacks in the Mangete Reserve. “I say this because during the period Demetrios Tsafendas stayed at Mandini, the youngsters in the Mangete Reserve became unruly and aggressive. This, however, is only suspicion, because since the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd everything became quiet again and the youngsters controllable... He started swearing at the Mozambique government, saying it did nothing

²⁰⁸³ Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰⁸⁴ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰⁸⁵ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰⁸⁶ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰⁸⁷ Jan Johannes Albertus Fourie statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰⁸⁸ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

for the black people.”²⁰⁸⁹

- Roelof Swiegers testified that Tsafendas “leaned towards the communist side.”²⁰⁹⁰
- Jacobus Bornman testified that Tsafendas “stood up a lot for the Coloureds” and “often criticised the South African government and seemed to have a grudge against Dr. Verwoerd.”²⁰⁹¹
- According to Inspector Horacio Ferreira, of the Portuguese Security Police in Mozambique, Tsafendas was “intense anti-White” and told him that “the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-Whites.”²⁰⁹²
- Keith Martincich testified that Tsafendas “on quite a few occasions he had discussed politics with me. He said he did not like the Government and that he was given a hard time in South Africa. He said the Government won’t reign very long.”²⁰⁹³
- Elizabeth Groves was Tsafendas’s landlady for six or seven weeks and a retired psychiatric nurse. About Tsafendas she said, “I received complaints that he was argumentative and towards me he said that we Afrikaners are a backward nation. It was clear that he had nothing good towards Afrikaners.”²⁰⁹⁴
- Antony Maw testified that the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique did not allow Tsafendas to enter the country on grounds of suspected Communist tendencies.²⁰⁹⁵
- A report by of Col. van Wyk of the South African police characterised Tsafendas as being “intensely anti-white.”²⁰⁹⁶
- A 1941 report from the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs said that Tsafendas was “dismissed from employment at a kiosk in Portuguese South Africa

²⁰⁸⁹ Father Hanno Probst statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰⁹⁰ Roelof Erasmus Swiegers statement to the police, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van vorm Z 204. NASA.

²⁰⁹¹ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁰⁹² Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁰⁹³ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁰⁹⁴ Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁰⁹⁵ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub File: 1/8. NASA.

²⁰⁹⁶ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

(Mozambique) on account of his Communist leanings.”²⁰⁹⁷

- Peter Pappas, whose café in Durban Tsafendas often visited, said Tsafendas “spoke angrily about the Salazar regime in Portugal and about the Mozambique police.”²⁰⁹⁸
- In July 1966, just two months before the assassination, Tsafendas gave a seventy-five-minute interview to a reporter named N.D. Hartford of the *Cape Argus*. They had already met at the beginning of the year when Tsafendas came to the newspaper and enquired whether there was any news of the freedom fighters of Mozambique. He described himself as an “anti-Portuguese rebel and an antagonist of the Portuguese dictatorship.”²⁰⁹⁹ Hartford’s impression was that Tsafendas was normal; he had no reason to believe that he was mentally defective. According to Hartford, Tsafendas spoke fluently without any noticeable gaps in the conversation.²¹⁰⁰
- Reports from Mozambique which emerged after the assassination said that Tsafendas was “violently anti-Portuguese.”²¹⁰¹
- Gillian Claire Liebermann, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that Tsafendas had attempted to discuss politics with her and that she had got the “impression that he does not agree with authority (Governmental or other). I cut him short, saying that in my capacity of my work I do not discuss politics. I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation.”²¹⁰²
- Jorge Perestrelo, who met Tsafendas in Lisbon, told *Diario Popular* that “one could see how anxious he was to oppose the authorities.”²¹⁰³

Nine witnesses told the author that Tsafendas believed the Whites in Mozambique, South Africa and Rhodesia had commandeered the land from its rightful owners. Thus these territories were “occupied lands” ruled by “occupiers” such as Dr. Verwoerd and Ian Smith. However, Tsafendas considered that Whites who accepted majority rule and opposed colonial

²⁰⁹⁷ Report of the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, 14 October 1941. K150, Vol. 3, File: W.D. 10/10/4102. Subject: Enquiry regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis. NASA.

²⁰⁹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend’, 14 September 1966.

²⁰⁹⁹ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.’ 7 September 1966: 3; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

²¹⁰⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

²¹⁰¹ *The Cape Argus*, ‘180-Day Prison for Tsafendas?’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²¹⁰² Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁰³ Cuttings from the *Diario Popular* of 9.9.66. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

government had the right to live there.²¹⁰⁴

Eight more witnesses, Cleanthes Alachiotis, Nikolaos Billis, George Kantas, Nickolas Kambouris, Vasilis Perselis, Grigoris Pouftis and Michalis Vasilakis, Elias Constantaras, the first seven of them from the *Eleni* tanker, whose statements were not found in the NASA, maintained that they were interviewed by the South African police and testified that Tsafendas was a Communist, opposed apartheid and considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant and a dictator. They also testified that Tsafendas joined the military wing of the Greek Communist Party during the Greek Civil War.²¹⁰⁵

Six of the *Eleni* crew, Alachiotis, Billis, Kantas, Kambouris, Pouftis and Vasilakis, said they told the police that Tsafendas had characterised a possible assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as justifiable because he was a tyrant and the oppressor of his people; exactly the same thing Tsafendas repeated thirty years later to the three priests.²¹⁰⁶ The fact that Tsafendas said this just three days before the assassination adds strength to their claim. These six witnesses had also testified to the police, as Elias Constantaras had done,²¹⁰⁷ that Tsafendas described Dr. Verwoerd as “Hitler’s best student” and that he spat at his photograph in a newspaper. None of the above statements was used by the Attorney-General to challenge Dr. Cooper’s testimony, although they were in the possession of the police.

Several other witnesses who knew Tsafendas very well like Ira Kyriakakis, Father Nikolas Banovic, Katerina Pnema, Helen Grispos, Fotini Gavasiadis, Nick Papadakis, Mary Eintracht, John and Antony Michaletos, Nick Augustides and Andreas Babiolakis stated to the author that Tsafendas was a passionate Communist who considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator, and “Hitler’s best student.”²¹⁰⁸ Tsafendas kept characterising Dr. Verwoerd

²¹⁰⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹⁰⁵ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nickolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

²¹⁰⁶ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nickolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

²¹⁰⁷ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

²¹⁰⁸ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

with those words as long as thirty years after the assassination.²¹⁰⁹ Andreas Babiolakis told the author that Tsafendas made no attempt to hide his detestation for colonialism and apartheid. Tsafendas told Babiolakis one day that “Verwoerd and [Portuguese Prime Minister] Salazar are fascist dictators and should be executed like Mussolini.”²¹¹⁰ Six years after the assassination, Tsafendas proudly told anti-apartheid activist and Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter Alexander Moumbaris, a fellow prisoner in Pretoria Maximum Security Prison, “I got τον Ντράή τους” (“their tough guy” or “their champion,” but in a pejorative sense).²¹¹¹

The vast majority of witnesses who were interviewed by the author – some 90% of them, excluding the four members of his defence team – testified that Tsafendas talked constantly about politics, that he was strongly against apartheid and colonialism, and that he was a passionate Communist. The rest had not discussed politics with him. Several witnesses, including Katerina Pnema, Mary Eintracht, Ira Kyriakakis, Antony, Irene and John Michaletos, Andreas Babiolakis and Michael Vlachopoulos characterised him as a “political animal.”²¹¹² Nick Augustides, for instance, remembers Tsafendas “talking violently about politics and about the apartheid system ... he was very passionate about politics.”²¹¹³

Furthermore, Tsafendas admired Ahmed Ben Bella, Fidel Castro, Amílcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah and Patrice Lumumba, extensively quoting them until his death.²¹¹⁴ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis said of Tsafendas:

“He was very passionate about the independence of Mozambique, and generally about the independence of all colonies. He supported Pan-Africanism and deeply admired anti-colonialist leaders like [Fidel] Castro, [Ahmed] Ben Bella, [Kwame] Nkrumah, [Amílcar] Cabral ... His favourite was [Patrice] Lumumba; he cried when talking about him [because he was murdered]. He had read a lot about them and quoted them often; he could tell you everything about their lives. He even suggested books about them for me to read. He

²¹⁰⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹¹⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

²¹¹¹ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

²¹¹² Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; Irene and John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²¹¹³ Nick Augustides in a personal interview, 19 February 2016.

²¹¹⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

also often quoted [Frantz] Fanon, especially with regard to the assassination [of Dr. Verwoerd], when he was trying to justify it as a justifiable political act. He made me read two of his [Fanon's] books."²¹¹⁵

Father Minas Constandinou told the author about Tsafendas ideology:

"Dimitris was the most political person I ever met. He lived and breathed politics. Most of his conversations were about politics... he was very Communist, very, very Communist. But you know he was not one of those Communists who just say they are Communists. Dimitris had read a lot about Communism and he practised and preached Communism, he did not just claim to be one... he was also anti-colonialist and anti-apartheid. I think above all, he was that. He was very much for the independence of Mozambique and actually, not just Mozambique, but all the colonies in Africa.

Dimitris used to say that apartheid was like colonialism, because a few Europeans were ruling a land which belonged to Blacks because their ancestors had invaded and conquered it. I remember he used to call the Portuguese in Mozambique and I think the whites in South Africa too, 'conquerors' and 'occupiers;' he considered Mozambique and South Africa to be 'occupied lands,' conquered by foreigners. He used to say that Verwoerd was Hitler's best student, because he had learned from him some of his methods and laws and he was applying them to the Blacks."²¹¹⁶

Costas Poriakis told the author that Tsafendas was "a political animal. The most politicized person I've ever met," and that "there was fire in his eyes when talking politics, especially about the struggle for the independence of Mozambique and other countries in Africa. He was clearly pro-violence [for political reasons]."²¹¹⁷

Allan O'Ryan told the author that he often talked politics with Tsafendas, and that

"He called the Afrikaans language a 'creole'. And he made it quite clear that Afrikaans was not a language, it was a Creole. That opened up the door for me to understand that he was with me in opposition to the Afrikaner people. He made it clear that he also didn't very much have time for the Afrikaners as a people. He was well read. I can tell you that he was well read and he knew very well what was happening in our own country. He knew what was happening there. So, in that sense, I had respect for him and I learnt a lot from him about

²¹¹⁵ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹¹⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²¹¹⁷ Costas Poriakis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

world history and about places that he'd travelled to."²¹¹⁸

Another issue is the disclosure that Tsafendas formed the idea of killing Dr. Verwoerd while in England. This might be correct, or partly correct. Tsafendas told Father Minas Constandinou that he decided to "do something against apartheid and Dr. Verwoerd" upon reading about the Sharpeville massacre.²¹¹⁹ The massacre took place on March 1960 and Tsafendas was deported from England to Germany in December 1959, so presumably and according to his statement to the police he was in Germany at the time and not in England. However, he also mentioned to the police in his statement that while in England in discussions he had with anti-apartheid activists and leftists it was argued that the "South African Prime Minister deserves to be shot."²¹²⁰

All the witness statements gathered by the police flatly contradicted Dr. Cooper's testimony, indeed challenged it at many points. Tsafendas never spoke to any of them about Dr. Verwoerd being responsible for his troubles, or that society was against him or that he was frustrated. Most importantly, Tsafendas, according to the witnesses, had a clear political mind and would have had no difficulty explaining why he acted as he did. Although several witnesses testified to the police that Tsafendas was a Communist, the word Communist was never heard during Dr. Cooper's testimony. Indeed, it was not to be heard throughout the entire summary trial and the fact that Tsafendas was deeply political would be concealed.

The Attorney-General could easily have challenged Dr. Cooper's statement and conclusions simply by reading Tsafendas's statement or by using some of the evidence mentioned above. However, he did nothing. Whether this was because of incompetence or because he was unaware makes no great difference to Tsafendas. The fact is that the evidence which would have proved Dr. Cooper wrong, or at least raised serious doubts, was not used. Instead van den Berg's cross-examination, though sounding aggressive, did not lead anywhere.

In 1994, when Tsafendas was in Pretoria Prison Hospital and apartheid had collapsed, Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis asked him, "Why did you do it, Mr. Tsafendas [kill Verwoerd]?" Tsafendas told the priest that he considered Verwoerd to be "a dictator and a tyrant" and that because he was the "brains behind apartheid," he hoped his death would lead to the collapse

²¹¹⁸ Allan O' Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

²¹¹⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²¹²⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

of that racist policy. He knew everything would not be transformed overnight, but he hoped Verwoerd's "removal" would be a stepping stone towards the end of apartheid.²¹²¹

Tsafendas denounced the slain Prime Minister as a "monster" and an "evil person," and set out in detail the steps Verwoerd had taken to establish his iron rule and earn his title, "the architect of apartheid." Tsafendas told Bishop Ioannis that "Verwoerd was a dictator and a tyrant who oppressed his people. People were like slaves. He created apartheid... Even if you had lived here, you would not have been able to tell of its real extent [of apartheid] unless you had lived with Coloureds and Blacks. People were like slaves, they were only living to serve the Whites. Verwoerd did that. He was a monster, almost as bad as Hitler. I call him 'Hitler's best student' because he copied some of Hitler's Nurnberg Laws and applied them to the Blacks here ... Verwoerd would have done to the Blacks what Hitler did to the Jews if he did not need them to serve the Whites."²¹²²

Tsafendas then argued that his act was "an act of profound moral principle," morally justifiable because Verwoerd was a tyrant and a dictator. He quoted at length from the works of Frantz Fanon, the Martinican revolutionary, philosopher and psychiatrist, who had argued that violence against colonialism was not only necessary in order to free the people, but also legitimate. Tsafendas spoke at length of his admiration for Fanon and urged both priests to read his works. He then said that since he had the opportunity to rid the world of such monster, it was his "duty," his "social responsibility" to do so, a "tyrannicide." Tsafendas also argued that if he had not acted, his guilt would have equalled that of Verwoerd, because any person who is aware of a crime and does not intervene, or worse allows it to continue when he has the power to end it, is as guilty as the criminal himself. Father Minas disagreed with all this and reminded him that he had killed a man and that was unacceptable and a mortal sin, no matter who the person was and what he had done. Tsafendas then put this question to Bishop Ioannis and Father Minas:

"Every day, you see a man you know committing a very serious crime for which millions of people suffer. You cannot take him to court or report him to the police, because

²¹²¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹²² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

he is the law in the country. Would you remain silent and let him continue with his crime, or would you do something to stop him?”²¹²³

Both priests replied that they would have wanted to stop the crime but they would not have killed a person to stop it. Tsafendas said, “Then you would have been as guilty as Dr. Verwoerd. You are guilty not only when you commit a crime, but also when you do nothing to prevent it when you have the chance.” The debate went on and on but Tsafendas refused to accept that he was wrong, producing arguments and counter-arguments to support his contention. He even used examples from history where tyrants and dictators were executed by the people. He characterised the killings of the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and of Reinhard Heydrich, Gestapo chief and one of the architects of the Holocaust, as justifiable and as tyrannicides.²¹²⁴

Father Minas refused to accept that such acts were morally justifiable and asked Tsafendas if he would also have killed Hitler to save the people. Tsafendas replied “Yes” without hesitation. The priest then asked if he could travel back in time whether he would have killed Hitler or Dr. Verwoerd as babies, so that they would never grow up to become the monsters they became. Tsafendas replied, “No” and justified it with an answer that took both priests by surprise. He told them that if he was able to go back in time, instead of killing the infant Hitler and the infant Verwoerd, he would have tried to raise the two babies in a different environment so that they would have been protected from the influences of the time which helped turn them into the monsters they became. Tsafendas then used Jan-Jacques Rousseau’s observation that “all people are good by nature, but corrupted by society.”²¹²⁵ Nevertheless, Father Minas Constandinou remained adamant and insisted that Tsafendas had done the wrong thing by killing Verwoerd. At some point during the discussion, Tsafendas told Father Minas, “To paraphrase Dostoyevsky in *Demons*, it’s easy to condemn the offender; the difficulty is to understand him.”²¹²⁶

Father Minas had asked Tsafendas exactly that question (the infant Verwoerd) when he first visited him in prison the mid-1980s. He was so impressed by the answer, that when he first spoke to Bishop Ioannis about Tsafendas, the first thing he mentioned was his answer

²¹²³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹²⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹²⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹²⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

to the infant Hitler and infant Verwoerd question. When Bishop Ioannis put the identical question to him many years later, Tsafendas again gave him the same answer.²¹²⁷ Tsafendas's answers to the priests hardly fit with the way he was described by Dr. Cooper.

Sometimes, Tsafendas, in the presence of the priests, would proudly make a stabbing gesture and denounce Dr. Verwoerd yet again as "Hitler's best student." He told them that at first, he intended to kidnap the Prime Minister and offer to exchange him for political prisoners. When he realised that this was not possible, he considered placing a bomb in Parliament to kill all the MPs. However, he dismissed this idea because journalists and other innocent people and the only "good" MP, Helen Suzman, could also have died.²¹²⁸ Tsafendas always referred to his killing of Dr. Verwoerd as "the execution." He refused to use the word assassination. When the priests referred to "the assassination," Tsafendas would invariably correct them, saying, "the execution!"²¹²⁹

Tsafendas also always maintained to Liza Key that he had killed Dr. Verwoerd for political reasons; because he was an "immoral man" and "disagreed with his policies" as he specifically told her.²¹³⁰ Over the four years that she visited him in the Sterkfontein Hospital (1995-1999), he never told her anything to make her think that he could have been insane. She never doubted his sanity.²¹³¹

Henk van Woerden, a Dutch author and painter, who visited and interviewed Tsafendas in Sterkfontein Hospital in 1996 on a number of occasions and later wrote a book about him,²¹³² was interviewed by *Carte Blanche Interactive* in 2001. He said that when he asked Tsafendas why he killed Verwoerd, he replied, "I didn't like the man, I dislike what he's doing to the country, I don't agree [sic]. It was politically motivated." Van Woerden also stated that "the records that I have looked at suggest without a doubt that at the time he murdered Verwoerd, he was completely *compos mentis*."²¹³³

It should be noted here that on October 9, 2015, the sixteenth anniversary of Tsafendas's death, Rev. Ioannis Tsafaridis, then Bishop of the Greek-Orthodox Church in

²¹²⁷ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹²⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹²⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹³⁰ *A Question of Madness*.

²¹³¹ Liza Key in a personal interview, 6 April 2015.

²¹³² van Woerden, H. (2000) *A Mouthful of Glass*.

²¹³³ Bronwyn Harris, "Arranging Prejudice: Exploring Hate Crime in Post-Apartheid South Africa", (Race and Citizenship in Transition Series, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (SWOP), University of the Witwatersrand, 2004), p. 28.

Mozambique (now Bishop in Zambia and Malawi), described Tsafendas as “the Greek Che Guevara.” The bishop was laying the foundation stone for the church of Saint Dionysius, also to serve as a Greek Orthodox missionary centre, at Murakela village in Nangoma Murumbi, North Mozambique. Reminding the congregation that it was Tsafendas’s anniversary, Bishop Ioannis went on to describe him as the “man who killed apartheid,” as “a modern Greek hero who wanted to set the people of Mozambique and South Africa free,” “a man who wanted to liberate South Africa and Mozambique from the oppressors,” “an idealist,” “a concerned man about the people’s sufferings,” and as “a humble man, a man with dignity,” while he described Verwoerd’s assassination as “tyrannicide.” Finally, the bishop said that the new church was “in the memory of the revolutionary Dimitri Tsafendas.”²¹³⁴

²¹³⁴ Manolis Dimelas, ‘Ο Πρώτος Ναός στη Μνήμη του Ελληνα “Φονιά του Απαρτχάιντ” [‘The first church in memory of the Greek assassin of apartheid’], *The TOC*, 20 October 2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.thetoc.gr/koinwnia/article/o-prwtos-naos-sti-mnimi-tou-ellina-fofia-tou-apartxaint>; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

Furthermore, nine days later, on October 18, 2015, Rev. Ioannis Tsafendaris, led a memorial service for Tsafendas in the Greek Orthodox Church in Maputo. The service was announced in the Press and by posters distributed throughout the city in which Bishop Ioannis heralded Tsafendas as “The Idealist.” During the service, Bishop Ioannis declared that Tsafendas was “was not an ordinary man, but a man who gave up his life for a principle and for the good of his fellow citizens ... an idealist who removed a tyrant ... a freedom-fighter who struggled for the independence of Mozambique and against apartheid.” He said that Tsafendas “laid a stepping stone towards the end of apartheid” and that his actions “were borne out of selflessness and for the public good.” He also said that although he never got the recognition he deserved, Tsafendas did not care that he was not hailed as a hero; according to his conscience, he did the right thing, regardless of what others might think. The bishop quoted Tsafendas as saying, “Do a good thing and then throw it in the sea; when you do a good thing, you don’t go around advertising it.” Bishop Ioannis concluded by saying that Tsafendas opened the “door of freedom” in South Africa and that “Mozambique and South Africa should recognise his efforts and stop believing apartheid’s lies.”²¹³⁵

Finally, Rev. Seraphim Kykkotis, currently Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Zimbabwe and Angola and former Archbishop of Johannesburg and Pretoria, never met Tsafendas. However, he was very impressed from what he heard about him from the priests who were visiting him in prison and in the hospital, as well as Greeks who knew him in South Africa and elsewhere. Thus, Bishop Seraphim, in his 2013 book about Nelson Mandela (*Αναφορές στο Νομπελίστα Νέλσον Μαντέλα*), praised Tsafendas and his act. He characterised Tsafendas as “A Greek soul, a brave Cretan who raised in his stature the dignity of humanity against apartheid” and described his act as “heroic.” He concluded about Tsafendas that “people in his time called him a murderer, while others thought that he was crazy ... However, his motives were absolutely pure: he was a selfless fighter for people’s dignity who acted only out of love, to protect people’s rights.”²¹³⁶

TSAFENDAS’S MOTIVE, PART II: DR. VERWOERD’S MEETING WITH CHIEF JONATHAN

JUDGE BEYERS: There was the political motivation; is there anything else that made up

²¹³⁵ Press Release of the Orthodox Metropolis of Mozambique, 18 October 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafendaris in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²¹³⁶ Serafim Kykkotis, *Αναφορές στο Νομπελίστα Νέλσον Μαντέλα*, (Athens: Παπασωτηρίου, 2013), p. 47.

this complex of his intention to kill?

DR. COOPER: Yes. Well, again, this was, if you like to call it, a political thing again, but in my mind it was an irrational political thing. I recall that the question of Dr. Verwoerd's meeting with Jonathan, he says, came into it. Now, when one asks him exactly in what way it came into it, how it came into it, what this meeting had to do with his killing Dr. Verwoerd, one is again confronted with a very vague account, but one gathers that his idea concerning that meeting was that he felt that Dr. Verwoerd was not truly representative of the White population in this country, and he felt that Chief Jonathan was not truly representative of the non-European population in this country, and in some rather muddled perplexed way that seems to upset the accused and in his words, he says, that might have had something to do with it. But one cannot from that deduce that the accused killed Dr. Verwoerd because of that meeting. But his thoughts revolving around this meeting further muddled his mind, further confused his feelings and ideas about the political situation, and apparently contributed in some way to the mass of irrational thinking that collected in his mind and eventually burst forth in this aggressive act.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S MOTIVE FOR KILLING DR. VERWOERD, PART II

The above short but crucial testimony from Dr. Cooper is a good example of what was happening in the summary trial. Dr. Cooper said Tsafendas told him that "he felt that Dr. Verwoerd was not truly representative of the White population in this country." That is a very, very important statement.

What Tsafendas told the police in his statement of September 11, 1966 was that he believed "Dr. Verwoerd and Jonathan were, to my mind, not the real representatives of their countries. I wanted to see a government representing all the South African people. I do not think the Nationalist Government is representative of the people and I wanted to see a different government." Tsafendas did not say that Dr. Verwoerd was not truly representative of the White population of South Africa, but that he was not representative of all the people of South Africa. He also said that the Nationalist Government, formed from Dr. Verwoerd's party, was not representative of all the South African people.

The first important point here is that the Attorney-General again does not make any attempt to challenge Dr. Cooper's statement, which has a completely different meaning from

what Tsafendas told the police. The Attorney-General could easily have challenged Dr. Cooper's statement just by reading out Tsafendas's statement. There is a massive difference between someone who is representative of the white population and someone who is representative of all the population. The Attorney-General either is not aware of Tsafendas's police statement or chose to ignore it and let Dr. Cooper's version pass unchallenged. A statement such as Dr. Cooper's, along with many that will follow, including some in the media, portray Tsafendas as completely different to the person he really is. They show him as a man who supported apartheid or disagreed with it for the wrong reasons, a man with confused political ideas.

What Tsafendas said in his statement, that Dr. Verwoerd was not representative of all South African people, clearly states his opposition to Dr. Verwoerd and to his government. What Dr. Cooper said, that Tsafendas believed Dr. Verwoerd did not truly represent South Africa's Whites, suggests Tsafendas accepted racial divisions. Tsafendas's statement to the police on this matter is compatible with statements taken by the police, and separately by the author, from people who knew Tsafendas's thinking. Tsafendas called Dr. Verwoerd a "dictator" long after the assassination to people like Fathers Minas Constandinou, Spiros Randos and Ioannis Tsafaridis, but also before the assassination to Patrick O'Ryan, Father Nikola Banovic, Andreas Babiolakis, Elias Constantaras, Nick Papadakis, Cleanthes Alachiotis, Nikolaos Billis, George Kantas, Nikolaos Kambouris, Katerina Pnefma, Michalis Vasilakis and many others.

As for the statement which Dr. Cooper alleges Tsafendas made, we do not know what Tsafendas's exact words were. It is possible that he said what Dr. Cooper claimed he said, perhaps in an attempt to mislead the psychiatrist about his true political ideas. It is also possible that Dr. Cooper misunderstood what Tsafendas said. Finally, it is possible that Dr. Cooper changed Tsafendas's statement and replaced his words "all South African people" with the "the White population" to support the defence's line. The author is not in position to know what happened for sure, but the fact is that another inaccurate statement by Dr. Cooper regarding Tsafendas's character and political ideology was accepted by the State when it would have been easy not only to challenge it, but to break it down.

It is also worth raising the possibility that Tsafendas is lying about the meeting in question being a motive. He told the police that the "idea of destroying Dr. Verwoerd entered

my mind a few days after I started work as a messenger in the House of Assembly.”²¹³⁷

Tsafendas also told two witnesses that he decided to assassinate Dr. Verwoerd as soon as he got the job in the Parliament.²¹³⁸ The author is not in position to know whether Tsafendas was aware at the time of the forthcoming meeting, but it is likely that he was not. However, it is possible that he was aware of the meeting in advance since he read the newspapers every day but also because he was working at the Parliament. It is a fact though, that Tsafendas never mentioned this meeting as a motive to any of the witnesses he spoke to about the assassination.

²¹³⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²¹³⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

Although the police had ample evidence to prove that Dr. Cooper's statement was inaccurate, the Attorney-General did not use it. Again, we are not in position to know whether this was from incompetence, or a deliberate attempt to conceal Tsafendas's real political ideas, or because he did not have the information. The result was that another false statement by Dr. Cooper was accepted by the court and subsequently by the public.

TSAFENDAS'S PLANNING OF THE ASSASSINATION

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Was it weeks before he did it that he conceived the intention of committing this crime?

DR. COOPER: I gathered from him it was at least several days.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: From what he told you, when did he say he wanted to kill the Prime Minister?

DR. COOPER: I can't answer that. I just got from him that he had vaguely in his mind planned to kill him, and then, on that particular day he decided that this was now going to be the time he was going to do it.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Didn't he tell you that he wanted to kill the Prime Minister on the 3rd September?

DR. COOPER: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he tell you that he originally wanted to shoot the Prime Minister?

DR. COOPER: Yes, he told me that he had originally tried to buy a revolver and that he had bought some sort of gas pistol but that it did not function properly.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he tell you that he arranged to buy a Beretta pistol?

DR. COOPER: I don't recall the name Beretta, no.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Didn't he say that he had arranged to buy a Beretta pistol from a seaman on the tanker *Eleni*?

DR. COOPER: He did give me a vague, garbled account of his thoughts and the happenings

on that vessel. He did talk vaguely in terms of references made on that boat to ill-feeling concerning the political policies of Dr. Verwoerd, and he did tell me of thoughts crossing his mind concerning the killing of Dr. Verwoerd.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Didn't the accused say that he waited for his salary at the end of August, 1966, before buying the pistol?

DR. COOPER: No. He didn't tell me that.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Didn't he tell you that he intended escaping on the tanker *Eleni* after shooting the Prime Minister?

DR. COOPER: Yes, he did tell me, again in vague terms, of how he contemplated escaping on this ship. This was when he was thinking in terms of the shooting, not when he was apparently thinking in terms of the stabbing. He was very adamant that he had no plan of escape although thought of escape after committing this act.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he tell you that he had obtained American dollars at the bank in order to purchase the pistol?

DR. COOPER: Yes, I do recall him saying something about American dollars.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused say that he changed his plans after he had purchased the gas pistol, which was not suited to his purpose?

DR. COOPER: No, he didn't really talk to me in terms of plans; when he discussed the eventual stabbing with me he didn't really know why he did what he did.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Didn't the accused tell you that he...

JUDGE BEYERS: I am sorry, I do not understand that. I have asked you that before, and I don't understand it now. You did tell me that in his telling you about killing the Prime Minister there was a political motive as well as other things probably. Didn't you tell me that he did not like his politics?

DR. COOPER: He told me that he didn't like his politics.

JUDGE BEYERS: And wasn't that associated with his killing?

DR. COOPER: It was associated with it but only indirectly.

JUDGE BEYERS: Then I cannot understand you are giving an answer and saying he didn't give you any reason for doing so. I cannot understand that answer.

DR. COOPER: I say that because I repeatedly asked him to try and explain to me why he killed Dr. Verwoerd, and at no time was he able to offer me any explanation. When I am talking about these political issues, these are things I elicited from him quite apart from this question of: "Why did you kill Dr. Verwoerd?" He did not tell me about his political feelings directly in relation to my question of: "Why did you kill Dr. Verwoerd?" When I asked him that question, at no time was I able to elicit any coherent account of why he thought he did it. He said, in fact, that he doesn't know why he did it. He can hardly believe that he did do it. He knows he did it but he doesn't know why and...

JUDGE BEYERS: Again I am having difficulty with this, as you have just told me that at least - according to what he told you - for days, if not longer, at least for a matter of days, he was considering and contemplating and premeditating this killing.

DR. COOPER: That is correct.

JUDGE BEYERS: I think you told me that he went and bought the knives on that morning?

DR. COOPER: That was what he told me.

JUDGE BEYERS: Then I don't follow why he told you that he does not know why he killed him, because he must have been thinking about it for days.

DR. COOPER: I know, but this is the point, he premeditated it apparently from what he said, and he did it. But when one asks him why he did it, he cannot gather a coherent system of ideas in his mind to explain why he did it. He thought of doing it apparently, he planned to do it, he did it. But why he did it, what was in his mind concerning the doing of it, this he was unable to tell me despite repeated interrogations.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S PLANNING OF THE ASSASSINATION

The surprising thing here is not Dr. Cooper's testimony, but the cross-examination by the Attorney-General. Van den Berg demonstrates knowledge of Tsafendas's movements prior to the assassination, information which could only have come from Tsafendas himself and presumably from the statements he gave to the police. However, up to this point, van den Berg seemed not to have access to the Tsafendas's statements since he did not use any of the information in them to challenge Dr. Cooper's statements, especially with regards to his motive and the tapeworm.

The question therefore is, where did he get the information from? If it was from Tsafendas's statements to the police, why did not he use the rest of the information to challenge Dr. Cooper? Of course, there could be other explanations as to how van den Berg got the information, perhaps from the police but possibly only on specific areas, the rest being withheld. It is also conceivable of course that van den Berg only used those parts from the statement he wanted and deliberately did not mention the rest in an attempt not to reveal Tsafendas's real motive. Whatever the explanation, the fact that van den Berg used only parts of Tsafendas's statements is secondary to the main issue, being why he failed to challenge Dr. Cooper by citing Tsafendas's statement with regard to why he killed Dr. Verwoerd.

TSAFENDAS'S "NEW RACE" THEORY AND BEING UNSYMPATHETIC TOWARDS COLOURED AND NATIVES

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused perhaps say to you that he didn't know why he killed the deceased?

DR. COOPER: He did definitely say he didn't know why he killed the deceased

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: he tell you that he may have killed the deceased because he blamed the deceased for all his troubles - the accused's troubles?

DR. COOPER: No, he did not word it in that way.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Didn't the accused tell you that he believed, as he called it, in evolution?

DR. COOPER: Evolution? Yes, he did talk in terms of evolution.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And didn't he explain that by this he meant that members of all the races in South Africa should be free to intermarry so that a new race could develop?

DR. COOPER: Well, he gave me an exposition on evolution and its relation to the...

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Please reply to my question?

DR. COOPER: But he didn't tell me the job properly.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes. Did the accused explain that members of all races in South Africa should be free to intermarry so that a new race could develop?

DR. COOPER: He put forward that view, as well at another time putting forward a view that he felt unsympathetic towards the Coloureds and natives.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And didn't he tell you that he was against the Immorality Act?

DR. COOPER: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Didn't he say that he thought that Dr. Verwoerd was standing in the way of this evolution?

DR. COOPER: I don't recall him saying that in so many words but I accept that he implied something of that sort.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused tell you that he may have killed the Prime Minister because he blamed him for his own troubles the accused's own troubles?

DR. COOPER: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He never said that?

DR. COOPER: No. I put that specifically to him and he said he could not go so far as to say that.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S ABOVE TESTIMONY

TSAFENDAS BEING UNSYMPATHETIC TOWARDS COLOUREDS AND NATIVES

Here Dr. Cooper makes the most extraordinary of his statements - that Tsafendas was unsympathetic towards South Africa's Coloureds and natives. Firstly, the Attorney-General himself is aware that Tsafendas applied to be reclassified as Coloured since he had included this information in his memorandum of October 3, 1966, regarding Tsafendas.²¹³⁹ Tsafendas had given as one of the reasons for his application the fact that he regarded himself as a Coloured.²¹⁴⁰ This was hardly the act of a man who did not like such people.

In addition, Tsafendas testified to the police that he was anti-apartheid, anti-colonialist, and anti-slavery, that he had “a grudge against the South African government on account of its racial policies,” that he was in “sympathy with people fighting racialism” and

²¹³⁹ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkoperij. NASA.

²¹⁴⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 39.

that he had participated in anti-apartheid demonstrations.²¹⁴¹ He also wanted to “create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned civil disobedience and anything that would get the South African regime out of power”²¹⁴² and he “opposed every decision taken by the South African government.”²¹⁴³ For a more detailed account of Tsafendas’s political ideas and preferences, see the references in Dr. Cooper’s testimony regarding his motive for killing Dr. Verwoerd.

Out of approximately two hundred people who were questioned by the police and the Commission, not one said anything to agree with Dr. Cooper’s statement. On the contrary, several people told the police that Tsafendas was friendlier to Coloureds than to Whites and that he supported them:

- Patrick O’Ryan testified that Tsafendas was “favourable towards the Coloureds and he repeatedly applied to be classified as a Coloured.”²¹⁴⁴
- Jacobus Bornman testified that Tsafendas “stood up a lot for the Coloureds.”²¹⁴⁵
- A report by Col. van Wyk of the South African police characterised Tsafendas as being “intensely anti-White.”²¹⁴⁶
- Col. McIntyre of the South African Police wrote in his report regarding Tsafendas on October 3 that Tsafendas told “several people that he was upset because he was not classified as a Coloured.”²¹⁴⁷
- According to Inspector Horacio Ferreira, of the Portuguese Security Police in Mozambique, Tsafendas was “intense anti-White” and told him that “the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-Whites.”²¹⁴⁸
- Albert Vercueil, Tsafendas’s boss at F.A. Poole Engineering, testified that Tsafendas

²¹⁴¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²¹⁴² Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁴³ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁴⁴ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²¹⁴⁵ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁴⁶ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²¹⁴⁷ ‘The history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds to the late Dr. Verwoerd’ drafted by Col. McIntyre, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Subject: Leer W.D. 10/10/4102 der Stafendas. NASA.

²¹⁴⁸ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

“bullied the other Portuguese workers. He had fights with several white workers”²¹⁴⁹ but he never argued with Black workers.²¹⁵⁰

- Jose Baltazar told police that when Tsafendas “was in the presence of Whites he said little or nothing, but was friendly and talkative with the Bantu. On one or two occasions Tsafendas, while talking with Bantu, stopped talking when he approached.”²¹⁵¹
- Gladstone Dunn testified that Tsafendas had told him that the South African Government “was not playing fair with the non-Whites. He said that the wages paid to non-Whites was very unsatisfactory, as well as the political situation.”²¹⁵²
- Meldon Tillek said Tsafendas told him that “the White people always looked down on him and that consequently he felt more at home amongst Coloured people.”²¹⁵³
- Ralph Lighton testified that Tsafendas “used to mix with the Coloureds rather than with the Europeans.”²¹⁵⁴
- According to Nikolaas Nel, Tsafendas “was certainly unpopular among White workers” and “adapted more to the non-Whites.”²¹⁵⁵
- Elizabeth Groves was Tsafendas’s landlady for six or seven weeks and a retired psychiatric nurse. About Tsafendas she said, “I received complaints that he was argumentative and towards me he said that we Afrikaners are a backward nation. It was clear that he had nothing good towards Afrikaners.”²¹⁵⁶
- Keith Martincich testified that Tsafendas “said the coloureds were better than the Europeans. He said they were more friendly, and had more sense than the Europeans, and showed more understanding. When I said he was talking nonsense, he got cross and lifted himself as though he wanted to tackle me. I noticed that he was very familiar with the

²¹⁴⁹ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²¹⁵⁰ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁵¹ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²¹⁵² Gladstone Dunn statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁵³ Meldon Tillek statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁵⁴ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁵⁵ Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁵⁶ Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

coloured crew on the boat, about which I reprimanded him.²¹⁵⁷

The next day in the summary trial, Peter Daniels, a defence witness, testified in court that Tsafendas “preferred to be amongst the Coloured community” and that “he would like to be among the Coloured community, make himself a Coloured man.”²¹⁵⁸ Although all this evidence gathered by the police proved that Dr. Cooper’s statement was inaccurate, the Attorney-General made no attempt to challenge it. Again, we do not know if this was through lack of access to the information or incompetence or if he decided it would be better for Tsafendas to appear “unsympathetic towards the Coloureds and the natives.”

The author asked forty-six people who knew Tsafendas well about Dr. Cooper’s statement that he was unsympathetic towards the Coloureds. No-one agreed, indeed all stated that the reality was the exact opposite. These are some of the responses from people who knew him best:

- Katerina Pnema said Dr. Cooper “does not know what he is talking about. Dimitri always defended the Coloureds and the Blacks from the Whites. He was fired from jobs because he supported them.”²¹⁵⁹
- Father Michalis Visvinis told the author that Dr. Cooper “could not have been more wrong.”²¹⁶⁰
- Alexander Moumbaris characterised the comment as “absurd” and a “lie.”²¹⁶¹
- Antony Michaletos laughed at the suggestion and said “What!” in disbelief when he heard about it. He described the suggestion as “preposterous.” He added, “This is real slander. Dimitris was teaching here in Lourenço Marques English to Black children for free, for free, because he wanted to, he wanted to help them because they were poor.”²¹⁶²
- Father Nikola Banovic told the author: “Everything this doctor [Dr. Cooper] has been saying is inaccurate; it’s not true about Dimitri. He was nothing like this, it’s like he had either examined a different person or he was a bad doctor.”²¹⁶³
- Father Minas Constandinou told the author: “I would not say that Dimitris was more or

²¹⁵⁷ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁵⁸ Peter Daniels testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²¹⁵⁹ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²¹⁶⁰ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

²¹⁶¹ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

²¹⁶² Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016.

²¹⁶³ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

less sympathetic towards a race, for him all the people were the same and he believed they should all have equal rights. He was very much against the injustices, he wanted to correct them if he could. If, let us assume, apartheid was the other way around and the Blacks were treating the Whites they way were treated by them during apartheid, Dimitris would still have opposed it and fought against it.”²¹⁶⁴

- Fotini Gavasiadis called the statement “ridiculous,” stating that Tsafendas was “the exact opposite.”²¹⁶⁵
- Mary Eintracht said she was completely surprised to hear such a statement. “Are you serious? I never heard that. It can’t be true. No one would have said that about Dimitri.”²¹⁶⁶
- Andreas Babiolakis said, “These people [Dr. Cooper and Smorenberg] must have been hallucinating, not Dimitri, if this is what they said about him.”²¹⁶⁷
- Ira Kyriakakis told the author that Tsafendas was “an idealist. He was very passionate about politics; he despised racism and colonialism and wanted Mozambique to get rid of the Portuguese; he was very strong in favour of Mozambique’s independence.”²¹⁶⁸
- Michalis Vasilakis said Dr. Cooper’s statement was “one of the biggest nonsense I have heard in my life.”²¹⁶⁹

²¹⁶⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²¹⁶⁵ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

²¹⁶⁶ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²¹⁶⁷ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

²¹⁶⁸ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

²¹⁶⁹ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

It should also be noted that even David Bloomberg told the author that Tsafendas "felt Coloured, and he was more comfortable with the Coloured people, and he had been living with Coloured people in Cape Town."²¹⁷⁰ In addition, Tsafendas got into a fight with Nick Vergos after he supported two Black workers who were exploited by Vergos.²¹⁷¹ Finally, Tsafendas took some of the *Eleni* seamen to a township in Cape Town where Blacks lived in an effort to show them at first-hand how some people lived under apartheid. He had also urged the seamen to spend as little money as possible while in Cape Town in order not to contribute to South Africa's economy.²¹⁷² These are hardly the attitudes of someone who was unsympathetic towards Coloureds. It seems unlikely that Dr. Cooper was right of Tsafendas's ideological and political beliefs after six hours of discussion with him rather than people who knew him all his life, or who lived with him for many months.

TSAFENDAS'S "NEW RACE" THEORY

Regarding Tsafendas's "new race" theory, Dr. Cooper and van den Berg talked about it as if Tsafendas had an insane idea about creating a new race of humans. In fact, what he meant is not clear from what he told the police and the genesis of the statement was published in the Press in a distorted form. John Marvis also spoke about it in his statement to Col. van Wyk on September 20, 1966, but did not give all the details.²¹⁷³

Tsafendas spoke about a "new race" one evening in the Scala Café in Beira.²¹⁷⁴ According to Nick Papadakis and Andreas Babiolakis, who were present, they were all discussing politics. Tsafendas believed that the world would become a better and safer place if there were no countries, no religions, and all people were the same colour. When asked how the last of the three could be achieved, Tsafendas had jokingly said that "everyone should have sex with someone of a different colour so a new race will be created where everyone will be the same colour or at least they will all be mixed! Only then will there be no

²¹⁷⁰ David Bloomberg in a personal interview, 6 April 2014.

²¹⁷¹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 5 August 2011; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

²¹⁷² Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 5 August 2011; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

²¹⁷³ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²¹⁷⁴ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

racism and discrimination anymore!"²¹⁷⁵ It was clear to them that Tsafendas said the sex part as a joke but that he was serious about the rest of his theory.²¹⁷⁶ Many a serious idea has been told in such a way as to indicate it is intended as half-truth and half-joke. When Barack Obama was asked by Stephen Colbert why he got the Nobel Peace Prize, he replied, "to be honest, I still don't know."²¹⁷⁷

Tsafendas would later repeat broadly the same theory and comment about sex in the same conversational context, still half-serious and half-joking, to several people. He repeated the same idea about the three things that, according to him, needed to be done for the world to become a better place; he never told anyone only about the sex part (the sex part was always a part of the three and not a separate issue). He truly believed that the only way to eradicate racism was to dismantle barriers such as colour, religion and national borders; he believed this until he died.²¹⁷⁸ It was hardly an insane notion. Sir Antony Sher, the British-South African actor and playwright, considered Tsafendas's idea a "rather wonderful ideal for the future."²¹⁷⁹

It is worth mentioning here that in 1998, the American actor and film director Warren Beatty produced, wrote, directed and starred in a film titled *Bulworth*. The movie's hero, US Senator Bulworth, played by Beatty, declared that in order to eradicate racism, "[we should] eliminate white people, black people, brown people, yellow people ... get rid of 'em all! All we need is a voluntary, free spirited, open-ended program of procreative racial deconstruction. Everybody just gotta keep fuckin' everybody till they're all the same colour." This is effectively what Tsafendas said thirty-five years earlier. Audiences laughed and no-one questioned Warren Beatty's sanity. The film was described by *The New York Times* as a "political satire with jubilant wit and energy,"²¹⁸⁰ and the prominent critic Roger Ebert said, "You realize that if all politicians were as outspoken as Bulworth, the fragile structure of our system would collapse, and we would have to start all over again ... It's better when

²¹⁷⁵ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

²¹⁷⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

²¹⁷⁷ Heather Saul, 'Barack Obama on Stephen Colbert: "To Be Honest, I Still Don't Know What My Nobel Peace Prize Was For"', *The Independent*, 18 October 2016. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/barack-obama-stephen-colbert-nobel-peace-prize-a7367321.html>

²¹⁷⁸ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

²¹⁷⁹ Unsworth (*Sunday Times*), 21 September 2003, 'A Play About Assassination, A Tapeworm and Notions of Madness.'

²¹⁸⁰ Janet Maslin, 'White Bread Senator Turns Homeboy', *The New York Times*, 15 May 1998.

Bulworth abandons political correctness and says what he thinks, however reckless, as when he theorizes that the solution to racial difficulties is for everybody to bleep everybody else until we're all the same colour."²¹⁸¹ People applauded the line when it was delivered by Beatty, but Tsafendas was ridiculed for saying the same thing thirty-two years earlier.

²¹⁸¹ Roger Ebert, '*Bulworth*.' Rogert Ebert.com, 22 May 1998. Retrieved from: <http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/bulworth-1998>

Furthermore, Tsafendas's comment was taken out of context. Even worse, the rest of his thinking, the eradication of countries and religions, was removed and only the part about the "new race" was kept, in order to present his theory as the product of lunacy. It is possible that Tsafendas did not explain his beliefs to Dr. Cooper in detail and did not include the other two "necessities" for a better world, and that was why the doctor only mentioned this. However, Tsafendas never told anyone about the race issue as a separate issue, always mentioning it as part of his wider beliefs.

We should remember here that Tsafendas had told the police in his statement that he considered Dr. Verwoerd not to be the representative of all South Africans. He had repeated the same to more than fifty witnesses and had repeatedly called Dr Verwoerd a dictator. Nevertheless, Dr. Cooper told the court that Tsafendas had told him that he considered Dr. Verwoerd not to be the real representative of the *White* South Africans. None of the witnesses questioned by the police, the Commission or the author mentioned that Tsafendas ever said anything like this, while more than fifty testified that he had told them the same thing he told the police. Although it is possible that Tsafendas made such comments to Dr. Cooper, the possibility that the doctor deliberately slightly paraphrased Tsafendas's words or took them out of context in order to support the defence's line cannot be excluded.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S EFFICIENCY AS MESSENGER

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: If I put it to you that he performed his work in the House of Assembly normally and efficiently, would you agree with that?

DR. COOPER: I would like to know details of that. I would say that a highly intelligent man performing as a messenger in court may well be able to perform fairly reasonably, but I would suspect in this man that he didn't in fact perform all that reasonably. I would be surprised, in fact, that he performed altogether satisfactorily.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: But he was a messenger in the Press Gallery, and if he didn't perform his duties efficiently wouldn't he have been dismissed?

DR. COOPER: I understand that he was only there for a short time.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He was there from the 1st August to the 6th September?

DR. COOPER: Yes. I must draw a conclusion from this that he wasn't completely and

obviously hopeless and inefficient in his duties.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: But if there is evidence that he performed his duties normally and efficiently, you won't deny that?

DR. COOPER: If the evidence is such, I must accept it.

COMMENTS ON THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S STATEMENTS REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S EFFICIENCY AS MESSENGER

The Attorney-General here does something strange. He suggests that Tsafendas's work in the House of Assembly was efficient and normal. He seems to know this for a fact, but he doesn't adduce any evidence and leaves the issue hanging. This might not look quite odd until we see what happens the next day. With the topic now introduced by van den Berg for debate and discussion, the defence took full advantage. Gerald Shaw, a defence witness and parliamentary correspondent for *The Cape Times*, testified that Tsafendas's work was not satisfactory. Even though this contradicted the Attorney-General's reference to Tsafendas's efficiency, van den Berg did nothing to support his claim and the evidence he mentioned never made an appearance in court. We will look at this case in greater detail in the following day's proceedings.

Going back to the evidence of efficiency that van den Berg referred to, five messengers from the Assembly testified to the police and the Commission of Enquiry. They were Piet Burger²¹⁸² the Chief Messenger, senior messengers Sydney Wiehand²¹⁸³ and Petrus Schuin,²¹⁸⁴ all three of whom interviewed and appointed Tsafendas, and another two messengers, Fred Feinauer²¹⁸⁵ and Felix Miles.²¹⁸⁶ None of the five stated that Tsafendas was not efficient or that they had noticed anything wrong with him. On the contrary, Schuin described Tsafendas as an ordinary man and "same as any other person that had worked there."²¹⁸⁷ Sydney Wiehand said that for a person to be appointed as a messenger, "he must be of sober habits. He must be always neat, and then also we ask him if he's got any sickness,

²¹⁸² Piet Bester Burger testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²¹⁸³ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²¹⁸⁴ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²¹⁸⁵ Fred Feinauer statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²¹⁸⁶ Felix George Miles statement to the police, 7 October 1966. K150, Vol. 2, File: 1. NASA.

²¹⁸⁷ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

or anything like that, then he must tell us. If so, then he must get a report from the doctor that he is fit for duty.²¹⁸⁸ Since he was appointed, Tsafendas must have fulfilled all of these conditions.

Wiehand testified that he never received any complaints about Tsafendas's work, but he was told by fellow messenger, Pienaar, that Tsafendas was eating a lot, then sitting and sleeping. However, Wiehand did not see this as a complaint, testifying that most messengers, including himself, ate and then slept until they were required to work again. In fact, Pienaar's comment had more to do with his observation of Tsafendas's eating habits; he thought he was overeating.²¹⁸⁹

The messengers' statements should have been known to the Attorney-General, but none of them was used to support his argument that Tsafendas's work was efficient. More surprisingly, none of Tsafendas's colleagues at Parliament was asked to testify at the summary trial. The State could certainly have used their testimonies to support its argument about Tsafendas's efficiency and challenged Dr. Cooper's diagnosis. It would also have been useful also for all those who examined Tsafendas to speak to the messengers, not only to find out what type of man he was, but to hear their opinions as to his mental state shortly before the assassination. After all, the messengers had seen him virtually every day for five weeks.

TSAFENDAS'S NO ESCAPE PLAN

ASSESSOR: You mean he never planned an escape?

DR. COOPER: He not only never planned an escape, he says he gave no thought to escape. The question of escape, in fact, did not enter his mind, and from what he did and the way he did it, it does seem to support that. It seems to me that anybody who had given it any thought should have realised that there was no possible hope of escape.

JUDGE BEYERS: But a lot of rational people have done things with no hope of escape. Every Kamikaze pilot who went down on an American warship had no hope of escape, and he wasn't a madman.

DR. COOPER: Yes. This is related to a fanatical patriotic drive that some of these people

²¹⁸⁸ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²¹⁸⁹ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

had during the war. But I don't believe that this is applicable in this case at all.

ASSESSOR: You said a little while ago in your opinion the accused has never given the eventualities of this crime a thought. I think you said that as a fact he never got as far as thinking about it. Did you perhaps ask him whether he had thought about escape?

DR. COOPER: Oh yes. I asked him in some detail as to whether he thought about the escape; whether he thought he had a chance of escape; what sort of plans of escape he visualised, and he was persistent - apologetically I may say - he quite apologetically said: "I am sorry, my mind is blank about that. My mind was blank about that. I just never gave the question of escape any thought at all, I just didn't think one way or the other about escaping," Following on this, I said to him: "Then does this mean that you decided to sacrifice yourself, because I assume that if a man decides that he is not worried about escape, this means that he is going to sacrifice himself? He was adamant. He said: "No, there was no question of sacrifice." He says his mind was blank. He did not think one way or the other.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S NO ESCAPE PLAN

The above testimony is another example that the Attorney-General was either not in possession of Tsafendas's statement or incompetent. Again he makes no attempt to challenge Dr. Cooper's testimony, even though Tsafendas's statement to the police plainly contradicts it. Tsafendas did give thought to his escape and told the police about his plan: "I was going to find refuge on the tanker, the *Eleni*, which I knew was sailing to South America. My plans were, however, upset when I could not get the right pistol. The boat sailed on the Saturday before Tuesday when I stabbed the Prime Minister ... I never thought about hiding. If I had to do the job with a knife, I didn't have much of a chance of getting away when using a knife. I didn't care much and didn't give it a second thought that I would be caught." In another statement to the police, Tsafendas said "I did not care about the consequences, for what would happen to me afterwards. I was so disgusted with the racial policy that I went through with my plans to kill the Prime Minister."²¹⁹⁰

Dr. Cooper also seems unable to understand that a man with deep political convictions would proceed to such a desperate act without having an escape plan. The Court's example

²¹⁹⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

about Kamikaze pilots is not irrelevant to Tsafendas's case, although it is not identical. Tsafendas, too, wanted to kill the enemy without regard to the personal consequences. Professor Dugard said that Tsafendas's remarks showed him as a "politically informed person, angry with apartheid and Dr. Verwoerd, determined to make a change, with nothing to lose personally."²¹⁹¹

History is full of people committing desperate acts out of deep political conviction; to raise awareness of their cause, to make a visible protest or simply to carry forward their fight. In 1936, Stefan Lux, a young Czechoslovakian Jew, committed suicide inside the League of Nations in Geneva while the members were in session. His aim was to raise awareness of the early persecution of Jews in Germany and to warn that Hitler must be stopped. He was not schizophrenic. In 1970, Kostas Georgakis, a Greek student of geology in Genoa, set himself on fire in protest against the dictatorship in Greece. He was not schizophrenic; a statue of him has been erected in Corfu and he was honoured by a commemorative postage stamp. Several Shaolin monks have publicly burned themselves to death over the years for their cause. None of them was schizophrenic. In 74 CE, during the First Jewish-Roman War at the Siege of Masada, 960 Jews committed suicide in order not to be enslaved by the Romans. No-one ever characterised them as schizophrenic.

Many have chosen to fight a battle in the full knowledge that there was no escape and certain death was awaiting. Salvador Allende in 1973 was given the chance by Pinochet to surrender and leave Chile. He refused and remained in the besieged Presidential Palace knowing that his death was inevitable, as proved to be the case. Constantine Palaiologos XI was the last Byzantine emperor. In 1453, he was given the chance of surrendering Constantinople, then capital of the Byzantine Empire, or of fighting and losing the city and his life. Palaiologos refused the surrender offer, fought and lost the city and died in the fighting. Jozef Gabcik and Jan Kubis, the two Czechs who assassinated Reinhard Heydrich in Prague in 1942, fled afterwards to a church. The SS surrounded the church and the two men, knowing there was no escape, chose to fight rather than surrender and lost their lives.

In 1994, twenty-eight years after Dr. Verwoerd's assassination, Fathers Ioannis Tsaftaridis and Minas Constandinou asked Tsafendas why he chose to stab Dr. Verwoerd in Parliament, knowing he could not possibly escape. Tsafendas replied that when he first conceived the idea of killing Verwoerd, he planned that he would have a chance of escape. He gave the priests a detailed account of how he would shoot Verwoerd, then flee the

²¹⁹¹ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

building and take refuge in the *Eleni*. He had rehearsed the scenario several times. It was when he was unable to get hold of a reliable firearm that he considered the alternative of a knife attack. He knew that if he stabbed Verwoerd there would be no escape and he debated the issue mentally for two or three days. In the event, he decided to go ahead with the knife because he did not care what would happen to him. This is exactly what he told the police twenty-eight years earlier. After all, he explained to the priests, he had no wife or children or responsibilities for anyone else, so he chose to act confident that there would be no human collateral damage while fully aware of what awaited himself.

Father Minas likened the act to a suicide mission and suggested that it could have been better planned. Tsafendas said there were time pressures in that his House of Assembly work terms were temporary and he feared he would never find a gun before possibly being redeployed. Minas asked if he had planned in advance to use the tapeworm to escape the death sentence. Tsafendas insisted that he never planned such a course and always wanted to claim “political responsibility” for his act. This was borne out by his two statements to the police after his arrest. Minas suggested it was madness to kill Verwoerd knowing he would be caught, a remark that angered and upset Tsafendas. He turned to Minas and said, “*If I don't burn, if you don't burn, if we don't burn, how will the light vanquish the darkness?*” He explained immediately that these were not his words, but a verse from Nazim Hikmet's poem *Like Karem (Kerem Gibi)*. Had he failed to try, he would have regretted it for the rest of his life. “Freedom demands virtue and courage,” he then told the priests. He then cited Andreas Kalvos's poem, *Eis Samon (To Samos)*, saying, in part: “*Those who feel fear's unbending hand weighing on them may bear the yoke of bondage. Freedom demands virtue and courage...*”²¹⁹²

²¹⁹² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

The priests asked him if he regretted his act, since it cost him more than thirty years in prison and took almost as long for apartheid to collapse. Passionately, Tsafendas declared, “No, never!” He said he would have regretted not doing it. He said he believed apartheid would have collapsed earlier with Dr. Verwoerd out of the way and did not expect it to last so long without him. Still, he maintained that he did not regret his action. He insisted that it was worth it, as apartheid after Verwoerd was never as strong and stable as it was when its so-called architect lived. Even though it took so many years for the system to collapse, killing Verwoerd alone was justifiable because of his crimes, he said. “Look at Vorster, look at Botha,” he told the priests. “Just like Verwoerd they were responsible for the enslavement of twenty million people and the death and torture of thousands and they were not punished for their crimes. At least Verwoerd got what he deserved.” After this, the priests never asked him again about the assassination.²¹⁹³

DR. COOPER ON TSAFENDAS’S STATEMENT THAT HIS ACT WOULD BE JUDGED BY HISTORY AND TSAFENDAS’S FEELINGS REGARDING DR. VERWOERD’S DEATH

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused say that he must have been abnormal when he killed the deceased because no normal person would have done it? Yes or no?

DR. COOPER: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused tell you that history will judge whether he was right in killing the deceased?

DR. COOPER: Words to that effect. It is very difficult for me to remember his exact words. Whether he said he was abnormal when he killed the deceased or whether he said that he was out of his mind, I cannot recall the exact words, but I do recall him saying something to the effect that history will prove whether he is right or wrong.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What are the accused’s feelings about the death of the Prime Minister?

DR. COOPER: I find the question difficult to answer because this man’s feelings show a

²¹⁹³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

characteristic emotional blunting, which was referred to from the text book a short while ago. He doesn't seem to show any depth of feeling one way or another about Dr. Verwoerd, himself or, in fact, anybody else. He is emotionally flat concerning this matter.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is he proud of the fact?

DR. COOPER: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is he happy that he has killed the Prime Minister?

DR. COOPER: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he indicate to you that he has achieved something of which he should be proud?

DR. COOPER: No. He doesn't seem to, in his mind, now at this stage be able to put together in his mind really why he did it at all, what purpose he was going to achieve.

JUDGE BEYERS: I can't take this answer in the light of history going to prove whether he was right or wrong. He becomes an historical figure; he has told you that and you told me what he told you. If history is going to prove him right or wrong, he must have a feeling of pride or achievement about this thing?

DR. COOPER: I don't know what he means. It is a funny sort of answer to give, that history is going to prove whether he is right or wrong. Those are his only views. He hasn't got any views, in fact, on whether he is right or wrong, or what this was all about. He just says he must wait for history to prove that. He has got no feelings or real thoughts about the matter at all.

COMMENTS ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S STATEMENT THAT HIS ACT WOULD BE JUDGED BY HISTORY AND TSAFENDAS'S FEELINGS REGARDING DR. VERWOERD'S DEATH

Through this testimony we learn something important: that Tsafendas told Dr. Cooper that history would judge whether or not he did the right thing. What is surprising here is that Dr. Cooper does not appear to understand the statement and even finds it "a funny sort of answer to give." On the contrary, it is an intelligent response. Tsafendas is well aware that his deed would find only condemnation in South Africa under the current regime, but believed it would be hailed when apartheid fell.

This is a conviction that has been widely used by people defending an action or decision they have taken. For example, Fidel Castro made a similar statement from the dock when he was tried in 1953 for his revolutionary activities against the Cuban dictator, Fulgencio Batista. Castro concluded his testimony by saying “history will absolve me.”²¹⁹⁴ Dimitris Koufontinas, a member of the Revolutionary Organization 17 November, told the court that history would judge whether or not its victims were rightly targeted.²¹⁹⁵ The British Prime Minister Tony Blair and the American President George W. Bush both said “history will judge” whether they were right to go to war in Iraq,²¹⁹⁶ obviously believing that they were right. Tsafendas, too, believed he did the right thing. In his September 19 statement to Maj. Rossouw, he said that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he “believed it was the right thing to do.”²¹⁹⁷

Dr. Cooper also claims that Tsafendas does not have any views, feelings or real thought regarding the killing. However, Tsafendas told the police that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he was “disgusted with his racial policies” and hoped that “a change of policy would take place.” Most importantly, he believed that “he did the right thing.” Even more importantly, on October 14, three days before the trial began and Dr. Cooper testified, Maj. Rossouw gave evidence before the Commission of Enquiry and the following dialogue took place:

COMMISSION: “How does he feel about his deed? Does he regret it, or is he indifferent about it or did he not show any obvious emotion about it?”

MAJOR ROSSOUW: “When I originally questioned him I accused him of being a horrible murderer. To which he answered, ‘That is what you think, but the world thinks differently!’ At a later stage I asked him whether he regretted his deed yet and he answered that he did feel remorse and that he was very sorry about what he had done.”²¹⁹⁸

However, according to the report of the Commission of Enquiry, when Tsafendas was questioned by the Commission, which was after the summary trial had ended, “he showed no

²¹⁹⁴ Peter G. Bourne, *Fidel: A Biography of Fidel Castro*, (New York: Dodd Mead, 1986), p. 101.

²¹⁹⁵ *Ta Nea*, ‘Η Απολογία του Δημήτρη Κουφοντίνα’, 25 July 2003.

²¹⁹⁶ Jackie Ashley and Ewen McAskill, ‘History Will Be My Judge’, *The Guardian*, 1 March 2003; John King, ‘Bush: History Will Ultimately Judge ... I Am A Content Man’, *CNN*, 25 April 2013.

²¹⁹⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²¹⁹⁸ Major Daniel Jacobus Rossouw testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

signs of remorse.”²¹⁹⁹ Tsafendas also told the police officer that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he “thought it was the right thing to do,”²²⁰⁰ and hoped that “a change of policy would take place,”²²⁰¹ which reflects the same mind-set. Tsafendas’s replies showed that far from being emotionally blunt, as Dr. Cooper claimed, he was fully aware of the situation. They also demonstrate that he had no regrets, indeed was proud of what he did. These statements were not used by the Attorney-General to challenge Dr. Cooper’s testimony. As for Tsafendas appearing to change and showing some remorse at a later stage, this would surely be expected in someone who has brutally tortured, both psychologically and physically, for at least three weeks.

What is also important here is not so much that Tsafendas had told Dr. Cooper history would prove whether he was right or wrong for killing Dr. Verwoerd, as the fact that the Attorney-General refers to it. During his examination of Dr. Cooper, the Attorney-General referred to several things Tsafendas told the police and asked the psychiatrist if he was told the same. For example, van den Berg asked Dr. Cooper, “Did he tell you that he originally wanted to shoot the Prime Minister?” This question, and others along the same line, were based on what Tsafendas had told the police. This suggests that Tsafendas had also told the police at some point that history would prove whether he was right or wrong for killing Dr. Verwoerd. As we have seen, not all of Tsafendas’s statements during his interrogation were recorded. For example, when Major Rossouw “originally questioned him,” he “accused him of being a horrible murderer.” Tsafendas’s answer, “That is what you think, but the world thinks differently,”²²⁰² is not in any of the recorded statements found in the archives. We know of it because of Major Rossouw’s testimony at the Commission of Enquiry.

²¹⁹⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

²²⁰⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²²⁰¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²²⁰² Major Daniel Jacobus Rossouw testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

Sometime in 1994, at Pretoria Prison hospital, twenty-eight years after the assassination, Tsafendas was asked by Father Minas Constandinou and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis whether he regretted killing Dr. Verwoerd. He replied: “No, never. It was the right thing to do, he was a tyrant and a dictator,” “the monster who created apartheid.” When the priests suggested he might have come to regret his act, Tsafendas replied, “No, no, no, not even for a moment, never, never. I did the right thing. He was a dictator, he created apartheid; it was him who did everything. You did not live then to see how it was, people were like slaves ... Verwoerd had taken away their dignity.”²²⁰³

When asked by the two priests whether it was worth it, since apartheid continued for another twenty-eight years and his action seemed like a failure and a lost cause, Tsafendas said, “I hoped things would change ... I had the chance to kill this monster... if I had not done it, I would have regretted it all my life ... there is no such thing as a lost cause, any cause can be won ... no cause or battle is ever lost until it is fought. If you fight, you always have a chance to win ...” He then quoted Jan-Paul Sartre, saying “A lost battle is a battle one thinks one has lost.” He maintained that he had done the right thing and it was worth it because apartheid never again reached the heights and strength it enjoyed before Dr. Verwoerd’s death. He said he never expected apartheid to collapse overnight, though he admitted that he did not expect it to last as long as it did without Dr. Verwoerd.²²⁰⁴

When asked by the two priests about his posthumous fame and how he would like people to remember him, Tsafendas said he did not care about it, that he felt he had done his duty, the right thing and his conscience was clear. When Fathers Ioannis and Minas told him that they were going to tell his story to the world Tsafendas urged them not to do so. Tsafendas said, that “when you do a good thing, you can’t go around advertising it. You do it because it is the right thing to do, not to be applauded by the others. Do a good thing and then throw it into the sea²²⁰⁵ ... I believed it was my social responsibility, my duty, to do it when I had the chance and I did it... I had the chance to kill the tyrant.”²²⁰⁶ Tsafendas also told the priests that he feared that White racists would kill him if they found out he was not insane

²²⁰³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²²⁰⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²²⁰⁵ “Do a good thing and then throw it into the sea” is an old Greek adage.

²²⁰⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

and had killed Dr. Verwoerd for political reasons. He believed that he had remained alive all these years because everyone thought he was mad.²²⁰⁷

COMMENTS ON THE CROSS-EXAMINATION OF DR. COOPER

It appeared through the cross-examination that both Judge Beyers and the Attorney-General were highly sceptical of Dr. Cooper's testimony. The defence team found the Judge to be so hostile to Dr. Cooper that they decided to speak to him and ask him to be less aggressive towards their witnesses. When Beyers adjourned the proceedings for lunch, Wilfrid Cooper and Willie Burger went to see him in his office and told him of "the impression of bias and hostility he was creating." The Judge did not accept their view.²²⁰⁸

However, it is the Attorney-General's attitude throughout the duration of the testimony of Dr. Cooper which is surprising, given that his own two experts who had examined Tsafendas (Professor van Wyk and Mr. Erasmus), had already found him to be schizophrenic, thus agreeing with the defence witness's diagnosis. If the Attorney-General believed Tsafendas was sane, thereby disagreeing with the two experts he had himself appointed, the logical thing to do was to bring in more psychiatrists to examine Tsafendas. In challenging Dr. Cooper, he was also challenging his own expert witnesses.

Furthermore, the Attorney-General was aware of the defence's line since October 6. According to their testimonies in the court, Professor van Wyk had found Tsafendas to be schizophrenic, thereby agreeing with the defence's line from October 4, while Erasmus had also diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic since September 29. The Attorney-General had another two weeks to find new psychiatrists to examine Tsafendas. Even David Bloomberg and Wilfrid Cooper were puzzled. Bloomberg wrote: "One presumed that the Attorney-General knew what evidence his psychologist and psychiatrist would be giving. If that was the case, why did he challenge, in cross-examination, the evidence of the defence witnesses, when he knew that his own witnesses agreed with them, and allow Dr Harold Cooper, in particular, to be tested so vigorously and sceptically by the judge?"²²⁰⁹

²²⁰⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²²⁰⁸ Willie Burger in a personal interview, 9 April 2015; Cooper, *Under Devil's Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 115-116.

²²⁰⁹ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 98.

Advocate George Bizos and Professor John Dugard who discussed the issue with the author of the author also found it puzzling and believe that it is almost impossible for the Attorney-General to not have been aware of the diagnosis of his two expert witnesses.²²¹⁰ Professor Dugard said that he is “quite sure” that van den Berg, although he did not know him personally, knew what to do, as most prosecutors did at the time, with the case and characterised as “possible” the suggestion that this could have been a charade laid on for public consumption, stating that the prosecutors during apartheid “were never very independent.”²²¹¹

Since both sides had come to the conclusion that Tsafendas was a schizophrenic, the summary trial should have been a straightforward case, but as can see from its beginning, this was not the case and it was becoming something of a show trial. If the Attorney-General really wanted to challenge Dr. Cooper’s testimony, many of his conclusions had been refuted in the depositions of the two hundred-plus witnesses and other evidence gathered by the South African police and the Commission of Enquiry at the time. None of this evidence supported Dr. Cooper’s testimony, but it was never used against his conclusions.

A very important issue of Dr. Cooper’s testimony was Tsafendas’s motive. Both the Attorney-General and judge Beyers cross-examined Dr. Cooper intensively about it. The Attorney-General could have easily gone beyond challenging Dr. Cooper’s testimony, and could have broken it down. However, instead of using Tsafendas’s statements in order to do so, he used Dr. Sakinofsky’s medical report from his interview with Tsafendas where he had also diagnosed him as schizophrenic based on Tsafendas’s delusional and confused alleged “political ideas.” The result was not only that the Attorney-General did not challenge Dr. Cooper’s testimony, but he reinforced it as more “delusional and confused ideas” supposedly held by Tsafendas became publicised. It is hard to believe that the Attorney-General was so incompetent or so naïve as to think that he could challenge Dr. Cooper with such a report. The alternative must be that he wanted to underline the theory that Tsafendas was indeed a schizophrenic.

It is also surprising that the Attorney-General does not seem to use the medical reports from the various hospitals where Tsafendas was treated, although we are not in position to know whether they were in his possession. These reports had all been tracked down and

²²¹⁰ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

²²¹¹ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

assembled by the police. Since Professor van Wyk, the State's expert witness, was instructed to examine Tsafendas, one would have expected the police or the State to provide him with these records. Had he seen them, Professor van Wyk could have attacked the defence's line because of the various contradictions they contain; for instance, that Tsafendas had three different delusions, that he had faked mental illness at least twice in the past, and that nine South African doctors had examined him the last three years and had found him to be perfectly sane. If this information was known to the State, then one would have expected the Attorney-General to use it after it was evaluated by his two expert witnesses. However, this did not happen.

We cannot exclude the possibility that the State was in possession of all the above evidence but deliberately did not use them so that Tsafendas would be found insane, which would be more convenient for everyone. Knowing how some of the judiciary worked during apartheid, this should not be ruled out and as Professor Dugard highlighted the prosecutors during apartheid "were never very independent"²²¹² and van den Berg was a supporter of apartheid and of the National Party.²²¹³

OTHER ISSUES IN DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY

Dr. Cooper arrived at his diagnosis exclusively by talking to Tsafendas for six hours in a room in the police station. Although he wanted to get more information about Tsafendas, he was unable to do so due to the lack of co-operation from the police and the shortage of time. He was also fobbed off by both the defence and the police, who stated that this was a straightforward case.²²¹⁴

It was important for Dr. Cooper to know Tsafendas's emotional and mental state in the days preceding the assassination. This should not have been difficult since witnesses like the *Eleni* crew, his colleagues at the Parliament and Patrick O'Ryan, who were with Tsafendas at that time, had testified to the police. However, Dr. Cooper did not receive any of this information. It was not the police's duty to provide Dr. Cooper with their statements but it would not have been difficult for him to find such information since David Bloomberg had located many who were around Tsafendas in the days before September 6.

²²¹² Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

²²¹³ Judge Gerald Friedman in a personal interview, 11 April 2016.

²²¹⁴ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 239-240.

A vitally important issue that was not picked up by the Attorney-General was that in the case of Dr. Verwoerd, Tsafendas used exactly the same *modus operandi* he had employed with PIDE, just a year and a half earlier. On November 16, 1964, Tsafendas was arrested in Mozambique and accused of “making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.”²²¹⁵ The following day, after anti-apartheid, anti-colonialist and Communist books were found in his suitcase, along with several Bibles, Tsafendas was handed in to PIDE and was transferred to a police substation in Beira for interrogation.²²¹⁶ He was accused of pretending to be a religious missionary while in reality preaching “under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique’s independence.”²²¹⁷

At first in custody, Tsafendas gave clear and valid political reasons for his actions. He told the police that he supported “a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the Mother Nation,” and “clearly stated he was in favour of the independence of Mozambique.”²²¹⁸ Furthermore, Inspector Horacio Ferreira, who was in charge of the cells where Tsafendas was held for the first fourteen days, testified to the South African police that Tsafendas was “intense anti-white and went as far as to tell him that the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-whites.” He characterised Tsafendas as “normal and he regarded him as a very intelligent person.”²²¹⁹

Sometime later, Tsafendas changed his stance and began claiming he was Saint Peter. At some point during his detention, Tsafendas was taken to the Government Hospital in Beira for examination because of his Saint Peter act. On January 23, 1965, PIDE in Lisbon informed its counterparts in Lourenço Marques that “having seen the archives, it is remarked with a minimal margin of error, that the defendant Demitrio Tsafendas (id. a fls. 10), is mentally ill and therefore not chargeable at a juridical or penal level. Given this, it seems to us a pure waste of time to continue working on these archives, since we already know what

²²¹⁵ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demitrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demitrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demitrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²²¹⁶ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demitrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demitrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demitrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²²¹⁷ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demitrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²²¹⁸ PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²²¹⁹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

their end will be. Therefore, considering the probable fact that the defendant cannot be charged, and he is not at all dangerous, I propose the release of the defendant, and closure of the archives.”²²²⁰

Tsafendas was subsequently released, whereupon he was perfectly normal again with everyone he met. Indeed, he admitted proudly that he had pretended to be Saint Peter so that the PIDE would release him. Precisely the same thing happened with Dr. Verwoerd. Tsafendas initially gave clear and valid political reasons for the killing, and then, obviously after the torture and threats he sustained in custody, he changed his stance and started claiming that a tapeworm had taken control of him. However, the Attorney-General failed to see the similarities in the two cases and did not bring up the issue.

Another important issue which was not raised during Dr. Cooper’s testimony is that whenever Tsafendas was admitted to a hospital, he either presented himself or was taken there by the police while in custody. He was never referred by a doctor or taken there with an illness or a suspected nervous breakdown. Why did Tsafendas admit himself to hospitals? He said he did it only when he was penniless and had nowhere to stay. He said he saw “hospitals as hotels.”²²²¹

Perhaps the most important issue with Dr. Cooper’s testimony is that it is incompatible with the statements Tsafendas made to the police when they questioned him, the statements by about two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission of Enquiry and the statements of seventy-one people who were interviewed by the author. All the witnesses’ statements are compatible with Tsafendas’s statements to the police, but they are not compatible with Dr. Cooper’s diagnosis and description of Tsafendas. Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky, Mr. van Zyl and Professors Alban Burke, Kirk Heilbrun, Tuviah Zabow and Phillip Resnick also emphasised that to make an accurate diagnosis, additional information was required from outside sources.²²²² Professor John Dugard and Advocate

²²²⁰ Alberto Henriques de Matos Rodrigues conclusion to the Subdirector, 23 January 1965. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²²²¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Gordon Winter to David Beresford, 8 September 1998. From David Beresford’s personal collection.

²²²² Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016; Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017; Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 17 December 2016; Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky in correspondence with the author, 30 March 2016; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

George Bizos stated to the author that Tsafendas's statements, along with all the other evidence collected by the police, should also have been given to the State.²²²³

²²²³ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

Van Zyl was “surprised” to read Tsafendas’s statements and the depositions the police and the Commission of Enquiry took at the time from some two hundred people. He felt that they showed Tsafendas as a completely different man to the one he examined and to the way he was described in court. The perceptions were so different he found it “hard to believe” that Tsafendas said what he did to the police and that all those people described Tsafendas in the way they did. Van Zyl agreed that this evidence should have been available to the specialists who examined Tsafendas since it would have played an important role in each one’s diagnosis. He told the author:

“Yes. Look, obviously that is important information, and information that influences one’s findings in the end. There is no doubt about it ... the fact that those sentiments [that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he was disgusted with his policies and believed a change would take place with his death] expressed in the statement that he made to the police weren’t ever mentioned to any of the psychiatrists.”²²²⁴

Professor John Dugard agreed that the statements should have been made available to the State. Of Tsafendas’s statement, he said it: “completely confirms the view that Tsafendas was not insane. It reads like a very normal story of a politically informed person, angry with apartheid and Dr. Verwoerd, determined to make a change with nothing to lose personally. Really an incredible statement which was carefully concealed.”²²²⁵

TSAFENDAS FAKING MENTAL ILLNESS IN THE PAST

As we have seen, there were at least two occasions when Tsafendas faked mental illness and this was known to the South African police. However, neither was mentioned during Dr. Cooper’s testimony or indeed throughout the summary trial:

- The Grafton State Hospital report stated clearly that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in the past.²²²⁶
- At least six men from the *Eleni*, Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Kantas, Pouftis and Vasilakis, testified to the police that Tsafendas “played the fool” to avoid serving in the Portuguese Army.²²²⁷

²²²⁴ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

²²²⁵ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

²²²⁶ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

²²²⁷ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal

In addition to the above, just three days after the assassination a secret telegram from the South African embassy in Washington was sent to the South African Foreign Minister in Cape Town. It informed him that that the US Immigration Department, which had dealt with Tsafendas often during his time in the United States and was aware of his hospitalizations, had a file on him which contained “full particulars” of his time in that country. In telegram form, it said, “He is understood to have shown under psychiatric treatment that he was unstable though not (not)²²²⁸ insane, but type of man who would easily be used as instrument of Communist or hostile organizations. Impression of US Immigration people at the time was that he had been manipulated and was under influence of someone or some organization.”²²²⁹

According to Professor Alban Burke:

“In these kinds of cases, any kind of legal cases, the first thing you want to eliminate is malingering, so is this person lying or not? That’s your first thing that you have to decide, because, obviously, especially in those days, it was a decision between life and death, so ‘I’m going to lie so that I don’t get hanged, so I’ve got a very strong motive to lie, to malingering.’ If I was the consulting psychologist or psychiatrist at that point in time, I would want to eliminate the malingering thing, and if there was evidence that he had used this in the past, already it puts a lot of doubt on whatever conclusion I’m going to arrive at.

So, even in those days, malingering was something you wanted to look at because, I mean, the malingering can ... it’s not an unknown thing, because for years now, especially during World War One, a lot of people malingered, so that they wouldn’t have to go to the army; the same thing with World War Two. So, the malingering was always there, and if you’re dealing with a forensic case, where there could be a death penalty, you would want to eliminate that.”²²³⁰

All the above information was known to the South African police, but with the possible exception of the Grafton State Hospital report, was not given to the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas. Mr. van Zyl and Professors Burke, Heilbrun, Resnick and Tuviah Zabow agree that it was extremely important that such information should have been made

interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

²²²⁸ This is exactly how it appears in the telegram. There is a second ‘not’ within brackets.

²²²⁹ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

²²³⁰ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

available to the psychiatrists.²²³¹

²²³¹ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

REACTION OF THE PEOPLE WHO KNEW TSAFENDAS AFTER THE FIRST DAY OF THE SUMMARY TRIAL

Katerina Pnema, Tsafendas's step sister who lived in Rhodesia at the time, had not gone outside her house or even smiled since the assassination. "We were barely talking to each other," she said about the climate of deep depression in her house. "We were like zombies." However, after the first day of the summary trial, her husband came running into the house, waving some local newspapers. "Look," he shouted, "look what he said ..." Pnema picked up the newspapers, scanned the trial stories and burst out laughing, "I couldn't believe it," she said, "it was the first time I laughed in a month, our house was like a graveyard before."²²³²

Pnema said of Tsafendas:

"He was always very, very smart, a devil, but how on earth he thought of this tapeworm story? I couldn't control myself and laughed. It was then I felt sorry for him for the first time, thinking what was going to become of him now. I was very angry before, I knew he had ruined my life, but after that, I felt very sorry for him ... after that I began reading everything in the newspapers about the trial. I had stopped reading before as most of the things they were saying about him were complete lies. What was said in the trial were lies too, but it was amusing, as he had told them! It was really amusing, even though I felt sorry for him that he had to say such things ..." Katerina Pnema had no doubt then and has no doubt now that her half-brother invented the tapeworm story to escape the gallows.²²³³

Mary Eintracht and Fotini Gavasiadis said that the whole's family reaction was similar to Pnema's; Tsafendas's step-mother, his other two half-sisters and his half-brother were all convinced he had made it up.²²³⁴ Eleni Grispos, who knew Tsafendas since he was a child, and her husband, who was Tsafendas's best friend in Lourenço Marques, were also certain that he had made up the tapeworm story. Ira Kyriakakis and her sister Aliko, who also knew him from childhood, thought the same.²²³⁵

Others convinced that it was a ploy to avoid the death penalty included Father Nikolas Banovic, who lived under the same roof as Tsafendas for four months in Istanbul in 1961 and

²²³² Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015.

²²³³ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015.

²²³⁴ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

²²³⁵ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

who prayed for him after hearing about the assassination, Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousins in Lourenço Marques, Irene Michaletos, John's wife, Artemis Michaletos who had brought him up in Egypt, his first cousin Mary Eintracht who also knew him since Egypt, Nick Papadakis who associated with Tsafendas in Beira and Gondola and became close friends of his, and his childhood friends Andreas Babiolakis and George Grispos.²²³⁶ Of the seventy-five witnesses who knew Tsafendas who were interviewed by the author, only four thought that he really believed he had a tapeworm and that he was insane; all of them were members of his defence team (Bloomberg, Burger, Dr. Sakinofsky and van Zyl). The other seventy-one were convinced that he had made it up, just as he pretended to be insane in order to escape the gallows.

²²³⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 May 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; Irene and John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

A FINAL NOTE ON DR. COOPER'S TESTIMONY AND THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S RESPONSE

Dr. Cooper found Tsafendas to be unable to function on a reasonable level, unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, talking in a disjointed manner and isolated from his surroundings in the sense that he could not make and keep good friends. However none of some two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission of Enquiry noticed any of these characteristics. Not even one. The same applies to the forty-six people who knew Tsafendas well and were interviewed by the author. On the contrary, Tsafendas was described several times as being the direct opposite of the person described by Dr. Cooper. Furthermore, none of these symptoms were observed by either Major Rossouw, a highly experienced interrogator, who interrogated Tsafendas while in custody after the assassination, or the PIDE agents who interrogated him for three months in 1964. On the contrary, PIDE Inspector Horacio Ferreira had testified to the South African police that Tsafendas was “normal and he regarded him as a very intelligent person.”²²³⁷

Is it possible for a man to have all the symptoms mentioned by Dr. Cooper if no one around him ever observed even one of them? Professors Alban Burke, Phillip Resnick, Robert L. Sadoff and Tuviah Zabow believe that it is extremely unlikely, if not impossible, that none of the people who knew Tsafendas, some extremely well, ever noticed that he spoke in a disjointed manner or that he was unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes.²²³⁸ They must have been very unobservant, unless the symptoms were simply not there; because Tsafendas made them up when talking to the doctors. Reyner van Zyl, who examined Tsafendas for the defence, conceded to the author that it was “highly improbable” that none of those who knew Tsafendas ever spotted any of the symptoms mentioned by Dr. Cooper, especially the issues of concentration and disjointed speech.²²³⁹ Professor Phillip Resnick told the author that such a scenario is “extremely unlikely,”²²⁴⁰ while Professor Sadoff said that “I find it hard to believe it [that a man has all these symptoms and no one

²²³⁷ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²²³⁸ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016; Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 17 December 2016; Professor Robert L. Sadoff in a personal interview with the author, 12 August 2015; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 10 October 2016.

²²³⁹ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 17 April 2016.

²²⁴⁰ Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 7 May 2017.

noticed any of them].”²²⁴¹

Father Nikola Banovic told the author: “Everything this doctor [Dr. Cooper] has been saying is inaccurate; it’s not true about Dimitri. He was nothing like this, it’s like he had either examined a different person or he was a bad doctor.”²²⁴² Fotini Gavasiadis told the author:

“Everything you have been telling me [as to what Dr. Cooper and the other doctors said] is gibberish. Everything that they were saying is gibberish. Everything. I don’t know how they came to these conclusions and how they managed to get away with it. It’s absolutely gibberish. Dimitris must have had a lot of fun sitting [in the court] and listening to all this gibberish about him. I can imagine him [in the court] laughing inside him ... I am sure he must have had enjoyed it ... especially since he succeeded in fooling them and getting away with it.”²²⁴³

Dr. Cooper diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic based on what the accused told him and without getting any information about him from other sources. He therefore could not compare different avenues of information and so judge that what Tsafendas told him was true or not. Instead of attempting to confirm or reject what Tsafendas told him by checking other sources, he simply asked Tsafendas again. As we have seen, Reyner van Zyl and Professors Tuviah Zabow, Kirk Heilbrun, Alban Burke and Phillip Resnick have all highlighted the importance of third-party information in order to make an accurate diagnosis in such cases, assessing information taken from people who know the patient, as well as his medical and criminal records. This is standard practice in criminal cases.

However, Dr. Cooper did not speak to even one person who knew Tsafendas. He was told by both the defence and the police that it was a straightforward case and the only information he had about Tsafendas was most probably given to him verbally, as was the case with van Zyl, and this was after he had already diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic. If Dr. Cooper was given the statements gathered by the police or if he had spoken to people who knew Tsafendas, he would have seen immediately that this information did not accord with what he had heard from the accused. If he had read the medical reports, he would have seen the inconsistencies and, most importantly, the fact that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in the past. However, Dr. Cooper seems to have been discouraged to seek outside information

²²⁴¹ Professor Robert L. Sadoff in a personal interview with the author, 12 August 2015.

²²⁴² Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²²⁴³ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 22 April 2016.

about his patient by the police and was led to believe that Tsafendas was a clear-cut case of schizophrenia.²²⁴⁴

The most striking thing about Dr. Cooper's evidence, however, was not the fact that he diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic, but that the Attorney-General did very little to challenge the diagnosis, and much more to reinforce it. The police had gathered a vast amount of information. The author cannot know whether the Attorney-General was in possession of all this information, but none that could have broken down Dr. Cooper's testimony was used.

The most important evidence should have been Tsafendas's statements to the police. In them, Tsafendas testified that he had killed Dr. Verwoerd for political reasons: because he was against apartheid, because Dr. Verwoerd was not the real representative of all the South African people, because he was disgusted with his policies and he hoped that a change would take place by removing him. These statements clearly showed Tsafendas as a well-informed, opinionated person with a lively interest in national politics. Professor Dugard said about the statement:

“(It) completely confirms the view that Tsafendas was not insane. It reads like a very normal story of a politically informed person, angry with apartheid and Dr. Verwoerd, determined to make a change, with nothing to lose personally. Really an incredible statement, which was carefully concealed.”²²⁴⁵

The evidence gathered by the police and the Commission from some two hundred interviewees along with reports from agencies and organizations around the world demonstrated that Tsafendas was far from the hopeless, helpless individual without any political thought described by Dr. Cooper. However, none of these statements, reports or interviews was used to contradict Dr. Cooper's views. We are not in position to know the reasons, but the fact remains that the Attorney-General did very little to challenge Dr. Cooper's testimony generally, even though the police had gathered considerable information.

Although the court heard much discussion of Tsafendas's possible motives for killing Dr. Verwoerd, what was never mentioned was Tsafendas's statement to the police that he murdered the Prime Minister because he was disgusted with his policies, considered him a dictator and hoped a change of policy would take place by killing him. Also not mentioned

²²⁴⁴ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 239-240.

²²⁴⁵ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

were the statements of several witnesses that Tsafendas called Dr. Verwoerd “Hitler’s best student” and a tyrant and dictator. Instead, Tsafendas appears to have no idea why he killed Dr. Verwoerd and was unable to explain his reasons. However, thirty years later Tsafendas was able to explain his reasons for the assassination, as he had done to the police, which again suggests that he deliberately told Dr. Cooper all this.²²⁴⁶

The Attorney-General appeared to “attempt to challenge” Dr. Cooper’s testimony on Tsafendas’s motive, by using Dr. Sakinofsky’s medical report. The astonishing thing with this move is that van den Berg could have very easily broken down Dr. Cooper’s testimony about the motive by using Tsafendas’s own words, but he used instead a report that contained “confused and deluded ideas,” similar to the ones mentioned by Dr. Cooper. The result, instead of challenging Dr. Cooper’s testimony, was to further reinforce the idea of Tsafendas as a schizophrenic but also, and perhaps more importantly, that he did not have any clear political thought.

Much was said about the tapeworm, but what did not become clear was the gulf between those who heard about it and those who did not. Tsafendas made sure to mention the tapeworm to every single person connected with his defence or the State, but up to then he had never mentioned it to friends and family. Dr. Cooper came back time and again to the tapeworm, but statements to the police by Tsafendas and witnesses contained not a single reference to it. Also not mentioned was that Tsafendas did not speak of the tapeworm to at least nine doctors who examined him in the three years prior the assassination, all of whom declared him, as he wished to be declared, perfectly healthy, both physically and mentally. It could hardly be clearer that in telling Dr. Cooper, the police and his defence team about the tapeworm he wanted to be considered insane, while hiding it from the nine doctors he wished to be declared mentally fine so he could get jobs and the permanent residency permit he had applied for.

Several other life issues were inaccurately presented and wrongly interpreted, for example his supposed inability to care for himself, to make friends, to function properly, to live a meaningful life, as well as his relationship with his step-mother. Tsafendas was presented as a man without any political ideology or concerns. That he was a member of the South African Communist Party and the Greek Communist Party and its military wing (the DSE) and that he participated in the Greek Civil War were not mentioned. Nor was the fact

²²⁴⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

that he was reported at least twice to the South African police as a “dangerous Communist.” The court did not hear that he was exiled from Mozambique for twelve years and arrested several times by the Portuguese police because of his Communist and anti-Portuguese activities. In fact, the word Communist was never heard in court, although several witnesses told the police that Tsafendas was a passionate Communist and was even described as the “biggest Communist in the Republic of South Africa”²²⁴⁷ or simply as a “dangerous Communist.”²²⁴⁸ The fact that PIDE had a very detailed file on Tsafendas since 1938 was also not mentioned, but this was perhaps not known to the South African authorities as PIDE had withheld from the South African police all the information “indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique.”²²⁴⁹

Dr. Cooper seemed not to know that Tsafendas had faked mental illness, although it was stated in the Grafton State Hospital medical report, which was in the hands of both the police and the defence. At least six witnesses told the police that Tsafendas pretended to be crazy to avoid serving in the Portuguese Army. None of this came up in court.

Importantly, Dr. Cooper was also apparently unaware that Tsafendas spoke not of one delusion but three. The tapeworm, according to Dr. Cooper, made its first appearance in the mid-1930s and was still there up to his trial. However, in 1946, Tsafendas had claimed to hear voices from radiators and at one point in 1964 or 1965 he “believed” he was Saint Peter, while in 1966, just two months before the assassination, he “believed” that people were murdered by poisoned food in the house where he lived. Thus since the 1930s, Tsafendas at least had two simultaneous delusions - the tapeworm and the radiator voices in 1946, the tapeworm and Saint Peter in 1965 and the tapeworm along with the people being murdered by poisonous food in 1966. Tsafendas was later to remark, “Everyone hears voices or pretends to be Napoleon, but who would ever suspect anyone who believes he has a tapeworm?”²²⁵⁰

Speaking of having two delusions at the same time, Professor Burke said, “It’s not impossible, because the human brain is difficult to understand. It’s not impossible, but it is

²²⁴⁷ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²²⁴⁸ Father Hanno Probst statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²²⁴⁹ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²²⁵⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

unlikely. It's possible but it's improbable."²²⁵¹ Mr. van Zyl agreed, "One may disappear, and the other one may then appear. But two at the same time? I don't think so, these delusions are usually very powerful."²²⁵²

None of the statements taken from the *Eleni* sailors was used, not even those found in the archives. These statements were particularly important since many of these men were with Tsafendas every day for forty-two days up to three days before the assassination and were cognisant of Tsafendas's behaviour and state of mind at a crucial time. Tsafendas had bought a gun from one of the crew and was planning to escape by hiding aboard the tanker. Even more important, he told the crewmen that any assassination of Dr. Verwoerd would be morally justifiable because he was a tyrant and a dictator. Dr. Cooper and Tsafendas's defence team did not know about these statements and could not talk to the men because the *Eleni* left Cape Town on September 3, but the police had heard from the seamen's own lips. One would have expected the Attorney-General to have knowledge of such statements, but there was no mention of them.

A very important fact of Tsafendas's life was never raised at the trial. Although there was considerable discussion of his employment record and apparent inability to hold down a job, Tsafendas's six months teaching English at the best private language college in Turkey passed without mention. The teaching stint was reported in South African newspapers,²²⁵³ the Commission also found out about it, Tsafendas told the police about it and he used his reference from the college to get the job in Parliament. Dr. Cooper found Tsafendas to be unable to hold down a job, care for himself, function on a reasonable level and follow a conversation after fifteen minutes while he was also talking in a disjointed manner.

Professors Burke and Zabow and Mr. van Zyl agreed that it would have been impossible for a man with his reported level of schizophrenia to hold down such a job, especially for an extended period. Furthermore, this was not the only job Tsafendas kept for a substantial length of time; he worked for six years at the Vulcan Iron Works, General Engineers, for two years at the Imperial Airways factory in Quilemane, for almost two years as a welder with the British Mining Supply Company in Johannesburg, five months at F.A. Poole Engineering in Pretoria and six months at a tractor factory in Munich and none of his

²²⁵¹ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

²²⁵² Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

²²⁵³ *The Cape Times*, 'Tsafendas Taught Turks English', 8 September 1966; *Daily Dispatch*, 'Tsafendas Taught English in Turkey', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17.

fellow workers noticed anything odd about him. He also worked satisfactorily as an interpreter for another five-six months, although part-time, at Durban Court, being recruited periodically as the need arose. He worked off and on for nine months at his brother-in-law's coffee shop, the Proclamation Hill Café in Pretoria. Colleagues praised Tsafendas for his work and character. Finally, none of his superiors or colleagues at Parliament mentioned anything being wrong with Tsafendas's ability to perform his duties.

It is possible that the Attorney-General was unaware of some of the information gathered by the police and therefore did not bring it up in court, despite the fact that most of it had been published in the newspapers. However, the same could not be said of Tsafendas's employment record and ability to hold down a job. The Attorney-General himself wrote in October 3 in his Memorandum for Tsafendas that in 1933 Tsafendas returned to Mozambique and "for 6 years he worked at the Vulcan Iron Works, General Engineers, as an oxyacetylene electrical welder. According to testimonials from this firm, he had performed his duties in a satisfactory manner. These testimonials were included with his application for permanent residence in South Africa."²²⁵⁴ This important evidence directly contradicted Dr Cooper's testimony, yet the Attorney-General did not use it to challenge it.

At least twice, Dr. Cooper seemed to misunderstand or manipulate Tsafendas's words, although Tsafendas might well have lied to him. One of these instances concerned Tsafendas's statement to the police that he did not consider Dr. Verwoerd representative of all South African people. Dr. Cooper's version was that Tsafendas considered Dr. Verwoerd was not the real representative of the White population. What is important here is not whether Dr. Cooper misunderstood Tsafendas or if he was lied to, but that the Attorney-General did not challenge him when the police had ample evidence to break this down.

Tsafendas's "globetrotting" is also misunderstood. That he was forced into exile for twelve years from Mozambique, persecuted and imprisoned in Portugal and banned from entering South Africa is not mentioned. Neither are the more than twenty applications he made to be allowed back into these countries. Ignored, too, is that most of the countries he visited were on the way to his destination and he had to pass through them to get there. Missing also is the fact that Tsafendas was forced to travel through some of these countries in a desperate attempt to get back to Mozambique by illegal means since he was officially banned. Tsafendas's travels are those of a man desperate to return to his home and family, but

²²⁵⁴ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkoperij. NASA.

prevented from doing so because of his political beliefs, and so he was forced to spend much time living in “strange lands,” as he put it himself.²²⁵⁵

It is also a fact that the police possessed sufficient evidence not only to challenge Dr. Cooper’s testimony but to break it to pieces. None of it was used. The fact that the Attorney-General wrote a memorandum about Tsafendas on October 3, 1966 which contained misinformation regarding his reclassification application, strongly suggests that van den Berg was perfectly competent but was not given all relevant information by the police. However, we are considering a case which took place under apartheid and we cannot exclude the possibility that the Attorney-General was indeed in possession of all the information but deliberately did not use it, assuming or being “advised” or simply knowing what he had to do in such case, that it would be better for everyone if Tsafendas were to be found insane. As Professor Dugard said, the prosecutors during apartheid “were never very independent” and knew what they had to do each time.²²⁵⁶ The fact that he attempted to challenge Dr. Cooper’s testimony without trying very hard while his own witnesses had already come to the same conclusion as those of the defence, strengthens the suspicion that the whole thing was a charade intended to secure a verdict of insanity.

Tsafendas spoke at length about the assassination and his life while he was in prison and in the hospital where he ended his days, but only to people he trusted. He never mentioned any of the things he told Dr. Cooper but repeated what he told witnesses prior to the assassination and which some of them told the police. For example, that Dr. Verwoerd was a dictator and not the real representative of ALL the South African people, that he was a tyrant oppressing his people, that he considered Dr. Verwoerd to be Hitler’s best student because he copied some of his Nuremberg Laws concerning Jews and applied them to the Blacks, and that he hoped that his death would bring a change of policy in South Africa or at least provide a stepping stone towards it, as he considered Dr. Verwoerd to be the “brains behind apartheid.”

If Tsafendas was really schizophrenic when he was examined by Dr. Cooper, he must still have been schizophrenic when he was in the prison and then in the hospital. His situation must even have deteriorated, given that he had been in solitary confinement for twenty-three hours per day for about twenty years, deprived of contact with his fellow prisoners, systematically assaulted and kept in a room next to the execution chamber, often forced to

²²⁵⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 17.

²²⁵⁶ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

watch those who were going to be executed passing in front of his cell, possibly a reminder of what to expect if he ever became “sane” again. All this was still happening when Tsafendas was seventy.²²⁵⁷

According to Professor Tuviah Zabow, if Tsafendas was really a schizophrenic, his condition, because of these conditions and the fact that he received no treatment, should have remained at least the same or more likely worse.²²⁵⁸ However, Tsafendas appeared to be perfectly sane to those who met him; he remained faithful to the ideas and philosophy he had before the assassination until he died and never repeated to anyone any of the things that Dr. Cooper said he told him.

A trained psychiatrist should be able to understand whether a person is schizophrenic more authoritatively than a lay person. However, psychiatry does not deal with wounds and conditions that can be touched and seen, are broken and can be healed. It deals with aspects of a personality upon which there may be differing opinions. Dr. Benjamin Chesler, a specialist psychiatrist, who examined David Pratt in 1960, admitted to the court that his diagnosis “could have been wrong.” He added, “I was not certain that I was correct. Psychiatry is not a factual science, a lot of it is subjective interpretation.”²²⁵⁹

That is also why it is very important to have as much additional third-party information as possible. John J. Broderick, Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Law at Notre Dame University, said that in an important murder trial, where the defence is insanity, it is not uncommon for psychiatrists of equal eminence to be lined up on opposite sides of the case. It was the same when the issue being contested was a will.²²⁶⁰ This implies that the psychiatrists from one side or other misdiagnosed the accused.

Is it possible or common for psychiatrists to misdiagnose a patient? The answer is “Yes”, and there have been countless high-profile cases where prominent psychiatrists provided wrong or contradictory diagnoses. A recent and infamous one is that of Anders Breivik, a Norwegian far-right terrorist who killed seventy-seven people in two separate attacks in July 2011. After his arrest, the court appointed two psychiatrists to examine him; after they had interviewed him thirteen times, they concluded that he had been a

²²⁵⁷ Beresford, ‘Dr. Verwoerd’s Insane Killer Being Brutalised on SA Death Row: Cell Next to Gallows for 71-Year Old Prisoner’, *The Guardian*, 9 June 1989: 12.

²²⁵⁸ Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016.

²²⁵⁹ Dr. Chesler’s testimony in the Enquiry regarding the mental condition of David Beresford Pratt in *Regina vs. David Beresford Pratt*, 13 September 1960. *The State versus David Beresford Pratt*. 712-60. NASA.

²²⁶⁰ John J. Broderick, “Role of the Psychiatrist and Psychiatric Testimony in Civil and Criminal Trials.” *Notre Dame Law Review*, Vol 35, Issue 4, (8 January 1960), p. 517.

psychotic paranoid schizophrenic before, during and after the attacks. However, while awaiting trial, Breivik was examined by a further four psychiatrists, who completely disagreed with their two colleagues' diagnosis, finding the accused to be perfectly sane, although with a narcissistic personality disorder. The court eventually accepted the verdict of the latter four psychiatrists, dismissing the original diagnosis.²²⁶¹

A US study dating from 1949 focused on a sample of 52 men from a state-owned clinic. They were individually interviewed by a panel of two or three psychiatrists, who were then asked to identify precisely which mental condition each of the men was suffering from. However, each psychiatrist had to make his own diagnosis without conferring with his colleagues. They could choose from a list of five main categories of disease: mental retardation, psychosis, psychopathic personality, neurosis and normality. Within each of these categories, they then had to identify the correct subcategory (for example, the subcategories for "psychosis" included schizophrenia and manic depression.) Thirty-five of the men were interviewed by a panel of three psychiatrists. Only 45 per cent of the time did the psychiatrists pick the same major category of disorder; in only 20 per cent of the cases did they agree on the subcategory.²²⁶²

In 1972, the book *Psychiatric Diagnosis* revealed the outcome of the major US–UK Diagnostic Project, focusing on the diagnostic practices of psychiatrists on both sides of the Atlantic. The conclusion was that not much had changed since the earlier 1949 US study. Most worryingly, there were dramatic national differences: British and American psychiatrists only agreed a fifth of the time when diagnosing major depression, with the former group diagnosing depressive disorder five times more often.²²⁶³

A 1988 study by Marti Loring (U.S. Center for Mental Health and Human Development) and Brian Powell (Indiana University) explored the effects of race. A sample of 290 psychiatrists were presented with an interview transcript; half of them were told that the patient being interviewed was Black, the other half that the patient was White. The researchers found that "clinicians appear to ascribe violence, suspiciousness, and dangerousness to black clients even though the case studies are the same as the case studies for the white clients. Interestingly, black clinicians seem to have internalized this view

²²⁶¹ BBC News. (2012) 'Norway Killer Breivik is "Not Psychotic", Say Experts.' *BBC*, 4 January 2012.

Retrieved on 12 December 2017 from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-16416791>; Mark Lewis and Alan Cowell (2012) 'Norwegian Man Claims Self-Defense in Killings.' *The New York Times*, 16 April 2012.

²²⁶² Lawrie Reznick, *Peddling Mental Disorder: The Crisis in Modern Psychiatry*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2016), p: 76.

²²⁶³ Reznick, *Peddling Mental Disorder: The Crisis in Modern Psychiatry*, p. 75

because they also assign paranoid schizophrenic disorders to black men (although less frequently than do white clinicians).”²²⁶⁴

Other similar cases include the following:

- Issei Sagawa murdered and ate a girl in Paris in 1981. He was examined by several French psychiatrists and was found to be legally insane and unfit to stand trial. He was later deported to Japan and committed to a mental hospital. However, when examined by Japanese psychiatrists, they declared him perfectly sane and he was released. He still lives free.²²⁶⁵
- Joseph Paul Franklin was an American serial killer. A forensic psychiatrist for the defence testified that he was a paranoid schizophrenic and unfit to stand trial. However, the court found him fit to be tried and he was executed in 2013.²²⁶⁶
- Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb murdered a little boy in the United States in 1924. Several prominent psychiatrists of the time testified that they were insane, while other equally prominent psychiatrists testified that they were perfectly sane.²²⁶⁷
- In October 2016, in the Spalding murders trial, Dr. Indranil Chakrabarti, a psychiatrist, testified that the fifteen-year-old accused girl was suffering from a mental disorder. However, consultant forensic psychiatrist Dr. Philip Joseph gave as his opinion that Dr. Chakrabarti’s diagnosis was wrong and the accused was not suffering from a mental disorder. At the time of writing, the trial is still ongoing.²²⁶⁸
- In February 1965, Professor Lewis A. Hurst,²²⁶⁹ Professor of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, diagnosed John Harris, who planted a bomb in the Johannesburg railway station, as unfit to stand trial. His opinion was that Harris “was suffering from a mental disease which rendered him incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong” and that he harboured “paranoidal traits of a nature sufficient to impair his judgment.” On the other hand, Professor van Wyk, who also examined Tsafendas,

²²⁶⁴ Marti Loring and Brian Powell, “Gender, Race, and DSM-III: A Study of the Objectivity of Psychiatric Diagnostic Behavior”, *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Mar., 1988), p. 1-18.

²²⁶⁵ Steven Morris, ‘Issei Sagawa: Celebrity Cannibal’, *New Criminologist*, 20 September 2007. Retrieved from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110714172725/http://www.newcriminologist.com/article.asp?nid=17>; *Murder in Mind, The Japanese Cannibal*, (London: A Marshall Cavendish Reference Collection, 1997), p. 1-37.

²²⁶⁶ Malcolm Gladwell, ‘Damaged’, *The New Yorker*, 24 February 1997: 132-147.

²²⁶⁷ *Illinois v. Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb*. Retrieved from: <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/leoploeb/leopold.htm>

²²⁶⁸ BBC, ‘Spalding Murders: “Toxic Relationship” Behind Killing of Mum and Daughter’, *BBC*, 12 October 2016. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lincolnshire-37631891>

²²⁶⁹ Incidentally, Prof. Hurst was also one of the psychiatrists who examined David Pratt.

disagreed with that diagnosis and found Harris perfectly sane. The Court accepted Prof. van Wyk's diagnosis and dismissed Prof. Hurst's.²²⁷⁰

In the above-mentioned cases and very many more, psychiatrists disagreed about the mental state of a person. One side must be wrong, which means that some of the psychiatrists misdiagnosed the person concerned. Clearly, a psychiatrist's diagnosis, especially when unaccompanied by third-party information, cannot be taken for granted. In addition, in the cases mentioned above, the psychiatrists had far more information available about their patient than the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas. In large part, a diagnosis depends on what the patient tells his examiner and Dr. Cooper and the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas relied on what he told them. However, Tsafendas told his psychiatrists stories he never told anyone else, most of them clearly lies, as witnesses told the police, the Commission and the author. Furthermore, he talked and behaved in a manner that none of the witnesses described or recognised.

Simple inaccuracy is not the only problem with diagnoses; they are also vulnerable to being influenced. This was demonstrated in a U.S. study, undertaken in 1968 by Maurice K. Temerlin, a Professor of Psychology at the University of Oklahoma. Professor Temerlin took a perfectly normal and healthy man, "a professional actor trained to portray a healthy man", and provided him with a script; through the script, and in an audio-recorded interview with a psychiatrist, the man described himself and his life, indicating a normal and average person, with absolutely normal behaviour.²²⁷¹ The main participants in the experiment listened to the audio recording of the interview:

a. The first group consisted of seventy clinical psychologists (twenty-five practising and forty-five graduate students). Soon after the recording began to play, a prominent, much-garlanded psychologist remarked to them: "I know the man being interviewed today. He's a very interesting man because he looks neurotic but actually is quite psychotic."²²⁷²

b. The second group consisted of twenty-five psychiatrists, who were told that they had to give a diagnosis to be used as a base criterion for the correlation of test scores. They were further informed that "two board-certified psychiatrists, one also a psychoanalyst, felt the patient looked neurotic, but actually was quite psychotic".

²²⁷⁰ *State v. Harris* (Appellate Division), 11 February-1 March 1965: 340-341.

²²⁷¹ Maurice K. Temerlin, "Diagnostic Bias in Community Mental Health." *Community Mental Health Journal*, Vol. 6 (2), 1970, p. 110-112.

²²⁷² Temerlin, "Diagnostic Bias in Community Mental Health", p. 111-112.

However, it was stated that “two opinions are not enough for a criterion group in a research project.”²²⁷³

In addition to the above, forty law students were asked to participate as jurors in a mock sanity hearing which took place in a county courthouse; 156 undergraduates were also asked to offer their opinion about the “patient”.²²⁷⁴

After they had listened to the audio recording, the various groups of participants were asked to choose their diagnosis from a list of thirty options. This included various mental diseases and personality types, but also an option for “normal or healthy personality” (the correct answer). However, 15 of the 25 psychiatrists (60%) and 7 of the 25 psychologists (28%) diagnosed the man with psychosis, mostly schizophrenia; the remaining 10 psychiatrists (40%), and 15 of the psychologists (60%), diagnosed neurosis and character disorder. Only 3 psychologists (12%) diagnosed him as perfectly normal! Thus, over 90% of the psychiatrists and psychologists diagnosed a perfectly healthy man, who acted and talked normally during his interview with a psychiatrist, as “psychotic”, simply because of the effect of the suggestion from a prestigious source.²²⁷⁵

The effect of the prestige suggestion became even more evident with the diagnoses of the two matched control groups that participated in the experiment, who made completely different diagnoses to those of the experimental groups:

- Control Group 1 was given the suggestion that the interviewed man was perfectly normal; all 20 participants (100%) diagnosed him as such.
- Control Group 2 was not given any information at all about the interviewed man. Only 12 of the 21 participants (57%) diagnosed him as perfectly healthy; the other 9 (43%) diagnosed neurosis or personality disorders.²²⁷⁶

We should remember here that Dr. Cooper later admitted that he was told by the police and the defence lawyers that Tsafendas was a straightforward case of schizophrenia.²²⁷⁷ Reyner van Zyl confirmed to the author Dr. Cooper’s claim and added that

²²⁷³ Temerlin, “Diagnostic Bias in Community Mental Health”, p. 111-112.

²²⁷⁴ Temerlin, “Diagnostic Bias in Community Mental Health”, p. 112.

²²⁷⁵ Temerlin, “Diagnostic Bias in Community Mental Health”, p. 111-112.

²²⁷⁶ Temerlin, “Diagnostic Bias in Community Mental Health”, p. 112-115.

²²⁷⁷ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 239-240, 273.

he and the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas were also given the same impression by both the police and the defence lawyers. He also told the author:

“We were just told, we were told, or I was told – the group of guys that examined him – that he had been in various mental hospitals all over the world... Yes. Well, you know, we were given this information – that he was a disturbed, schizophrenic man ... And that was the background that we had available, and nothing else. The third part [the medical reports] was given to us almost in summary. He has been to this hospital, that hospital, that hospital... I think three or four were mentioned – various hospitals overseas.”²²⁷⁸

Now, is it possible to simulate symptoms of psychiatric illness? Can a sane person fake mental illness and convince the psychiatrists who examine him that he is insane? The answer is again “Yes”, and there have been countless such cases. For example, in Greece, it is common practice for men to fake mental illness in order to evade compulsory military service. Other well-known cases include that of Nellie Bly, who in 1887 feigned mental illness in order to gain admission to the Women’s Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell’s Island (now Roosevelt Island), New York.²²⁷⁹ A further example is a condition known as Ganser Syndrome, which involves conscious imitation of the behaviour of a sufferer from mental illness, giving nonsensical and irrelevant answers to questions.²²⁸⁰

The most famous case of people faking mental illness and fooling their psychiatrists is the Rosenhan Experiment, which was conducted in 1973 in the USA by Professor David Rosenhan, Professor of Law and Psychology at Stanford University. Prof. Rosenhan and seven other perfectly sane people, including a painter and a housewife, admitted themselves to twelve different psychiatric hospitals in five different US States. The purpose of the experiment was to test the validity of psychiatric diagnoses.²²⁸¹

Most of these “pseudopatients” had not previously been to a psychiatric hospital, and the hospital staff was not aware of the experiment. The pseudopatients feigned hallucinations; convincing their examiners that they needed treatment, they secured admittance to the hospitals after they were all diagnosed with psychiatric disorders. After admission, each

²²⁷⁸ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

²²⁷⁹ Alice Gregory, “Nellie Bly’s Lessons in Writing What You Want To.” *The New Yorker*, 14 May 2014.

²²⁸⁰ Robert M. Kaplan, *Dark Tales of Illness, Medicine, and Madness: The King Who Strangled His Psychiatrist*, (Newcastle upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019), p. 108.

²²⁸¹ David L. Rosenhan, “On Being Sane in Insane Places.” *Science*, New Series, Vol. 179, No. 4070. (Jan. 19, 1973), p. 250-252.

patient remained in hospital for an average of nineteen days. In no case did any of the hospital staff catch on to the hoax.²²⁸²

As soon as they had been admitted, the pseudopatients stopped feigning madness; each of them then had to individually secure their release by convincing staff of their sanity. They behaved entirely rationally and informed those treating them that they were no longer hallucinating. In every case but one, they began asking to be released almost straight away. However, the staff were not convinced. One of the pseudopatients was discharged having been diagnosed as schizophrenic; the rest were labelled as having schizophrenia “in remission”. Before they could be set free, they had to accept that they were mentally ill and consent to take a course of antipsychotic drugs.²²⁸³

Professor Rosenhan’s study was published in 1973 by the journal *Science* under the title “On Being Sane in Insane Places”, to great controversy due to the deception but also to massive acclaim. The study proved that it was quite possible – easy, in fact – for a sane person to deceive psychiatric hospital staff, and even psychiatrists, into diagnosing them as suffering from schizophrenia. Rosenhan summed up his findings as follows:

“The facts of the matter are that we have known for a long time that diagnoses are often not useful or reliable, but we have nevertheless continued to use them. We now know that we cannot distinguish sanity from insanity. It is depressing to consider how that information will be used ... It is clear that we cannot distinguish the sane from the insane in psychiatric hospitals. The hospital itself imposes a special environment in which the meaning of behavior can easily be misunderstood.”²²⁸⁴

The study remains highly influential and is still considered to be an important critique of how psychiatric diagnoses had been conducted up to that point.²²⁸⁵ In 2005, Peter C. Gaughwin, Barrister and Solicitor at the Crown Solicitor’s Office, Adelaide, Australia, wrote:

“As Rosenhan’s experiment [1973] shows, it is not difficult to simulate symptoms of psychiatric illness. A NSW Parliamentary Committee and research from overseas have shown that, in the medico-legal context, such practices continue to exist, notwithstanding that, despite many advances in the general public’s understanding of psychiatric illness, there

²²⁸² Rosenhan, “On Being Sane in Insane Places”, p. 251-252.

²²⁸³ Rosenhan, “On Being Sane in Insane Places”, p. 251-253.

²²⁸⁴ Rosenhan, “On Being Sane in Insane Places.” p. 257.

²²⁸⁵ Peter C. Gaughwin (2005) “On Being Insane in Medico-Legal Places: The Importance of Taking a Complete History in Forensic Mental Health Assessment”, *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 12:2, p. 299.

continues to exist a pejorative attitude towards psychiatric illness... Such practices not only bring the mental health area into disrepute, they also have the effect of distorting negatively the outcomes of litigation and raise ethical questions about the misuse of mental illness for personal benefit. It remains the case that expert mental health practitioners have an ethical duty to educate both the practitioners who employ them and the courts in general as to the reality of what constitutes mental illness.”²²⁸⁶

It is worth mentioning here that in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, a large number of psychiatrists, especially Americans believed that homosexuality was a psychiatric condition, a mental disease, and it could be treated. The American Psychiatric Association listed homosexuality as a mental disease. Advice often given to those who experienced homosexual feelings was that they should consult a psychiatrist or psychologist. Some psychiatrists even tried to “cure” homosexuals with psychiatric therapy.²²⁸⁷ In the 1950s, and indeed up until 1967, homosexuality was illegal in the UK and was placed in the category of a mental disorder, to be dealt with via chemical castration. The most infamous case took place in 1952, when Alan Turing, founder of computer science and Enigma codebreaker, accepted chemical castration as a term of his probation in order to avoid imprisonment after he had admitted having a homosexual relationship.²²⁸⁸

As for South Africa, from the mid-1960s to the late-1980s, the apartheid government attempted to “cure” homosexual soldiers under the so-called “Aversion Project” of forensic psychiatrist Dr. Aubrey Levin. Possibly as many as 900 military draftees of both sexes (a rate of about fifty a year for eighteen years), mostly aged 16-24, were subjected to chemical castration, electric shock treatment and “sexual reassignment” surgery, intended to remove their homosexuality, which was seen as a “disease.”²²⁸⁹

It was only in the early and middle 1970s that attitudes to homosexuality in the areas of medicine and psychiatry began to change. In 1973, the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its official list of mental disorders, giving rise to a series of

²²⁸⁶ Gaughwin, “*On Being Insane in Medico-Legal Places: The Importance of Taking a Complete History in Forensic Mental Health Assessment*”, p. 306-307.

²²⁸⁷ Daniel K. Williams, “Sex and the Evangelicals; Gender Issues, the Sexual Revolution, and Abortion in the 1960s.” In Axel R Schafer, *American Evangelicals and the 1960s*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), p. 104.

²²⁸⁸ Andrew Hodges, *Alan Turing: The Enigma: The Book That Inspired the Film The Imitation Game*, (London: Vintage Books, 2014), p. 593-597.

²²⁸⁹ Robert Kaplan, “The Aversion Project – Psychiatric Abuses in the South African Defence Force during the Apartheid Era.” *South African Medical Journal*, (March 2001), Vol. 91, No. 3, p. 216-217.

jokes about the “instant cure.”²²⁹⁰ However, as late as 1979, the US Public Health Service was carrying out psychiatric examinations of visiting foreigners with a view to diagnosing those who presented as homosexual as having “psychopathic personalities.”²²⁹¹ Even so, in South Africa the forced “sexual reassignment” surgeries continued until the late-1980s.²²⁹²

Was this the first time Tsafendas had faked mental illness? The answer is “No”, and the police was very well aware of this as Tsafendas’s medical report from Grafton State Hospital stated clearly that while in the United States in 1943 “he faked mental illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings (sinkings) of ships.”²²⁹³

Was Tsafendas capable of convincing Dr. Cooper that he was schizophrenic? That he had done so in the past with the tapeworm story and the Saint Peter fixation suggests that he could. Judge Jacques Theodore van Wyk of the Commission of Enquiry said in his final report that Tsafendas was “quite knowledgeable about mental disorders—he also admitted to the Commission that he had read fairly extensively on the subject in order to determine what was wrong with him—and therefore [the Commission] adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him. It is clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act.”²²⁹⁴

The unavoidable conclusion concerning Dr. Cooper’s evidence is that his portrayal of Tsafendas was a travesty of the truth. A long list of Tsafendas’s actions and opinions which would have provided an entirely different picture of the man went unmentioned throughout the summary trial. They included: that Tsafendas considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator, an evil man, the brains behind apartheid and Hitler’s best student; that Tsafendas hoped killing him would bring about a change of policy; that he wanted to do everything possible to get the ruling regime out of power and see a government representing all the South African people in its place; that philosophically he detested apartheid, slavery, colonialism and racism; that he was a partisan for the independence of Mozambique, was arrested and imprisoned five times by the Portuguese Police because of his anti-Portuguese and Communist activities, and that PIDE had a 130-page file on him from 1938. None of

²²⁹⁰ Charalampos Dousemetzis, *The Presidency of Jimmy Carter and the Emerging Politics of Gay Rights and Evangelical Religion*, (Ph.D. Thesis, Durham University, England, July 2018), p. 40.

²²⁹¹ Dousemetzis, *The Presidency of Jimmy Carter and the Emerging Politics of Gay Rights and Evangelical Religion*, p. 30.

²²⁹² Kaplan, “The Aversion Project – Psychiatric Abuses in the South African Defence Force during the Apartheid Era”, p. 217.

²²⁹³ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

²²⁹⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

these facts came to light and Tsafendas was presented as a schizophrenic who believed he had a tapeworm which controlled his life, who did not like Coloureds and who assassinated Dr. Verwoerd because he was frustrated. This became the public perception of Tsafendas and has remained so to this day.

Professors Alban Burke, Kirk Heilbrun, Robert L. Sadoff and Tuviah Zabow believe that Dr. Cooper's diagnosis would not have been seen as credible in any modern and democratic court today.²²⁹⁵ Professor Heilbrun told the author:

“It [Dr. Cooper's diagnosis] would not be given much credibility in a U.S. court. Many of the points we have discussed [above] would be incorporated into cross-examination to challenge the credibility of the opinions based only on self-report.”²²⁹⁶

Professor Zabow also agrees with the author's analysis of Dr. Cooper's diagnosis. He said:

“Just a few comments further to our interesting discussion this afternoon where we seem to concur on the issues of psychiatric expert testimonies. I have read the information with interest particularly the collateral background provided. Much of this was not available at time of psychiatric assessments or in the Court. Of interest is the Tsafendas statement which was done early on the investigation and much of the information he must have been able to provide or a least agreed upon if coerced to sign. If he was psychotic and unable to marshal his thoughts, this would not have been possible. This is significant in relation to the expert testimonies which are so central to the discussion that all these were provided without background factual information at than stage. The focus should have been on mental state examination in its 'form' and not therefore dependent on the content. The uncertainties expressed as to conclusions in relation to the nature of the disorder and the features are evident.

As mentioned previously in discussion with you, the evaluation should consist of supportive history as available and observation of behaviour and functioning. Forensic assessments are undertaken in hospital-like setting where function and behaviour outside of the consulting room are observed. I am also concerned as to when the examinations took place relevant to other activities and interrogations. Many appear to have taken place under

²²⁹⁵ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016; Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017; Professor Robert L. Sadoff in a personal interview with the author, 12 August 2015; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016.

²²⁹⁶ Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017.

some pressure of time and in various environments such as the EEG laboratory etc. The time of the assessments clearly were during the severe and ongoing torture and abuse so this effect on his mental status in the ‘sample’ period needed consideration. The observed symptoms may be explained somewhat in other ways due to the above.”²²⁹⁷

Tsafendas’s file at the Prison Service, File: A5078, while imprisoned in Pretoria Central Maximum Security Prison described him as:

“A person of Colour, an extremely resourceful and cunning individual who is physically and mentally able to plan and execute escape.”²²⁹⁸

This description hardly fits the Tsafendas described by Dr. Cooper as someone unable to function on a reasonable level, unable to care for himself and unfit to stand trial. However, the description fits perfectly with the way Tsafendas was described by people who knew him well and according to a plethora of evidence gathered by the South African police and the Commission of Enquiry into Dr. Verwoerd’s death. Finally, Advocate George Bizos found the evidence showing Dr. Cooper’s testimony as wrong to be “overwhelming and unquestionable.”²²⁹⁹

²²⁹⁷ Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 3 September 2016.

²²⁹⁸ Marais, *Die Era van Verwoerd*, p. 208.

²²⁹⁹ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

DAY 2: 18 OCTOBER 1966

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 2: DR. HENDRIK MULLER

Dr. Muller, a Cape Town physician, was appointed by David Bloomberg to examine Tsafendas and offer an expert opinion on whether or not he harboured a tapeworm. It was an astute appointment since Dr. Muller was not only well known and widely respected, he was also the personal doctor of Judge Beyers.²³⁰⁰

EXTRACTS FROM DR. MULLER'S TESTIMONY²³⁰¹

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When did you examine the accused?

DR. MULLER: On the 12th October.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where did you examine him?

DR. MULLER: At Caledon Square.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did you ask the accused?

DR. MULLER: I asked him if he suffered from any physical illness. I explained to him that it was my purpose to examine him physically.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was his reply?

DR. MULLER: He said that his only trouble was this worm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did he tell you about the worm?

DR. MULLER: He first became conscious of the worm in 1936. He stated that for some two to three months he had been feeling irritable and unwell and during this period he had noticed that he was passing segments of worm by rectum; segments which passed spontaneously and would fall into his trousers, and he described them as being like macaroni, which nevertheless moves spontaneously, and this led him to believe that he had a worm. This had happened while he was in Lourenço Marques, and he went to a chemist there who told him how to treat

²³⁰⁰ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 79; Cooper, *Under Devil's Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 105.

²³⁰¹ Dr. Hendrik Muller's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

this condition.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: From his description did you form the impression that, in fact, in 1936 he did have a worm which?

DR. MULLER: Yes, I was fully convinced about that, especially when he described the result of taking this treatment.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Shortly, what was the result?

DR. MULLER: He passed a long length of the worm, but he felt that he had not passed the whole worm, that part of it still remained in his rectum. It broke off when he pulled on it.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is his present complaint about?

DR. MULLER: He says that the worm has changed his whole character and his whole physique, whereas before he was thin and wiry, he has now become fat and flabby. It has made him irritable, changed his nature; that he can no longer be friendly with people, he was bad-tempered. It has made him eat excessively and made him put on weight to a great extent. He states he can feel the worm moving about inside him, causing severe pain at times, and generally making him feel thoroughly miserable and unwell.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How does he describe the worm? What does he call it?

DR. MULLER: He referred to it on two or three occasions as an abominable thing inside him, and as a worm, but he didn't use any other terms.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you tried to ascertain from him whether he has passed any segments since taking medicine in 1936?

DR. MULLER: Yes, I asked him that on two occasions, whether he had again passed any segments of the worm or whether he had passed a long length of the worm, and he was quite sure that he had never again passed a segment or a length of the worm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you ascertain from him whether he had had any treatment for this worm since 1936?

DR. MULLER: Yes, he stated he had had many treatments, some of them very severe. In fact, one of the treatments, he says, almost killed him but in spite of this he never again passed any part of the worm. And no treatment at any time made him feel better.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Does he presently believe that he still has the tapeworm?

DR. MULLER: He appears to be quite convinced about that.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What impression did you form as to the veracity; does he genuinely believe in the existence of this worm?

DR. MULLER: Yes, I believe that is so. I think he really does feel that he still harbours this worm and that it still is affecting him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Your examination was directed to - obviously after this worm story - find out whether he still had a worm?

DR. MULLER: Well, I didn't do anything more extensive. I examined him clinically, palpated his abdomen, examined the heart, lungs and nervous system generally. I did not have stool examinations or other examinations to demonstrate whether the worm is still present.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is your opinion?

DR. MULLER: I am quite convinced he does not have a worm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: If evidence is led that in May, 1959, the accused received treatment at the University College Hospital, that is, St. Pancras Hospital, to ascertain whether or not there was a worm and that no tape-worm was produced, how important would that evidence be to you as a physician?

DR. MULLER: Well, it would confirm my feeling that he just does not have a worm. It is a very reputable hospital and I am sure that they must have done the job properly.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: If they came to the conclusion that there was no worm in 1959, you would not quarrel with that?

DR. MULLER: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the overall physical condition of the accused?

DR. MULLER: Physically he is fat and rather unfit but there is no organic disease demonstrable. He is as healthy as most people of his age are.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You had no difficulty in communicating with him?

DR. MULLER: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he have difficulty in expressing himself?

DR. MULLER: None at all.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How was the accused during your examination? Was he in a state of anxiety?

DR. MULLER: It was difficult to say. He appeared vague in his manner and almost, one could say, detached. It is difficult to describe exactly how he was.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I just want to ask the doctor this, what impression did the accused make upon him?

DR. MULLER: He appeared an ordinary enough man, certainly not exceptional, particularly not ill, not particularly disturbed, you know; not anxious or upset; intelligent and able to understand what was said to him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I just want to ask you finally: With his health and his intelligence should he be able to hold down a job?

DR. MULLER: Yes. Yes, I would think he could very easily.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I am talking about his physical health?

DR. MULLER: Yes.

COMMENTS ON DR. MULLER'S TESTIMONY

According to Dr. Muller, Tsafendas was able to understand what was said to him, had no problem communicating with him and was not particularly disturbed. More importantly, Dr. Muller contradicted Dr. Cooper's beliefs that Tsafendas was not able to hold down a job and unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes.

Tsafendas spoke to Dr. Muller at length about the tapeworm and its origins. As we will see, it is something he does with any doctor who examines him in custody. Tsafendas also spoke about the tapeworm in most of the hospitals where he was treated, saying roughly the same things he told Dr. Muller. However, these were hospitals to which Tsafendas himself sought admittance or to which he was taken by police who believed they had noticed "something wrong with him" during interrogation. Tsafendas was never taken to a hospital or recommended to one by anyone other than the police.

Significantly, Tsafendas was examined by at least nine physicians during the three years up to the assassination and did not tell any of them anything about a tapeworm. They

were not psychiatrists, so Tsafendas may have felt it was an irrelevance, however, Dr. Muller is not a psychiatrist either and Tsafendas told him clearly that “his only trouble was this worm.” If Tsafendas really believed he had a tapeworm and always told the medics who examined him in custody, would he not also have told the other nine doctors? After all, he said that this was his only health problem.

Surprisingly, although Dr. Muller was appointed to discover if Tsafendas had a tapeworm, he did not carry out any of the relevant physical examinations, including rectal investigation, as he appeared to be convinced simply by listening to Tsafendas that the worm was a figment of his imagination. However, his remit was to discover the truth of the tapeworm, not by talking to Tsafendas - that was the psychiatrists’ task - but by examining him, and this he did not do. He produced no physical evidence, either pro or con, and his conclusion was based on an assessment of Tsafendas’s words, upon which, not being a psychiatrist, he was not qualified to pronounce. What was the point of Dr. Muller testifying that Tsafendas did not have a tapeworm when he did not examine him? For all anyone knew, he could very well have had one. It is germane that the nine physicians who examined Tsafendas over the previous three years did so after he applied for permanent residence in South Africa and in connection with several job applications. In every case, he was found to be perfectly sane, capable of doing the work he applied for and fit for permanent residence. Not only did Tsafendas remain silent on the tapeworm, he also concealed his previous hospitalisations.

Dr. Muller stated that Tsafendas had the tapeworm since 1936. At that time, Tsafendas was still living at his parents’ home, yet everyone in his family stated in their testimony to the Commission that Tsafendas never mentioned a tapeworm to them and that he was “definitely not insane.”²³⁰² Charles Nissiotis, Tsafendas’s brother-in-law, told the police, “As far as I could established he never mentioned the tapeworm story to any of the family.”²³⁰³ Tsafendas’s half-sister Katerina Pnefma and his first cousin Mary Eintracht also were never told by Tsafendas about the tapeworm. Eintracht had grown up with Tsafendas in Egypt and then in Mozambique and was very close to him. The private conclusion of all the family members was that Tsafendas made up the tapeworm story to save himself from the

²³⁰² COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

²³⁰³ Charles Nissiotis statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

gallows.²³⁰⁴ Family apart, three good friends of Tsafendas from that time, Ira Kyriakakis, Helen Grispos and his schoolmate George Grispos, never heard Tsafendas say anything about a tapeworm.²³⁰⁵

The most surprising thing about Dr. Muller's testimony is that he contradicts Dr. Cooper's evidence on a number of points and no attempt is made by the Court or the Attorney-General to clarify these issues. Dr. Cooper had found Tsafendas "unable to function on a reasonable level," "incapable of holding down employment" and unable to "express himself in a coherent fashion." Dr. Muller found no communication issues with Tsafendas, he believed that he could "very easily" hold down a job and did not report anything regarding his being "unable to function on a reasonable level."

It is important to remember that Dr. Muller is not a psychiatrist with the necessary expertise to comment on Tsafendas's state of mind, therefore Dr. Cooper's is the expert opinion. However, the next defence witness is Dr. Kossew, a district surgeon, who is also not a psychiatrist and therefore not an expert; he will diagnose Tsafendas as schizophrenic and his testimony will prove vital for Judge Beyers to reach his verdict in the end.

²³⁰⁴ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²³⁰⁵ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 3: DR. RALPH KOSSEW

Dr. Kossew, the District Surgeon in Cape Town, although not a psychiatrist, was an important witness for the defence because he had diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic three months before the assassination. Judge Beyers would state in his verdict how much he valued and gave weight to Dr. Kossew's testimony. However, as we will see, it is by far the weakest evaluation of Tsafendas by any of the doctors who examined him.

EXTRACTS FROM DR. KOSSEW'S TESTIMONY²³⁰⁶

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The accused, have you seen him before?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you see him during June, 1965?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: On what date?

DR. KOSSEW: On the 17th of June.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where did you see him?

DR. KOSSEW: At our offices - the District Surgeon's offices.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was it 1965 or 1966?

DR. KOSSEW: 1966.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Why did the accused come to you?

DR. KOSSEW: He was referred to us by the Department of Social Welfare for a disability grant.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And tell me, doctor, did you examine him then?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you fill in a form as a result of your examination and the

²³⁰⁶ Dr. Ralph Kossew's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

opinion that you formed?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you a carbon copy of that form before you?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes. I have typed copies for the benefit of the Court, M' Lord. This will be R.S.C.A.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you read out this document?

DR. KOSSEW: The name was given as Dimitrio Tsafendas, born on the 14th January, 1918. He was not at work at this time I examined him, and he had last worked in March, 1966, and was a handyman at that time at the Engineering Works, Marine Diamond Corporation.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was the applicant's complaint?

DR. KOSSEW: Well, I had to

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Read out what you have written down?

DR. KOSSEW: I found that he was vague and did not give a coherent account of himself, and that he was hypochondriacal. I have a note here that he talks about nothing else but his complaints and has ideas of a persecutory nature. He says that in his boarding-house they deliberately give certain food to people to cause their deaths. And he says that 20 people had died in a year that way. His memory was defective, I noted.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was this what you put in under the heading "Applicant's complaints - (history, symptoms and previous treatment)"?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In your general examination, what did you find his general physical and nutritional state to be?

DR. KOSSEW: I found nil abnormal in all his systems.

JUDGE BEYERS: In "General physical and nutritional state" you've got "Good."

DR. KOSSEW: Yes. His respiratory system was normal. His cardiovascular system was normal. His blood-pressure was 150/100. His genito-urinary system was normal, and so was his alimentary and other abdominal systems. His musculo-skeletal system was normal, as was his central nervous system.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And his mental condition?

DR. KOSSEW: I put down “Schizophrenic.”

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did you put down for a prognosis for ‘Schizophrenic’?”

DR. KOSSEW: I put down: “Prognosis - Poor.”

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did you say was his degree of disablement?

DR. KOSSEW: I put the degree of disablement as compared with a normal individual as: “Severe.”

DEFENCE COUNSEL: So where you have whether the disablement is slight, moderate or severe, you put it in a high class?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: His present incapacity, do you find it to be temporary or permanent?

DR. KOSSEW: Permanent.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you consider that medical treatment would improve or cure his schizophrenia?

DR. KOSSEW: I put: “No.”

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What labour did you find him suitable for?

DR. KOSSEW: I suggested that he would be a suitable candidate for subsidised labour.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: As regards the open market, what was your opinion?

DR. KOSSEW: I said he is not suitable for the open market.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: As regards sheltered employment?

DR. KOSSEW: I put: “No.”

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Were you busy on that particular day in June, 1966?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes, we are normally very busy in the mornings.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Were you very busy?

DR. KOSSEW: I can’t remember if I was very busy. I suppose an average morning’s work.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And normally you are very busy, not so?

DR. KOSSEW: In the mornings, yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: How long were you with the accused?

DR. KOSSEW: Between a quarter of an hour to 20 minutes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Weren't you only busy with him for 10 minutes?

DR. KOSSEW: Well, I can't say exactly how long I was busy with him but I...

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You may have been busy with him for only 10 minutes?

DR. KOSSEW: He presented himself without any form of certificate or reference from anybody. He just came in as a person, I had to start from scratch, so that would have taken me a little bit longer.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Have you any qualifications in psychiatry?

DR. KOSSEW: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you agree that there is a difference between ideas of a persecutory nature and of a persecutory delusion?

DR. KOSSEW: Well, I don't think I can - my psychiatric knowledge is not so detailed that I can make these intricate definitions or distinctions.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you agree that many people are preoccupied with their health?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Don't many people exaggerate the poor quality of boarding-house food?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Wasn't the accused fabricating?

DR. KOSSEW: Well, I had no idea of verifying his statements, and no means of verifying his statements, I'd say.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What test did you apply to find that the accused was vague?

DR. KOSSEW: Well, not actually any tests, but I got the impression that he was not able to remember things clearly and he was sort of uncertain. My questions actually were mostly

concerned with his physical condition and the type of work he had previously done in order to assess his degree of disability.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Normal people also often forget these things?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What test did you apply to find that the accused's memory was defective?

DR. KOSSEW: Well, the defective memory I got as a general picture; I remember questioning him about the type of work he did and the nature of his complaints. Well, he was very uncertain as to some details of his complaints and his previous working habits, and that induced me to put down that his memory may be defective.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What test did you apply to find that he was vague?

DR. KOSSEW: A similar thing applies to the fact that he was vague. I got the impression that he didn't remember things very clearly and he was often very uncertain.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Isn't this also a normal phenomenon?

DR. KOSSEW: It could be, yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You didn't consider it necessary to have the accused sent for treatment or observation?

DR. KOSSEW: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Why didn't you certify the accused when you saw him in June, 1966?

DR. KOSSEW: Well, in my opinion he wasn't certifiable. To me he appeared to be a person who could take care of himself. He didn't look as if he needed care and attention, and I did not get the impression that he was dangerous to himself or to others.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He did not complain to you that he was not capable of doing his work at the Marine Diamond Corporation?

DR. KOSSEW: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he ever mention to you that he was suffering from a tapeworm in June, 1966?

DR. KOSSEW: He didn't mention it in June, 1966, but I did see him subsequently when he

made some mention of it.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: When did you see him subsequently?

DR. KOSSEW: I saw him about - I can't remember the exact date - it was about two weeks ago when I was asked by Major Rossouw to come and see him, as he was complaining of some ailment.

JUDGE BEYERS: This is rather interesting because you did fill in "Alimentary and other abdominal systems: nothing abnormal detected." Now, I suppose a tapeworm would fall under that heading wouldn't it?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: It would certainly be intestinal, so you must have enquired, made some enquiry into his intestinal condition?

DR. KOSSEW: I did.

JUDGE BEYERS: And he didn't tell you anything about this?

DR. KOSSEW: He never mentioned a tapeworm.

JUDGE BEYERS: He told you about the tapeworm only after the alleged murder?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You saw the accused at 2.50 p.m. on the 6th September, 1966?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You then also examined him?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he then mention anything about this so-called tapeworm?

DR. KOSSEW: That examination was at the request of the Police, to ascertain his injuries that he sustained, and I was asked to fill in form J.88 which - I don't know the exact wording - for examination of a person who alleges he's been assaulted.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Is this the form that you filled in? (R.S.C.B).

DR. KOSSEW: Yes, this is the form.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What exactly did you find on that occasion?

DR. KOSSEW: Must I read this form?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: No. You can refresh your memory from it.

DR. KOSSEW: Must I read this form in its entirety?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: But on that occasion you found that he was not confused?

DR. KOSSEW: No, he was not confused.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And that was only 35 minutes after the murder had been committed?

DR. KOSSEW: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Then he was not confused?

DR. KOSSEW: He was not confused. I did add in my remarks that he answers questions guardedly but does not appear to be confused.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You have already said that he never mentioned a tapeworm to you on that occasion?

DR. KOSSEW: No.

Re-Examined by the DEFENCE COUNSEL: When you examined the accused at 2.50 on the 6th September, 1966, was he anxious?

DR. KOSSEW: No, he didn't appear anxious.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he appear?

DR. KOSSEW: Well, he was quiet. He may have been a little bit nervous but not in any marked degree.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Generally he was calm?

DR. KOSSEW: He was calm.

COMMENTS ON DR. KOSSEW'S TESTIMONY

Even though he was not a qualified psychiatrist, Dr. Kossew was able to determine, after an examination which lasted "a little bit longer" than ten minutes, that Tsafendas was a schizophrenic and unable to work in the "open market" or in "sheltered employment." Dr. Kossew also admits that he had no intention and "no idea" and "no means" of verifying Tsafendas's statements and he obviously took as truth whatever Tsafendas told him. The fact

that he was not a psychiatrist must have made it even more difficult for Dr. Kossew to understand whether the patient was lying. He stresses, however, that his intention was mostly to make a determination of his physical condition and not his mental condition.

Dr. Kossew did not consult any medical reports on Tsafendas and did not get any information about him from anyone who knew him; he took his words for granted. After examining Tsafendas for the first time, Dr. Sakinofsky and Dr. Cooper, both psychiatrists, shared the impression that he was schizophrenic, but both wanted to examine him again before reaching a conclusion. For the non-psychiatrist Dr. Kossew, a very brief consultation was enough to diagnose him as schizophrenic and find him eligible for a disability grant. However, we should also note the circumstances under which Tsafendas was examined. The psychiatrists examined a man who had murdered the Prime Minister and were naturally very thorough, while Dr. Kossew examined an applicant for a disability grant on a very busy morning.

What is extraordinary about Dr. Kossew's role in the case is that no-one raises the fact that Tsafendas was seeking a disability grant, having been referred to Dr. Kossew by the Department of Social Welfare. In order to qualify for such a grant, an applicant had to be found "unable, owing to infirmity of mind or body, to undertake regular work."²³⁰⁷ This is exactly what Tsafendas was found to be; had he been found sane, he would not have qualified for the grant.

During the previous two and half years, however, whenever Tsafendas needed to prove he was perfectly healthy and sane, in order for instance to secure a job or a permanent residence permit, all five doctors who examined him found him to be so. Tsafendas did not tell any of these doctors about the tapeworm. We should not forget that Tsafendas did not tell Dr. Kossew about it either, at least during their first two meetings, but mentioned it in the third, which was four weeks after the assassination while he was in custody.

These are the five doctors who examined Tsafendas:

- On November 11, 1963, Tsafendas was examined by Dr. C. Been for his permanent residence application and was found "not to be mentally or physically defective in any way," and "generally in a good state of health."²³⁰⁸ Dr. Been would later examine

²³⁰⁷ House of Assembly, Question No. 17. 3 February 1967. K150, Vol. 12, File: Social Welfare and Pensions, NASA.

²³⁰⁸ Demitrio Tsafendas medical certificate issued by Dr. Been for the Aliens Act, 1937. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

Tsafendas again “for burns on his body whilst employed at Pooles.” Again nothing about his mental state was noted.²³⁰⁹

- On November 14, 1963, Tsafendas was examined again in reference to his residence application by Dr. A.C. McDonald, who wrote “a favourable report.” A certificate for permanent residence was subsequently issued.²³¹⁰
- On March 15, 1965, Tsafendas was examined by a South African Railways’ medical examiner whose name is indecipherable in his report. Tsafendas was found to be perfectly healthy, without any issues and therefore capable of working for the company.²³¹¹
- On November 19, 1965, Tsafendas was examined to assess his fitness to work for City Tramways in Cape Town. Again, he was found to be fit to work and duly hired.²³¹²
- On January 13, 1966, Tsafendas applied for a job at the Marine Diamond Corporation and was medically checked that same day. The doctor who carried out the examination found Tsafendas to be perfectly healthy and capable of working for the company.²³¹³

In addition, the previous three years Tsafendas was also examined by another five doctors who also did not discover anything being wrong with him and he did not tell them anything about the tapeworm:

- From April 19, 1966 to May 15, 1966, Tsafendas was under the medical supervision of Dr. Leon Solomon at Groote Schuur Hospital, suffering from “a deviated nasal septum and epistaxis,” and underwent surgery on his nose. Dr. Solomon during this period did not report any mental disability and found Tsafendas to be fit to return to his work at Marine Diamond Corporation. Dr. Solomon examined him again on June 7, 1966, and again did not notice anything mentally wrong with him.²³¹⁴

²³⁰⁹ Dr. Been statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²³¹⁰ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

²³¹¹ South African Railways Confidential Medical Examination Certificate of Demitrio Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 7, File: S 83708, Tsafendas: D. NASA.

²³¹² Donald Neville Mackay statement to the COE, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²³¹³ Demitrio Tsafendas’s Marine Diamond Corporation application for Employment, 13 January 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 3. NASA.

²³¹⁴ Dr. Leon Solomon’s medical report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA; Medical certificate issued by Dr. Solomon for the Employment Insurance Act, 1946. 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA.

- On April 18, 19, 26 and May 3, 1966 Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by Dr. Leon Goldman, a consultant ear, nose and throat surgeon. He did not observe anything mentally wrong with him and discharged him as “fit” on May 17, 1966.²³¹⁵
- On February 25, 1966, Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by I. Eisenberg, a registrar on the Ear, Nose & Throat Department, who did not observe anything mentally wrong with him.²³¹⁶
- Finally, Dr. T.A. Darby examined Tsafendas on the evening of the assassination but did not report anything to be wrong about his mental state.²³¹⁷
- On September 25, 1965, he was examined by Dr. G.C. Baker and again nothing was reported about his mental state.²³¹⁸

All of the above medical reports were in the possession of the South African police but none of them was used to challenge Dr. Kossew’s testimony. None of these doctors was a psychiatrist, but neither was Dr. Kossew, and if Dr. Kossew was acceptable as a witness, surely all the other doctors who examined Tsafendas over the previous three years should also be acceptable. However, they were not asked to testify and their diagnoses were not used in court.

The obvious reason Tsafendas did not mention the tapeworm to the ten doctors is that questions would have been raised about his mental state and he would have been refused a residence permit and turned down for the jobs he was seeking. Importantly, Dr. Leon Goldman, a consultant surgeon, who examined Tsafendas just one month before Dr. Kossew did not report anything about his mental state or his ideas of a persecutory nature. Then, why did Tsafendas eventually tell Dr. Kossew? Obviously because he wanted to qualify for the grant. Tsafendas admitted openly to several witnesses in later life that “wherever I had to be found insane, I was found to be insane; wherever I had to be found sane, I was found sane.”²³¹⁹

Furthermore, Tsafendas never appeared to be a schizophrenic to Dr. Vasilis

²³¹⁵ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³¹⁶ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³¹⁷ Dr. T.A. Darby. Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. G.S.H. NO. 65/014-181, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³¹⁸ Dr. G.C. Baker Statement RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. No date. K150, Vol. 6, File: 4, NASA.

²³¹⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

Tzitzafakos, a Greek general practitioner he became friendly with in Beira in 1964. The doctor always maintained that Tsafendas was a very intelligent person and certainly not a schizophrenic.²³²⁰

The Attorney-General raised the issue of the ten-minute examination, but did not make much of it or of Dr. Kossew's professional status as a physician and not a psychiatrist. We do not also know if the Attorney-General was aware of Tsafendas's many medical examinations over the previous three years or their resulting decisions with regard to residence and employment. However, the South African police and the Commission of Enquiry were well aware of them and one would have expected the Attorney-General to know about them, too. Once again, it seems van den Berg was either not aware of certain facts or did not think it was important to raise them. The fact remains that Tsafendas was never found to be unhealthy or disturbed when he needed to be found healthy and sane; but he was invariably found unhealthy and disturbed when that was the condition he wanted.

Another aspect of the case which nobody seemed to notice was that Tsafendas told the police and his defence team not only the names of the hospitals and exact dates of his various hospitalisations, but also his exact diagnosis in each case. However, he concealed all the examinations where nothing was reported about his schizophrenia and the tapeworm. For instance, he mentioned the examination by Dr. Kossew when he was declared schizophrenic but was silent on all those ten mentioned above when he was pronounced healthy.

Dr. Kossew said when he first saw Tsafendas he seemed unable to give a coherent account of himself, which was not something any of the ten doctors who examined him ever noticed. The Attorney-General, as mentioned earlier, was in possession of a report by his own expert psychiatric witness, Professor van Wyk, which contradicted Dr. Kossew's assessment. The report said that Tsafendas "is orientated. He gives a good account of himself. His comprehension is good and his answers are relevant."²³²¹ However, just as in Dr. Cooper's case, the Attorney-General did not use it to challenge this testimony either.

Dr. Kossew also considered Tsafendas's memory defective because he could not give details about his previous work. However, Tsafendas had no such problem when he spoke to the police about his employment record, and Dr. Cooper characterised Tsafendas's memory defect as "negligible" and said that "on the whole his memory was satisfactory." In further

²³²⁰ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

²³²¹ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 91.

contradiction of Dr. Cooper's diagnosis, Dr. Kossew found Tsafendas "to be a person who could take care of himself."

An extremely important issue that is not mentioned at all is the fact that Tsafendas did not mention the tapeworm when he was first examined by Dr. Kossew and instead appeared to have ideas of persecutory nature. Dr. Kossew examined Tsafendas twice, on June 17, 1966 and then on the day of the assassination. On neither occasion did Tsafendas mention the tapeworm, only doing so when he met Dr. Kossew a third time, some two weeks before the trial commenced. This would have been around the first week of October, a time when Tsafendas was telling everybody he met about the tapeworm. Again, if Tsafendas believed he had a tapeworm, why did not he mention it to him before, as he did with the rest of the doctors and lawyers?

Dr. Cooper testified that Tsafendas attributed his inability to work and stay in a job to the tapeworm. However, Tsafendas did not give the same excuse to Dr. Kossew, indeed he did not even mention the tapeworm when he was examined for the disability grant. Instead he made up a preposterous story about the people in his boarding house being murdered. It is difficult not to assume that for Tsafendas, the tapeworm act was something like the "flavour of the month," alternating with his other tricks such as pretending he was Saint Peter and hearing voices like Joan of Arc. He could have used the tapeworm on this occasion with Dr. Kossew, but it may have sounded rather complicated and with possibly serious ramifications for himself than just a persecution complex. If he believed that a tapeworm was responsible for his inability to work but also to find work, then almost certainly he would have told Dr. Kossew, too, as it would have fitted perfectly with his claim for his alleged inability to work. The important point here is that Dr. Kossew was not asked to comment on the fact that Tsafendas blamed the tapeworm for his job problems to Dr. Cooper but made no such claim to him.

More importantly, no one questioned the fact that Tsafendas, two months after Dr. Kossew first examined him, did not repeat any of the things he told the doctor then about people being murdered in the house where he lived. If Tsafendas believed that then, would not have believed it two months later? Since it was clearly a "delusion," would it have just come and go so easily or he had two delusions in September and October 1966? Is it possible Tsafendas to not have believed he had a tapeworm at the time of the June 16 examination by Dr. Kossew if he really believed he had one? That would have meant that the tapeworm delusion had gone and a new one was created. Then, two months later, the tapeworm

reappeared again and the persecutory ideas disappeared.

The same thing appeared to have happen again in 1964 when he was arrested by the Portuguese. In 1959 he was diagnosed as schizophrenic because of the tapeworm and in 1964 he was diagnosed again as schizophrenic but this time because he believed he was Saint Peter. This also suggests that the tapeworm delusion had gone and was replaced at the time by the belief that he was Saint Peter. Then, in June 1966, Saint Peter disappeared and the poisonous food appeared. In September 1966, the tapeworm re-appeared and the poisonous food disappeared.

According to Professor Burke, to claim two delusions at the same time or to have delusions coming and going as they were supposedly doing with Tsafendas, stretches credulity. He said:

“It’s not impossible, because the human brain is difficult to understand. It’s not impossible, but it is unlikely. It’s possible but it’s improbable. Let’s assume he was schizophrenic, for the sake of this argument, and, in the past, he had the delusion of being one of the apostles; that delusion would have stayed, so why would he, then, have created a new delusion around a tapeworm? It does not make sense, because your delusion stays fixed, so, if he really did believe he was one of the apostles, early on, that story would have stuck because the delusions will not have shifted. What happens with delusions is, they can become bigger, so they could include more things, but a shift from one delusion to another one is highly unlikely, so why would you go from apostle, and that worked for you ... well, let’s say he truly believed he was an apostle; why did that change as he went along?”

It makes no sense. Even if the schizophrenia had been treated, and it came back, then the same delusion would have come back, so it’s inconsistent in terms of the delusions. You typically have a very fixed delusion, and it becomes bigger, but doesn’t change significantly, so if he had been truly schizophrenic, and he had been admitted to these hospitals previously, based on what he said, that he believed he was an apostle, then he would have killed Dr. Verwoerd, based on the delusion that he was an apostle; he wouldn’t have changed to say there was a tapeworm, or whatever the case may be. So, there’s, already, some kind of inconsistency.”²³²²

Reyner van Zyl agrees that it is next to impossible, “Yes, one [delusion] may disappear, and the other one may then appear. But two at the same time, I don’t think so,

²³²² Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

because these delusions are usually very powerful.”²³²³

At the time of the June 17 examination by Dr. Kossew, Tsafendas lived at Wilhelmina de Vos’s boarding house, presumably the house he referred to in his remarks to Dr. Kossew about murders. De Vos testified to the police that she “considered him to be a completely normal person.”²³²⁴ At the same period Tsafendas also had his meals at Mary Scott’s boarding house. Scott testified to the police that she “never got the impression that he could be mentally unbalanced,” indeed she thought that he “appeared to be perfectly normal.”²³²⁵ These are the two boarding houses that Tsafendas visited at the time.

Tsafendas was extremely close at the time to Patrick O’Ryan, Richard Poggenpoel, Costas Chagios and Elias Constantaras. Constantaras, Panagiotis Peroglou and his girlfriend, Pamela Abrahams, took their meals, together with Tsafendas, in Mary Scott’s boarding house. He never told any of them anything about his “suspicion” that twenty people died because of “certain food.” All the above witnesses laughed when they heard this claim.²³²⁶

Constantaras, Chagios and Poggenpoel have no doubt that Tsafendas would have told them if he believed such a thing since they discussed many things, including De Vos’s and Scott’s boarding houses and the way they ran them. Tsafendas also loved the cooking of both his landladies and ate at both houses throughout June 1966 – hardly something to do if you believe people are dying from the food there. Constantaras has no doubt that Tsafendas made up the story.²³²⁷ Again, Tsafendas seems to be telling a doctor more than he ever said to his friends and certainly it was not because he trusted him.

Another significant issue is that Tsafendas got a job in the Parliament after he was examined by Dr. Kossew and found to be schizophrenic. According to Sidney Wiehand, a senior messenger who was present at Tsafendas’s interview, a person seeking such an appointment “must be of sober habits. He must be always neat, and then also we ask him if he’s got any sickness, or anything like that, then he must tell us. If so, then he must get a

²³²³ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

²³²⁴ Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³²⁵ Mary Cathleen Scott statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²³²⁶ Pamela Abrahams and Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016; Stratis Vamvarapis in a personal interview, 31 May 2016; Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015.

²³²⁷ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015; Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016; Stratis Vamvarapis in a personal interview, 31 May 2016.

report from the doctor that he is fit for duty.”²³²⁸ Tsafendas said nothing about the tapeworm or the mysterious deaths he had mentioned to Dr. Kossew just a month ago, and he was duly appointed. A second senior messenger who was also present at the interview, Petrus Schuin, described Tsafendas as an ordinary man, the “same as any other person that had worked there.”²³²⁹

In addition, in July 1966, just two months before the assassination, Tsafendas gave a seventy-five-minute interview to a reporter named N.D. Hartford of the *Cape Argus*. They had already met at the beginning of the year when Tsafendas came to the newspaper and enquired whether there was any news of the freedom fighters of Mozambique. He described himself as an “anti-Portuguese rebel and an antagonist of the Portuguese dictatorship.”²³³⁰ Hartford’s impression was that Tsafendas was normal; he had no reason to believe that he was mentally defective. According to Hartford, Tsafendas spoke fluently without any noticeable gaps in the conversation.²³³¹

Dr. Kossew also found Tsafendas unable to work either in the “open market” or in “sheltered employment” and capable only of subsidised labour. However, five of Tsafendas’s colleagues at Parliament were questioned by the police and the Commission of Enquiry and none of them said he was inefficient or incapable. Gerald Shaw, a reporter for *The Cape Times*, would testify the following day that he found Tsafendas’s work as a messenger not good enough. However, he would later state that he had only a “brief acquaintanceship” with Tsafendas and that he did not think he was insane. Interestingly, the incidents which made Shaw think that Tsafendas’s work was not good occurred on September 2 and September 6, both days when Tsafendas had planned to kill Dr. Verwoerd, to shoot him at a party on the 2nd then to stab him in Parliament on the 6th. We will examine both incidents in detail in his testimony that follows.

Tsafendas also worked as interpreter for the court in Durban for six-seven months. However, the overriding single fact that contradicted Dr. Kossew’s diagnosis regarding Tsafendas’s working abilities was that he worked for nearly six months as a teacher of English at the Limasollu Naci, the most prestigious private language college in Turkey.

²³²⁸ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²³²⁹ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²³³⁰ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.’ 7 September 1966: 3; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

²³³¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

Equally important is that Dr. Kossew examined Tsafendas just twenty minutes after the assassination and found him to be “calm” and not confused. Tsafendas did not mention the tapeworm again and Dr. Kossew did not make any note of Tsafendas being a schizophrenic.

CONCLUSION

Dr. Kossew’s testimony persuades us like no other testimony that Tsafendas could be found sane or insane whenever he wanted. He was examined at least three times by doctors to determine if he was healthy enough to be hired for a job and he was found to be healthy. He was examined twice by state doctors to assess if he was healthy and capable of working in South Africa in order to get permanent residence and he was found healthy and capable. On the other hand, when Tsafendas deemed it necessary to be found mentally or physically unable to work, he was duly found unfit. Since he was always perfectly well physically, Tsafendas could not pretend otherwise, and therefore had to demonstrate mental defects, which is precisely what he did.

Dr. Kossew stated that he came to his conclusions after an examination that lasted “a little bit longer than ten minutes,” and even though he was not a psychiatrist and therefore not an expert on the subject, still he declared Tsafendas to be schizophrenic. His diagnosis was accepted by the court and was taken seriously and accepted by Judge Beyers.

It is also noteworthy that Tsafendas told his defence team about Dr. Kossew’s examination, but not about the other ten examinations where he was found to be perfectly healthy. However, the South African police were aware of these examinations but none of them was used to challenge Dr. Kossew’s testimony.

Dr. Kossew diagnosed Tsafendas’s condition as permanent and his prognosis for him as “poor,” but how seriously can his testimony be taken? Here is a district surgeon and not a psychiatrist who examined a patient for “a little bit longer” than ten minutes and found him to be a schizophrenic; who came to his conclusions without looking at the patient’s medical records or receiving any other information about him; who admitted that he was not able to verify his patient’s words and therefore took them for granted. Is there any possibility that such a diagnosis would be taken seriously today in any modern courtroom? Or even being brought before such a court in the first place? However such a diagnosis was given serious consideration in apartheid South Africa.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 4: PETER HENRY DANIELS

INTRODUCTION

The fourth defence witness was Peter Daniels, Helen Daniels's brother. Although Helen lived in the same house as Tsafendas for fifty days, while her brother did not, Helen was not chosen as a defence witness while Peter Daniels was. Helen had written to Tsafendas when he was in Durban asking him to meet and marry her. She wrote five letters to him and sent a photograph of herself. Tsafendas travelled from Durban to Cape Town at her invitation, having replied that he wanted to meet her but to wait before making any commitment.

The defence lawyers spoke to Helen but she was not asked to testify to the court, presumably because she had told the police on September 15 that she had "not noticed anything abnormal" about Tsafendas and "there was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal."²³³² Instead, they asked Peter Daniels and his wife, Merle to give evidence, as neither of them had been questioned by the police. They agreed to do so in order to save Tsafendas's life. Peter Daniels's testimony was followed by that of his wife, Merle. Peter Daniels had also been interviewed by the *Post* and the *Sunday Times*, on September 18, 1966, and had lied about his sister's relationship with Tsafendas. He said it was Tsafendas who pursued Helen, writing to her and asking her to marry him,²³³³ while in reality it was the other way around.

PETER DANIELS'S TESTIMONY²³³⁴

MEETING TSAFENDAS AND HIS STAY IN HIS MOTHER'S HOUSE

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When did you see Tsafendas for the first time?

P. DANIELS: On the 28th August, 1965, Tsafendas knocked at my mother's door and in her kitchen the first time I saw Tsafendas.

²³³² Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

²³³³ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5; Winter, 'I Jilted Tsafendas, Says Coloured Girl', *The Post*, 18 September 1966: 1.

²³³⁴ Peter Daniels's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you know he was coming?

P. DANIELS: I did not know that he was coming.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: But did you know about him?

P. DANIELS: I had never heard of him before.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he come to your place?

P. DANIELS: He had a correspondence with my sister, Ellen, who is at present in this great ministry.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In which part of the house did he live?

P. DANIELS: He stayed in the front room in my mother's house.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you charge him any lodging?

P. DANIELS: We never charged him any lodging until the day that he went to work. From then on my dad spoke to him, but before that he never paid a penny.

IN CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And did I understand correctly that he never paid for board and lodging?

P. DANIELS: Not while he was not working. But when he started to work my dad spoke to him, and then he contributed something towards the house, towards the family.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Were you satisfied with his contribution?

P. DANIELS: My dad was.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you have much to do with him? Did you see him often?

P. DANIELS: All his free time he spent in my house. Most of his free time, shall I say.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I want you to make one thing clear to the Court. Your religious group, do you believe in putting up members who come to visit a town?

P. DANIELS: We fully believe if a brother is a brother, irrespective of his race, we fully

accept him as a brother, because we believe that was from the beginning in the Lord Jesus.

COMMENTS ON P. DANIELS'S ABOVE TESTIMONY

Peter Daniels testified that he was not aware of Tsafendas coming to his mother's house and that he had never heard of him before. He refers to Tsafendas's correspondence with his sister, but does not reveal anything else about it. Furthermore, the exchanges between himself and Advocate Cooper imply that Tsafendas was uninvited and accepted into the house for humanitarian reasons. That is entirely inaccurate. Helen Daniels, had testified to the police on September 15, 1966, that:

“During April 1965 I was visiting friends in Boksburg. There I learned of Demitrio Tsafendas. It was told to me that they would want me to meet him, he's a nice man. I never met him and later returned to Cape Town. When I was in Cape Town, I thought to correspond with him and wrote to my friends to find out his address ... Other friends of mine went on holiday to Durban and I then wrote a letter to Tsafendas and asked my friends to give this to him. Our preacher is in Durban and I hoped to trace Tsafendas through the church. ... I wrote my letter during the June holidays in 1965 and received a reply from him on July 10, 1965. I wrote in my letter that I would like to meet and wanted to marry him. His answer was that he wanted to meet me first before giving me a positive answer. I wrote to him again - four letters – all of which he answered. I sent him a picture, but he did not send me one in return. He sent word that he would come to Cape Town for our church conference - it would be in November 1965. I lived with my parents and on August 28, 1965 - he arrived at my parents' house ... We had a spare room and gave him lodging.”²³³⁵

Peter Daniels made no mention of the fact that his sister wrote five letters to Tsafendas, sent him her picture and asked him to meet and marry her. The fact that Tsafendas replied that he wanted to meet her first, as most sensible men would do, he also omitted. Is it possible that Peter Daniels was unaware of these facts? It is not impossible, but must be highly unlikely. First, Peter and his sister lived next door to each other and the whole family was very close. Patrick O’Ryan and Richard Poggenpoel, good friends of the Daniels family, were aware of the situation,²³³⁶ so one would expect a brother to be, too. Even if he was ignorant of the truth before the assassination, he must have become aware of it after Helen's

²³³⁵ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

²³³⁶ Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013.

interview by the police, when she freely set out the facts. After the police interview, Helen Daniels went into seclusion with friends and did not appear in public up to the trial.

Why, if he knew about it, would Peter Daniels not mention the marriage proposal? Most likely because he felt it would be embarrassing for his sister if the world learned that she wanted to marry the man who assassinated Dr. Verwoerd, and that it was she and not Tsafendas who initiated the relationship. This was not the first time that Daniels concealed the truth about his sister's relationship with Tsafendas. On September 18, 1966, in interviews with the *Post* and the *Sunday Times*, he declared wrongly that it was Tsafendas who had pursued Helen, writing to her several times after obtaining her address from a fellow member of the Christian Church.²³³⁷ As we have seen, the reality was the exact reverse. It should also be mentioned here that Peter and Helen Daniels had asked Gordon Winter, the *Post* journalist who wrote the article to not mention the fact that Helen was a preacher of the Christian Church because it "would bring disgrace" on the Church.²³³⁸

Daniels also erred in the interview by saying Tsafendas came from Johannesburg when he had travelled from Durban. He said Tsafendas was accepted in the house because he had nowhere to stay and because he was a member of their Church, with again no mention of Helen's proposal. He also claimed that their meeting "did not result in a great friendship ... Helen was not interested in marriage."²³³⁹

²³³⁷ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5; Winter, 'I Jilted Tsafendas, Says Coloured Girl', *The Post*, 18 September 1966: 1.

²³³⁸ Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes; Gordon Winter in a personal interview with Dr. James Sanders on behalf of the author, 19 August 2016.

²³³⁹ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5.

It is understandable that Peter Daniels would try to protect his sister's reputation. However, his concealment of the facts and the exchanges between Daniels and Advocate Cooper gave the impression that Tsafendas had turned up at the house out of the blue and was allowed to stay for reasons of Christian charity. That his sister asked to meet Tsafendas and even proposed marriage is not revealed at all during the trial. The Helen Daniels-Tsafendas connection has further significant implications. Daniels was a highly respected minister in her Church and the way she heard about Tsafendas suggests that he was held in high esteem by the Church members who recommended him. The fact that Daniels went to considerable trouble to get in touch with him, attempting to find his address, sending him a letter with a friend of hers and then sending him four more letters and a picture of hers, implies that she expected to meet a good man who was warmly recommended by her friends in Boksburg. Patrick O'Ryan, too, had heard good things about Tsafendas, having heard him praised by fellow Christians as a "highly cultured gentleman, a very refined gentleman who speaks seven languages."²³⁴⁰

That the Attorney-General would make no attempt to challenge Peter Daniels's testimony by using his sister's statement suggests that he was not in possession of it or that he simply allowed a lie to prevail in order to miserportray Tsafendas.

TSAFENDAS'S APPEARANCE

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How was Tsafendas dressed when you saw him for the first time?

P. DANIELS: He impressed me as a man shabbily dressed, poorly dressed.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Describe his clothing.

P. DANIELS: I can remember fully the day he arrived he had on a brown suit, a black jersey with a hole right in front, a big brown hat. He was shabbily dressed.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What impression did it make upon you, his appearance?

P. DANIELS: He impressed me as a poor man.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Tell us what his habits were. Was he a clean man, a neatly dressed man?

²³⁴⁰ Patrick O' Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

P. DANIELS: Well, during the weeks he impressed me as a shabby man. He never impressed me as careful about his way of dress. He never impressed me as a man who was careful about himself.

COMMENTS ON P. DANIELS'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S APPEARANCE

Tsafendas was indeed a poor man, but the majority of witnesses questioned by the police stated that he was nevertheless clean and neatly dressed. Only four witnesses out of two hundred who were questioned by the police and the Commission testified in negative terms about Tsafendas's way of dressing. One of them was Helen Daniels: "I lived with my parents and on August 28, 1965, he arrived at my parents' house. When I saw him, his clothes were dirty and neglected and I had a very bad impression of him. However, I received him with friendliness. He said he was in Cape Town looking for work and his belongings are at the station. My brother went to fetch his belongings from one of the Cape stations. When the belongings came, (there were two suitcases and a bunch of pots and pans and a large bundle of dirty laundry) I was very disappointed when I saw the state of his property."²³⁴¹

Three other witnesses made similar statements. Nickolas Nel, who had an argument with Tsafendas when they worked at F.A. Poole Engineering, testified that he "had a messy and dirty appearance,"²³⁴² landlady Wilhelmina de Vos described Tsafendas as "dirty,"²³⁴³ and Gillian Claire Lieberman, personnel secretary at the Marine Diamond Corporation, told the police that Tsafendas had "dirty, sloppy clothes."²³⁴⁴ However, she and Nel had only seen Tsafendas at work, where rough clothes would be normal. Although Lieberman described Tsafendas's clothing as sloppy and dirty, she said, "I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation, but a strange type of person, a unique character. Apart from him being well-travelled etc., I got the impression that he was physically different in dress and appearance. He was a big man, with a particularly striking big hat, stainless steel teeth, sloppy, dirty clothing."²³⁴⁵ She characterised him as "different" not mad.

²³⁴¹ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

²³⁴² Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³⁴³ Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³⁴⁴ Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³⁴⁵ Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Most of the witnesses questioned by the police said Tsafendas was neat, clean and well-dressed. They included:

- South Africa Police Col. van Wyk, who reported from Rhodesia and Mozambique on interviews with people in those countries who knew Tsafendas. His report stated that Tsafendas “was always neatly dressed.”²³⁴⁶
- Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas’s landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry about Tsafendas: “It was a serviced room but I found him making his own bed. When he came to me he was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman. When he paid me, he had a bundle of notes and I took him to be a man of means.”²³⁴⁷
- Ian Boswell testified that Tsafendas was “at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute.”²³⁴⁸
- Gideon Cloete, an official at the Department of Labour, testified that Tsafendas “was neatly dressed and had a clean appearance.”²³⁴⁹
- Jacobus Bormman, a one-time flatmate of Tsafendas, observed that “according to my observation, Tsafendas was a gentle person. He was neat in his person, but his eating habits were not up to scratch.”²³⁵⁰
- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour in Cape Town, interviewed Tsafendas twice. He testified to the police that Tsafendas was “neatly dressed” and he “never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally.”²³⁵¹
- Redvers Quintin Wakfer worked with Tsafendas for six weeks at the Power Station in

²³⁴⁶ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²³⁴⁷ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

²³⁴⁸ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

²³⁴⁹ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas’s summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

²³⁵⁰ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³⁵¹ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

Cape Town and he was 'neatly dressed.'²³⁵²

- Edward Furness testified that Tsafendas "was well-dressed and appeared to be wealthy."²³⁵³
- Katerina Pnema, his half-sister, testified that Tsafendas "was well dressed and gave a good appearance," although as far as she could see, he had no visible means of support.²³⁵⁴ She later stated that Tsafendas was always well dressed and she never saw him wearing dirty clothes except when he was coming back from work.²³⁵⁵
- Mary Scott was Tsafendas's landlady in Cape Town for two months in 1966. She told the police, "His clothing however was clean and always tidy."²³⁵⁶
- Sidney Wiehand, a senior messenger at the House of Assembly was one of three messengers who interviewed Tsafendas. He said that in order to be hired, a messenger "must always be neat," indicating that Tsafendas fitted that description.²³⁵⁷

The author asked forty-six witnesses who knew Tsafendas well about the way he was dressed. Only two of them, Andreas Babiolakis and Costas Poriazis, said that they once saw Tsafendas looking neglected and wearing a torn shirt. However, that was on the day he was released from jail in Beira in February 1965. Having just spent several days in a prison cell, wearing the same clothes every day and being beaten up, he could hardly have appeared otherwise. Both witnesses said this was the only time they saw Tsafendas looking less than perfectly dressed.²³⁵⁸ None of the rest said Tsafendas was of a dirty or neglected appearance. Indeed, the vast majority remembered him as dressing well and looking like a gentleman. It is not possible to reproduce here forty-six statements that contradict Dr. Cooper's view. The following are only from those who knew Tsafendas well:

²³⁵² Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA; Redvers Quintin Wakfer statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub File: 1/5, Subject Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

²³⁵³ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³⁵⁴ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²³⁵⁵ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²³⁵⁶ Mary Kathleen Scott statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³⁵⁷ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²³⁵⁸ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

Without quoting everyone's statement about Tsafendas, the study offers these words from people who knew him well:

- Father Nikola Banovic in 1961, lived in the same house as Tsafendas for four months and in a house next door for another two or three months. He saw Tsafendas virtually every day and says he was “always a very clean person and well-dressed, wearing a different hat each day.”²³⁵⁹
- Allan O’Ryan lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept being in touch for another year. He remembers Tsafendas being always “very well-dressed. Firstly, he always went out in a suit. He had a grey striped suit that he always wore. He was *always* very smart when he left the house. That I picked up – that he always looked very business-like. He was never casual about his dress. And his hair, though it was crinkly, it was neatly brushed. He was always well-dressed and he seemed to be going on business or going out for the day. And even the people in the street got to know him and greeted him as a man of... you know, as a distinguished gentleman, because of the way he dressed.” However, O’Ryan also stated that Tsafendas had some messy manners. He said “for example, sometimes, when he did bathe, the bathroom would be wet. The floor would be wet, the way he had splashed the water. And I remember my mum, she complained once or twice, you know, ‘When Dimi has finished bathing, then I have to clean the floor of the bathroom.’”²³⁶⁰
- Joyce Dick, one of Helen Daniels’s best friends at the time, stated to the author that whenever she saw Tsafendas, “he was always very neatly dressed.”²³⁶¹
- Reuben O’Ryan lived with Tsafendas in the same house for five months and kept in touch with him for another year. He said Tsafendas “was always very clean and well-dressed, apart from when he was coming home from work. That was the only time I saw him wearing dirty clothes. He always wore nice clothes; he was a clean person and always shaved.”²³⁶²
- Stanley O’Ryan lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept being in touch for another year. He remembers Tsafendas as “clean and well-dressed

²³⁵⁹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²³⁶⁰ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

²³⁶¹ Joyce Dick in a personal interview, 6 August 2016.

²³⁶² Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

person.”²³⁶³

- Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas's first cousin, knew him since he was five years old and grew up with him in Mozambique. She spent a lot of time with him in Pretoria in 1964, when they occupied the same house for two or three months. She insists that Tsafendas was always well-dressed and clean. She was impressed by his suits and Tsafendas told her that most of them were bought in Europe. “He was always well-dressed, very often wearing a hat, and was a very clean person. “He was very fussy with clean hands when he was a child, and I think he was also like this when he grew up, but I can't remember for sure.”²³⁶⁴
- Tsafendas lived in Fotini Gavasiadis's and her husband's house for a few weeks, then for the next eight months in an apartment next to hers. Throughout this period in Pretoria in 1963-1964, they were very close; she saw and talked to him every day and they worked together in her brother's café. She told the author that it is “nonsense” to say Tsafendas was not well-dressed or dirty, that in fact he always very well dressed and clean. “Sometimes it took him longer than it took me to get ready, trying to find a more suitable hat or tie. He adored hats and ties. He never wore the same clothes for two days in a row and when it was hot he would even change twice per day. He adored hats and ties.”²³⁶⁵
- Ira Kyriakakis, who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques and remained a lifelong friend, described as “absolutely absurd” claims that Tsafendas was not well-dressed and clean. “He was always very well dressed; since he was a child. He looked like a gentleman. He used to wear hats he had bought from all over the world. He loved hats and he must have had tens of them. He came back to Lourenço Marques in the 1960s and brought me a hat for a present from Lisbon.”²³⁶⁶
- Helen Grispos was another who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques, and her mother was the best friend of Tsafendas's step-mother. “He was always very well dressed, even as a child; his step-mother always looked after him. When he visited us in the 1960s, I remember he wore a big hat he said he had bought somewhere in Europe. I don't remember what he was wearing, but I remember the hat. It was very distinctive. He

²³⁶³ Stanley O' Ryan in a personal interview, 9 April 2015.

²³⁶⁴ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²³⁶⁵ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

²³⁶⁶ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

was certainly well-dressed.”²³⁶⁷

- Irene Michaletos met Tsafendas in 1964 in Beira and saw him often until 1965. She remembers him being always well dressed and clean.²³⁶⁸
- Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousins, first met him in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him well between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique. They both remember Tsafendas being “always well dressed and clean.”²³⁶⁹
- Andreas Babiolakis knew Tsafendas since they were children and had lived in the same house as him in Beira for about two-three months. He finds the thought that Tsafendas had a dirty and neglected appearance as “absurd.” He recalls that Tsafendas “had a shower every morning when he woke and in the evening when he returned from work. He believed that he sweated in the night, so he had one in the morning.”²³⁷⁰
- Costas Chagios, a Cape Town café owner, got to know Tsafendas on a friendly basis in 1965 when Tsafendas walked into his restaurant. In the year up to his arrest in 1966, Tsafendas visited the restaurant more than fifty times. Chagios remembers Tsafendas being always well dressed and clean.²³⁷¹
- Alexandra Vaporidis knew Tsafendas for about six months in Istanbul. She was impressed by his many hats and remembers that a lot of people commented about how neatly Tsafendas dressed. “I remember him coming to the church always wearing a tie.”²³⁷²
- Peter Protoulis was a supplier of foodstuffs to the tanker *Eleni*. He met Tsafendas on board and says, “I was very impressed by the way he was dressed. He always wore a suit and very often a tie and a hat. I never show him wearing the same clothes two days in a row.”²³⁷³
- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott's boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest. He recalls Tsafendas

²³⁶⁷ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

²³⁶⁸ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

²³⁶⁹ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

²³⁷⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

²³⁷¹ Costas Hagios in a personal interview, 24 March 2015.

²³⁷² Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

²³⁷³ Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 3 August 2016.

being well dressed and clean, often wearing suits and hats.²³⁷⁴

- Peter Peroglou and his wife Pamela Abrahams ate at the same place as Tsafendas for two or three months in 1966 and they remember him as always well dressed and very courteous.
- Nick Augustides is the son of the owner of Mike's Outfitters in Cape Town, for whom Tsafendas worked on commission for about two months in 1966. He knew Tsafendas for three-four months and remembers him as "a well-dressed man."²³⁷⁵
- Miltiades Kaldis knew Tsafendas for about a year, having met him in 1965 in Cape Town. He remembers him "looking clean and well-dressed."²³⁷⁶

²³⁷⁴ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

²³⁷⁵ Nick Augustides in a personal interview, 19 February 2016.

²³⁷⁶ Miltiades Kaldis in a personal interview, 12 March 2016.

- The thirteen *Eleni* crewmen were impressed with the way Tsafendas dressed. He told some of them that most of his suits were bought in Europe a few years ago and that he had not bought any new clothes since he returned to South Africa.²³⁷⁷

In Europe, Horst Hartmann, senior personnel officer at the heavy engineering company Fries and Son in Frankfurt, where Tsafendas worked as a welder, said in a newspaper interview, “He drove up here in a big, battered American car. I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man. He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman ... he made a good impression and he spoke good German, so I took him on... we liked him ... always laughing, a good worker.” Tsafendas “left on his own wish” although Hartmann “would have liked to keep him.”²³⁷⁸

Personal appearance is a subjective matter. What is sloppy and dirty to one person may be casual and comfortable to another. It is germane that Tsafendas was a poor man, who often lived in basic lodgings, possibly without the facilities to wash his clothes. In addition, the kind of jobs he did, welder and fitter, would require rough working attire. The fact is only the four people noted above – Helen Daniels, Nel, de Vos and Lieberman - out of the two hundred the police and the Commission of Enquiry interviewed and another seventy-one interviewed by the author, testified that Tsafendas was dirty. The vast majority not only disagreed, but stated that Tsafendas was neatly dressed.

TSAFENDAS’S “STRANGE” HABITS AND SOME “STRANGE” INCIDENTS

TSAFENDAS AND HIS HAT

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Can you remember any incidents, any things that happened, in which he featured?

P. DANIELS: Are you talking about his strange habits now?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Yes.

P. DANIELS: I can remember Tsafendas, seeing him sitting at my dad’s table, coming from

²³⁷⁷ Kleanthis Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

²³⁷⁸ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, ‘The Assassin’, 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

work one day, with a hat on. He still had his overcoat on. He was reading his paper at the table with his hat on. And I can remember me taking him to my mother-in-law in Woodstock, and in this particular instance, as we walked down the passage I myself took off my hat, hanged it on the hanger, but he (Tsafendas) walked straight down the passage into my mother-in-law's kitchen. He never took his hat off.

Then we came back into the lounge and sat down in conversation, and he was now telling about his travels all over the world, and he never took his hat off yet. Then, as the conversation went on, tea was served, and at this time I thought that Tsafendas would now take his hat off, but as tea was served he rather adjusted himself much better in his seat, pulling the collar of his coat up, and pulling his hat further down on to his head, which gave me a very poor impression of the man. Shall I say that to my mind I now thought this man was mentally affected.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Do you normally with your friends, etc., behave normally and take your hat off when you are inside?

P. DANIELS: We respect our friends with great diligence, and as a body of Christians we respect each other very highly.

COMMENTS ON P. DANIELS'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S HAT

According to P. Daniels, Tsafendas was mentally affected because he did not take off his hat inside his mother-in-law's house in Woodstock. Daniels had referred to this incident when he was interviewed by Gordon Winter of the *Post* on September 18. He said that Tsafendas was "a genuinely religious man who did not smoke, drink or use bad language," but behaved "very oddly" at times, though he did not suggest that he was mad or "not at all there," as his wife would soon claim in court. What did Tsafendas do which was very odd? "Normally well-mannered," Tsafendas had "astounded the family when he once wore his hat throughout a tea party at a friend's home."²³⁷⁹

For a man to wear a hat in someone's home would be considered rude in most cultures, but few would describe a person who committed such a breach of etiquette as mentally affected. According to several witnesses, Tsafendas always wore a hat. Johanna Hendrieka Mulrenan, Tsafendas's landlady said he "never removed his big hat and wore a

²³⁷⁹ Winter, 'I Jilted Tsafendas, Says Coloured Girl', *The Post*, 18 September 1966: 1.

coat all the time.” However, she did not take it as a sign of mental deficiency.²³⁸⁰

Hats were a Tsafendas trademark. He had many and would wear a different one each day. According to Katerina Pnema, Tsafendas began wearing hats when he was a teenager after Russian sailors in Lourenço Marques gave him one which was supposed to be similar to the hat worn by Vladimir Lenin. Tsafendas would buy a hat from each country he visited. He even bought a *bonnet rouge*, the soft red cap associated with the French Revolution, though he never wore it.²³⁸¹ According to Father Nikola Banovic, Katerina Pnema, Ira Kyriakakis, Andreas Babiolakis and Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas often wore a hat, especially on those occasions when his hair would not succumb to control by brush and comb. However, none of them ever remembers him wearing a hat indoors.²³⁸² Also, none of the two hundred or so witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission referred to anything of the sort, suggesting that this occasion was a one-off and Tsafendas might have had a good reason for keeping his hat on.

The following incident described to the police by his flatmate Jacobus Bornman demonstrates Tsafendas’s concern for his headgear: “On Tsafendas’s wardrobe were paper bags and on top of the paper bags were three of his hats. I reached up to a paper bag to put in certain items of clothing. When I reached for the paper bag on top of his closet, he leaped swiftly from where he lay on his bed reading. When I saw, Tsafendas stood beside me. It surprised me to see how quickly he could move since he had a big and clumsy posture and I believed that he was a lazy person. I asked him why he jumped up so quickly and he said he was afraid I would knock his hats from the closet.”²³⁸³

²³⁸⁰ Johanna Hendrieka Mulrenan statement to the COE, 26 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

²³⁸¹ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²³⁸² Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²³⁸³ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Tsafendas is not the only person who wore a hat indoors. It is generally considered to be impolite to do so, however a lot of people are doing it, mostly because of stylistic issues. For example British MP and Respect Party leader George Galloway is famous for constantly wearing a fedora hat, even indoors, and it is considered to be his trademark style. Galloway has worn hat in indoor public speeches, public lectures etc.²³⁸⁴ Johnny Depp and Steven Spielberg often wear a hat indoors, as can be seen in their publicity photos. A long-established British strip cartoon character, Andy Capp, a typical working man, wears his cap at all times, including in bed, and Thomas Magnum, from the 1980s television series, *Magnum p.i.*, wears a baseball cap indoors. None of these characters, real or fictional, ever succumbed to mental illness. It could be argued that manners change over the years. However, whatever the strictures of the time, wearing a hat indoors could be considered a sign of rudeness, but certainly not of insanity.

However shocked Peter Daniels may have appeared, Helen Daniels did not say anything about the hat incident, since presumably she did not find it strange. In fact, she testified that “besides his messy ways, I did not notice anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal.”

Once again, the Attorney-General could have challenged this testimony since Daniels’s sister had not noticed “anything abnormal” and “there was never any indication” that Tsafendas was “mentally abnormal.” The fact that Daniels had lived under the same roof as Tsafendas and knew him better than her brother adds value to her testimony.

P. DANIELS ON OTHER “STRANGE” INCIDENTS BY TSAFENDAS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Any other strange incidents that you recall?

P. DANIELS: There are many instances that we can recall of Tsafendas. There is an instance now where one hot day he tried to cool the fowls off, which proves to me that he was also mentally deranged.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he try to cool the fowls off?

P. DANIELS: He got hold of the hosepipe and tried to cool the fowls down, because he thought that they were hot, too. (Laughter in Court.)

²³⁸⁴ Hadley Freeman, ‘A Man Refusing to Take his Hat Off Indoors? This Once, I Doff My Cap to George Galloway’, *The Guardian*, 1 June 2015; Frances Perraudin, ‘George Galloway Tweets his Intention to Run for London Mayor’, *The Guardian*, 28 May 2015.

JUDGE BEYERS: One does it with fowls when it gets hot. I keep fowls. When it gets very hot you may have to do it. They die if you don't, sometimes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Any other strange incidents?

P. DANIELS: There are instances when in our meetings, as we worship in our homes, he was one of the members in the gathering, and we as a rule each give our testimony as Christians, discussing the word of God, and he (Tsafendas) after he had said something, would put his Bible and hymn book down and be unconcerned about his surroundings, which impressed me too that this man is a strange man.

COMMENTS ON P. DANIELS'S TESTIMONY REGARDING OTHER "STRANGE" INCIDENTS

The Court's response to Tsafendas spraying water on the family chickens highlights the desperation of Peter Daniels's attempt to portray Tsafendas as mentally unbalanced. To his surprise and no doubt that of the defence team, the judge intervened to say that he kept chickens and it was sometimes necessary to cool them off in very hot weather. Thus what Tsafendas did, far from being insane, was the right thing to do and may have saved the lives of the birds.

The second incident, concerning Tsafendas's demeanour at a prayer gathering, defies analysis. That Tsafendas appeared "unconcerned about his surroundings" is neither here nor there and certainly in no way strange, even in a context of meditative prayer. The likelihood is that Peter Daniels knew perfectly well that none of these incidents meant Tsafendas had mental problems, but he did not have much else to say to support the defence's insanity claim. Patrick and Louisa O'Ryan were asked by Advocate Cooper to exaggerate stories about Tsafendas to "get him free."²³⁸⁵ It is very likely that Peter Daniels was asked to do the same, especially since Helen, who knew Tsafendas better, was not asked to testify.

TSAFENDAS'S EATING HABITS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Can you tell us anything about his eating habits?

P. DANIELS: Yes. There is a very incident that will go down with me in all my life. This was the day of the morning when Tsafendas left us. It was round about 7 o'clock the morning

²³⁸⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Patrick O'Ryan in *A Question of Madness*; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

when this knock came at our door. My wife and myself got up. As a matter of fact, she got up before me. And here was Tsafendas with a parcel under his arm, a parcel of meat, eggs and some other victuals, and blood dripping down his coat. He was unconcerned about that. The next thing he was looking for a stove and a pan. The wife handed it over to him, showed him the stove, gave him the pan. He started, without washing this meat that he had - just gave it a shake, and into the pan it went. And before it was even done, Tsafendas got a plate from the wife and settled down to this big meal. We surmised it was approximately two to three pounds of T-bone steak. On this particular morning I can well remember

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was it just meat, or what else did he have?

P. DANIELS: There were meat and eggs and tomatoes and onions. It was all in one dish. And then Tsafendas settled down to this great plate of meat, and I was sitting next to the table, looking at the man, and as he dug into it, I could hear him chewing away.

JUDGE BEYERS: What did you expect him to do except chew at his T-bone steak? Did you expect him to swallow it whole?

P. DANIELS: The way he settled down to it - he settled down to it like a dog.

JUDGE BEYERS: He really enjoyed this T-bone steak?

P. DANIELS: He really and thoroughly settled down to this meat. (Laughter.)

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You say he settled down to it like a dog?

P. DANIELS: Really and truly getting his teeth into it.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Had you seen a human being behave like this before?

P. DANIELS: Not in all my life.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he eat it - with a knife and fork?

P. DANIELS: He first started off with knife and fork, after he was finished he dug in, two hands and all. And he was dirty as far as of the mouth here (indicates down outer edges) and then he told me personally - my wife was present - "Pete", he told me, "I am making a pig of myself", and I told him I could see it.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did he say, why was he eating this?

P. DANIELS: He said he had to feed the worms.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How many could have fed off this food that he consumed in this

way?

P. DANIELS: Easy two people.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: On any other occasion did he bring food?

P. DANIELS: There was an occasion in my dad's house. I saw the half a sheep that Tsafendas brought in there, and I believe the family said that on this day also blood was dripping from the meat on to his clothes, which he was unconcerned about. There was another occasion when he came with approximately half a cheese and a full liver poloney. And all these things were queer to the family, because we are not accustomed to things like that.

COMMENTS ON P. DANIELS'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S EATING HABITS

Peter Daniels claimed that Tsafendas had messy eating ways and that he ate a lot. This is something that several witnesses told the police, including his sister, but no one found anything sinister about that, including Helen Daniels, who said, "besides his messy ways I did not notice anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal." Many people can eat sloppily and consume enough for two without being insane. Actor Marlon Brando and actor-writer-director Orson Welles famously ate hugely and messily. They were not mad.

What Peter Daniels did not mention about the morning that Tsafendas arrived in their house at seven o'clock, and subsequently cooked and ate such a big meal, was that Tsafendas had just come back from his night shift and therefore this was his dinner and not his breakfast. Naturally, when he worked on the night shift, he always used to eat his dinner after he finished work, which was very early in the morning; then he would go to sleep. He did exactly the same thing when he was at the O'Ryans' house, the Poggenpoels' and elsewhere. None of them thought it an act of madness or anything strange.²³⁸⁶ When was he supposed to eat his dinner, when he was working from six in the afternoon until six in the morning? People tend to eat after they finish work, no matter what time it is.

What Daniels also fails to explain adequately is that Tsafendas also brought food for the whole family, something his family was not accustomed to. Neither was the O'Ryan family when Tsafendas lived there but they saw it differently. Reuben O'Ryan told the

²³⁸⁶ Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013; Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

author: "He was the answer to our prayers. We were poor and he brought food to our house."²³⁸⁷ That Tsafendas did not wash his meat did not point to a lack of hygiene. The UK Food Standards Agency warns to not wash chicken before cooking it because bacteria in raw meat and poultry juices can spread to other foods, utensils, and surfaces.²³⁸⁸ Tsafendas probably knew that, having also lived in England; but even if he did not, many people do not wash meat because they believe all the bacteria dies in the cooking. Whatever the reason for not washing a chicken before you cook it, it certainly cannot be taken as a sign of insanity.

The strangest line in Daniels's testimony is his reference to "worms," not to a "worm," but to "worms," plural. The five psychiatrists, one district surgeon, one specialist physician and two psychologists who testified at the summary trial all said Tsafendas told them about a worm, one worm not many worms. The author is not in position to know why Daniels said worms and not worm. It could have been a slip of the tongue, or Daniels misheard Tsafendas, or Tsafendas misspoke saying worms when he meant worm, or Daniels mention the word in order to support the defence's line, as Patrick O'Ryan would do. It is possible, though highly unlikely, that Tsafendas mentioned "worms" to Peter Daniels but not to the other members of the family.

It is also possible that Peter Daniels might have heard about the tapeworm at Patrick O'Ryan's house, when Tsafendas joked with him as he had done with Louisa O'Ryan. A further possibility exists, that Patrick O'Ryan asked Daniels, who was a good friend, to mention the word in court in the same way that he was urged to do by Advocate Cooper. It is also equally possible that Advocate Cooper himself asked Daniels to refer to it in his testimony, as he had the O'Ryan's to do. Tsafendas often made play of the tapeworm with the O'Ryan children, demonstrating what happened when it became hungry, and as we have seen, he staged such a performance once after a prayer gathering,²³⁸⁹ when the Daniels must have been present.

²³⁸⁷ Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

²³⁸⁸ Rebecca Smithers, 'Don't Wash Chicken Before Cooking it, Warns Food Standards Agency', *The Guardian*, 16 June 2014.

²³⁸⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

TSAFENDAS'S INTEREST IN WOMEN

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Do you know if he was interested in any woman while he was staying with you?

P. DANIELS: Yes. Not with us, but we learned afterwards that he was.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he discuss his matrimonial problems with you?

P. DANIELS: Not with me.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: He is not married, is he?

P. DANIELS: He is not married.

COMMENTS ON P. DANIELS'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S INTEREST IN WOMEN

Again, Peter Daniels does not mention anything regarding his sister's proposition to Tsafendas regarding marriage. He must surely have known about his sister writing letters to Tsafendas, who then arrived at the Daniels house specifically to meet her. Daniels's parents naturally knew about it.

TSAFENDAS'S RACIAL PREFERENCES

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Whose company did he prefer, Coloured or white, while he was staying with you?

P. DANIELS: He preferred to be amongst the Coloured community.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was there any discussion about the identification card?

P. DANIELS: Yes. He said he would like to be among the Coloured community, make himself a Coloured man, so that he can easily be accepted, because he said he was really never accepted among the white folk, and for that reason he make application to be made a European, but that was refused him, and afterwards he told ...

JUDGE BEYERS: You mean to be declared a non-European?

P. DANIELS: A non-European.

JUDGE BEYERS: To be declared a Coloured man?

P. DANIELS: He preferred to be a non-European. But that was refused, because it was told him that there are more privileges on the other side.

COMMENTS ON P. DANIELS'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S RACIAL PREFERENCES

Peter Daniels here directly contradicts the conclusion Dr. Cooper arrived at after examining Tsafendas, that he was "unsympathetic towards the Coloureds and the Natives." If he was unsympathetic towards the Coloureds and the Natives, he would hardly have preferred to live with them and even apply for reclassification as Coloured.

TSAFENDAS'S INTENTION TO START A BUSINESS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: He was unemployed. Did he ever discuss with you starting any businesses or anything like that?

P. DANIELS: Yes. He discussed with me of putting up such a tremendous business where all could have - in other words, what can I term this - do-it-yourself workshop, where people can come to him and they can either fix their cars or make their furniture or do anything, and make it your own shop. He had that in mind. And the next thing he would tell us he is going away. That to me was very strange, that a man talking about settling down in a place and the very next moment talk about going away. That also proves to me that this man was not altogether.

COMMENTS ON P. DANIELS'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S INTENTION TO START A BUSINESS

The fact that Tsafendas suddenly changed his mind about starting a business suggested to Peter Daniels that Tsafendas "was not altogether." There are many reasons why Tsafendas may have considered such a move then changed his mind. He may have thought things might work out between him and Helen and that a do-it-yourself workshop would support them in married life. Perhaps he decided that it would not work with Helen and it was best to put the episode behind him. He could then hardly stay on in the Daniels household when no relationship eventuated with Helen. What seems most plausible is that Daniels was aware of

all this and was just trying to find support for the notion that Tsafendas “was not altogether.”

P. DANIELS’S OVERALL IMPRESSION OF TSAFENDAS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What then is your overall impression that you have of Tsafendas?

P. DANIELS: Well, my own words at one time were “This man is mad.”

JUDGE BEYERS: I am interested. When did you have occasion to say this, and why?

P. DANIELS: Because this man, the accused, would talk about doing a business, doing something, and never really getting to the actual thing. He would even start making a thing. I can remember at one instance he was very zealous in doing something for us - he even had the thing - and he just left it and never touched it again.

JUDGE BEYERS: When you used the words to yourself - did you say it to somebody or did you say it to yourself?

P. DANIELS: I said that to my brothers.

JUDGE BEYERS: “This man is mad”?

P. DANIELS: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: I am very interested. The reactions of the ordinary man may be very helpful. Did you mean mad in the sense of queer, off his rocker, or did you mean something else?

P. DANIELS: I meant that he was half off his rocker. He wasn’t altogether there, because a man in his full and true senses would never discuss nor would he have done the things which the accused has done.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How was his flow of speech?

P. DANIELS: He used to speak in a manner - he would speak a few words, then break off, and then continue with some other subject rather than the one he was talking about at the first.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In conversation, would Tsafendas stick to the point?

P. DANIELS: No. He would often wander from what he would say and he would oftentimes have ended up with, before he would finish a verse, “You know, Pete”, or “You know.” He used to get a blank spot in his mind. That was very often.

COMMENTS ON P. DANIELS'S TESTIMONY REGARDING HIS OVERALL IMPRESSION OF TSAFENDAS

Peter Daniels concluded that Tsafendas was mad because a “man in his full and true senses would never discuss nor would he have done the things” which Tsafendas did. However, from he has said, none of the things he mentions are things that a sane man would not do. That he kept his hat on in the house, had bad table manners and suddenly changed his mind about something do not suggest that he was insane.

Daniels also fails to explain what the “thing” was that Tsafendas was going to make for them, and neither the judge, the Attorney-General nor his own advocate asked him to clarify it. At the same time, Helen Daniels, who knew Tsafendas better than he did, flatly contradicted his view of Tsafendas’s sanity, saying that “besides his messy ways, I did not notice anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal. His stories about travelling abroad was interesting.”²³⁹⁰

Regarding Tsafendas’s flow of speech and the blank spots, this seems to be something that only Peter Daniels noticed. None of the two hundred people questioned by the police and the Commission of Enquiry mentioned anything like that. On the contrary, several people were impressed by the way Tsafendas talked:

- Gillian Claire Lieberman, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation, whose office Tsafendas often visited, “I had various discussions with him. I got quite interested in him as an individual. ... I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation.”²³⁹¹
- Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine to ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that he “never got the slightest impression

²³⁹⁰ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

²³⁹¹ Gillian Claire Lieberman statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers.”²³⁹²

- J. Willemse was Tsafendas’s landlord for one month in 1965. He characterised him as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.”²³⁹³
- Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for Mike’s Outfitters for forty-two days in July and August 1966, frequently driving him to the tanker *Eleni* while it was docked in Cape Town. Of Tsafendas, he told the police that he “never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers.”²³⁹⁴
- Patrick O’Ryan said “he was well-spoken and had good vocabulary.”²³⁹⁵
- August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria in 1964. He found him to be “very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease.”²³⁹⁶
- Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban appointed Tsafendas as a Portuguese and Greek interpreter. Rudolph used him “on several occasions” in a period of six months and “got to know him pretty well.” He testified that “I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and intelligent. He spoke English properly.”²³⁹⁷
- Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas’s landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry that Tsafendas “... was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman.”²³⁹⁸
- Johannes Aurets, Tsafendas’s supervisor at the South African Railways, told the

²³⁹² Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³⁹³ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

²³⁹⁴ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

²³⁹⁵ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²³⁹⁶ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²³⁹⁷ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²³⁹⁸ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

police Tsafendas “was a well-mannered and well-spoken person. He associated with those working with him. He was soft-spoken and appeared to be of a good nature. During the time he was employed under my supervision, i.e. for approximately three weeks, I did not see him being cross at any time. He was a good worker.”²³⁹⁹

- Helen Grispos grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques and her mother was Tsafendas’s step-mother best friend there described him to the police as “well-mannered and intelligent.”²⁴⁰⁰
- Lt. Col. P.J.B. van Wyk of the South African police interviewed several people in Rhodesia and in Mozambique, including in Beira and Lourenço Marques, who knew Tsafendas. He stated in his report that Tsafendas, “for all purposes, can be seen as a normal, intelligent person.”²⁴⁰¹
- Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Greek Consul in Beira “was often in the company of the subject and others had several conversations with him.” He considered Tsafendas to be “a normal and very intelligent person.”²⁴⁰²

None of the seventy-one witnesses interviewed by the author also mentioned anything like that. Two priests who met and talked with Tsafendas in prison and in hospital in the 1980s and the 1990s and who spent hundreds of hours with him are positive that he did not suffer from thought blocking, that he did not talk in a disjointed manner and that he was able to participate perfectly in a conversation with others.

Father Michalis Visvinis, who visited Tsafendas in prison very regularly for five years (1989-1994), and spent several hours talking with him, strongly denied to the author that there was anything wrong with the way Tsafendas spoke. He told the author:

“No, no, this is not true; he did not talk like this [in a disjointed manner]. He never spoke like this with me, his speech was always absolutely fine. I felt that he [Tsafendas] needed to speak, so several times I would just let him speak. He enjoyed speaking and he could speak for hours. He always spoke like a normal man. [His speech] was perfectly articulate and logical, always very coherent. He never said anything to suggest he had a

²³⁹⁹ Johannes Jaconus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁴⁰⁰ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁴⁰¹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁴⁰² South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

mental problem or that he had any difficulty speaking or thinking and expressing himself properly. This comment is entirely false.”²⁴⁰³

Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis told the author:

“[Tsafendas] could speak for hours, telling you things about his life, his thoughts and his ideology, but he could also participate in a dialogue. We spoke for hours about politics, religion and history and he was one of the most knowledgeable people I ever met in all these subjects. He was very argumentative and insistent, especially about politics. He never got lost in the conversation and he would never drop a subject until I had agreed with him. He would never give up a conversation if you disagreed. He never, not even once, seemed to have difficulty expressing himself or talked incoherently. Every single time, everything he said made sense and was perfectly stated. I don’t believe for a moment that he could have talked in the way described by the psychiatrists unless he did it deliberately. He spoke and argued even better than most people. His speech and thought were perfectly fine.”²⁴⁰⁴

Tsafendas lived for five months at Patrick O’Ryan’s house and remained close to the family for another year. In this seventeen-month period, none of the family heard Tsafendas talking in a disjointed manner or saying anything that would make them doubt his sanity. During the summary trial, the whole family was convinced that Tsafendas was making it all up in order to escape the death penalty.²⁴⁰⁵ Allan O’Ryan told the author:

“I never experienced a disjointed conversation. It might have been a ploy on his part – again, in retrospect. So, the psychiatrist would bring in things like that and might even have been able to quote situations or questions that Tsafendas didn’t answer directly. But in my mind, retrospectively, I believe, because of his intelligence, and also not to give away what he wanted to do, there could have been a possibility that it was a ploy on the part of Tsafendas to *appear* disjointed in his train of thought.”²⁴⁰⁶

Mary Eintracht, his first cousin, who grew up with him in Egypt and Mozambique and was constantly with him for nine months in 1963-1964, said “Dimitri always spoke very well. He sounded like a very educated man. There was nothing wrong with his speech or his thoughts, both were excellent. He could argue with you for hours and hours about politics. He

²⁴⁰³ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

²⁴⁰⁴ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁴⁰⁵ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Stanley O’Ryan in a personal interview with the author, 9 April 2015.

²⁴⁰⁶ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

was very good with words and his brain was bigger than most people's."²⁴⁰⁷

Alexander Moumbaris spoke to Tsafendas for at least one hour every day for about three months in 1972 in Pretoria Prison. He flatly denied to the author that there was anything wrong with the way Tsafendas spoke. He told the author: "No, this is not true. He was not talking in a disjointed manner. I never heard him talking like this, neither in 1972 nor in 1996. He always spoke absolutely fine."²⁴⁰⁸

One of the strongest comments comes from Gavasiadis, who was with him every day for nine months in 1964. She said about Tsafendas:

"Dimitris could buy and sell you and he could do that at any time during a conversation, in the first ten minutes, then again after thirty minutes or an hour and then again after two hours. He wouldn't let you get up from the chair until he had made you agree with what he was saying, especially when talking politics ... He was very convincing and persuasive - he could turn black into white. If you disagreed with something with him, he would find a way to convince you that he is right and that you are wrong - even if you *know* that you are right and that he is wrong. If he made a mistake about something, he would turn things upside-down and at the end, he would even make you apologise to him...

In those nine months, I saw him and spoke to him every day and not even once did he appear to have an issue with his speech or his thoughts. He was always the same. We spent hours and hours talking and his speech was never incoherent, disjointed, blocked or whatever else, it was always perfect. He never gave me even the slightest indication that he might be having the issues you mentioned."²⁴⁰⁹

Gavasiadis was not the only one impressed by the way Tsafendas spoke. None of the crewmen from the *Eleni* ever got the impression that Tsafendas's speech was disjointed. In fact, they were impressed by the way he spoke.²⁴¹⁰ The seamen called him "Professor" because of his knowledge and mode of speech.²⁴¹¹ "We were all wondering how come he knew all these things. How could he be talking like this? He talked like a university

²⁴⁰⁷ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²⁴⁰⁸ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

²⁴⁰⁹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

²⁴¹⁰ Nick Augustides in a personal interview, 19 February 2016; Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015; Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

²⁴¹¹ Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

professor”, said Nikolaos Billis, one of the crew.²⁴¹² Another crew member, Michalis Vasilakis, said, “I can’t explain it, but I remember he had a very specific way of talking, using not very common, but absolutely correct words. He knew how to speak and how to pick up words. He was talking like a professor; this is what we used to say between us and what we called him ... He was a very knowledgeable man. No, his speech was definitely not disjointed, it was excellent.”²⁴¹³

In addition, Tsafendas worked in 1961 for six months as a teacher at the best private language college in Istanbul, the Limasollu Naci. He worked initially on trial basis where he was under observation for a week before he was appointed permanently. Obviously he successfully passed this stage as he remained as a teacher in the college for about six months. Mrs. Advije Vedia Limasollu, wife of Limasollu Naci, the proprietor, does not remember Tsafendas, but is positive that her husband would never have appointed or retained a teacher who talked in a disjointed manner.²⁴¹⁴ In fact, Mr. Naci became a very good friend of Tsafendas and spent a lot of time with him during these six months.²⁴¹⁵

For reasons of space, the study will list only a few of the witnesses who were interviewed by the author and stated that there was nothing wrong with Tsafendas’s speech:

- His half-sister Katerina Pnefma;²⁴¹⁶
- Father Nikola Banovic who lived with him at the same house for four months in 1961 and then lived right next to his house for another three;²⁴¹⁷
- His first cousin Mary Eintracht, who grew up with him and was constantly with him for nine months in 1964;²⁴¹⁸
- Ira Kyriakakis, who also grew up with him and spent a lot of time together in 1964 and 1965;²⁴¹⁹
- Andreas Babiolakis, who knew him since they were children, who lived him for two months in 1964 and associated with him for about a year then;²⁴²⁰

²⁴¹² Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011.

²⁴¹³ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

²⁴¹⁴ Advije Vedia Limasollu in a personal interview, 8 January 2016.

²⁴¹⁵ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 4 November 2015.

²⁴¹⁶ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁴¹⁷ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²⁴¹⁸ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²⁴¹⁹ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

²⁴²⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott's boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest;²⁴²¹
- Irene Michaletos, who was close to him for more than a year (1964-1965) and whose house he often visited;²⁴²²
- Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousins, who first met him in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him well between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique.²⁴²³
- Costas Poriазis who met him in 1965 in Beira;²⁴²⁴
- Alexandra Vaporidis, who knew him for about six months in Istanbul in 1961;²⁴²⁵
- Nick Papadakis, who lived under the same roof for two months and associated with him for another two months in Mozambique in 1964;²⁴²⁶
- George Liberopoulos met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963 and associated with him for a few weeks.²⁴²⁷
- Panagiotis Peroglou and Costas Chagios who were Tsafendas's friends in Cape Town for more than a year.²⁴²⁸

²⁴²¹ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

²⁴²² Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

²⁴²³ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

²⁴²⁴ Costas Poriазis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

²⁴²⁵ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

²⁴²⁶ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

²⁴²⁷ George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2015.

²⁴²⁸ Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015; Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

Finally, in July 1966, only a few weeks, after he was examined by Dr. Kossew, Tsafendas gave a seventy-five-minute interview to a journalist named N.D. Hartford on the *Cape Argus*. They had met earlier in the year when Tsafendas enquired whether there was any news of the freedom fighters of Mozambique. He described himself as an “anti-Portuguese rebel and an antagonist of the Portuguese dictatorship.”²⁴²⁹ Hartford’s impression was that Tsafendas was normal; he had no reason to believe that he was mentally defective and stated that Tsafendas spoke fluently without any noticeable gaps in the conversation.²⁴³⁰

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: The accused came from Durban, not so?

P. DANIELS: The accused told me he came from Durban by way of hitchhiking and by train from Port Elizabeth

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he come alone?

P. DANIELS: He came all alone.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I believe he had four suitcases with him?

P. DANIELS: Not four.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: How many?

P. DANIELS: I can remember him having one or two suitcases. He had with him a bundle of dirty washing and he had a bundle of tools with him. His welding kit he had with him,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you ever see him use the tools?

P. DANIELS: I never saw him use the tools.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Just give us the date again when he arrived at your home?

P. DANIELS: He arrived approximately Saturday midday, the 28th of August, 1965.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: It was not the 10th of July?

P. DANIELS: It was not on the 10th of July.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: The 28th August?

²⁴²⁹ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.’ 7 September 1966: 3; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

²⁴³⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

P. DANIELS: The 28th August, 1965.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And he lived in your house until the 16th of October?

P. DANIELS: October.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And did I understand correctly that he never paid for board and lodging?

P. DANIELS: Not while he was not working. But when he started to work my dad spoke to him, and then he contributed something towards the house, towards the family.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Were you satisfied with his contribution?

P. DANIELS: My dad was.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: For how long was he out of employment?

JUDGE BEYERS: Three weeks, the witness said.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he receive letters while he lived with you?

P. DANIELS: Yes. He received letters from - I think from Greece, this man John Micheletos,²⁴³¹ whom he knew so well, and from other correspondents which I don't know.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What was his address in Greece, do you know? Was it Athens?

P. DANIELS: I would not know what his address was.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You don't know whether he lived in Athens?

P. DANIELS: That I can't say, whether he was in Athens.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused also write letters?

P. DANIELS: He used to write letters himself.

COMMENTS ON THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S CROSS-EXAMINATION

²⁴³¹ This John Michaletos, Tsafendas's childhood friend who recruited him to the Democratic Army (DSE) during the Greek Civil War and spent the Christmas 1961 in his house in Athens.

Van den Berg's cross-examination of Peter Daniels sheds no new light on the case and does not attempt to challenge his testimony in the slightest. It demonstrates either his incompetence or ignorance of the information gathered by the police and therefore his inability seriously to challenge Daniels's testimony. One cannot help but wonder what was the purpose of this cross-examination and line of questioning. None of the points Daniels made was challenged. Instead, the Attorney-General asked about statements Daniels had already made, a point which the Court highlighted, or asked him irrelevant or unimportant questions such as how many suitcases Tsafendas had, whether he used his welding kit and if he received and wrote letters. Daniels twice said that Tsafendas arrived on August 28, 1965, but the Attorney-General still asked if it was July 10. What was the purpose of this question? Helen Daniels had testified to the police that Tsafendas arrived on August 28, 1965. Van den Berg did not suggest that August 28 might have been the wrong date, so why press this? Even if the date was wrong and Tsafendas had stayed for a longer or shorter period with the family, what difference would that have made to the case?

What highlights the pointlessness of this cross-examination is that the Attorney-General could easily have broken it down by using Helen Daniels's testimony to the police on September 15, 1966. Not only did she not mention any of the things which Peter Daniels mentioned, but she stated clearly that Tsafendas's behaviour was normal and that she had not "noticed anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal."²⁴³² Nothing at all would have changed in Peter Daniels's testimony if the cross-examination had not taken place, and it would have saved everyone some time.

TSAFENDAS AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DANIELS FAMILY

Peter Daniels and his family were not happy with Tsafendas, primarily because of his failure to form a relationship with Helen Daniels with a view to marriage. Helen had initiated the contact, stating frankly that she wanted to marry him. His first response, she said, was that "he wanted to meet me first before giving me a positive answer." When he did meet her, he clearly decided that he did not want to marry her. As she said in her statement to the police, "He also did not try to establish a relationship with me ... and he never discussed our

²⁴³² Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

relationship, thus I was happy that my earlier proposal died a silent death.”²⁴³³

Tsafendas appears to be logical and calculating in this business. He was careful to meet Helen Daniels in the flesh before deciding whether or not to marry her; deciding he did not wish to do so, he made no effort to establish a relationship with her. This seems perfectly sensible behaviour, perhaps beyond the reach a man who was “not altogether there.” Nevertheless, Tsafendas always spoke well of Helen Daniels and her family and never made reference to the marriage issue. He was grateful to them and in later years acknowledged the part he believed they played in saving his life by exaggerating the stories about him.

²⁴³³ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

CONCLUSION

There are three major points:

- Daniels conceals the fact that his sister pursued Tsafendas, writing to him and asking him to meet and marry her.
- Daniels claims that Tsafendas is mad because of some things he said and did, although all of these things could have been done by any normal man.
- The Attorney-General could have easily challenged, indeed broken down, Daniels's testimony, just by using the statement his sister gave to the police, but he did not do it.

Peter Daniels omitted from his testimony the fact that his sister wrote five letters to Tsafendas, including one with her picture, asking him to meet and marry. It was not the first time he had lied. In two interviews with the *Post* and the *Sunday Times* on September 18, 1966, he claimed that it was Tsafendas who pursued his sister, writing to her several times and that their meeting "did not result in a great friendship ... Helen was not interested in marriage."²⁴³⁴ It is understandable that Daniels tried to protect his sister from the inevitable negative reaction had it become known that she wrote letters to the man who assassinated the country's Prime Minister, asking him to meet and marry her.

However, there are wider implications as to the way Tsafendas is portrayed, since Daniels offers a picture of a homeless person who practically forced himself on the family or was offered bed and board for humanitarian reasons or because he was a fellow member of their Church. If Tsafendas was mad or even strange, Helen Daniels's friends would not have told her about him with the suggestion that she should meet him and marry him. Helen was a minister in their Church and her friends were also very religious and their view was that Tsafendas would be a good and suitable husband, indicating how highly they thought of him.

Some of the strange things Peter Daniels imputed to Tsafendas turned out not to be strange at all. The perfect example concerned Tsafendas spraying the family chickens with water to cool them in hot weather. Daniels believed Tsafendas was insane for doing so and Judge Beyers had to explain to him that this was a necessary procedure sometimes to save the birds' lives and that he personally did that, too.

²⁴³⁴ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5; Winter, 'I Jilted Tsafendas, Says Coloured Girl', *The Post*, 18 September 1966: 1.

That Tsafendas's actions during his stay with the Daniels family were perfectly normal is supported by Helen Daniels, who lived in the same house at the same time and later told the police that she had not "noticed anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal. His stories about travelling abroad was interesting."²⁴³⁵ If she thought Tsafendas was acting as a mad person, she would have told the police. What is more, she lived under the same roof as Tsafendas, which her brother did not.

What is most likely is that Daniels himself did not believe that the things Tsafendas said and did were crazy, and he was merely supporting the defence's line to get Tsafendas "free." Patrick O'Ryan and Louisa O'Ryan said they were asked by advocate Cooper to exaggerate some stories about Tsafendas and to "make sure to mention the tapeworm." The Daniels family, close friends of the O'Ryan, may well have been asked to do the same by Advocate Cooper. The fact that Helen Daniels, who knew Tsafendas better than her brother and played a more important role in his life, was not asked by the defence to testify while her brother and his wife were, also suggests that the defence's aim, and rightly so, was not to find someone who knew Tsafendas well, but someone who could support their line of argument.

Although Helen Daniels was not a suitable witness for the defence, she surely was for the State. She had lived in the same house as Tsafendas for about fifty days, she had corresponded with him and she had asked him to marry her. In addition to this, she had testified to the police that Tsafendas was perfectly sane, a complete contradiction to her brother's testimony. The Attorney-General should have been aware of her statement and he could have easily used it to challenge her brother's testimony. He could even have asked her to testify as a witness for the prosecution to challenge the defence's line that Tsafendas was insane. However, not for the first time, evidence that could have challenged or broken down the case for insanity was not used.

It is important to remember here that Attorney-General van den Berg had made a mistake regarding the reclassification issue in his memorandum about Tsafendas on October 3, 1966, making it obvious that he was not, even then, in possession of Helen Daniels's statement. It seems more likely that van den Berg was never in possession of her statement rather than choosing not to use it to challenge Peter Daniels's testimony. Despite the fact that none of the things mentioned by Peter Daniels could really be considered as actions of an insane man, Judge Beyers, as we will see in his final verdict, found it as very convincing as to

²⁴³⁵ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

the fact that Tsafendas was mad.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 5: MERLE DANIELS²⁴³⁶

EXTRACTS FROM MERLE DANIELS'S TESTIMONY²⁴³⁷

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The man before Court here, Demitrio Tsafendas, when did you see him for the first time?

M. DANIELS: The first time I saw him was on the 28th August.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Of which year?

M. DANIELS: 1965.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where did you see him?

M. DANIELS: I saw him in my mother-in-law's home.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you see much of him, did you talk often to him?

M. DANIELS: Well, in his free time he used to come in there, you know, and speak to us a little, about his travels.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was he also a member of your religious persuasion?

M. DANIELS: Yes, well, we accepted him as a brother of our faith, that is how we took him in.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you expect him to pay for his lodgings when he arrived at your home?

M. DANIELS: When he first came there he wasn't working, so my father-in-law did not expect anything from him until he started to work.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When he arrived there, what impression did he make on you?

M. DANIELS: Well, he seemed to be a strange person. I mean, he was shabbily dressed, and to me he seemed strange the first day I saw him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: His shabby dress, did that make/him strange? Anything else?

M. DANIELS: No, well, just because of the way he was dressed and he started speaking to

²⁴³⁶ Merle Daniels is the wife of Peter Daniels and sister-in-law of Helen Daniels.

²⁴³⁷ Marle Daniels's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

us of the different preachers he had met all over the world from the same faith.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Were there any strange incidents that you can remember in connection with the accused?

M. DANIELS: Yes. I can very well remember one afternoon. This particular day he had gone out to look for work, and this particular afternoon when he came home - it was about mid-afternoon - and I asked him to come over and have a cup of tea with us, because my mother and aunt had visited me that day, and I asked him to come and have tea with us this day. He said that he would, he was first going to take his coat off as it was a hot day and he had his big overcoat with him. And he went next-door, but before he left I asked him to tell us a little about his travels and where he has been all over the world, and he said that he would come and tell my mom and aunt a little about it. He went next-door and he came back and he brought his bible along with him, which seemed such a strange thing, because I had asked him to speak about his travels. I spoke to him at the table and I said: "Well, Demitrio, tell us a little about your travels", and he looked at me but he was unconcerned about the question I had asked him, and he was reading about the experiences of Paul and relating it, telling me a bit about the life of Paul. He said that his own life, when he examined himself, he felt that he came so far short when he thought of the life of Paul. And after that he just left. He asked us to excuse him and he went home, still with his bible under his arm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: On this occasion, after he started talking about Paul, did you try to bring him back to talking about his travels?

M. DANIELS: Yes. I said to him: "Well, Demitrio, tell us a bit about your travels. That is the purpose-that I asked you", and he wasn't concerned about the question that I had asked him. He was just reading his bible and speaking about the travels of Paul.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Can you think of any other incidents?

M. DANIELS: Well, there was a time in my mother-in-law's home that he would lie on the bed with his boots on, on her clean quilt, and he would not think of removing them before he would go and lie down.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I don't want to go into the other incidents that the Court knows of, but what is your overall impression of this man, Demitrio Tsafendas?

M. DANIELS: Well, I often said, we even said amongst ourselves, surely Demitrio is not all there; by the things that he did and the strange way that he acted sometimes we felt that he

wasn't all there.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S ASSISTANT

BRUNETTE: Was he a bit eccentric?

M. DANIELS: Could you explain that word to me?

BRUNETTE: Well, I mean he did strange things here and there, but it wasn't anything in particular.

JUDGE BEYERS: It was something particular. He spoke about St. Paul when he should have been speaking about himself, and he lay with dirty boots on the clean coverlet. That is what I have got at the moment - particulars.

BRUNETTE: When you asked him to come and tell about his travels, could he perhaps have misunderstood you?

M. DANIELS: No, I don't think he could, because I spoke to him quite a few times. I said to him "Demitrio, tell us about your travels" and he looked at me and said "Yes, Merle", but he wasn't concerned about the question of us asking him.

BRUNETTE: Did he perhaps read to you about the travels of Paul?

M. DANIELS: That is right. He sat at table with his Bible and just pushed the cake plate aside and he started telling us about the travels of Paul.

BRUNETTE: Did he pay to stay with you, or what was the arrangement?

M. DANIELS: He did not stay with me.

BRUNETTE: With your father? Do you know?

M. DANIELS: Well, after the first few weeks he did not work and my father did not expect him to pay anything, but when he started work my father-in-law spoke to him and asked him if he would contribute something towards the family, towards the home.

BRUNETTE: Was he willing to do that?

M. DANIELS: Yes, he was.

BRUNETTE: Do you know whether he paid after that? Did he pay for any boarding or lodging after that?

M. DANIELS: While he stayed in my father-in-law's house?

BRUNETTE: Yes?

M. DANIELS: Yes, well, he did. After my father-in-law spoke to him he did pay, because then he worked.

BRUNETTE: Are you perhaps worried that a member of your Church is in trouble?

M. DANIELS: Well, when we heard about it we were shocked. We were upset about it, and in a way felt sorry that he could have done such a thing.

BRUNETTE: Is it worrying you?

M. DANIELS: It has to a certain extent. I mean, we accepted him as a brother of the Faith and it is not of us people to do any violence of that sort.

BRUNETTE: Did you ever have anything to do with his washing?

M. DANIELS: Well, the first day he came there he asked me to wash shirts for him for the meeting of the Sunday, and I said I would, but then he came with a big bundle of washing, dirty washing, which I did do for him the first day. But after that he stayed with my mother-in-law, so she did the rest of his washing. But the first day I did his washing.

BRUNETTE: So as far as you know he generally had his clothes washed, and he wore clean clothes?

M. DANIELS: Yes, well, my mother-in-law kept him clean. I mean, she did his washing and ironing for him.

BRUNETTE: Would you like to protect the name of your Church in this matter?

M. DANIELS: Yes, well, I would.

COMMENTS ON M. DANIELS'S TESTIMONY

Before we analyse this testimony, we should consider the issue of Tsafendas's clothes. Helen Daniels testified to the police that Tsafendas was wearing dirty clothes when she first saw him and he had dirty laundry with him. According to Merle Daniels, the day Tsafendas arrived at their house, he immediately asked her to wash his clothes, which suggests that he was aware of their condition and was not habitually a dirty person.

As with Peter Daniels's testimony, there is nothing in Merle's statements to indicate

that Tsafendas was schizophrenic. The word eccentric is unknown to her and the incidents she describes as “strange” are things that any normal man might do. Albert Einstein had several habits which could be described as “strange” by some people, for example playing as an adult with a toy telescope, wearing shoes with holes and having his wife cut his hair because he was parsimonious. He was also absent-minded, often forgetting his own address.²⁴³⁸ Einstein was not mad, but if Merle Daniels had come across him, it is very likely that she would have also considered him very strange and perhaps “not all there.”

TSAFENDAS WAS “STRANGE” BECAUSE OF THE WAY HE WAS DRESSED

One of the reasons Tsafendas seemed strange to Merle Daniels was the way he dressed – “shabbily,” she said. None of some two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission of Enquiry thought Tsafendas was strange because of how he dressed. The only person among those interviewed who found Tsafendas’s style of dressing to be “different” was Gillian Claire Lieberman, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation, whose office Tsafendas often visited. “I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation, but a strange type of person, a unique character. I got the impression that he was physically different in dress and appearance. He was a big man, with a particularly striking big hat, stainless steel teeth, sloppy dirty clothing.”²⁴³⁹ Still, she found him “different,” not mad. Tsafendas never had much money, so dressing for fashion might not have been a priority. Nonetheless, several witnesses referred to his frequent purchases of stylish headwear.

In addition, several testified that Tsafendas was neatly dressed. For example:

- The report of Col. van Wyk from Rhodesia and Mozambique which contained interviews with people who Tsafendas in these two countries, stated that Tsafendas “was always neatly dressed.”²⁴⁴⁰
- Ian Boswell testified that Tsafendas was “at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute.”²⁴⁴¹

²⁴³⁸ Martin Chilton ‘Albert Einstein: He Really was An Egghead’, *The Telegraph*, 19 April 2016.

²⁴³⁹ Gillian Claire Lieberman statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁴⁴⁰ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁴⁴¹ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

- Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas's landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry that Tsafendas paid for a serviced room, "but I found him making his own bed. When he came to me he was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman. When he paid me, he had a bundle of notes and I took him to be a man of means."²⁴⁴²
- Gideon Cloete, an employer at the Department of Labour testified that Tsafendas "was neatly dressed and had a clean appearance."²⁴⁴³
- Jacobus Borman testified that 'according to my observation, Tsafendas was a gentle person. He was neat on his person, but his eating habits were not up to scratch.'²⁴⁴⁴
- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour in Cape Town interviewed Tsafendas twice. He testified to the police that Tsafendas was "neatly dressed" and he "never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally."²⁴⁴⁵
- Redvers Quintin Wakfer who worked with Tsafendas for six weeks at the Power Station in Cape Town testified that Tsafendas was 'neatly dressed.'²⁴⁴⁶
- Edward Furness testified that Tsafendas 'was well dressed and appeared to be wealthy.'²⁴⁴⁷
- Katerina Pnema, his half-sister, testified that Tsafendas 'was well dressed and gave a good appearance although as far as she could see he had no visible means of support.'²⁴⁴⁸ She later also stated that Tsafendas was always very well dressed and never showed him wearing dirty clothes except from when he was coming back from work.
- Sidney Wiehand, a senior messenger at the Assembly who was one of the three messengers who interviewed Tsafendas. He said that one in order to be hired, he "must

²⁴⁴² Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

²⁴⁴³ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

²⁴⁴⁴ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁴⁴⁵ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

²⁴⁴⁶ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA; Redvers Quintin Wakfer statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub File: 1/5, Subject Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

²⁴⁴⁷ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁴⁴⁸ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

always be neat” and suggested that Tsafendas was like this.²⁴⁴⁹

- Mary Scott was Tsafendas’s landlady in Cape Town for two months in 1966. She told the police, “His clothing however was clean and always tidy.”²⁴⁵⁰
- Horst Hartmann, senior personnel officer at the Fries and Son in Frankfurt, where Tsafendas worked as a welder, said about him, “He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman. I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man...he made a good impression.”²⁴⁵¹

Furthermore, none of the seventy-one witnesses interviewed by the author said that Tsafendas had a dirty or neglected appearance. Two of them, Andreas Babiolakis and Costas Poriazis, said that they once saw Tsafendas looking neglected and wearing a torn shirt. However, that was on the day he was released from jail in Beira in February 1965. Having just spent several days in a prison cell, wearing the same clothes every day and being beaten up, he could hardly have appeared otherwise. Both witnesses said that this was the only time they saw Tsafendas looking less than perfectly dressed; at all other times he was clean and neatly dressed.²⁴⁵²

In addition, all the witnesses remembers him as being always very well-dressed and that he looked like a gentleman. For example, the thirteen sailors of the *Eleni* tanker who spent forty-two days with him told the author that Tsafendas had a clean appearance and was always very well dressed. They were all surprised by the fact that he was so well-dressed while he seemed to be a poor man because of the job he was doing. Again, in order to not include everyone’s statement about Tsafendas appearance, the study includes here the statements of people who knew him more:

- Father Nikola Banovic lived at the same house with Tsafendas for four months in 1961 and for another two-three in one right next to his, practically seeing him again every day all this time. According to him, Tsafendas was a very clean person and was always

²⁴⁴⁹ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²⁴⁵⁰ Mary Kathleen Scott statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁴⁵¹ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, ‘The Assassin’, 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

²⁴⁵² Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

very well dressed, each day wearing a different hat.²⁴⁵³

- Reuben O’Ryan, Patrick O’Ryan’s son. He lived with Tsafendas in the same house for five months and kept in touch with him for another year. Tsafendas had moved to his house immediately after he had left the Daniels’s house. He said Tsafendas “was always very clean and well-dressed, apart from when he was coming home from work. That was the only time I saw him wearing dirty clothes. He always wore nice clothes; he was a clean person and always shaved.”²⁴⁵⁴
- Allan O’Ryan lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept being in touch for another year. He remembers Tsafendas being always “very well-dressed. Firstly, he always went out in a suit. He had a grey striped suit that he always wore. He was *always* very smart when he left the house. That I picked up – that he always looked very business-like. He was never casual about his dress. And his hair, though it was crinkly, it was neatly brushed. He was always well-dressed and he seemed to be going on business or going out for the day. And even the people in the street got to know him and greeted him as a man of... you know, as a distinguished gentleman, because of the way he dressed.” However, O’Ryan also stated that Tsafendas had some messy manners. He said “For example, sometimes, when he did bathe, the bathroom would be wet. The floor would be wet, the way he had splashed the water. And I remember my mum, she complained once or twice, you know, ‘When Dimi has finished bathing, then I have to clean the floor of the bathroom.’”²⁴⁵⁵
- Stanley O’Ryan, another of Patrick O’Ryan’s sons also remembers Tsafendas being “neatly and nicely dressed” and a “clean person.”²⁴⁵⁶
- Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas first cousin, knew him since he was five years old and grew up together in Mozambique. She spent a lot of time with him within a year while he was in Pretoria in 1964, while he also lived at the same house as her for two-three months. She insists that Tsafendas was always well-dressed, very often wearing a hat and was a very clean person. “Since he was a child, he would never eat anything without washing his hands. Even when we were out playing, he would pump into the house to wash his hands before eating something. He was very fussy with clean hands when he

²⁴⁵³ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²⁴⁵⁴ Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

²⁴⁵⁵ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

²⁴⁵⁶ Stanley O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 9 April 2015.

was a child, and I think he was also like this when he grew up, but I can't remember for sure."²⁴⁵⁷

- Fotini Gavasiadis saw and talked to Tsafendas every day for a period of nine months. She told the author that "it is nonsense" that Tsafendas was not well-dressed or a dirty person and she is surprised from this comment. She maintains that he was always very well dressed and clean. "Sometimes it was taking him longer than it was taking me to get ready, trying to find the more suitable hat or tie. He adored hats and ties."²⁴⁵⁸
- Ira Kyriakakis who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques and remained a very good friend of his until his arrest believes that the statement that Tsafendas was not well-dressed and clean is absolutely absurd. "He was always very well dressed; since he was a child. He used to wear hats he had bought from all over the world. He loved hats and he must have had tens of them. He came back to Lourenço Marques in the 1960s he brought me a hat for present from Lisbon."²⁴⁵⁹
- Helen Grispos grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques and her mother was Tsafendas's step-mother best friend there. "He was always very well dressed, even as a child; his step-mother always looked after him. When he visited us in the 1960s I remember he wore a big hat he said he had bought somewhere in Europe. I don't remember what he was wearing, but I remember the hat. It was very distinctive. He was certainly well-dressed."²⁴⁶⁰
- Joyce Dick, one of Helen Daniels's best friends at the time, stated to the author that whenever she saw Tsafendas, "he was always very neatly dressed."²⁴⁶¹
- Irene Michaletos met Tsafendas in 1964 in Beira and closely associated with him until 1965. She remembers Tsafendas being always well dressed and clean.²⁴⁶²
- Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousins, first met him in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique. They both remember Tsafendas being "always well dressed and clean."²⁴⁶³

²⁴⁵⁷ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²⁴⁵⁸ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

²⁴⁵⁹ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

²⁴⁶⁰ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

²⁴⁶¹ Joyce Dick in a personal interview, 6 August 2016.

²⁴⁶² Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

²⁴⁶³ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

- Andreas Babiolakis knew Tsafendas since childhood and lived with him in the same house in Beira for about two-three months. He remembers Tsafendas having a shower every morning, being very well dressed and with clean clothes.²⁴⁶⁴
- Costas Chagios, a Cape Town café owner, got to know Tsafendas on a friendly basis in 1965 when he walked into his restaurant. In the year up to his arrest in 1966, Tsafendas visited the restaurant more than fifty times. Chagios remembers Tsafendas being always well dressed and clean.²⁴⁶⁵
- Alexandra Vaporidis knew Tsafendas for about six-seven months in Istanbul. She was impressed with the many hats Tsafendas was wearing and remembers that a lot of people she knew were commenting about how neatly Tsafendas was dressed. “I remember him coming to the church always wearing a tie.”²⁴⁶⁶
- Peter Protoulis was a supplier of foodstuffs to the tanker *Eleni*. He met Tsafendas on board and in the forty-two days that the vessel was docked in Cape Town and remembers him being always very well dressed.²⁴⁶⁷
- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott’s boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest. He remembers Tsafendas being always well dressed and clean, often wearing suits, ties and hats.²⁴⁶⁸
- Peter Peroglou and his wife Pamela Abrahams were eating at the same place as Tsafendas for two-three months in 1966. They remember him being always very well dressed and very courteous.²⁴⁶⁹
- Nick Augustides is the son of the owner of Mike’s Outfitters in Cape Town for whom Tsafendas worked on commission for about two months in 1966. He knew Tsafendas for three-four months and remembers him always being “a well-dressed man.”²⁴⁷⁰

Albert Einstein who was a little stingy with money wore old, worn clothes and even his shoes had holes in them and kept on wearing them even if they were no longer watertight. “He would wear them until it was no longer possible,” said Herta Waldow, who was his live-

²⁴⁶⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

²⁴⁶⁵ Costas Hagios in a personal interview, 24 March 2015.

²⁴⁶⁶ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

²⁴⁶⁷ Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 28 May 2016.

²⁴⁶⁸ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

²⁴⁶⁹ Pamela Abrahams and Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

²⁴⁷⁰ Nick Augustides in a personal interview, 19 February 2016.

in housekeeper for six years. The way he was dressed often suggested that he was a poor man.²⁴⁷¹ So, we could safely assume that if Merle Daniels had come across Einstein, she would have thought that he was “not all there.”

TSAFENDAS WAS STRANGE BECAUSE HE TOLD THEM ABOUT THE PREACHERS OF THEIR FAITH HE HAD MET ALL OVER THE WORLD

Merle Daniels also testified that Tsafendas seemed strange to her because he told them about the preachers of their faith he had met all over the world. All the Daniels family were very religious and members of the same Christian sect as Tsafendas, therefore what could be strange about Tsafendas talking about the preachers he met? Helen Daniels was a preacher, therefore it seemed perfectly natural to mention others he met. She had also told the police that Tsafendas’s “stories about traveling abroad were interesting.”²⁴⁷²

TSAFENDAS WAS “STRANGE” BECAUSE ON ONE OCCASION HE DID NOT SPEAK TO THEM ABOUT HIS TRAVELS, BUT ABOUT SAINT PAUL’S TRAVELS

Another reason Tsafendas seemed strange to Merle was that when she asked him to talk about his travels, he insisted on speaking about the travels of Saint Paul, the Christian Evangelist. Helen Daniels testified to the police that Tsafendas’s “stories about travelling abroad were interesting”²⁴⁷³ and several others said he spoke widely about his travels. The fact that on this occasion, he chose not to talk about them, hardly seems sufficient to characterise him as strange.

TSAFENDAS WAS STRANGE BECAUSE HE LAY ON THE BED WITH HIS BOOTS ON

Finally, according to Merle Daniels, Tsafendas was “not all there” because he lay on her mother-in-law’s clean quilt with his boots on. This might argue that Tsafendas was inconsiderate and maybe even rude, but does it mean that he was mentally strange? He may have been exhausted after work or simply thoughtless. In the finale of Steven Spielberg’s movie, “Bridge of Spies,” which is based on fact, the leading character, played by Tom

²⁴⁷¹ Chilton, ‘Albert Einstein: He Really was An Egghead’, *The Telegraph*, 19 April 2016.

²⁴⁷² Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

²⁴⁷³ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

Hanks, stretches out on his clean bed with his shoes on. I doubt if any movie-goer thought that the Tom Hanks character was therefore “not all there.”

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND TSAFENDAS

Merle Daniels admitted she wanted to protect the name of the Christian Church. Patrick O’Ryan²⁴⁷⁴ and Richard Poggenpoel²⁴⁷⁵ said the assassination brought embarrassment on the Church and several members tried to distance themselves and their Church from Tsafendas. As with most members of the Greek community, some from the Christian Church tried to portray Tsafendas as not one of them, in order to protect their reputation.

CONCLUSION

Merle Daniels, who makes no mention of the tapeworm, found Tsafendas to be “strange” and “not all there” because of how he acted and the way he dressed. However, the examples she gives are actions which any normal person could perform. She seems not to know about eccentricity (at least she needs the word explained to her) and that people may behave in ways unfamiliar to her.

We must also consider the possibility that she portrayed Tsafendas as strange in order to support the defence’s insanity argument and save his life and that she did not really find all these things strange. Just as Patrick O’Ryan and his wife were asked by advocate Cooper to exaggerate some stories about Tsafendas, Merle and her husband, who were good friends of the O’Ryans, may have been asked to do the same. By any modern standards, Merle Daniels’s testimony would never be accepted as proof that a man who acted as Tsafendas did was therefore out of his mind or, as she put it, “not all there.” Yet, extraordinarily, Judge Beyers would state in his verdict that her testimony was among those that convinced him Tsafendas was mad.

²⁴⁷⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁴⁷⁵ Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 6: PATRICK O'RYAN

INTRODUCTION

Patrick O’Ryan was the key defence witness from among those who knew Tsafendas because he was able to speak at length about the tapeworm - testimony that was crucial for the defence line. Tsafendas considered O’Ryan to be his best friend and the nicest person he ever met.²⁴⁷⁶ He was a Coloured teacher and a member of the Christian Church sect. He first heard of Tsafendas from a minister of their sect who described Tsafendas as a “highly cultured gentleman, a very refined gentleman who speaks seven languages.”²⁴⁷⁷ When O’Ryan met Tsafendas he invited him to stay with his family in his home.²⁴⁷⁸ Tsafendas lodged there for five months, then visited regularly until his arrest.²⁴⁷⁹

Patrick O’Ryan formed a “deep liking”²⁴⁸⁰ for Tsafendas, someone he saw as an “enlightened person.”²⁴⁸¹ Tsafendas returned the affection and respect. Upon hearing of the assassination, the O’Ryan family, including the oldest children, were devastated since they had grown to know and love Tsafendas. There was much weeping in the family household, including by Patrick and his wife. Patrick was the most deeply affected and asked his wife and children to pray for Tsafendas. He also led prayers for him at many gatherings of the Christian Church, although not all the members were happy about this.²⁴⁸²

²⁴⁷⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁴⁷⁷ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

²⁴⁷⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁴⁷⁹ Patrick O’ Ryan’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 7 April 2015.

²⁴⁸⁰ Patrick O’ Ryan’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁴⁸¹ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

²⁴⁸² Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

EXTRACTS FROM PATRICK O’RYAN’S TESTIMONY²⁴⁸³

P. O’RYAN’S MEETING WITH TSAFENDAS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How big is your family?

P. O’RYAN: We are nine.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How big is your house?

P. O’RYAN: We have three bedrooms, a lounge, kitchen, bathroom, outroom, and a garage.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is your profession, your occupation?

P. O’RYAN: I teach.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What subjects do you teach?

P. O’RYAN: English and Art.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: For how many years have you been a teacher?

P. O’RYAN: Thirty years.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When did you meet Demitrio Tsafendas for the first time?

P. O’RYAN: The actual acquaintance that I made first was while in prayer at a conference. I heard...

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where was this conference?

P. O’RYAN: This conference was held out at Durbanville.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What month, and in which year?

P. O’RYAN: It was towards the end of November 1965.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was this conference, this congress of? Which people?

P. O’RYAN: It was an assembly, a conference of delegates, Christian delegates I may call it.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Were you present at that assembly?

P. O’RYAN: I was present.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And the accused, was he there?

²⁴⁸³ Patrick O’ Ryan’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

P. O’RYAN: The accused was there.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Tell us - you say the first time that you saw him...?

P. O’RYAN: When I heard the accused praying, or rather repeating the Paternoster, I opened my eyes and looked to see who it was, because never had anything like that happened that an individual parroted a prayer.

JUDGE BEYERS: That he did what?

P. O’RYAN: He said the Our Father.

JUDGE BEYERS: In what language?

P. O’RYAN: In English. None of us ever makes repetitions in praying.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How do you deliver your prayer at your assemblies, and how do the other delegates?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Every member of this faith prays in spirit and in truth from the heart.

BY THE COURT: A silent prayer?

P. O’RYAN: Audibly.

ASSESSOR: You don’t repeat a well-known prayer, is that what you mean?

P. O’RYAN: No prayer - we repeat no prayer.

JUDGE BEYERS: I am not following. The unusual feature of this man, which made you open your eyes and look who this was, was that he was saying a well-known ritual Paternoster, and that was not according to your ...?

P. O’RYAN: Not according to the teachings of Jesus.

ASSESSOR: In other words you pray spontaneously?

P. O’RYAN: That is right.

ASSESSOR: You make up your prayer as you pray?

P. O’RYAN: It flows spontaneously.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he also speak at this assembly?

P. O’RYAN: Normally there is an opportunity of open testimony, in which he participated.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Does everybody have an opportunity at this assembly?

P. O’RYAN: Everyone has an opportunity to give a testimony.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: At the assembly. What do the members usually talk about, or give testimony about?

P. O’RYAN: We usually give testimony of our experiences on Christian lines and the work of God in our own personal lives.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When you heard the accused speak, what did he speak about?

P. O’RYAN: When the accused spoke he cited a passage of scripture, and thereafter, normally, one refers, or tries to interpret this passage of scripture. In his case, however, he continued, shall I say, at a tangent, or he spoke of his travels, which were not relevant to the chapter at all.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did this strike you as being odd, strange conduct?

P. O’RYAN: It struck me that the individual concerned, the accused, was not, in my opinion, born of the spirit of God.

JUDGE BEYERS: Did you sense something false in it, do you mean?

P. O’RYAN: Whosoever is born of the spirit of God can discern spiritually, and the context...

JUDGE BEYERS: It didn’t ring true?

P. O’RYAN: Not at all.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When he had finished this talking, did you know what he was trying to tell you?

P. O’RYAN: He got nowhere. Just a string of incoherent or disjointed sentences mostly.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did the other delegates to the assembly react to his speech?

P. O’RYAN: Quite a few with whom I discussed it felt the way I did, that his, could I say, discourse lacked in spiritual content.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: At that time did you speak to the accused at that assembly?

P. O’RYAN: I did speak to the accused.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was he employed then? Did he have a job?

P. O’RYAN: He was unemployed at that time.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where was he living?

P. O’RYAN: He was on the verge of terminating his residence at a particular place in the Gardens.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And did he ask you whether he could come and stay with you?

P. O’RYAN: I had been approached by a member of the faith with the object of arranging accommodation for the accused.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And did you then make arrangements and give the accused accommodation?

P. O’RYAN: I told him to call at my place, which he did the day after conference.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When did he arrive at your home?

P. O’RYAN: That was at the beginning of - I am not very sure of my dates - at the beginning of December. Immediately after the conference.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Of which year?

P. O’RYAN: 1965.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: For how long did he stay with you?

P. O’RYAN: He stayed with me for about close to five months.

COMMENTS ON P. O’RYAN’S TESTIMONY REGARDING HIS FIRST MEETING WITH TSAFENDAS

In 1997, two years before Tsafendas’s death, O’Ryan was interviewed by Liza Key as part of her television documentary about Tsafendas. He was asked by Key to explain how he met Tsafendas. He said that he heard about him from a minister of his church who said that a “highly cultured gentleman, a very refined gentleman who speaks seven languages” was looking for accommodation.²⁴⁸⁴

²⁴⁸⁴ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness*.

Three–four years later, O’Ryan said the same thing to Fathers Minas Constandinou and Ioannis Tsaftaridis when they visited him. However, when advocate Cooper asked him in court to describe how he met Tsafendas, Cooper cut him off after the words, “I heard . . .” What was O’Ryan going to say? It is a fair assumption that he was about to repeat the description he had heard of Tsafendas as “highly cultured” and “very refined” and a speaker of seven languages. Why was he stopped? He was asked by the defence team not to praise Tsafendas since that would invalidate its portrayal of him as odd and moronic.²⁴⁸⁵

O’Ryan appeared surprised that Tsafendas recited the Lord’s Prayer at an assembly of his Church. This suggests that Tsafendas was not well acquainted with the Church’s modes, which favoured spontaneous prayer, when a person feels moved by the Spirit, rather than the recitation of established formulae, as in the established Christian churches.

THE TAPEWORM

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he try to find any employment while he was staying with you?

P. O’RYAN: Regularly. He wrote a number of applications. He went for interviews. And on one occasion he managed to land a job at the City Tramways, which lasted only a few days. He was issued with a uniform however. Thereafter he was unemployed again, and thence he was engaged at the Diamond Marine Corporation, I think, South West Africa.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: While he was with you, was he a lazy man?

P. O’RYAN: While he was with me, very often he would remain in bed, and would apparently do so for the day. But with us, we believe that every individual should have solid and permanent work. Then I would speak to him and tell him it is very unsavoury for a healthy man like him to remain in bed. Then he complained of this, of a worm that he mentioned of enormous proportions. In this case he mentioned that six foot of the worm had once come down, and the head remained behind, and the width was two inches wide. And more than one evening, after a late evening, he would ask my wife for a hunk of bread, he said, just to feed the worm, or demon, or the snake, which he most frequently termed it. Then there were other occasions when I had to speak to him, but not necessarily about his being inactive or lazy.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In what way further did he say that this worm affected his life?

²⁴⁸⁵ Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

P. O’RYAN: He told me about this worm, and that it sapped him or that it robbed him of his energy with the result that he could not hold a job very long. He also mentioned among other things that this worm affected him in many ways, so much so that his finances were always very low, since I had told him he could stay free of charge, and at that time, then he need not pay me.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he ever go and try to get treatment for this worm? Medical attention?

P. O’RYAN: He went to the local hospital, I think Groote Schuur. Some of our friends saw him there. He went for treatment down at the Foreshore. And my wife also gave him a sort of treatment. She was very sympathetic in his case, whereas I told him the worm only existed in his mind, and then he was very disappointed and he told me I was like the doctors who wouldn’t believe him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he say what this worm did, how this worm behaved inside him?

P. O’RYAN: Well, at night he said this worm used to crawl about in him when it was hungry, and irritate him and so on.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did you think about this worm?

P. O’RYAN: Well, I candidly told him, as I do in many cases, that he should try to get his mind above matter, and that the worm was a figment of his imagination, purely.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he react to that, when you told him?

P. O’RYAN: He was most disappointed, and told me that I was just like the medical men whom he had seen, or medical opinion that he had got, who disbelieved him, and that my wife was much more sympathetically inclined towards him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: So he used to pour out his troubles about the worm to your wife then, is that correct?

P. O’RYAN: That is right.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Tell us, what was the overall impression that Demitrio Tsafendas made upon you?

P. O’RYAN: I formed a conclusion that he was not in truth one of our faith.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I understand that, in truth. What did you think about his mental state?

P. O’RYAN: I never actually doubted his mental state, since to me he had a mind that the majority of people have.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The fact that he believed in the tapeworm, what impression did that make upon you?

P. O’RYAN: That, however, made me feel that he believed in the tapeworm very strongly.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was he a strange man?

P. O’RYAN: No, it had never occurred to me.

COMMENTS ON P. O’RYAN’S TESTIMONY REGARDING THE TAPEWORM

Although Patrick O’Ryan speaks at some length during his testimony about the tapeworm, he also states clearly that he “never actually doubted his mental state” and that Tsafendas’s mind was similar to the one “the majority of people have.” This is what he really believed and he could not have said otherwise because he had already testified to the police on September 17, 1966 that Tsafendas’s “spiritual view seemed confused, but he was not spiritually or mentally disturbed ... I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind.” What is more, his testimony to the police did not include any mention of the tapeworm.²⁴⁸⁶

About thirty years later, O’Ryan repeated to Liza Key while she was filming him for her documentary exactly the same phrase he had used to the police, “I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind.”²⁴⁸⁷ He also testified to the Commission of Enquiry that “Tsafendas always behaved like a normal person, except that his interpretations of the Bible differed from mine.”²⁴⁸⁸ Therefore, why did he bring up the tapeworm at the trial?

Tsafendas later told Father Spiros Randos and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis that O’Ryan lied to the court about the tapeworm in order to save his life. He explained to the priests that O’Ryan was the only person to whom he had told the truth about the tapeworm and the origin

²⁴⁸⁶ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁴⁸⁷ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness*.

²⁴⁸⁸ Patrick O’ Ryan statement to the COE, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

of the story prior to the assassination. This happened because of his close friendship with O’Ryan. Tsafendas talked to many people but confided certain things only to O’Ryan. One of these was about Tom Tuff, the preacher of the Christian Church he met in an American hospital and who introduced him to the Christian Church. Tsafendas told O’Ryan about Tom’s tapeworm story, describing how he copied it and used it to convince the Portuguese he was mad so as to receive amnesty and return to Mozambique, but also to make then stop torturing him when he was imprisoned.²⁴⁸⁹

A few months before his death, Tsafendas was visited by Father Spiros Randos and Ioannis Tsafaridis, who asked if there was anything they could do for him, as they always did. Tsafendas had never asked them for anything, but then he said he believed he was dying and begged them to do something for him. Tsafendas wanted to apologise to Patrick O’Ryan for putting him in a situation that required him to lie in court about him and the tapeworm to save his life. Tsafendas, clearly stricken, said he had never had the chance to apologise personally; he pleaded with the priests to find O’Ryan and apologise on his behalf and thank him for what he did. Weeping, Tsafendas said he knew O’Ryan was very religious and lying was a major sin for him. Tsafendas guessed it must have been extremely difficult for O’Ryan to go through with his performance in court and he felt bad about putting him in such a difficult position. He said the only regret he had about killing Dr. Verwoerd was putting his best friend in such a position.²⁴⁹⁰

Several months after his death, Fathers Minas Constandinou²⁴⁹¹ and Ioannis Tsafaridis visited Patrick O’Ryan in his home and told him what Tsafendas had said. O’Ryan wept and praised Tsafendas as the “kindest man I ever met.” He told them how Tsafendas confided to him about the tapeworm story and he confirmed everything that Tsafendas had already told the priests, including its origins with Tom Tuff.²⁴⁹²

O’Ryan told the priests that he did not pay much attention when Tsafendas first told him the tapeworm story in 1965 and later he joked about it with his wife and children. It was only after the assassination and he was asked about the tapeworm by the defence lawyers, that he realised its importance. He said he had never told anyone the truth – that the tapeworm was fake, – not even his wife, and he had not intended ever to do so, but he could

²⁴⁸⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁴⁹⁰ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁴⁹¹ Father Spiros Randos was unable to travel and Father Minas Constandinou went instead.

²⁴⁹² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

confirm it now that the priests had heard the story from Tsafendas himself.²⁴⁹³

O’Ryan said this was the only time in his life that he lied and that he had been praying about it ever since. He believed God would forgive him because he did it for a noble cause. O’Ryan also told the priests that he was asked by Tsafendas’s lawyers whether he was aware of the tapeworm and he had replied “yes?” unsure initially if he meant the truth about it or the jokey situation surrounding the tapeworm which he had created. However, he also remembered that Tsafendas had used the tapeworm story with the Portuguese when he was arrested and thought that he might be using it again. What he regretted was telling the police that Tsafendas was sane. It had not occurred to him then that he might pretend to be mad.²⁴⁹⁴

O’Ryan told the priests how, after Tsafendas confided in him, he turned the tapeworm into a “family joke.” He said that one day when Tsafendas was starting on a second or third plate of food, one of the O’Ryan children, who was not eating, asked him how he managed to eat so much. O’Ryan joked that it was because Uncle Dimi “has a tapeworm inside him which eats his food.” He added that if his son did not eat his own food, Uncle Dimi would take it and give it to the worm. Fascinated and a little frightened, the boy plied Tsafendas with questions, whereupon Tsafendas opened his eyes wide and breathed heavily, saying that was what happened when the tapeworm ate. After that, the children often asked about the tapeworm and Tsafendas would repeat his performance.²⁴⁹⁵

Upon hearing about the tapeworm, Louisa, Patrick’s wife, told her husband, “that figures!” She was referring to Tsafendas’s appetite. Patrick did not tell her about Tom Tuff or that the tapeworm was imaginary and he enjoyed joking with Tsafendas about it.²⁴⁹⁶ Tsafendas built a very good relationship with Louisa O’Ryan because she sympathized with his “problem,” unaware it was a joke.²⁴⁹⁷ According to O’Ryan his wife had spoken to some other members of the Church about Tsafendas’s “problem” and that made him feel bad as he considered himself responsible for starting this “story.” O’Ryan apologised to him, but Tsafendas did not seem to care and on the contrary seemed to enjoy the charade.²⁴⁹⁸

²⁴⁹³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁴⁹⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁴⁹⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁴⁹⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁴⁹⁷ Louisa O’Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

²⁴⁹⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

O’Ryan also told the priests that one time at a prayer gathering in a church member’s house, Enid O’Ryan, his four-year-old daughter and youngest child of the family, asked Tsafendas to show their friends how the tapeworm acted. Embarrassed, Patrick said this was not the right place for it, but Tsafendas, evidently untroubled, staged his act. When some parents inquired about the tapeworm, Louisa O’Ryan and Tsafendas said it was true, he had a tapeworm, but Patrick said he was just joking. Tsafendas appeared perfectly relaxed about the tapeworm business and put on his act when he was with the O’Ryan children or their friends’ children. O’Ryan told the priests that this was everything that ever happened with the tapeworm and nothing else.²⁴⁹⁹

In 1997, Patrick O’Ryan told Liza Key, as he would tell the two priests, three or four years later, that advocate Cooper asked him to speak about the tapeworm in court and to exaggerate it as the only way to prevent Tsafendas from being hanged. He told Key that he “wouldn’t have done it ordinarily,” if Cooper had not asked him. O’Ryan also said that Cooper asked him to exaggerate other stories about Tsafendas in order to support the insanity plea.²⁵⁰⁰ Cooper, by then a judge himself, watched the documentary and told Liza Key that he enjoyed it. As for Patrick O’Ryan’s statement, he made no comment to Key²⁵⁰¹ nor to his son, Gavin Cooper.²⁵⁰² If O’Ryan had lied to Liza Key about Cooper and his “advice”, would Cooper not have protested? However, far from complaining, he praised the programme.

Professor John Dugard finds Wilfrid Cooper’s actions to be perfectly logical and admits he would have done the same in that position:

“I could understand it ... I can understand very well, if I had been in Wilfrid Cooper’s position, and I heard that there was some problem with a tapeworm, I would have done exactly the same. In South Africa at that time, the law was that murder was a capital crime, and it was compulsory for a judge to impose sentence of death unless there were mitigating circumstances. That meant that lawyers – and I was a practicing lawyer at that time too – went out of their way to find mitigating circumstances ... Often, the mitigating circumstance was very far-fetched, and sometimes ridiculous.

²⁴⁹⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁵⁰⁰ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness*; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁵⁰¹ Liza Key in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

²⁵⁰² Gavin Cooper in a personal interview, 16 June 2015.

So, if I was in that situation, and I heard that there was some story about a tapeworm that troubled my client, and it was the only mitigating circumstance that I had, I would have done exactly what Wilfrid Cooper did. I would have expanded the tapeworm story because it was my only chance to save his life. I mean, I don’t think that I behaved unprofessionally, but I can remember doing similar things... Because we used to look very hard for mitigating circumstances.”²⁵⁰³

It is important to mention here that at first O’Ryan was not sure whether the defence lawyers knew the truth behind the tapeworm or if Tsafendas had used it with them as he had used it with the Portuguese. He was therefore cautious and spoke of it only when he realised Tsafendas had indeed gone the same route as with the Portuguese. O’Ryan told the priests that Tsafendas’s lawyers seemed desperate because they could not find anyone else who knew about the tapeworm, which seems clear from the fact that none of the two hundred or so people who were questioned by the South African police and the Commission of Enquiry ever mentioned it.

O’Ryan also told the priests that he and his wife were asked by advocate Cooper to exaggerate some “strange” stories about Tsafendas and to claim that he was “crazy.” O’Ryan could not – and did not – make such claim as he had testified to the police that Tsafendas was perfectly sane and that he “never got the impression that there was something wrong with his brain.”²⁵⁰⁴ Thus, why did he lie to the court about the tapeworm? Because, as he told the priests, he considered Tsafendas to be the “kindest man he ever met.” He “took a deep liking” to him and considered him “very kindly man ... he had a good heart” and wanted to save his life.²⁵⁰⁵

NOTE: O’Ryan stated that Tsafendas went to Groote Schuur hospital for treatment for his tapeworm problem, but this is inaccurate. There is no such medical report and the only time that Tsafendas went to this hospital was for an operation on his nose. O’Ryan perhaps spoke as he did to support his testimony further.

²⁵⁰³ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

²⁵⁰⁴ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁵⁰⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

TSAFENDAS BEING RELIGIOUS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he read his Bible often?

P. O’RYAN: He read his Bible regularly.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he attend meetings of the movement?

P. O’RYAN: He most frequently accompanied me, because he and I attended the same Sunday morning meetings.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How many meetings do you have, does your movement have, every week?

P. O’RYAN: We have meetings regularly every Sunday morning where we break bread, Sunday evenings and Wednesday evenings.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: At these meetings, how did he fit in?

P. O’RYAN: Into the form of the meetings he fitted perfectly, but when it came to the substance of the meetings, he again, as I would put it, lacked spiritual depth. He was always superficial in his little discourses.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is that what you mean by spiritual depth, that he was superficial in his discourse?

P. O’RYAN: That is right, yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he appear to understand the Bible, from what you could see?

P. O’RYAN: He seemed to have not the slightest notion of what he usually cited in scripture, or passages that he tried to interpret.

TSAFENDAS’S WAY OF SPEECH

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In conversation, how would he answer a question, a simple question?

P. O’RYAN: He was always very hesitant before he replied, and, after he had started, then he would hesitate again and very often when he continued there was no logical sequence again.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How was his concentration?

P. O’RYAN: He had a very poor power of concentration, which I would say was manifested by the way in which he spoke. One could gather that.

JUDGE BEYERS: Would I summarise what you have just said if I say that his conversation was disjointed? Would that be a way of saying it?

P. O’RYAN: That is it, it was disjointed.

JUDGE BEYERS: Can I put it down like that?

P. O’RYAN: That is right.

JUDGE BEYERS: That his conversation was disjointed and didn’t seem to flow one from another?

P. O’RYAN: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: How was he spoken? How would you describe him? How did he speak?

P. O’RYAN: He was very well spoken, soft spoken, and his disposition was very meek. He was a very kindly man. In my experience of him he had a good heart.

COMMENTS ON P. O’RYAN’S STATEMENT REGARDING TSAFENDAS’S WAY OF SPEECH

The author cannot be certain, but it seems fair to suggest that O’Ryan’s initial comment about Tsafendas’s disjointed speech was intended to support the defence’s line. No other witness testified that Tsafendas spoke in a halting fashion and O’Ryan himself did not mention it to the police when he was questioned. He told the police that he “never got the impression that there was something wrong with his brain;” he also said, “... even though I did not consider him to be particularly intelligent, he was well-spoken and had good vocabulary.”²⁵⁰⁶

²⁵⁰⁶ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

The fact that Tsafendas was well-spoken and soft-spoken has been stated by several other witnesses as we have already seen. None of the witnesses questioned by the police and the Commission of Enquiry (about two hundred of them) mentioned anything about Tsafendas’s mode of speech. In addition, not one of the forty-six witnesses the author interviewed agreed that Tsafendas spoke in the way he was presented. All said he spoke perfectly normally. The issue has been discussed extensively, especially at Dr. Cooper’s testimony, so it would not be discussed here again.

DISCUSSING POLITICS WITH TSAFENDAS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In these conversations, did you ever canvass political topics?

P. O’RYAN: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is it correct then that during the whole period of five months that he stayed with you, he did not discuss politics with you?

P. O’RYAN: He might have discussed politics in the way that I, or rather, say, any Coloured man, would discuss. We may discuss say - I have no specific case, but I would not deny that he might have discussed general politics with me.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: But any topic that he may have discussed made no impression on you?

P. O’RYAN: Never. Mostly the Bible - scripture.

COMMENTS ON P. O’RYAN’S STATEMENT REGARDING NOT DISCUSSING POLITICS WITH TSAFENDAS

After the tapeworm, the biggest lie that Patrick O’Ryan told the court was that he and Tsafendas did not discuss politics in any serious way, although he had told the police that they did. As we will see shortly, the Attorney-General’s cross-examination revealed that O’Ryan had told the police that Tsafendas “was against the state policy of both South Africa and Portugal” and that he “labelled apartheid policies as unfair.”

Years later, O’Ryan added that Tsafendas became “excited” talking about politics and had told him Dr. Verwoerd was a tyrant. He said Dr. Verwoerd oppressed his people, was

“Hitler’s best student” and if he ever get hold of him “he would bash his skull.”²⁵⁰⁷ However, O’Ryan did not tell the police of these remarks as he believed they would count against Tsafendas. O’Ryan said he was advised by advocate Cooper not to reveal the political discussions he had with Tsafendas.²⁵⁰⁸ Nevertheless, as we will see, the State was in possession of O’Ryan’s statement to the police and in cross-examination would mention the fact that he told the police that they had discussed politics, though not what he revealed thirty years later.

P. O’RYAN’S RELATIONSHIP WITH TSAFENDAS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was the accused married?

P. O’RYAN: No, as far as we knew, he was unmarried.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Do you know whether he took out any women while he was staying with you?

P. O’RYAN: No, but he was interested in some of our friends.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he manage to strike up some association, friendship with a woman while he lived with you?

P. O’RYAN: He was unfortunate.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he tell you about his wanderings, his travellings all over the world?

P. O’RYAN: Ad nauseam.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he tell you whether he had been subjected to any treatment in any part of the world?

P. O’RYAN: He told me that in some Portuguese territory - it might have been Portugal, it might have been somewhere down Lourenço Marques way - this brainwashing that I read about in the paper. But before it appeared in the paper he told me all about it. He described it to me.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What had they done to him? What did they do to him?

²⁵⁰⁷ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁵⁰⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017

P. O’RYAN: He mentioned that they slapped him on the temples of the head, regularly, until he fell down, and then they would pour water on him and so on, and on one occasion he mentioned that they carried away a corpse, someone to whom this third degree had been applied. He mentioned that to me.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Could you form a close attachment, friendship with this man, Demitrio Tsafendas?

P. O’RYAN: I took a deep liking to the man.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you form an attachment? Did you discuss your personal problems with him?

P. O’RYAN: As a rule we don’t discuss much of our personal problems.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he behave towards your children?

P. O’RYAN: He was very attached to the children, and very often my wife used to say “This man has never had the opportunity to know a little about home life. This most probably is the first home where he is at home.” And we tried to make him at home as much as we could.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he discuss with you and tell you any of his background, of his home life as a child?

P. O’RYAN: Most of that he told my wife. He did not speak sentimentally to me at all, much.

P. O’RYAN: ... He was a very kindly man. In my experience of him he had a good heart.

COMMENTS ON P. O’RYAN’S STATEMENT REGARDING HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH TSAFENDAS

O’Ryan clearly states that he liked Tsafendas. He also trusted him to babysit his children.²⁵⁰⁹ Although sometimes unemployed, Tsafendas often bought sweets for the young ones and when he was in work, he came every day with sweets, toys and food. Reuben O’Ryan, the closest to Tsafendas of all the children, said, “We all loved him ... he was an adorable man ...

²⁵⁰⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

he was the answer to our prayers. We were poor and he brought food to our house.”²⁵¹⁰

Another child, Stanley, remembers Tsafendas as a “very down-to-earth man, very friendly. I never suspected, even in the slightest, that he might be unstable. Nothing at all. Perfectly normal.”²⁵¹¹

²⁵¹⁰ Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

²⁵¹¹ Stanley O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 9 April 2015.

Patrick O’Ryan testified in court that Tsafendas told him he was tortured and brainwashed in Portugal. No exploration was made of this, therefore it is important to state here what Tsafendas meant by brainwashing. He perceived it as an attempt by the Portuguese forcefully to change his pro-Communist and anti-colonial ideology, which included support for the independence of Mozambique. Tsafendas used the same word, “brainwashing,” when he described his torture by the Portuguese to several witnesses the author interviewed. He was not tortured to reveal something, but to change his political ideas.

O’Ryan stated openly that he liked Tsafendas and had confidence in him, even letting him to babysit his children. It seems unthinkable that he would have allowed a man who was unstable to do that. Perhaps conclusive proof of O’Ryan’s affection for Tsafendas is the fact that he and his wife were the only friends who attended his funeral. With just one day’s notice, they flew from Cape Town to Johannesburg to see Tsafendas interred in the cemetery next to Sterkfontein Hospital. O’Ryan was not a rich man and two last-minute plane tickets must have been costly. This demonstration of grief and loyalty says a lot about their relationship. “We do feel his death. He was dear to us,” Patrick O’Ryan said the day of the funeral and characterised him as “pleasant and highly intelligent.”²⁵¹²

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused show any feelings for your children?

P. O’RYAN: He was very fond of them.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And you took a deep liking to the accused?

P. O’RYAN: I had confidence in him and used to like him.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you think that he felt the same about you?

P. O’RYAN: Yes. Only that I didn’t sympathise with him about the worm.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What made you conclude that he was not one of your faith?

P. O’RYAN: Among other things, number one he mentioned to me that a friend of ours in Greece had baptised him by means of a triple immersion; in the name of the Father he was immersed; in the name of the Son he said he was immersed; and in the name of the Holy Spirit he was immersed. That was most unusual to me, and unscriptural. To us a baptism is

²⁵¹² *South African Press Association*, ‘Small Group Gather for Tsafendas’s Funeral’, 9 October 1999.

symbolic of a burial, a natural burial. And when a man is buried naturally he is just buried once and not exhumed again and so on. Then, secondly, he was surprised when I told him about Jesus having existed before the earth...

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I don’t think we need go into that any further. Didn’t you gain the impression that the accused was sponging on you?

P. O’RYAN: Quite a few friends of mine told me that, but I believe in hospitality so I overlooked it.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: When did the accused tell you about this so-called worm?

P. O’RYAN: When I told him to get out of bed and not to be too inactive, and not to surrender to a thought like that. But to him it was real.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Can you remember the date?

P. O’RYAN: It would have been very shortly after - I would say it was in December.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: December?

P. O’RYAN: 1965 already.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: On how many occasions did the accused tell you about this so-called worm?

P. O’RYAN: Very very frequently.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Very very frequently?

P. O’RYAN: It became common in the home, so much so that the remedy they used for him, well, there was quite a quantity of it in the home already.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You made a statement to the Police on the 17th September 1966, is that correct?

P. O’RYAN: Most probably. Yes, the date must be.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You can have a look at the statement?

P. O’RYAN: I did make a statement. Correct.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Why didn’t you mention anything about this worm to the Police in your statement?

P. O’RYAN: The Police mentioned, number one, that that was not necessary, I must just

leave it.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: So you say that you mentioned this worm to the Police?

P. O’RYAN: Yes. Not necessary, they mentioned. And I also made a statement about this treatment, and the Police said it is common in the papers.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: This gentleman here, Mr. Troost, (pointed out) took the statement, not so?

P. O’RYAN: That is right.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: So you tell me that you told Mr. Troost about this worm?

P. O’RYAN: Yes, I said he mentioned the worm.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And Mr. Troost said it was not necessary to make any mention of it?

P. O’RYAN: No, he just brushed it away.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What exactly did you say to Mr. Troost?

P. O’RYAN: I just said he mentioned the worm and also the third degree.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Just give us your exact words that you used to Mr. Troost?

P. O’RYAN: Mr. Troost spoke to me in the form of questions, which I answered, but in between I mentioned these two things that I noted were not noted.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You told Mr. Troost that this man has on many occasions mentioned to you...

P. O’RYAN: No, no, I did not say on many occasions.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What exactly did you say to Mr. Troost?

P. O’RYAN: I said he mentioned a worm, and the brainwashing.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What did Mr. Troost say to that?

P. O’RYAN: Well, in writing - he just continued to write and...

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: So in spite of the fact that you mentioned something about the worm, he did not take that down in writing?

P. O’RYAN: No.

JUDGE BEYERS: Am I going to be allowed to see that statement?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Certainly my lord.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: With respect, I don’t think your lordship can read it. It must be put to this witness first of all, and say that he made this statement and he admits the contents.

JUDGE BEYERS: I thought that he had admitted.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: He admits that he has made a statement, but he has not identified this statement yet.

JUDGE BEYERS: It is not all that important. (Statement not read by the Court).

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you say in this statement - I quote what is written down in this statement: “He (that is the accused) stayed with me for approximately 3 months, 2 weeks of which he stayed at Poggenpoel, but afterwards returned to me?”

P. O’RYAN: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: “He read the newspaper and it was apparent that he was against the state policy of both South Africa and Portugal.” Did you say that?

P. O’RYAN: Yes

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: “He made the impression with me that he was favourable towards the Coloureds and he repeatedly applied to be classified as a Coloured.” Did you say that?

P. O’RYAN: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: “He said that he had a blank identity card, in other words his race was not recorded on it.”?

P. O’RYAN: That is correct.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: “He labelled the apartheid policies as unfair”?

P. O’RYAN: Yes

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: “His reasoning was not very intelligent”?

P. O’RYAN: Correct.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Is that right?

P. O’RYAN: That is right, yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: “I did not encourage him, because we advocate the Biblical idea of subservience to a Government.” Is that right?

P. O’RYAN: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I will not be much longer you honour.

JUDGE BEYERS: You are not boring me. I am quiet interested.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: “His spiritual view seemed confused, but he was not spiritually or mentally disturbed.” You said that?

P. O’RYAN: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: “On the contrary, even though I did not consider him to be particularly intelligent, he was well spoken and had good vocabulary”?

P. O’RYAN: That is right.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you say that?

P. O’RYAN: Yes

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: “I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind”?

P. O’RYAN: That is correct, yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you say that?

P. O’RYAN: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Why then did you not say anything about the worm in the statement?

P. O’RYAN: It was so commonplace, most likely, that I did not want to draw any more attention to it. I only mention it casually.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You said you told Mr. Troost?

P. O’RYAN: Casually, yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You told him about the worm?

P. O’RYAN: Yes.

COMMENTS ON THE CROSS-EXAMINATION

The most important aspect of the cross-examination is that van den Berg, for the first time, challenged a witness on the basis of evidence given in a statement to the police. This suggests that the Attorney-General was given at least some witness statements and probably would have challenged the other witnesses, too, if he had the relevant statements. Still, though he challenged O’Ryan with questions which anyone could have asked, he did not do enough to break down his testimony.

An obvious question would have been, how was it that O’Ryan “never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind” when he heard Tsafendas talking about the tapeworm? Could anybody hear a man say he had a greedy tapeworm in his stomach and believe such a man to be sane?

The tapeworm creates a paradoxical situation: although Tsafendas does not talk about the worm to the Daniels family, they think he is insane; however, he does speak to O’Ryan about it and he believes that he is perfectly sane. O’Ryan lived for five months with Tsafendas in the same house and they then kept in regular touch for another year. The Daniels family spent some time with Tsafendas, though not in the same house, over forty-two days, then never saw him again. How is this dichotomy resolved? Both were asked by the defence to “exaggerate” some stories suggesting Tsafendas was strange, in particular to mention the tapeworm. O’Ryan had not spoken of it to the police, indeed had said Tsafendas was perfectly sane, therefore he could not now change. However, since he and his wife were the only witness who was aware of the worm, the defence used them to strengthen this angle.

The most important of the questions asked by the Attorney-General was why O’Ryan did not tell the police about the tapeworm, since Tsafendas spoke so frequently about it? O’Ryan seems a little unsure about what to say. He replied that he mentioned it “causally” and Sgt. Troost, the policeman who took the statement, did not write it down. O’Ryan did not comment about this particular incident to the two priests or to Liza Key, but he did state that he had not told the police about the tapeworm. The obvious conclusion is that he lied in court when he said he mentioned it “casually.” Very likely he thought that the policeman would probably not remember whether he had said it or not.

However, since Sgt. Troost was present in the trial and was pointed out by the Attorney-General, he could have been asked whether he remembered O’Ryan mentioning it.

In addition, it seems that O’Ryan is aware that there is nothing about the tapeworm in his statement as he stated that Troost “just continued to write.” O’Ryan could not have been in position to know what Troost was writing, unless he was asked specifically about something he had just said and Troost wanted a clarification. Therefore, he was not in condition to know whether it was written or not, unless he was given to read the statement in the end, as Troost had had done with all the statements he took. It is possible that O’Ryan did not bother at the time reading his statement as some of the witnesses did not. In this case, he would not have been able to know whether it was written or not. On the other hand, if he had read the statement, he would have seen that the tapeworm is not there, so he could have told Sgt. Troost that he forgot to include it.

O’Ryan was asked whether Tsafendas was sponging on him and he answered in an ambivalent fashion, that “quite a few friends of mine told me that, but I believe in hospitality so I overlooked it.” The author is not in position to know how O’Ryan really felt, however his two sons are positive that their father did not believe Tsafendas was sponging on him. On the contrary, they said their dad was often embarrassed because Tsafendas brought food to the house and toys and sweets for the children. When O’Ryan asked Tsafendas not to do this because he thought it made him look bad, Tsafendas continued to bring food and sweets but told the children they were bought by their dad and himself. Young Reuben O’Ryan said about Tsafendas, “We all loved him ... he was an adorable man ... he was the answer to our prayers. We were poor and he brought food to our house.”²⁵¹³

The Attorney-General’s above question also supported the defence’s line and not the State’s, so it is a strange kind of question. This was the sort of question you would have expected from the Defence Counsel and not from the Attorney-General. The Defence was trying to prove that Tsafendas was the kind of helpless man who was taking advantages of others and the State was supposedly trying to prove otherwise. This question only helped the defence.

O’Ryan’s statement to the police that Tsafendas was “favourable towards the Coloureds and he repeatedly applied to be classified as a Coloured” contradicts Dr. Cooper’s testimony from the previous day when he said that Tsafendas was unsympathetic towards Coloureds. In addition, through the cross-examination we also hear for the first and last time in the court, Tsafendas’s real political ideas: that he was “against the state policy of both

²⁵¹³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

South Africa and Portugal” and “labelled the apartheid policies as unfair” - again in contradiction to Dr. Cooper’s testimony. Importantly, these statements are not from a witness’s courtroom testimony, but from a witness’s statement to the police.

CONCLUSION

Patrick O’Ryan was the defence’s main witness with regard to the tapeworm and spoke extensively about it, although he also stated clearly that he “never actually doubted his (Tsafendas’s) mental state.” How is it possible to believe that a person who claims to host a massive and voracious tapeworm is sane? The fact is O’Ryan had already told the police in his statement that he believed Tsafendas “was not spiritually or mentally disturbed ... I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind”,²⁵¹⁴ therefore he could not go back on this position in court. He spoke about the tapeworm because he was asked to do so by advocate Cooper since he was the only defence witness who was aware of it.

The fact that O’Ryan did not tell the police about the tapeworm, although it was so important to Tsafendas, was raised by the Attorney-General. O’Ryan replied that he had mentioned the tapeworm but the policeman taking his statement brushed it aside. O’Ryan later claimed that he had not told the police about it and then spoke openly about it in court because he had been told by advocate Copper that this was the only way to “get him free.” In reality, as O’Ryan himself admitted to the priests and as Tsafendas had already told them, he was aware that the tapeworm was a fiction which Tsafendas had used in the past to stop the Portuguese torturing him. O’Ryan knew the origin of the tapeworm story and he could have become aware of it only from Tsafendas himself.

It is not surprising that O’Ryan lied to the court since, as he admitted in his testimony, he had taken a “deep liking” to Tsafendas, whom he considered to be a kind person with a good heart, his best friend and the kindest person he ever met. Upon hearing of Tsafendas’s death, O’Ryan and his wife bought airline tickets at short notice and flew to the funeral at Sterkfontein, his only friends to do so. This must have involved financial sacrifice for a poor man and testified to the genuine affection that existed between them.

It is important to note that the Attorney-General’s intervention was the first time he used a statement taken by the police to challenge a defence witness’s testimony. This

²⁵¹⁴ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

suggests that the police gave him at least some of the witness statements, raising the likelihood that if he was in possession of all the statements, he might have challenged other witnesses, too. That he reads extracts aloud confirms that the police did indeed take a statement from O’Ryan, something that might have raised doubts because no statement by Patrick O’Ryan was found in the National Archives. Accordingly, we are not in position to know its contents, apart from the excerpts read out in court. By reading out parts of the statement, the court heard, for the first and last time, Tsafendas’s real political ideas: he was “against the state policy of both South Africa and Portugal” and “labelled the apartheid policies as unfair.”

Patrick O’Ryan’s testimony would play an important role in Judge Beyers’s verdict, though the judge seemed to have poor recall of part of it. Judge Beyers stated, “I should also mention, briefly, that the ordinary people, the ordinary everyday people with whom he (Tsafendas) came into contact did not take long before they could see that this man was mentally affected... It was obvious to O’Ryan and his wife.” While O’Ryan might have testified to the lunacy of the tapeworm, he did not state that Tsafendas was mentally affected. On the contrary, he said clearly “I never actually doubted his mental state, since to me he had a mind that the majority of people have.” The court also heard O’Ryan’s statement to the police where he said that Tsafendas “was not spiritually or mentally disturbed ... I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind.”²⁵¹⁵ This the judge also seems to have overlooked.

²⁵¹⁵ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 7: LOUISA O’RYAN

INTRODUCTION

Louisa O’Ryan, Patrick O’Ryan’s wife, was urged by defence advocate Cooper to highlight the tapeworm in her evidence. However, unlike her husband, she was under the impression that the worm was real. Patrick had joked that Tsafendas’s voracious appetite was caused by a tapeworm.²⁵¹⁶ She replied, “That figures!” However, Patrick did not tell her about Tom Tuff and that the tapeworm was imaginary and he joked with Tsafendas about it.²⁵¹⁷ Tsafendas himself built a good relationship with Louisa because she sympathized with his “problem,” unaware it was all a fiction.²⁵¹⁸

LOUISA O’RYAN’S TESTIMONY²⁵¹⁹

L. O’RYAN’S FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH TSAFENDAS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Do you know the accused?

L. O’RYAN: I know Demitrio.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where did you meet him for the first time?

L. O’RYAN: At our convention in Durbanville.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he behave on that occasion?

L. O’RYAN: Well, quite normal.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you hear him speak?

L. O’RYAN: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he preach?

L. O’RYAN: Well, not actually preach. We just each give our testimony.

²⁵¹⁶ For more about the incident see Chapter 2.

²⁵¹⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁵¹⁸ Louisa O’Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

²⁵¹⁹ Louisa O’ Ryan’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he give his testimony?

L. O’RYAN: Well, he started off with the way he got away from Cape Town half a century ago, or a quarter century he mentioned, and then how he got on to the boat, peeling potatoes. Then he spoke a little of his travels, and then he cited a verse in the Bible, but I could not sort of get a grasp of what he was trying to explain at the time.

ASSESSOR: You mean the verse had no relation to what he was talking about?

L. O’RYAN: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: But after this convention he came to live at your house, did he?

L. O’RYAN: Yes.

THE TAPEWORM

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he ever discuss any of his complaints with you?

L. O’RYAN: Well, he spoke to me about his stomach, and he explained to me that it was because of a tapeworm which was an inch and a half wide, and he told me that a while back, when he was a little boy, about six feet of it came down. The doctor gave him something and six feet of it came down. He was sitting on a bucket. And then he fainted on the bucket, and his mother removed it and she destroyed it, and since then nothing has ever come down.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he speak often about this worm?

L. O’RYAN: Quite often he spoke to me.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did he call this worm?

L. O’RYAN: He called it a snake, or a demon.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he tell you whether it moved, or what it did inside him?

L. O’RYAN: He told me that this snake, or this worn, sort of cones up at night and then it sort of hunts for food. He seemed that it put it down that way, that it hunts for food late at night while he was asleep; it sort of woke him up; and this thing was hunting for food.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he ever ask for food for this worm?

L. O’RYAN: Yes, he asked me quite a few times if he could just have a piece of bread to feed the worn.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he take medicine for this worm?

L. O’RYAN: He took medicine. He once went to the Grootte Schuur Hospital, and then he went again to the Foreshore to the Medical Centre there and they gave him a bottle of white stuff, I think it was some sort of a line mixture.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was he very energetic?

L. O’RYAN: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did he do?

L. O’RYAN: Well, he told me that in spite of his big body he always felt tired, and he reckoned that it was the worm, because of the worm sort of devouring the food that his body should have.

JUDGE BEYERS: A most wonderful worm. You don’t have to work, and you eat at night in order to feed him. One of the best pets I have heard of. Anyway, he can’t work because of the worm, but the worm has got to be fed.

NO CROSS-EXAMINATION TOOK PLACE

COMMENTS ON L. O’RYAN’S TESTIMONY

Louisa refers to Tsafendas’s mother, but she means his step-mother. She was aware that Tsafendas had lived with his birth mother for about only eighteen months. Tsafendas referred to Marika as “mother,” and not as step-mother. As far as the author can establish, he only referred to Marika as step-mother in his statements to the police. As stated before, several witnesses interviewed by the author stated that he referred to Marika as his mother, not his stepmother.

What is important here is the story Louisa O’Ryan tells about the origin of the tapeworm. It is this story that would be remembered afterwards. According to Louisa, Tsafendas told her that his (step) mother removed six feet of tapeworm which Tsafendas excreted as a boy and destroyed it. Tsafendas does not mention anything about witchcraft, as he did with Dr. Cooper and with Dr. Sakinofsky. According to Louisa, Tsafendas was a “little boy” when it happened, not a teenager as claimed by Dr. Cooper and Dr. Muller. Dr. Cooper

has stated that it was in 1935 or 1936, while Dr. Muller had stated that it was after 1936.²⁵²⁰ In 1935 and 1936, Tsafendas was seventeen and eighteen, not a little boy. No-one noticed this and it was left unchallenged.

However, it is highly significant that Tsafendas’s (step) mother, Marika, in her testimony to the Commission, flatly denied that such an event ever took place and swore that she never heard about the tapeworm until now. Exactly the same thing was stated to the Commission by the rest of the family.²⁵²¹ Katerina Pnema, Tsafendas’s half-sister, had never heard Tsafendas say anything about a tapeworm and did not remember such an incident taking place, but upon reading about it, she asked her mother to double-check it.²⁵²² Marika denied all knowledge of the incident and of the worm and told her daughter that Tsafendas was making it up. Fotini Gavasiadis’s brother, Nick Vlachopoulos was married to Helen Tsafantakis, another of Tsafendas’s half-sisters. She and other long-time family members and friends all questioned Tsafendas’s step-mother and she gave them the same answer as she gave to the Commission: “It never happened.”²⁵²³

Ira Kyriakakis, who had grown up with Tsafendas and Mary Eintracht who was his cousin and had also grown up with him were certain that he had made it up as they were extremely close to him at the time the alleged incident took place as he never told them anything about it and they were both certain that he would have told them if such thing had happened. Still though, they both asked Marika who once again denied that this story ever took place. Throughout her life, Marika vigorously denied that such a thing ever happened and insisted that Tsafendas had made it up.²⁵²⁴ As for Louisa O’Ryan, despite her belief in the reality of the tapeworm, she strongly believed that Tsafendas was perfectly sane.²⁵²⁵

²⁵²⁰ Dr. Harold Cooper’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA; Dr. Hendrik Muller’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁵²¹ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

²⁵²² Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁵²³ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

²⁵²⁴ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

²⁵²⁵ Louisa O’ Ryan in *A question of Madness*; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Stanley O’Ryan in a personal interview with the author, 9 April 2015.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 8: OWEN SMORENBERG

INTRODUCTION

Owen Smorenberg was an important witness for the defence. Although he knew Tsafendas for only five or six weeks, he was chosen to testify rather than others who had known him or lived with him for many months. Smorenberg was questioned by the police on October 6, 1966 and his statement is available in the previous chapter.

EXTRACTS FROM OWEN SMORENBERG’S TESTIMONY²⁵²⁶

MEETING TSAFENDAS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is your occupation?

SMORENBERG: I am employed as maintenance foreman at the Cape Town City Council Power Station.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And for how long have you been working there?

SMORENBERG: Eight years.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Do you know the accused?

SMORENBERG: Yes I know him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When did you meet him for the first time?

SMORENBERG: He came to work for us as a fitter on the 13th September, 1965.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: But how long did he stay with you?

SMORENBERG: Approximately six weeks.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: During this period did you work with him?

SMORENBERG: Yes, I did work with him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What kind of work did he have to do?

SMORENBERG: Mainly rough engineering. Fitting.

²⁵²⁶ Owen Smorenberg’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you have to check his work?

SMORENBERG: Yes, every day.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The work that he had to do, was it difficult work? Was it involved work?

SMORENBERG: Not really. I would say it is the easiest type of fitting that there is.

JUDGE BEYERS: Was he taken on as a fitter or as a labourer?

SMORENBERG: As a fitter.

JUDGE BEYERS: Did he claim to "be a fitter?

SMORENBERG: He claims to be a fitter, yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: Did he have papers?

SMORENBERG: That I couldn't say. I never employed him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was the type of work that he was doing? Rough engineering work?

SMORENBERG: Rough engineering fitting.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was your first impression about Tsafendas?

SMORENBERG: The first impression was that he was a friendly type of man.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he talk freely with you?

SMORENBERG: Fairly freely.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Had he travelled extensively?

SMORENBERG: He claimed to have travelled extensively, yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he form any close friendship with any person on the job?

SMORENBERG: Not really. Perhaps myself, and maybe one other fellow. We were about the friendliest with him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was that a close friendship?

SMORENBERG: Not really.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he claim that he could speak more than one language?

SMORENBERG: He did claim so, and I actually heard him speak in more than one

language.

COMMENTS ON SMORENBERG'S ABOVE TESTIMONY

Smorenberg was called as a defence witness rather than many who knew Tsafendas longer and better. He worked with Tsafendas for six weeks one year before the assassination (although he said five weeks in his statement to the police twelve days earlier) and he described their relationship as “not really” close. However, not one of Tsafendas’s Parliamentary messenger colleagues was asked to testify when they worked with him a year later, just before the assassination, and for the same length of time. The choice of Smorenberg is understandable since he was the only one of the one hundred and fifty or so witnesses questioned by the police who could support specific aspects of the defence’s line. Precisely why Smorenberg was chosen we will see shortly.

TSAFENDAS AND THE COLOURED PEOPLE

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he like Coloured people?

SMORENBERG: The impression I got is that he didn’t like them.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Why did you get that impression? Was there an incident that you can relate?

SMORENBERG: Yes. There are one or two incidents. The first time, they normally have a labourer working with them, and on this particular occasion the labourer had come to complain that he did not wish to work with the fitter any longer. I asked why, so he said that when he offered him a little bit of advice the fitter had turned round and told him that he is the boss on the job and he is not taking any advice or any backchat whatsoever from any Coloured.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Any other incident that you can recall?

SMORENBERG: Yes, the second time that I formed an opinion that he didn’t like them was the statement he had made to me while we were working down at the Docks.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was the occasion? What were you working on?

SMORENBERG: We have down at the Docks a cooling water intake for the Power station. We have gone down there to do some overhaul work, and we were about 40 feet down in the

ground.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is it like down there?

SMORENBERG: It is quite a big tunnel. It reminds one of, shall we say, a 15th century castle, the torture chambers or the dungeons. It is dripping with water, and quite dirty and dark. It is generally an eerie place. We had gone down there to do some work, and while we were working I said to him jokingly that this is a good place for Mr. Vorster to keep his political prisoners, to which he replied, and I was quite shocked at the time - I suppose I generally didn't expect any political conversation from him - he replied "Yes, they should put them all down here; in fact they should put all the Coloureds here, open the doors and drown the lot."

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In what tone of voice did he make this remark?

SMORENBERG: Well, it wasn't sort of overbearing; it was just as a sort of general discussion.

COMMENTS ON SMORENBERG'S IMPRESSION THAT TSAFENDAS DID NOT LIKE THE COLOURED PEOPLE

Of the many absurd statements about Tsafendas that were heard during the summary trial, Smorenberg's remarks regarding Tsafendas's attitude to Coloured people are the hardest to comprehend. They stretch belief to breaking point, but even if they are true, and the author has no way to be certain, mountains of evidence is available to demonstrate that they do not represent Tsafendas's true feelings. Out of the about two hundred people who were questioned by the police and the Commission and the seventy-one the author has interviewed, not one said anything that would support Smorenberg's claims. Indeed witnesses stated the exact opposite:

- Perhaps the most decisive refutation is the fact that Tsafendas applied to be classified as Coloured himself, hardly the act of a man who did not like such people. Furthermore, Tsafendas had given as one of the reasons for his application the fact that he regarded himself as a Coloured.²⁵²⁷
- For five months, Tsafendas lived with the Coloured family of Patrick O'Ryan, who testified before Smorenberg that Tsafendas was "favourable towards the Coloureds and

²⁵²⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 39.

he repeatedly applied to be classified as a Coloured.”²⁵²⁸

- Jacobus Bornman, Tsafendas’s flatmate for three months in Pretoria in 1965, testified to the police that Tsafendas “stood up a lot for the Coloureds.”²⁵²⁹
- Col. McIntyre of the South African police wrote in a report dated October 3 that Tsafendas told “several people that he was upset because he was not classified as a Coloured.”²⁵³⁰
- Albert Vercoueil, who was Tsafendas’s supervisor for five months at F. A. Poole in Pretoria, told the police that Tsafendas “bullied the other Portuguese workers (and) had fights with several White workers,”²⁵³¹ but he never argued with Black workers.²⁵³²
- According to Inspector Horacio Ferreira of the Portuguese Security Police in Mozambique, Tsafendas was “intense anti-white” and told him that “the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-Whites.”²⁵³³
- Keith Martincich said Tsafendas told him that “Coloureds were better than the Europeans”²⁵³⁴
- Jose Baltazar testified that when Tsafendas “was in the presence of whites, he said little or nothing, but was friendly and talkative with the Bantu. On one or two occasions Tsafendas, while talking with Bantu, stopped talking when he approached.”²⁵³⁵
- Gladstone Dunn said Tsafendas told him that the South African Government “was not playing fair with the non-whites. He said that the wages paid to non-whites were very unsatisfactory, as well as the political situation.”²⁵³⁶ Tsafendas himself was classified White, so why would he care about mistreatment of Blacks, especially if he was said not

²⁵²⁸ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁵²⁹ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵³⁰ ‘The history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds to the late Dr. Verwoerd’ drafted by Col. McIntyre, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Subject: Leer W.D. 10/10/4102 der Stafendas. NASA.

²⁵³¹ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁵³² Albert Vercual statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵³³ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁵³⁴ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵³⁵ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁵³⁶ Gladstone Dunn statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

to like them?

- Meldon Tillek testified that Tsafendas told him that “the white people always looked down on him and that consequently he felt more at home amongst Coloured people.”²⁵³⁷
- Ralph Lighton who had worked with Tsafendas for 9-10 weeks testified that Tsafendas “used to mix with the Coloureds rather than with the Europeans.”²⁵³⁸
- Nikolaas Nel: Tsafendas “was certainly unpopular among white workers” and “adapted more to the non-whites.”²⁵³⁹
- Elizabeth Groves was Tsafendas’s landlady for six or seven weeks and a retired psychiatric nurse. About Tsafendas she said, “I received complaints that he was argumentative and towards me he said that we Afrikaners are a backward nation. It was clear that he had nothing good towards Afrikaners.”²⁵⁴⁰
- Peter Daniels testified to the court only minutes before Smorenberg that Tsafendas “preferred to be amongst the Coloured community” and that “he would like to be among the Coloured community, make himself a Coloured man.”²⁵⁴¹
- Keith Martincich testified to the police that Tsafendas “said the coloureds were better than the Europeans. He said they were more friendly, and had more sense than the Europeans, and showed more understanding. When I said he was talking nonsense, he got cross and lifted himself as though he wanted to tackle me ... I noticed that he was very familiar with the coloured crew on the boat, about which I reprimanded him.”²⁵⁴²

The author read Smorenberg’s court statement to forty-six people who knew Tsafendas very well, such as Tsafendas’s half-sister Katerina Pnema, Fotini Gavasiadis, the three priests who visited him in hospital and in prison, Costas Poriadis, Mary Eintracht, Allan O’Ryan, Reuben O’Ryan, Andreas Babiolakis, Nick Papadakis, Helen Grispos, Ira Kyriakakis, Father Nikola Banovic and to thirteen of the *Eleni* crew who were with him for forty-two days prior to the assassination. Every one of the above witnesses believes that

²⁵³⁷ Meldon Tillek statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵³⁸ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵³⁹ Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁴⁰ Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁵⁴¹ Peter Daniels testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁵⁴² Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Smorenberg's statement is either a lie or a false impression. Several of them simply laughed when they heard what Smorenberg said.

These are some of the responses from people who knew Tsafendas best:

- Katerina Pnefma said Smorenberg “does not know what he is talking about. Dimitri always defended the Coloureds and the Blacks from the Whites. He was fired from jobs because he supported them.”²⁵⁴³
- Fotini Gavasiadis called the statement “ridiculous,” stating that Tsafendas was “the exact opposite.”²⁵⁴⁴
- Mary Eintracht said she was completely surprised to hear such a statement. “Are you serious? I never heard that. It can't be true. No one would have said that about Dimitri.”²⁵⁴⁵
- Andreas Babiolakis said, “These people [Dr. Cooper and Smorenberg] must have been hallucinating, not Dimitri, if this is what they said about him.”²⁵⁴⁶
- Ira Kyriakakis told the author that Tsafendas was “an idealist. He was very passionate about politics; he despised racism and colonialism and wanted Mozambique to get rid of the Portuguese; he was very strong in favour of Mozambique's independence.”²⁵⁴⁷
- Michalis Vasilakis said Dr. Cooper's statement was “one of the biggest nonsense I have heard in my life.”²⁵⁴⁸

We should also remember that Tsafendas lived not only with the O'Ryan family but in the same house as other Coloured people such as Richard Poggenpoel and the Daniels family. He was willing to meet and consider marriage to the Coloured woman, Helen Daniels, while he also wanted to marry Sybie Barrendila a young lady of Coloured-Indian ancestry. His first serious relationship, which lasted for more than a year in the late 1930s, was with a Black Mozambican girl named Stella. Tsafendas described himself to the police as being against apartheid and in “sympathy with the people fighting racialism.”²⁵⁴⁹

David Bloomberg told the author that Tsafendas “felt Coloured, and he was more

²⁵⁴³ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁵⁴⁴ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

²⁵⁴⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²⁵⁴⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

²⁵⁴⁷ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

²⁵⁴⁸ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

²⁵⁴⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

comfortable with the Coloured people, and he had been living with Coloured people in Cape Town.²⁵⁵⁰ Tsafendas also took some of the *Eleni* seamen to a township in Cape Town where Blacks lived in an effort to show them at first-hand how some people lived under apartheid. He had also urged the seamen to spend as little money as possible while in Cape Town in order not to contribute to South Africa's economy.²⁵⁵¹ Finally, Tsafendas got into a fight with Nick Vergos after he supported two Black workers who were exploited by Vergos.²⁵⁵² All these are hardly the attitudes of someone who was unsympathetic towards Coloureds.

It is not impossible that Tsafendas made the comments attributed to him by Smorenberg, but we do not know the background to the incident, whether Smorenberg may have misunderstood what happened or misheard what was said, or whether Tsafendas was being sarcastic or ironic, as he often was according to several witnesses the author interviewed. Alternatively, he might have said what he did because he simply did not want to argue with the Whites around him. What is a fact is that he was not antagonistic towards the Coloured community, indeed he was strongly opposed to apartheid as several witnesses testified. The Attorney-General could have used all the witness statements which were in the possession of the police, to challenge Smorenberg's comments, but he chose not to do so. For a more detailed account of Tsafendas's racial "preferences," see Dr. Cooper's testimony (the part: Being unsympathetic towards Coloureds and Natives) and his biography in Chapter 2.

REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S OPINION ABOUT VORSTER AND VERWOERD

²⁵⁵⁰ David Bloomberg in a personal interview, 6 April 2014.

²⁵⁵¹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 5 August 2011; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

²⁵⁵² Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 5 August 2011; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he make any comment on Mr. Vorster?

SMORENBERG: Yes. He said he thought that Mr. Vorster was the right type of man for the Minister of Justice's job. And he went on to say that he thought the Prime Minister was a clever man and he held the right position. In other words, he was the right man for the job as well.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And who was the Prime Minister then?

SMORENBERG: Dr. Verwoerd.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What impression did you get, was he a supporter of the Government or an opponent or a critic of the Government?

SMORENBERG: Well, I got the impression that he was a supporter.

COMMENTS ON SMORENBERG'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S OPINION ABOUT VORSTER AND VERWOERD

If Smorenberg's claim that Tsafendas disliked Coloured people was the most absurd statement made at the trial, then the second most absurd must be that he "got the impression" Tsafendas was a supporter of Dr. Verwoerd and his government. Both came from the same man, a man who stated that Tsafendas "never discussed politics with me."²⁵⁵³

It is possible that Tsafendas was being sarcastic, especially with his comment about Vorster. That he characterised him as "the right type of man" for the job does not mean that he agreed with or supported him. Indeed, it could have implied that Vorster's character was such that he was right for some sort of dirty work involving his responsibility for police and prison. Judging a person as the "right type of man" does not imply he is a "good type of man," merely that he has the appropriate skills for a designated task. It is like saying that Heinrich Himmler was the right type of man to orchestrate the Holocaust, meaning that he was able to do it because he was monstrously evil. Arguably, Himmler was indeed the right man for a job which could only be performed by a monster but which required administrative abilities, too. Jack the Ripper was also a monster but might not have been the "right type of man" to organise the Holocaust, but was obviously the "right type of man" to murder women.

As for the comment about Dr. Verwoerd, again the fact that Tsafendas described him

²⁵⁵³ Owen Smorenburg statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 oor Stafendas. NASA.

as “clever” does not imply approval or even that he agreed with him. It is an objective statement. Someone may comment that Hitler was a vegetarian, but this would not be taken as a statement of support for Hitler.

Let us first look at what people told the police concerning Tsafendas’s opinion about Dr. Verwoerd and the government:

- Edward Furness testified that Tsafendas wanted to “create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned civil disobedience and anything that would get the South African regime out of power.”²⁵⁵⁴
- Kenneth Ross told the police that Tsafendas “was very fond of discussing politics and gave me the opinion that he was well versed in politics. Tsafendas objected to the Communists being banished to Robin Island [sic] because of their political opinions and actions. In general, Tsafendas opposed to every decision taken by the South African Government and freely voiced his opinion to me. He was blatantly opposed to the National Party policy, the policy of the present Government, and was definitely pro-Russian.”²⁵⁵⁵
- Patrick O’Ryan told the police that Tsafendas “was against the state policy of both South Africa and Portugal” and that he “labelled the apartheid policies as unfair.”²⁵⁵⁶ Later O’Ryan described Tsafendas as getting “excited” when he talked about politics and saying that Dr. Verwoerd was a tyrant who was oppressing his people, that he was ‘Hitler’s best student’ and if he (Tsafendas) ever get hold of him “he would bash his skull.” He did not tell the police about Dr. Verwoerd being a tyrant as he believed it would be bad for Tsafendas.²⁵⁵⁷
- Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren, a security officer at the Mandini Paper Factory in Zululand, told the police that Nick Vergos said Tsafendas “was not Greek, but a kaffir and a Communist.”²⁵⁵⁸

²⁵⁵⁴ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁵⁵ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁵⁶ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁵⁵⁷ Patrick O’Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁵⁵⁸ Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

- Robert Smith was a night clerk at the Durban Men's Home where Tsafendas stayed for two months in 1965. He testified that Tsafendas was a Communist, "a fanatic on politics and seldom spoke of anything else" and had described "United Party and National Party officials and members as capitalistic roughs." Tsafendas had told him that the "South African government's policy was 'rotten'" and often compared conditions in South Africa with those of Russia, stating, "Look at all the poor people in South Africa... such conditions don't exist in Russia because Russia is a Communistic state."²⁵⁵⁹
- Jacobus Bornman testified that Tsafendas "stood up a lot for the Coloureds" and "often criticised the South African government and seemed to have a grudge against Dr. Verwoerd."²⁵⁶⁰
- Albert Vercueil said Tsafendas told him, "You are like your bloody government, but I will get you, and I will get your Prime Minister too."²⁵⁶¹
- Johannes Botha, a security officer, told the police that Nick Vergos characterised Tsafendas in a remark to him as the "biggest Communist in the Republic of South Africa."²⁵⁶²
- Jan Johannes Albertus Fourie, a sergeant of the South African police, testified that Nick Vergos reported Tsafendas to him as "Communist bastard."²⁵⁶³
- Father Hanno Probst reported Tsafendas to a security officer as a "communist and a dangerous person."²⁵⁶⁴ He also suspected Tsafendas of being a political agitator, stirring up disaffection among young Blacks in the Mangete Reserve. "I say this because during the period Demetrios Tsafendas stayed at Mandini, the youngsters in the Mangete Reserve became unruly and aggressive. This, however, is only suspicion, because since the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd everything became quiet again and the youngsters

²⁵⁵⁹ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁶⁰ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁵⁶¹ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁶² Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁶³ Jan Johannes Albertus Fourie statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁶⁴ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

controllable... He started swearing at the Mozambique government, saying it did nothing for the black people.”²⁵⁶⁵

- Roelof Swiegers testified that Tsafendas “leaned towards the communist side.”²⁵⁶⁶
- According to Inspector Horacio Ferreira, of the Portuguese Security Police in Mozambique, Tsafendas was “intense anti-White” and told him that “the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-Whites.”²⁵⁶⁷
- Keith Martincich testified that Tsafendas “on quite a few occasions he had discussed politics with me. He said he did not like the Government and that he was given a hard time in South Africa. He said the Government won’t reign very long.”²⁵⁶⁸
- Antony Maw testified that the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique did not allow Tsafendas to enter the country on grounds of suspected Communist tendencies.²⁵⁶⁹
- One day after the assassination, a secret telegram from the South African embassy in Lisbon informed the South African police that Tsafendas “has a criminal record in Mozambique, where he is said to have been arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances, including shouting pro-Communist and anti-Portuguese slogans.”²⁵⁷⁰
- A report by of Col. van Wyk of the South African police characterised Tsafendas as being “intensely anti-white.”²⁵⁷¹
- Elizabeth Groves was Tsafendas’s landlady for six or seven weeks and a retired psychiatric nurse. About Tsafendas she said, “I received complaints that he was argumentative and towards me he said that we Afrikaners are a backward nation. It was clear that he had nothing good towards Afrikaners.”²⁵⁷²

²⁵⁶⁵ Father Hanno Probst statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁶⁶ Roelof Erasmus Swiegers statement to the police, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van vorm Z 204. NASA.

²⁵⁶⁷ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁵⁶⁸ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁶⁹ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub File: 1/8. NASA.

²⁵⁷⁰ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁵⁷¹ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁵⁷² Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

- A 1941 report from the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs said that Tsafendas was “dismissed from employment at a kiosk in Portuguese South Africa (Mozambique) on account of his Communist leanings.”²⁵⁷³
- Also, in July 1966, just two months before the assassination, Tsafendas gave a 75-minute interview to a reporter named N.D. Hartford of the *Cape Argus*. They had already met at the beginning of the year when Tsafendas came to the newspaper and enquired whether there was any news of the freedom fighters of Mozambique. He described himself as an “anti-Portuguese rebel and an antagonist of the Portuguese dictatorship.”²⁵⁷⁴ Hartford’s impression was that Tsafendas was normal; he had no reason to believe that he was mentally defective. According to Hartford, Tsafendas spoke fluently without any noticeable gaps in the conversation.²⁵⁷⁵

For a more detailed account of Tsafendas’s’ political ideas, see earlier in Dr. Cooper’s testimony regarding his motive killing Dr. Verwoerd.

More importantly, Tsafendas himself had told the police that he was “disgusted” with Dr. Verwoerd’s racial policies, that he did not believe he was the real representative of all South Africans and wanted to see a government that would represent all the South African people. He even said he had hoped that by killing him a “change of policy would take place.” The police also had in their possession photographs from the demonstrations in London where Tsafendas was holding a placard depicting a man in a Ku Klux Klan uniform and underneath it the words, Dr. Verwoerd and another one where he had pinned the Yellow Star of David to his coat.²⁵⁷⁶

²⁵⁷³ Report of the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, 14 October 1941. K150, Vol. 3, File: W.D. 10/10/4102. Subject: Enquiry regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis. NASA.

²⁵⁷⁴ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.’ 7 September 1966: 3; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

²⁵⁷⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

²⁵⁷⁶ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

Nick Vergos had characterised Tsafendas as the "biggest Communist in the Republic of South Africa,"²⁵⁷⁷ while Kenneth Ross,²⁵⁷⁸ Robert Smith, Roelof Swiegers²⁵⁷⁹ and many others testified that he was a Communist. Stronger language came from such witnesses as Cleanthes Alachiotis, Elias Constantaras, Nikolaos Billis, George Kantas, Nickolas Kambouris, Vasilis Perselis, Grigoris Pouftis and Michalis Vasilakis, all of whom testified to the police that Tsafendas considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator, and "Hitler's best student," and that he made a spitting gesture at Verwoerd's picture.²⁵⁸⁰ As recently as a year ago, Father Probst and Nick Vergos reported Tsafendas as a dangerous Communist.²⁵⁸¹

All of this evidence was in the hands of the police, but none of it was used to challenge Smorenberg. If the Attorney General had challenged Smorenberg's "impressions" that Tsafendas supported Dr. Verwoerd and his government, the Attorney-General could have presented him as an unreliable witness since his testimony was plainly incompatible with evidence gathered by the police. However, it was perfectly compatible with the defence's case, of which it was an important part.

SOME "ODD INCIDENTS"

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was there any other incident which stands out in your mind as being odd?

SMORENBERG: From what point of view?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Just odd incidents. Things that you thought were strange conduct on the part of Tsafendas?

SMORENBERG: Regarding his conduct?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Yes?

²⁵⁷⁷ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁷⁸ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁷⁹ Roelof Erasmus Swiegers statement to the police, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van vorm Z 204. NASA.

²⁵⁸⁰ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015; Nickolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

²⁵⁸¹ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

SMORENBERG: Yes, there were one or two strange things about him. On one particular occasion he was required to change a fairly large pipe. These pipes are held together by 8 bolts. Normally speaking these bolts rust up. There is a lot of seawater there. When a set of bolts comes out we quite often replace them with new ones. On this occasion he had come to me with the bolts in his hand, and they were fairly badly rusted, and he asked me what he should do with them, to which I replied "Make out an order and get a new set from the stores." He went away, made the order out, drew the bolts, and about half an hour later I went on the job to check and I found the old bolts lying, I should say the new bolts lying to one side and he has replaced the old bolts. Well, I thought it was a bit strange to ask for new bolts and then put the old ones back

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Time sheets - can you recall an incident in relation to time sheets which you considered to be strange?

SMORENBERG: Yes. Normally time sheets for the fitters in the section are made out on Monday morning, and that covers the work for the previous week. Any overtime that has been done is also entered on these time sheets. Except in the case where there is a public holiday which falls during the week, as was the case in October. The 10th of October was Kruger Day, which fell on a Sunday. Monday was automatically taken as a holiday, so therefore we were required to make these time sheets out earlier in the week. It was done on a Thursday.

It makes it a bit difficult, because you are then entering up time which they have not yet worked, such as the Thursday and Friday, I had made out the time sheets for the week and sent them on. On the Friday we had a fairly urgent job to do, and the fitters were required to work throughout their lunch hour, and they would therefore be paid overtime for this. I then went out and explained to them that the time sheets had already been sent in, and I could only enter the overtime up on the following week. Everybody seemed to be quite happy about it. There was a number of Coloureds on the job, as well as other fitters

When the next Thursday came and they went to get their pay he had come back and complained bitterly that he had been underpaid for half an hour.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Why did you think it was strange?

SMORENBERG: Well, I then went ahead and explained to him again. I said "I told you last week that you would have to wait an extra week before you get this money." But he could not quite grasp it. Eventually I had to take out a piece of chalk and a wooden board and sort of

draw a long line and divide it up into seven days and explain from one week to the next week. The Coloureds understood quite easily the first time, but he had great difficulty in understanding why he had to wait an extra week for his money.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When you say "The Coloureds" are they labourers?

SMORENBERG: They are the labourers, yes.

COMMENTS REGARDING THE "ODD INCIDENTS"

Advocate Cooper appears determined to portray Tsafendas as acting strangely with regard to two apparently workaday situations, although Smorenberg is slow to understand his prodding. When Cooper mentions "Odd," Smorenberg asks, "From what point of view?" and when Cooper says "Just odd incidents," Smorenberg asks, "Regarding his conduct?" The first example of "strange conduct" involved eight rusted pipe bolts. Tsafendas asked Smorenberg what he should do about them and was told to draw new ones. Later, Smorenberg noted that Tsafendas had put the rusted bolts back while the new bolts were lying to one side. The second incident concerned overtime payments. In a week when there was a public holiday, as happened in this case, with Kruger Day on October 10, some overtime payments were delayed by a week. Tsafendas apparently failed to understand this and complained that he had been underpaid by a half-hour. Smorenberg said, "He had great difficulty in understanding why he had to wait an extra week for his money."

Neither of these incidents suggests anything stranger than the sort of back-and-forth and misunderstandings that take place in every workplace during a busy day. That Tsafendas put back the old bolts instead of the new ones could easily be an act of absent-mindedness. If he was unfamiliar with the overtime payments system, it seems natural that he would be suspicious and need the details explained to him. Neither of these incidents was mentioned by Smorenberg in his statement to the police made twelve days earlier. What might seem genuinely odd is that although the defence team had met ahead of the trial and Smorenberg knew what he would be asked, he seemed at a loss to find something strange about Tsafendas's conduct. Whatever difficulties Tsafendas may have had with the time sheets, Smorenberg later told the court that he found Tsafendas's intelligence to be "perhaps a little bit higher than normal," contradicting his own testimony a few minutes earlier which suggested that the accused was perhaps not very bright.

TSAFENDAS'S TRAVELS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he talk about various subjects?

SMORENBERG: Well, he quite often started to talk about his travels, but in a sense it was garbled. He would start off on something and then he would sort of go off at a tangent, and you could never get to the basic point that he was trying to get to. Invariably I used to just sort of lose patience and not even worry to listen.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you believe that he was shooting a line?

SMORENBERG: Yes, very much so.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You didn't believe his story?

SMORENBERG: Not particularly. One or two of them may have been true. He said he had been an engineer at sea, which could quite possibly have happened, but on the standard of his work, I doubt it very much.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How would you describe these stories that he told you?

SMORENBERG: Which stories? The travels?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Yes?

SMORENBERG: They seemed a bit farfetched. He mentioned that he had been in Canada, and that he had been to sea as an engineer. I can't remember them all. In fact, as I said earlier, I had given up hope afterwards of even bothering trying to remember.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was his favourite saying?

SMORENBERG: Well, he gave me the impression that he thought he had done very well for himself in the world. And on a number of occasions he said "I don't think I have done too badly for a poor Portuguese boy born in Lourenço Marques."

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is he married?

SMORENBERG: He told me that he was not.

TSAFENDAS'S STANDARD OF WORK

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was the standard of his work?

SMORENBERG: It was very poor.

JUDGE BEYERS: Was he a qualified fitter? Could you see when he was doing a job? Did he do a job like a fitter that requires knowledge and dexterity? When he was on the job, did he look like a fitter on the job, or what?

SMORENBERG: No, he looked more like a labourer, to be quite honest.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Why did Tsafendas leave his employment at the Power Station?

SMORENBERG: Well, we had given him notice; we had asked him - at least we told him that he was no longer required, we were going to fire him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he react?

SMORENBERG: I wouldn't actually say violently, but tendencies towards that. He was very upset about it.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did he say?

SMORENBERG: He said he had worked all over the world, and then, when he came to a stupid place like the Cape Town City Council, they thought he wasn't good enough.
(Laughter).

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Do you think they were justified in terminating his employment?

SMORENBERG: Definitely.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Could he hold the job down?

SMORENBERG: No, he could not.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was it a difficult job? The work that you gave him, was it really difficult?

SMORENBERG: No. Quite often, if we have a breakdown and we have to get it going again, due to the fact that you must keep a constant power supply, quite often these labourers will go ahead and change a pipe for us. There may be a fitter around, but he will be on the second job. A labourer can manage quite easily.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And did the labourer in fact perform this type of work better than the accused did?

SMORENBERG: Yes, but that could possibly be because they had had more experience.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What was the salary of the accused?

SMORENBERG: Approximately £85 a month.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: £85 a month?

SMORENBERG: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Didn't he always complain that he was not adequately compensated for his work?

SMORENBERG: Yes, quite often.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: So he didn't regard £85 a month as sufficient?

SMORENBERG: No.

COMMENTS ON SMORENBERG'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S WORK STANDARDS

Smorenberg's testimony here supports Dr. Cooper's view that Tsafendas was not a good worker and that he was not capable of holding down a job. Several employers, supervisors and co-workers gave statements to the police about Tsafendas's work standards. Redvers Wakfer, who also worked at the same company, also told the police that Tsafendas's work was not good, saying. "I never worked with him but received a report that he was not a good worker and I have instructions that he should be dismissed."²⁵⁸²

The reasons why Tsafendas was not a good worker will be examined shortly. However, more than fifty former colleagues of Tsafendas were questioned by the police and no one complained about his work standards, including five of his colleagues at the Parliament. On the contrary, several testified that he was a good worker. For example:

- Johannes Aurets, Tsafendas's supervisor at the South African Railways, told the police Tsafendas "was a well-mannered and well-spoken person. He associated with those working with him. He was soft-spoken and appeared to be of a good nature. During the time he was employed under my supervision, i.e. for approximately three weeks, I did not

²⁵⁸² Redvers Quintin Wakfer statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub File: 1/5, Subject Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

see him being cross at any time. He was a good worker.”²⁵⁸³

- Charles Woods, Tsafendas's supervisor at Fraser and Chalmers, characterised him as “a very good worker, far from being a crank, fairly intelligent, but a violent type.”²⁵⁸⁴
- Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden was senior security officer of the Colpontoon, diamond boat of Marine Diamond Corporation and worked with Tsafendas for around three months in 1966. He testified to the police that “we were transferred from the Marina with a small outboard boat to the Colpontoon. It was terrible rough seas, so much so that almost all of us old hands got seasick. It struck me that Tsafendas adapted well. He was one of the few who were not sick. With landing he filled the mess-basin on the lower deck with water and started shaving. His calm way struck me that he must know the sea. Tsafendas was employed as a pump- or engineer operator and did not work under my direct supervision. I introduced myself to him and talked to him. He was friendly, outgoing, and was not aloof. I noticed that his eating was messy. Otherwise he was completely normal.”²⁵⁸⁵
- Garnet Muller, Tsafendas's supervisor at South African Railways for three weeks, testified that Tsafendas gave him to understand that he took the job on a temporary basis. He “observed Demitrio Tsafendas to possess intelligence above that of the average person who is likely to accept a position with the little responsibility which is attached to that of shed attendant.”²⁵⁸⁶
- Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban was approached by Tsafendas offering his services as a Portuguese or Greek interpreter. Tsafendas “was in the habit of regularly reporting two or three times a week to ask whether there is any interpretation work.” Eventually, Rudolph used him “on several occasions” in a period of six months and “got to know him pretty well.” He testified that “I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and intelligent. He spoke English properly.”²⁵⁸⁷

²⁵⁸³ Johannes Jaconus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁸⁴ *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas in Brawl in Canteen’, 9 September 1966: 15.

²⁵⁸⁵ Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁸⁶ Garnet Vincent Muller statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁸⁷ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

- Albert Vercueil, Tsafendas's boss at F. A. Poole in Pretoria, said that in the five months he worked with Tsafendas, he found him to be "not a very good worker, but will say that he was an intelligent worker."²⁵⁸⁸ He also testified to the Commission of Enquiry that he considered Tsafendas to be "an intelligent man, just untidy and lazy in rounding off his work." He said Tsafendas was a very friendly, social and talkative person but he was always looking to quarrel with the White workers. Mr. Vercueil would usually receive complaints from the other (White) foremen, but never from the black workers. He never got the impression that Mr. Tsafendas wasn't right in his mind. F.A. Poole moved from their warehouse and Mr. Tsafendas was tasked with organizing the move and he handled it effortlessly.²⁵⁸⁹
- Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for 9-10 weeks at Marine Diamond Corporation testified to the police that he "never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers."²⁵⁹⁰
- Horst Hartmann, Tsafendas's employer at the heavy engineering company, Fries and Son, in Frankfurt, Germany, described Tsafendas as "extremely nice and friendly ... I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man... he made a good impression and he spoke good German, so I took him on... we liked him ... always laughing, a good worker." Tsafendas "left on his own wish" although Hartmann "would have liked to keep him."²⁵⁹¹ Tsafendas received a reference from Fries and Son, which he used, with other recommendations, to get his job in the Parliament.

²⁵⁸⁸ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁵⁸⁹ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁹⁰ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁹¹ *Daily Dispatch*, 'He Made A Good Impression', 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, 'The Assassin', 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

As to holding down a job, Tsafendas worked for five to six months as a teacher in Istanbul in 1961. He resigned of his own accord and received a warm reference from his employer, Mr. Limasollu Naci. Mrs. Advije Vedia Limasollu, Limasollu's widow said her husband would not have kept anyone at his college if they were no good.²⁵⁹² He also worked for almost two years (May 1940-April 1942) as a welder with the British Mining Supply Company in Johannesburg,²⁵⁹³ for two years (1936-1939) at the Imperial Airways factory in Quilemane,²⁵⁹⁴ and six years (1933-1939) at the "Vulcan Iron Works," General Engineers.²⁵⁹⁵

Tsafendas worked voluntarily as a teacher of English to children in both Istanbul and in Lourenço Marques and was hired several times in Durban for interpreting work. His record suggests that Tsafendas was keen to work and that when he enjoyed the job and found the environment congenial, he worked well; but his work was questionable when he was not happy with working conditions. Since, as Smorenberg testified, Tsafendas considered the wages at the power station to be insufficient, it is unsurprising that he was not enthusiastic about the job. For more about Tsafendas's work abilities see Dr. Cooper's testimony, "unable to function on a reasonable level-employment."

All of this evidence, that he Tsafendas was a good worker when he liked the job and a poor one when he did not, was held by the police, but again it was not used to challenge Smorenberg's testimony.

TSAFENDAS'S MENTAL STATE AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS COLLEAGUES

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did you think of his mental state?

SMORENBERG: Well, I wouldn't say he is mad, but he seems a little bit barmy.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he fit in?

²⁵⁹² Advije Vedia Limasollu in a personal interview, 8 January 2016.

²⁵⁹³ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁵⁹⁴ Marika Tsafantakis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁵⁹⁵ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkoperij. NASA; Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

SMORENBERG: No. He was not the type to fit in with the boys. He always seemed to be excluded from everything. If you saw him, you would see him sitting by himself. Although he did on a number of occasions try to strike up conversation with people.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: But the other people didn't fancy him?

SMORENBERG: Didn't take to him, no.

COMMENTS ON SMORENBERG'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S MENTAL STATE AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS COLLEAGUES

Smorenberg here claims that Tsafendas seemed "a little bit barmy," although clearly not "mad." What is important about this comment is not Smorenberg's opinion, and it is only his opinion, but the fact that it was regarded by Judge Beyers as a convincing sign of Tsafendas's insanity. However, consider how Judge Beyers twisted Smorenberg's words in his verdict. He said: "One of the strongest pieces of evidence in this case is that of Mr. Smorenberg, a down-to-earth foreman. I shall not forget that when he was asked: 'What did you think of this man?' his answer was: 'I don't like to call any man mad, but he is definitely barmy.'" However, Smorenberg did not say that. What he said was, "Well, I wouldn't say he is mad, but he seems a little bit barmy."

As for Tsafendas not fitting in with the boys and his co-workers not fancying him, there could be many reasons for this. It did not happen at all his jobs and many former colleagues and superiors testified about him in favourable terms. These included, as mentioned above, Johannes Aurets, Cornelius Rudolph, Charles Woods and Horst Hartman. Aurets said Tsafendas was not only "well-mannered and well-spoken" but that "associated with those working with him... appeared to be of a good nature... During the time he was employed under my supervision i.e. for approximately 3 weeks, I did not see him being cross at any time. He was a good worker."²⁵⁹⁶ August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be "very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease."²⁵⁹⁷

Three workers at Fries and Son in Frankfurt described Tsafendas as "a good

²⁵⁹⁶ Johannes Jaconus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁵⁹⁷ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

comrade,” “a nice guy”, “extremely courteous, a very pleasant man.”²⁵⁹⁸ Carel van Heerden, who worked with Tsafendas at the Marine Diamond Corporation, indicated that far from being a loner, Tsafendas was “friendly, outgoing, and was not aloof.”²⁵⁹⁹ Father Nikola Banovic told this the author that Tsafendas was very popular with both students and fellow teachers at the Limasollu Naci College in Istanbul.²⁶⁰⁰

With regard to Tsafendas’s attitude to his workmates, it is important to recall the statement made to the police by Horst Albert Vercueil, the foreman at F. A. Poole in Pretoria who had Tsafendas under his supervision for five months. He testified that Tsafendas “bullied the other Portuguese workers. He had fights with several white workers,”²⁶⁰¹ but he never argued with Black workers.²⁶⁰² Nikolaas Nel, who worked with Tsafendas for five months on the same job, said he “was certainly unpopular among white workers. Accused adapted more to the non-whites.”²⁶⁰³ Martinus van Wyk, also at that job, said “he was quiet by nature and did not easily talk to us employees. He often spoke to the Bantu people.”²⁶⁰⁴

Nick Papadakis, who worked for a month with Tsafendas at the Hume Pipe Company in 1964 in Gondola, told the author that Tsafendas “often argued with Portuguese and other Whites.” The reason, he said, was that Tsafendas was “accusing the White workers of mistreating the Black workers ... he always defended the non-White workers.” Papadakis said that Tsafendas believed the Whites were exploiting and taking advantages of the Blacks and he often argued with them about it, although he tried to avoid them as much as was possible. Papadakis said that Tsafendas had told him that he couldn’t help but intervene if he saw an injustice or something wrong taking place.²⁶⁰⁵ A similar statement was made to the police by Jacobus Bornman, Tsafendas’s flatmate for three months in Pretoria in 1965. He testified that Tsafendas “stood up a lot for the Coloureds.”²⁶⁰⁶

²⁵⁹⁸ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Assassination A One Man’s Job – Says Vorster’, 8 September 1966: 1.

²⁵⁹⁹ Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁰⁰ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²⁶⁰¹ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁶⁰² Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁰³ Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁰⁴ Marthinus Petrus van Wyk statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁶⁰⁵ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

²⁶⁰⁶ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

The author cannot be certain why Tsafendas did not “fit in with the boys” at the power station. His work record shows that at some jobs he got along fine with his workmates. The most likely reason is that he considered these particular White workers to be racist and felt they were taking advantage of the Blacks and Coloureds, and therefore sought to avoid them, as he did at F.A. Poole Engineering and Hume Pipe Company. If this was a continuing issue, it would have happened at his other jobs too, which it did not.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What was the salary of the accused?

SMORENBERG: Approximately £85 a month.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: £85 a month?

SMORENBERG: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Didn't he always complain that he was not adequately compensated for his work?

SMORENBERG: Yes, quite often.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: So he didn't regard £85 a month as sufficient?

SMORENBERG: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Don't you think that when the accused spoke about Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Vorster he wanted to impress you?

SMORENBERG: It could well have been, but I think, under the circumstances, he was not in any fit condition to impress anybody. He was quite frightened down at the bottom. It is not too pleasant an experience down there. I think at the earliest moment he just wanted to get out. I doubt very much whether he was in the mood for impressing anybody.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You say the accused told you that he was married?

SMORENBERG: No, he said he was not married.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Was his intelligence normal?

SMORENBERG: Yes, I would say he had normal intelligence. Perhaps a little bit higher than normal.

COMMENTS ON THE CROSS-EXAMINATION

The cross examination here offers a possible clue as to why Tsafendas did not work effectively at the power station – that he was dissatisfied with his wages, frequently the main reason for poor standards in any work situation. The rest of the cross-examination does not offer anything new. Evidence gathered by the police which contradicts Smorenberg's testimony and which could have been adduced to reveal him as an unreliable witness was not used. His most absurd comment, that Tsafendas supported Dr. Verwoerd and the government, thus remained unchallenged. As usual, we are not in position to know whether the Attorney-General was in possession of this evidence.

CONCLUSION

Smorenberg "got the impression" that Tsafendas was a supporter of Dr. Verwoerd and of apartheid and that he did not like Coloureds. Overwhelming and undisputed evidence proves that Smorenberg's "impression" was totally wrong, although the Attorney-General did not bother challenging it.

Smorenberg's testimony regarding Tsafendas was a travesty of the truth, but it was crucial, according to Judge Beyers in reaching his conclusion that Tsafendas was insane. However, the judge manipulated Smorenberg's words in his verdict, as he did with Patrick O'Ryan. In this case, he said, "One of the strongest pieces of evidence in this case is that of Mr. Smorenberg, a down-to-earth foreman. I shall not forget that when he was asked: 'What did you think of this man?' his answer was: 'I don't like to call any man mad, but he is definitely barmy.'"²⁶⁰⁷ As we have seen, Smorenberg did not say this at all. He said "Well, I wouldn't say he is mad, but he seems a little bit barmy."

What was the real purpose of the defence in having a witness like Smorenberg? Clearly to prove that Tsafendas was pro-government and therefore the assassination was not politically motivated but the deed of an unstable man. Out of the about one-hundred and fifty witnesses who were questioned by the police, David Bloomberg managed to locate the only one who had said something which might be taken as suggesting Tsafendas was "pro-government." Smorenberg was also able to support the defence's argument that Tsafendas was mad, even though he also stated that "I wouldn't say he is mad, but he seems a little bit barmy." Smorenberg also supported Dr. Cooper's diagnosis that Tsafendas was unable to

²⁶⁰⁷ Judge Beyers' verdict on Tsafendas's summary trial, 20 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

hold down a job.

Everything in Smorenberg's testimony could have been taken apart and rendered null and void by using the evidence gathered by the South African police, but this did not happen. The saddest thing is that Smorenberg presented Tsafendas as a man who did not like Coloured people and who supported Dr. Verwoerd and Vorster. With these claims remaining unchallenged, people were left with the impression that these were Tsafendas's beliefs. Instead of being shown to the public as someone who considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a dictator who did not represent all the South African people, a tyrant oppressor, the monster who created apartheid and "Hitler's best student," Tsafendas is represented in exactly the opposite light. None of the statements made to the South African police by witnesses such as Bornman, Furness, Smith, Ross and many others, as well as information collected about Tsafendas's political activities and real ideology, became known during the summary trial.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 9: DR. ISAAC SAKINOFSKY

DR. SAKINOFSKY'S PROFESSIONAL BIOGRAPHY AS RELATED BY HIM TO THE COURT

Isaac Sakinofsky qualified as a doctor in 1955, completed his internship at Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, and in 1957 joined the Department of Neurology and Psychiatry at the same hospital. His initial position was Registrar and later Senior Registrar. In June 1961, he earned his Doctorate in Medicine based on post-graduate research he had completed. At the beginning of 1962, he went to London to do post-graduate study and was appointed at the Maudsley Hospital, the teaching hospital of the Post-Graduate Institute of Psychiatry of the University of London. He served on the professional unit as a Registrar and later was promoted to Senior Registrar to a Professorial Unit. As a teaching hospital in psychiatry, the Maudsley is regarded as of ultimate rank.

In 1964, Dr. Sakinofsky took the Academic Post-graduate Diploma in Psychological Medicine of the University of London, and in July 1965 he returned to South Africa as the full-time Consultant Psychiatrist to Groote Schuur Hospital. He was also Senior Lecturer to the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Cape Town. In September 1966 he had been acting head for three months in Groote Schuur's Department of Psychiatry in the absence of his chief overseas. Dr. Sakinofsky authored two chapters on emergency psychiatry in a book titled *Emergencies*, published by Staples, London, in 1962.²⁶⁰⁸

BACKGROUND ON DR. SAKINOFSKY'S FIRST EXAMINATION OF TSAFENDAS

Dr. Sakinofsky examined Tsafendas on the evening of the assassination. Later, he contacted all the hospitals Tsafendas had mentioned, looking for as much information as possible in the event he was called to testify at a trial, which indeed happened.²⁶⁰⁹ Dr. Sakinofsky stated in correspondence with the author: "In psychiatry, after one has interviewed a patient, it is

²⁶⁰⁸ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁶⁰⁹ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

best practice to seek collateral information from family, friends and medical records.”²⁶¹⁰ Mr. van Zyl and Professors Burke, Tuviah Zabow, Heilbrun and Resnick all agreed with the above.²⁶¹¹ Dr. Sakinofsky secured one medical report from Tsafendas’s medical record, but got nothing about the accused from his family or friends.

EXTRACTS FROM DR. SAKINOFSKY’S TESTIMONY²⁶¹²

DR. SAKINOFSKY’S FIRST EXAMINATION OF TSAFENDAS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Having disposed of the preliminaries, what happened at 7 p.m. on the 6th September, 1966?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, at 7 p.m. on September, 6th, I was examining the accused, Demetrios Tsafendas.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: In the Casualty Department, Groote Schuur Hospital.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: At whose request?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I was called by the Casualty Officer and by members of the Security Police.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was the nature of your examination?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Psychiatric.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How long did this examination last?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I estimate, without having timed it exactly, about an hour and a half.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And did you make certain findings?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, I did.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you reduce your findings to writing and set it out in a report?

²⁶¹⁰ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky in correspondence with the author, 30 March 2016.

²⁶¹¹ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016; Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017; Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 17 December 2016; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

²⁶¹² Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Indeed, I did.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Which is dated, do you know?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: September the 7th.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When did you draw up that report?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: The report was partly drawn up the same night and completed the next morning.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: To whom did you submit that report once you had drawn it up?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, I expected that the report would be submitted to the Security Police for the use of the State and the report lay with the Medical Superintendent for some time.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And was subsequently forwarded to the Attorney-General?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I just want to skip ahead; were you informed by the Attorney-General that you were not required to testify for the State, but were to be called by the Defence?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. I made contact with the Attorney-General some weeks afterwards because I wondered what was happening and was told that I had been allocated to the Defence - my evidence was being allocated to the Defence.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you your report dated the 7th September, 1966, before you?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I have.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Will you read it out to the Court?

(Copy handed to the bench).

DR. SAKINOFSKY: (Witness reads report). "On September 6th, 1966, at 7 p.m. I was called to Groote Schuur Hospital Casualty Department where I examined the mental state of a man who identified himself to me as Demetrios Tsafendas, and gave his age as 48 years. The patient's demeanour was moderately excited (but not elated or exalted); he was tense, breathing rapidly at times, and he seemed perplexed. On two occasions he burst into weeping for a few seconds, but was not otherwise manifestly depressed. His speech seemed unguarded; was under some pressure. He answered most questions readily. There was no formal

syntactical schizophrenic thought.

(The Court intervenes) **JUDGE BEYERS:** Do you mind if I interrupt where I don't understand? "His speech was unguarded; was under some pressure." I am not sure I've got the purport of that.

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Pressure alludes to the piece of behaviour which we refer to as "excitement" and which I think has some difference from the lay use of the word "excitement", and one of the ways that one assesses...

(The Court intervenes) **JUDGE BEYERS:** "His speech was unguarded", what does that mean? He was not careful of what he was saying?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. One makes the assessment clinically of whether a patient is holding back, and my assessment was that he was not holding back at that time.

JUDGE BEYERS: He was speaking openly?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: He was speaking openly.

JUDGE BEYERS: Now "He was under some pressure."

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. This refers to the rate of speech. The rate of speech was rapid and profuse, and is a symptom of excitement. (Witness continues to read report). "

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Disorder but I formed the conclusion that his reason was impaired, in that there was a manifest ..."

(The Court intervenes) **JUDGE BEYERS:** You are going too fast for me. "There was no formal syntactical schizophrenic thought disorder ..."

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: What does that mean?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Syntactical refers to the grammar with which the patient speaks. The psychiatrist analyses the patient's utterance in terms of the form (the grammar that is) and the contents, what he says in his speech. And when one uses the term "syntactical schizophrenic thought disorder" this is a cardinal feature of schizophrenia. But its absence at a particular time does not necessarily mean that the patient is not schizophrenic.

JUDGE BEYERS: So from the point of view of syntax his expressions were in order?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, the grammar of it was fine.

JUDGE BEYERS: You mean the verb didn't go where the noun should be or ...?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, there are certain aspects of syntax which a psychiatrist concentrates upon. One of these is the phenomenon of thought blocking, which is an unexpected gap in the train of the patient's speech. Another is referred to as asyndesis which is a disjunction of a phrase with another phrase - two phrases being connected which are not logical. Another is the interpenetration of thoughts and ideas into a train of thought. And there are others where we talk of derailment.

JUDGE BEYERS: In other words, syntactically speaking, your observation there was negative?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: It does not negative schizophrenia?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No.

JUDGE BEYERS: But it did not support it at that stage?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Quite.

(Witness continues reading report) "But I formed the conclusion that his reason was impaired in that there was a manifest defect of logical processes with repeated non sequiturs. He was frankly deluded in that he said that the Portuguese Government had kept him in a prison for 14 years (between 1949 and 1963) for being a conscientious objector and that they had tried to kill him for this by the application of alternating currents to his head. He gave as one of the reasons for his assassination of the Prime Minister that the latter was in league with the Portuguese Government. He voiced several other delusional ideas, viz., that the Prime Minister had been a foreigner (and he, Tsafendas, a South African) ..."

JUDGE BEYERS: Why do you call that delusional? That was true, wasn't it?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: In the first place Tsafendas himself, I believe, is not a South African, and in the second place, the Prime Minister certainly by adoption a South African.

(Witness continues reading report) "Been against the English way of life (with which he, Tsafendas, identified himself on account of 'having had an English mother'). He said that Dr. Verwoerd had been against the ideal of a 'Cape to Cairo' union, which he, the patient, identified with 'the Commonwealth.' He claimed that his mother, from whom he had been separated, was called Von Willem and that she was a member of an overseas Royal Family

and I wondered at the time whether this had to do with the existence of Queen Wilhelmina and an allusion to the Prime Minister's Dutch descent.

And this idea he apparently connected with his concern for the Commonwealth. He stated that he had brooded over the weekend about the meeting between the Prime Minister and Chief Leabua Jonathan, which meant to him a further blow to the "Commonwealth," and this had determined his actions subsequently. He appears to have misinterpreted this meeting as being related to the immorality legislation, in that he claims to have applied for a double identity card, so that he could try and find a wife among either the White or non-White groups: he stated that he had been rejected by women of both race groups and therefore was not able to get married. Tsafendas spoke also of attacks of surges of "anguish and pain" ... (I am quoting him) ... "anguish and pain" throughout his body and limbs associated with "pressure headaches" (and I noted from his hospital records that he had attended the out-patient clinic for headaches - not the psychiatric clinic - during June, 1966). He claimed also to see "hairy springs and coils" in front of his eyes which he attributed to blood pressure, but I did not think that this betokened hallucinosis. He denied passivity feelings at that time but said that his thoughts raced most of the time.

JUDGE BEYERS: Now you've got me again. What is that "passivity feelings"?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: A passivity feeling is another very important cardinal feature of schizophrenia whereby an influence on the patient is interpreted, by the patient, as being due to an external agency. For instance, if a patient believes that his body had been changed by hypnosis or by computers or something like that, or by an enemy, this would be passivity.

JUDGE BEYERS: Passivity, does that mean that he maintains that it is not his fault because his body has been taken over by some other agent or something ...?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: At this time I did not question him.

JUDGE BEYERS: Yes, but is that what it means?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: That he is just the tool of some other outside force or influence?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: If he said he was the tool of an outside ...

JUDGE BEYERS: Is that what 'passivity feelings' mean?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, that one's will is taken over, one's thoughts are tampered with,

one's body functions are interfered with by an external agency.

(Witness continues reading report.) "He was fully orientated for time and person. His concentration was moderately impaired; his general knowledge reasonable (considering that he claimed only to have passed Standard V), and he denied epileptic seizures. The patient claims to have had several "nervous breakdowns." He says that he was detained in a New York immigration transit centre in 1942 and given tablets. Subsequently he spent about 18 months in the Grafton State Hospital, New York, where he had electro-convulsive therapy and he was subsequently deported to Greece. He had a further period of hospitalisation for "nervous breakdown" in 1963 at, what he told me was, the Ochosen Kranken- house outside Hamburg." May I say that it subsequently appears that his dates had been confused.

(Witness continues reading report.) Comment: I formed the conclusion that the patient is not of sound mind, that his thought processes are grossly impaired and deluded, and that he is not therefore in a position to evaluate correctly the consequences of his deed. I consider that it is probable that his mental state is the result of damage caused by previous attacks of a mental disease called Schizophrenia. In my opinion, further important information on the state of his mind should be obtained by the following:

- He should be detained in a closed mental hospital ward for a period of observation. I would like myself to assess his mental state over a period of time and at successive interviews.
- He should have the following special investigations: An electro-encephalogram, a blood and cerebro-spinal fluid Wasserman reaction because occasionally an organic disease of the brain can mimic the clinical picture of schizophrenia, and he should have psychological tests.

JUDGE BEYERS: What is the Wasserman for? To see if it is syphilitic in origin?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. Cerebral syphilis.

JUDGE BEYERS: To see if it is G.B.I. really?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

(Witness continues reading report):

- Medical reports should be obtained via the Portuguese government; Grafton State Hospital, New York, and the Krankenhaus outside Hamburg and I said it was possible that the names of these places had been garbled by the patient.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And you hand in that report as EXHIBIT C.

JUDGE BEYERS: Just before Mr. Cooper asks you further - and thanks for helping me through this - how did it come about that he told you all this that is written down here, about Chief Jonathan, the Prime Minister, Von Willem, and all that? Did you put him on a couch and make him talk, or what happened?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: He was on a couch; I didn't put him on a couch; he'd been on a couch because he had had a wound stitched on his nose, so I left him on the couch and just chatted to him as a psychiatrist does; leading him along certain lines and trying to probe other channels.

JUDGE BEYERS: Were you two alone?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No, there was one other person present. He was my Junior Registrar.

JUDGE BEYERS: And you just got him to ramble on and talk to see what came out?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: If I may quote from some notes I made at the time. I said to him: "Is it true that you killed the Prime Minister?" That is how I started, and he nodded. He agreed that he did assassinate the Prime Minister but he said: "I don't remember what happened after that." I asked him whether he had taken the job as a messenger in order to assassinate the Prime Minister. He denied this. He denied that he sought the job as a messenger with the intention of killing the Prime Minister. He claimed that he had no idea that he would be allowed access to the Prime Minister at any time, and he was rather taken by surprise that he was. I said; "What made you do a thing like that?" He said: "I didn't agree with the policy. I am in favour of the Commonwealth. My mother is a relative to Royalty overseas" and he went on rambling in this way about his mother's name being Von Willem, that she died in 1927.

JUDGE BEYERS: That is how all this came out?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, in that sort of way.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You followed, therefore, a recognised procedure?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, this is, I think, quite recognised as a means of eliciting information.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And did you follow various lines of questioning?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. This is what is called an unstructured interview, in that one didn't

have a sort of questionnaire and then address it to the patient. I let him ramble in order to promote him talking about things that I might not ask him about. But in doing so I tried to cover what we regard as the mental state, in other words, his general appearance and behaviour, his thought processes, existence of misperceptions, misinterpretations, his cognitive functions, and so on.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: At that stage you had no information of his background, apart from what he told you?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Apart from what he told me and from what I heard over the radio, that he had assassinated the Prime Minister.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You did not know that three months previously Dr. Kossew had diagnosed him as a schizophrenic?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I had no idea.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You did not know that in America he had been diagnosed as a hebephrenic type schizophrenic?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No idea at all.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Nor did you know of the fact that he had been to the Isle of Wight?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No, he didn't tell me that.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Nor did you know that he had been to London Hospital?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No. He didn't tell him about the hospitals

DEFENCE COUNSEL: A mental hospital, and that he had there also been classified or diagnosed as a paranoid schizophrenic?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I had no knowledge of that.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You obviously must have realised that this was a very important diagnosis that you had to make?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Indeed.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Were you cautious? Did you give it a great deal of thought? Were you cautious in your approach?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, indeed. I was very much aware of the importance of this case.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You appear by nature to be a cautious person, if I may say so?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: That is for others to judge.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you thereafter request to see the accused again?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I did.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You requested the defence, did you not?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I initially contacted the prosecutor and then the defence.

JUDGE BEYERS: I think you initially contacted me, didn't you?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, I did.

JUDGE BEYERS: And I referred you to the Attorney-General?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: This case is obviously a matter of importance?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. It is more than of importance to - I think there are several aspects of importance in this case. I think as a case in forensic psychiatry it is of the utmost importance, but I don't think that this could have concerned me.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you in fact write overseas for a report to the German hospital?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I did. I wrote to all the hospitals that the patient had mentioned.

JUDGE BEYERS: Perhaps we had better get this on record, in case more might be read into that remark than is necessary. Doctor, when you contacted me you asked me - I am putting it; you can say whether it is right or not - whether it isn't possible that we could do what is done in America and that you be called by the judge rather than by one of the two parties?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: That is quite true, but I don't think that I emphasised that I personally alone. My feeling, if I may say so in this place, is that in a matter of criminal trial the forensic psychiatrists should be called by the court - forensic psychiatrist.

JUDGE BEYERS: That is what you said to me. All I want is that it is clear that we discussed no aspect of this, and I didn't know what this record was going to have?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No, not at all. In fact what this record was going to have you told me you didn't want to know

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I accept that without qualification.

JUDGE BEYERS: I told the witness that in this country judges don't call witnesses, unless

they have to at the end of a case.

DR. SAKINOFSKY: May I say that the existence of an assessor who is a psychiatrist helps about my objection to the structure of criminal trials.

COMMENTS ON DR. SAKINOFSKY'S TESTIMONY REGARDING HIS FIRST EXAMINATION OF TSAFENDAS

Dr. Sakinofsky stated that his first examination of Tsafendas lasted “without having timed it exactly, about an hour and a half.” However, according to the newspaper reports of the time, this examination must have lasted for thirty to forty minutes maximum. According to Dr. Sakinofsky, he saw Tsafendas at Groote Schuur Hospital at 7 pm. Dr. T.A. Darby, who examined Tsafendas at the same hospital just before Dr. Sakinofsky, had examined him at 6.40 pm, which suggests that Dr. Darby had spent maximum twenty minutes with Tsafendas. According to the newspaper reports of the time,²⁶¹³ if they are accurate, Tsafendas’s visit to the hospital had lasted one hour, which leaves forty minutes maximum for Dr. Sakinofsky and not an hour and a half.

PRIOR TO DR. SAKINOFSKY'S EXAMINATION

First, we must examine the condition of Tsafendas at the time he was seen by Dr. Sakinofsky. Immediately after the assassination, Tsafendas was taken to the police station in Caledon Square. He claims he was beaten by policemen all the way there. At 2.50 pm, soon after his arrival, Tsafendas was examined, because of his injuries and bleeding, by Dr. Kossew, who found that he had a gaping wound of one and a half inches from his forehead to the bridge of his nose, which was swollen, and a half-inch cut on the lower lip. Tsafendas answered questions guardedly but did not appear confused and Dr. Kossew did not find anything wrong with his mental state.²⁶¹⁴

Tsafendas remained at the police station for the next three hours, during which time, he claimed,²⁶¹⁵ and this was supported by a policeman who was present,²⁶¹⁶ he was tortured

²⁶¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas in Hospital’, 7 September 1966: 1; *Natal Mercury*, ‘Assassin Rushed to Hospital’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁶¹⁴ Dr. Kossew’s report on examination in case of alleged assault or other crime, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File 3. NASA.

²⁶¹⁵ Tsafendas in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

²⁶¹⁶ Michalis Michelis in a personal interview, 12 December 2015.

and beaten.²⁶¹⁷ Because of his injuries and severe bleeding from the beating, the officer in charge asked Brigadier Aucamp²⁶¹⁸ to take Tsafendas to a hospital.²⁶¹⁹ Brigadier Aucamp and his detail must have arrived with Tsafendas at the casualty department of Groote Schuur hospital around 6.30 p.m.,²⁶²⁰ according to newspaper reports of the time. During a heavily-guarded, one-hour visit,²⁶²¹ the police imposed a total security blackout on the hospital and nobody was allowed to see Tsafendas. The newspaper reports of the time claimed that plain-clothed policemen stood by Tsafendas's side constantly during the hospital visit, including when he stripped to be examined and even inside the X-Ray room.²⁶²²

At 6.40 p.m., Tsafendas was examined by Dr. T.A. Darby, who found him to be "co-operative" and "composed." According to Dr. Darby's report, Tsafendas had a broken nose with blood obstructing the airways, a ragged laceration from the right eyebrow to the nose and a laceration of the lower lip. The cuts were stitched, the nose put in a splint and Tsafendas was given an anti-tetanus injection.²⁶²³ Dr. Darby's report did not contain anything about Tsafendas's state of mind. Dr. Darby's examination would have lasted at most twenty minutes as Tsafendas was then seen by Dr. Sakinofsky at 7 p.m.

In contradiction of newspaper reports that policemen were constantly with Tsafendas during the visit to the hospital, even in the X-ray room, Dr. Sakinofsky stated in correspondence with the author that he had examined Tsafendas without the presence of any policemen: "We found Mr. Tsafendas in a room that was milling about with uniformed and plain-clothed security men of all ranks. It would have been impossible to establish any kind of rapport with him under these conditions, so there proceeded a stand-off where we refused to examine him until the room was cleared of the security personnel, which we were eventually able to effect only after we contacted the superintendent of the hospital and got his support. After we had interviewed Mr. Tsafendas at length and after calming his agitation at the time and gaining rapport, we did complete our examination. We deliberately refused to make any public announcements until the following day. We would have liked to have detained him in the hospital for further study and treatment but the security authorities

²⁶¹⁷ For more about what happened to Tsafendas immediately after the assassination see Chapter 4.

²⁶¹⁸ Not sure if this is the correct spelling, but it sounds something like this.

²⁶¹⁹ Dimitris Tsafendas in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

²⁶²⁰ Dimitris Tsafendas was examined by Dr. Darby at 6.40, therefore he must have arrived at the hospital shortly before that.

²⁶²¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas in Hospital', 7 September 1966: 1; *Natal Mercury*, 'Assassin Rushed to Hospital', 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁶²² *Natal Mercury*, 'Assassin Rushed to Hospital', 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁶²³ Dr. Darby's statement regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, G.S.H. No: 65/14-081, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

overrode our wishes and took him away.”²⁶²⁴ Dr. Sakinofsky is mistaken about making a public announcement the following day, as no such announcement took place.

THE EXAMINATION AND TSAFENDAS'S DELUSIONAL IDEAS

According to Dr. Sakinofsky, Tsafendas burst into tears twice, “his speech seemed un-guarded, was under some pressure.” Dr. Sakinofsky goes on to describe in detail Tsafendas’s mental condition at the time without reference to his physical condition. Of course, his task was to examine Tsafendas’s mental and not his physical state, but this was a case of huge national importance when it might be assumed that all aspects of the accused assassin’s condition would be of significance. Tsafendas was taken to hospital in the first place because of his physical injuries, which in themselves might have affected his mental state at the time. It is tempting to believe that the injuries would seem natural to Dr. Sakinofsky in a man who just four and a half hours earlier had killed the Prime Minister and then spent three hours in police custody. Dr. Sakinofsky stated that “there was no formal syntactical schizophrenic thought,” but Tsafendas’s reason was impaired and he was also deluded. Let us examine now how “deluded” Tsafendas was.

TSAFENDAS BEING IMPRISONED FOR FOURTEEN YEARS BY THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT

Dr. Sakinofsky stated that Tsafendas told him that the Portuguese Government had kept him in prison for fourteen years, between 1949 and 1963, for “being a conscientious objector and that they had tried to kill him for this by the application of alternating currents to his head.” None of the about two hundred or so witnesses who were interviewed by the police, the Commission of Enquiry and by the author testified that Tsafendas ever told them anything like this. None of the psychiatrists and psychologists who examined Tsafendas before and after the assassination heard such a story from Tsafendas and he never repeated this claim subsequently to anyone, not even to Dr. Sakinofsky when he examined him for a second and a third time. If Tsafendas really believed this happened, surely he would have told someone else too. Tsafendas never told a single person about it, as far as the author can establish.

The fact is Tsafendas was imprisoned and tortured in Portugal and he told a number of people about it, but in a way that differed from the story Dr. Sakinofsky recounted. Patrick

²⁶²⁴ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky in correspondence with the author, 30 March 2016.

O’Ryan²⁶²⁵ and Gladstone Dunn²⁶²⁶ testified to the police about Tsafendas’s account, and several witnesses interviewed by the author said they were told the same story, such as Cleanthes Alachiotis, Elias Constantaras, Katerina Pnema, Fotini Gavasiadis, Nikolas Kambouris, Grigoris Pouftis, George Kantas, Mary Eintracht, Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis, Father Nikola Banovic, Andreas Babiolakis, Father Minas Constandinou, Nikolaos Billis, Michalis Vasilakis, Ira Kyriakakis, Helen Grispos and Nick Papadakis. Tsafendas told these witnesses that he was imprisoned in Portugal because of his Communist and anti-colonialist activities, which was a fact according to the PIDE reports. He also told them that he was given electric shock treatment, which very probably happened. None of the witnesses remembers how long Tsafendas told them he was imprisoned, but they are all certain that it was not fourteen years.²⁶²⁷ According to the PIDE reports, Tsafendas was imprisoned by the Portuguese for about three years altogether. Tsafendas spoke at length to these relatives and friends, but he never told them what he told Dr. Sakinofsky.

Tsafendas also told Major Rossouw during his interrogation in Caledon Square police station that while in Portugal he was imprisoned “for over a year at the Port of Casias.” However, he made no mention of the things he told Dr. Sakinofsky.²⁶²⁸ What he told Major Rossouw was what he told all the other witnesses.

Furthermore, in July 1966, in an interview with the *Cape Argus*, where Tsafendas had described himself as an “anti-Portuguese rebel and an antagonist of the Portuguese dictatorship.” He told the journalist that he was imprisoned without trial for three years in Portugal and “brainwashed,” a procedure from which he said he had never fully recovered. He also spoke about his imprisonment in Lisbon, in Barca d’Alva, in Aljuba and at the Machinegun Regiment, when he refused to serve in the Portuguese Army. He said that he

²⁶²⁵ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁶²⁶ Gladstone Dunn statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶²⁷ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

²⁶²⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

was not allowed to return to Mozambique until 1963.²⁶²⁹ The newspaper did not explain that by brainwashing, Tsafendas meant the Portuguese's attempts to change his Communist ideology and anti-Portuguese stance. That Tsafendas was telling the truth about all these matters is confirmed by PIDE's "Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas, no: 2707/64/SR, of November 15, 1964."²⁶³⁰

Thus, why did Tsafendas tell Dr. Sakinofsky a different story to the one he told everyone else? The likeliest explanation is that he lied to Dr. Sakinofsky as he lied to the other psychiatrists who examined him after the assassination for his own ends, though it is worth pointing out some things in Tsafendas's statement to Dr. Sakinofsky were true. Tsafendas was a conscientious objector and was imprisoned for a few days by the Portuguese because of his refusal to serve in the Portuguese Army.²⁶³¹ In addition, Tsafendas told Alachiotis, Babiolakis, Billis, Kyriakakis, Constantaras, Eintracht, Patrick O'Ryan, Pouftis, Vasilakis, Kantas, Kambouris, Fathers Nikola Banovic and Minas Constandinou that he had pretended to be mad to avoid service in the Portuguese Army, which was also a fact.²⁶³² Interestingly, the dates which Dr. Sakinofsky said Tsafendas gave him for his imprisonment, 1949-1963, are the years he was not allowed to return to Mozambique and forced to live in exile in Europe.

²⁶²⁹ *The Cape Argus*, 'Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.' 7 September 1966: 3.

²⁶³⁰ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT

²⁶³¹ Letter of the Director of PIDE to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 4 November 1961. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁶³² Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

DR. VERWOERD BEING IN LEAGUE WITH THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you agree that millions of people think that Dr. Verwoerd and the Portuguese Government were in league together?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I think millions of people know that there is a friendly relationship between our two countries, but I would not say that they were in league in the sense that Mr. Tsafendas saw them to be in league. In other words, that the Portuguese Government was influencing the internal affairs of South Africa, the Immorality Act, etc.

Dr. Sakinofsky uses the words “Portuguese Government,” perhaps simply in imitation of the Attorney-General, who used the same words. However, Tsafendas had some “trademark” phrases, like Dr. Verwoerd being “Hitler’s best student,” and according to several witnesses, he invariably referred to “the Portuguese dictatorship,” as he did in his *Cape Argus*, interview,²⁶³³ and not to “the Portuguese Government.”

Tsafendas told several witnesses that he considered Portugal’s Antonio Salazar to be a dictator and he actually was. He also believed and said often, that Dr. Verwoerd was also a dictator. He never spoke to any of these witnesses about Dr. Verwoerd being in league with Salazar, although he often denounced both men and almost certainly he believed, and rightly, that they were indeed in league, just not in the way he told Dr. Sakinofsky.

Dr. Sakinofsky does not explain in detail how he came to the conclusion that Tsafendas thought the Portuguese Government was influencing the internal affairs of South Africa. If Tsafendas told him this, Tsafendas was lying, as again he told this to no-one, although he spoke to many witnesses about his political ideas. None of the approximate 250 witnesses who were interviewed by the police, the Commission of Enquiry and the author said that Tsafendas ever told them anything of this nature.

These are the testimonies of people who testified to the police about Tsafendas’s political ideas and other evidence collected by the South African police regarding his political activities and ideology. They are compatible with each other but incompatible with Dr. Sakinofsky’s version of what Tsafendas told him:

- Edward Furness testified that Tsafendas wanted to “create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned civil disobedience and anything that would get the South

²⁶³³ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.’ 7 September 1966: 3.

African regime out of power.”²⁶³⁴

- Tsafendas himself had testified to the police that he was a member of the South African Communist Party from 1937 to 1942, that he was against apartheid and colonialism, that he had joined the British anti-apartheid movement and that he took part in anti-apartheid demonstrations in London.²⁶³⁵
- PIDE held a 130-page file on Tsafendas, the *Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis*.²⁶³⁶ It opened in 1938, when he was just twenty-years old, when he was “suspected of distributing communist propaganda”²⁶³⁷ and went up to his release from PIDE custody on January 26, 1965 after spending three months in a cell in Beira accused of pretending to be a Christian missionary while in reality preaching “under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique’s independence.”²⁶³⁸

PIDE had withheld from the South African police the fact that they had such a file, along with other information “indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique,”²⁶³⁹ thus hiding the extent of Tsafendas’s political activities. Nevertheless, they had admitted to them that in the 1930s in Mozambique, Tsafendas was “suspected of dedicating himself to communistic activities”²⁶⁴⁰ and that “one finds in him an obvious spirit of revolt in relation to the Portuguese Administration, and favouring the independence of Mocambique.”²⁶⁴¹ Furthermore, the South African embassy in Lisbon on September 7, the day after the assassination, informed the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Cape Town that Tsafendas “has a criminal record in Mozambique, where he is said to have been arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances, including shouting pro-Communist anti-Portuguese slogans.” The communication said he had “never been convicted as courts have

²⁶³⁴ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶³⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁶³⁶ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁶³⁷ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁶³⁸ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁶³⁹ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁶⁴⁰ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁶⁴¹ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

found him to be of unsound mind” and added, “If information correct, we suspect Portuguese may play down assassin’s previous political activities and we would suggest full details in this connection be sought.”²⁶⁴²

- The South African police had FOUR files on Tsafendas because of his Communist beliefs and political activities.²⁶⁴³
- Tsafendas was on the Stop List of the Department of Immigration because of his Communist beliefs and activities.²⁶⁴⁴ This list was also in the possession of the Security Police.²⁶⁴⁵
- The Department of Immigration had two files on Tsafendas:
 - a. “On file B.7771 there were, *inter alia*, references to Demitrios Tsafendakis’s alleged communist activities, as well as references to his unsuccessful applications for permanent residence. It is also evident from the file that he had been placed on the stop list.”²⁶⁴⁶
 - b. “On file G.8226 there were references to his alleged communist activities, and detailed references to his unsuccessful applications of 1936, 1938, 1941, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1950 and 1959 to enter the Union of South Africa.”²⁶⁴⁷
- It was known to the South African police that Tsafendas was deported and exiled from Mozambique due to his Communist and anti-colonialist beliefs and activities.²⁶⁴⁸
- It was known that Tsafendas was arrested in Mozambique by the Portuguese Public Security Police on November 16, 1964 and subsequently handed to PIDE accused of “making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.” It was also known that he had spent

²⁶⁴² Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 07 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁶⁴³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter XI, Paragraphs 4 and 5.

²⁶⁴⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter IV, Paragraph 19.

²⁶⁴⁵ General H. J. Den Bergh memorandum to the COE, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File VDSO 17-64, NASA.

²⁶⁴⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter IV, Paragraph 19.

²⁶⁴⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter IV, Paragraph 20.

²⁶⁴⁸ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 07 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA; *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), ‘Tsafendas: Mystery Man of Parliament’, 8 September 1966: 1; *The Daily News*, ‘Tsafendas Seen As ‘Mystery Man’’, 8 September 1966: 17; *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘The Killer: Five Passports and A Record of Subversion’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Pretoria News*, ‘Dimitrio A Red, They Alleged’, 7 September 1966: 1; *The Rhodesia Herald*, ‘Assassin Said To Have Been Deported From P.E.A. for Communist Connections’, 8 September 1966: 1.

three months in custody being interrogated because of the accusations.²⁶⁴⁹

- It was known to the South African police that while he was in South Africa from 1939 to 1942 Tsafendas was “engaged actively in Communistic propaganda.”²⁶⁵⁰
- It was known that in 1938 in Mozambique he was dismissed from a job “owing to his Communist leanings” and that he was suspected of being “engaged in disseminating Communistic propaganda.”²⁶⁵¹
- It was known that Tsafendas supported Mozambique’s independence from Portugal and wanted to see “a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the Mother-nation.”²⁶⁵²
- It was known to the police that Tsafendas, while in London, had associated with prominent anti-apartheid activists David Gardener, Solly Sachs and Canon John Collins.²⁶⁵³
- Although PIDE had concealed important information about Tsafendas’s political activities, it confided in a report which it gave to the South African police that Tsafendas had admitted after being arrested on one occasion that he was “a partisan of the independence of this province.” The same report also stated that although “Tsafendas is mentally deficient,” “it is true that one finds in him an obvious spirit of revolt in relation to the Portuguese Administration, and favouring the independence of Mocambique.”²⁶⁵⁴
- Kenneth Ross was Tsafendas’s landlord in Durban for two months in 1965. He told the police that Tsafendas “was very fond of discussing politics and gave me the opinion that he was well versed in politics. Tsafendas objected to the Communists being banished to Robin Island [sic] because of their political opinions and actions. In general, Tsafendas opposed to every decision taken by the South African Government and freely voiced his

²⁶⁴⁹ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁶⁵⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 26.

²⁶⁵¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 16.

²⁶⁵² PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁶⁵³ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁵⁴ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

opinion to me. He was blatantly opposed to the National Party policy, the policy of the present Government, and was definitely pro-Russian.”²⁶⁵⁵

- Patrick O’Ryan told the police that Tsafendas “was against the state policy of both South Africa and Portugal” and that he “labelled the apartheid policies as unfair.”²⁶⁵⁶ Later O’Ryan described Tsafendas as getting “excited” when he talked about politics and saying that Dr. Verwoerd was a tyrant who was oppressing his people, that he was ‘Hitler’s best student’ and if he (Tsafendas) ever get hold of him “he would bash his skull.” He did not tell the police about Dr. Verwoerd being a tyrant as he believed it would be bad for Tsafendas.²⁶⁵⁷
- Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren, a security officer at the Mandini Paper Factory in Zululand, told the police that Nick Vergos said Tsafendas “was not Greek, but a kaffir and a Communist.”²⁶⁵⁸
- Robert Smith was a night clerk at the Durban Men’s Home where Tsafendas stayed for two months in 1965. He testified that Tsafendas was a Communist, “a fanatic on politics and seldom spoke of anything else” and had described “United Party and National Party officials and members as capitalistic roughs.” Tsafendas had told him that the “South African Government’s policy was ‘rotten’” and often compared conditions in South Africa with those of Russia, stating, “Look at all the poor people in South Africa... such conditions don’t exist in Russia because Russia is a Communistic state.”²⁶⁵⁹
- Albert Vercueil said Tsafendas told him, “You are like your bloody government, but I will get you, and I will get your Prime Minister too.”²⁶⁶⁰
- Johannes Botha, a security officer, told the police that Nick Vergos characterised Tsafendas in a remark to him as the “biggest Communist in the Republic of South

²⁶⁵⁵ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁵⁶ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁶⁵⁷ Patrick O’Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁶⁵⁸ Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁵⁹ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁶⁰ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Africa.²⁶⁶¹

- Jan Johannes Albertus Fourie, a sergeant of the South African police, testified that Nick Vergos reported Tsafendas to him as “Communist bastard.”²⁶⁶²
- Father Hanno Probst reported Tsafendas to a security officer as a “communist and a dangerous person.”²⁶⁶³ He also testified that Tsafendas “started swearing at the Mozambique government, saying it did nothing for the black people.”²⁶⁶⁴
- Roelof Swiegers testified that Tsafendas “leaned towards the communist side.”²⁶⁶⁵
- Jacobus Bornman testified that Tsafendas “stood up a lot for the Coloureds” and “often criticised the South African government and seemed to have a grudge against Dr. Verwoerd.”²⁶⁶⁶
- According to Inspector Horacio Ferreira, of the Portuguese Security Police in Mozambique, Tsafendas was “intense anti-White” and told him that “the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-Whites.”²⁶⁶⁷
- Keith Martincich testified that Tsafendas “on quite a few occasions he had discussed politics with me. He said he did not like the Government and that he was given a hard time in South Africa. He said the Government won’t reign very long.”²⁶⁶⁸
- Elizabeth Groves was Tsafendas’s landlady for six or seven weeks and a retired psychiatric nurse. About Tsafendas she said, “I received complaints that he was argumentative and towards me he said that we Afrikaners are a backward nation. It was

²⁶⁶¹ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁶² Jan Johannes Albertus Fourie statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁶³ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁶⁴ Father Hanno Probst statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁶⁵ Roelof Erasmus Swiegers statement to the police, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van vorm Z 204. NASA.

²⁶⁶⁶ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁶⁶⁷ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁶⁶⁸ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

clear that he had nothing good towards Afrikaners.”²⁶⁶⁹

- Antony Maw testified that the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique did not allow Tsafendas to enter the country on grounds of suspected Communist tendencies.²⁶⁷⁰
- A report by of Col. van Wyk of the South African police characterised Tsafendas as being “intensely anti-white.”²⁶⁷¹
- A 1941 report from the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs said that Tsafendas was “dismissed from employment at a kiosk in Portuguese South Africa (Mozambique) on account of his Communist leanings.”²⁶⁷²
- Peter Pappas, whose café in Durban Tsafendas often visited, said Tsafendas “spoke angrily about the Salazar regime in Portugal and about the Mozambique police.”²⁶⁷³
- In July 1966, just two months before the assassination, Tsafendas gave a seventy-five-minute interview to a reporter named N.D. Hartford of the *Cape Argus*. They had already met at the beginning of the year when Tsafendas came to the newspaper and enquired whether there was any news of the freedom fighters of Mozambique. He described himself as an “anti-Portuguese rebel and an antagonist of the Portuguese dictatorship.”²⁶⁷⁴ Hartford’s impression was that Tsafendas was normal; he had no reason to believe that he was mentally defective. According to Hartford, Tsafendas spoke fluently without any noticeable gaps in the conversation.²⁶⁷⁵
- Reports from Mozambique which emerged after the assassination said that Tsafendas was “violently anti-Portuguese.”²⁶⁷⁶
- Jorge Perestrelo, who met Tsafendas in Lisbon, told *Diario Popular* that “one could see how anxious he was to oppose the authorities.”²⁶⁷⁷

Eight more witnesses, Cleanthes Alachiotis, Elias Constantaras, Nikolaos Billis,

²⁶⁶⁹ Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁶⁷⁰ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub File: 1/8. NASA.

²⁶⁷¹ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁶⁷² Report of the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, 14 October 1941. K150, Vol. 3, File: W.D. 10/10/4102. Subject: Enquiry regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis. NASA.

²⁶⁷³ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend’, 14 September 1966.

²⁶⁷⁴ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.’ 7 September 1966: 3; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

²⁶⁷⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

²⁶⁷⁶ *The Cape Argus*, ‘180-Day Prison for Tsafendas?’, 7 September 1966: 1.

²⁶⁷⁷ Cuttings from the *Diario Popular* of 9.9.66. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

George Kantas, Nickolas Kambouris, Vasilis Perselis, Grigoris Pouftis and Michalis Vasilakis, seven of them from the *Eleni* tanker, whose statements were not found at the National Archives, maintained that they were interviewed by the South African police and testified that Tsafendas was a Communist and against apartheid and considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator and “Hitler’s best student.” More importantly, they also testified that Tsafendas had joined the military wing of the Greek Communist Party during the Greek Civil War.²⁶⁷⁸

Several other witnesses who knew Tsafendas very well like Ira Kyriakakis, Father Nikolas Banovic, Katerina Pnema, Helen Grispos, Fotini Gavasiadis, Nick Papadakis, Mary Eintracht, John and Antony Michaletos, Nick Augustides and Andreas Babiolakis stated to the author that Tsafendas was a passionate Communist who considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator, and “Hitler’s best student.”²⁶⁷⁹ Tsafendas kept characterising Dr. Verwoerd with those words as long as thirty years after the assassination.²⁶⁸⁰ Andreas Babiolakis told the author that Tsafendas made no attempt to hide his detestation for colonialism and apartheid. Tsafendas told Babiolakis one day that “Verwoerd and [Portuguese Prime Minister] Salazar are fascist dictators and should be executed like Mussolini.”²⁶⁸¹

In addition, at least six crewmen from the *Eleni*, Cleanthes Alachiotis, Nikolaos Billis, George Kantas, Nickolas Kambouris, Grigoris Pouftis and Michalis Vasilakis, testified to the police that Tsafendas described a possible assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as morally justifiable, because he was a tyrant and a dictator who was oppressing his people. The fact that Tsafendas had said this just three days before the assassination gives extra value to the information. These six witnesses also told the police, as Elias Constantaras had done, that Tsafendas called Dr. Verwoerd Hitler’s best student and that he spat at his picture in a

²⁶⁷⁸ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015; Nickolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

²⁶⁷⁹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁶⁸⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁶⁸¹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

newspaper.²⁶⁸²

Tsafendas never told anyone that the Portuguese Government was influencing the internal affairs of South Africa, not even the police when he was arrested. He neither made such claim to the Portuguese police when he was interrogated by them. It is very possible that he believed that the two Prime Minister were in league with each other, which was accurate, but he could not possibly have believed that the Portuguese were influencing the internal affairs of South Africa.

Finally, why would Tsafendas tell everyone with whom discussed politics the same things about his ideology, but say something completely different to Dr. Sakinofsky? Tsafendas never repeated this comment to anyone, not even to the psychiatrists or the psychologists who examined him; Dr. Sakinofsky is the only person who ever said Tsafendas spoke of such things.

DR. VERWOERD BEING A “FOREIGNER”

Tsafendas never told anyone who testified to the police, to the Commission of Enquiry, but also to the author, that he considered himself to be a South African. He always described himself as African and Mozambican with a Greek and Shangaan background. He did not believe in nationalities, nations and borders, anyway; he felt people should be allowed to travel and live wherever they wished. What he said, time and again, was that he considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a “dictator”, a “tyrant”, an “oppressor of his own people” and “Hitler’s best student.” As we saw in Tsafendas’s police statement of September 19, he referred to Dr. Verwoerd as a “foreigner” and a “Hollander.” He had said then, “I always had a grudge against the South African Government on account of its racial policies and I hated Dr. Verwoerd because he was a foreigner - a Hollander.”²⁶⁸³

It is true that Dr. Verwoerd was born in Amsterdam, Holland, but Tsafendas was clearly using the word in his own wider sense. He was not speaking in terms of citizenship, rather from his personal ideology in which “foreigners” were colonialists and oppressors, such as the ruling Whites in South Africa and the Portuguese in Mozambique. His belief was

²⁶⁸² Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

²⁶⁸³ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

that pre-independent African countries, as well as South Africa and Rhodesia under the oppressive minority rule of White racist dictators such as Dr. Verwoerd and Ian Smith, were “occupied lands,” another term Tsafendas routinely used, settled by a ruling minority of foreigners, whereas they should be governed on a democratic basis by the people who were born in those countries, be they Black or White. Tsafendas clearly expressed this belief to PIDE in Mozambique in 1964, after his arrest and when he was accused of “making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.”²⁶⁸⁴ When interrogated by PIDE, Tsafendas “clearly stated he was in favour of the independence of Mozambique” and admitted that he wanted to see:

“A Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they White or Black, and therefore separated from the mother nation.”²⁶⁸⁵

This was a firmly held belief which he mentioned to numerous people, including Andreas Babiolakis, Father Nikola Banovic, Father Minas Constandinou, Mary Eintracht, Helen Grispos, Ira Kyriakakis, Antony and John Michaletos, Katerina Pnefma, Nick Papadakis, Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis etc. They all said that Tsafendas considered the Portuguese rulers of Mozambique, as well as the Whites in South Africa, who supported apartheid, to be “foreigners”, “occupiers” and “conquerors” and that he routinely used those words to describe them. Tsafendas believed that all those who supported the Portuguese and the white Rhodesian Government were foreigners who had stolen the land from the native Mozambicans and Rhodesians and set themselves up as unilateral rulers. Equally, he believed that the apartheid government and the apartheid-supporting Whites in South Africa were also foreigners and occupiers who had seized and settled native land forcibly removing and oppressing the Black South Africans.²⁶⁸⁶ Thus, in referring to Dr. Verwoerd as a foreigner, Tsafendas was expressing his conviction that all colonialists/white supremacists in Africa were foreigners, people from other parts of the world illegally occupying African land.

²⁶⁸⁴ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁶⁸⁵ PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁶⁸⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

Furthermore, according to these several witnesses, Tsafendas considered apartheid to be a form of colonialism, not very different from the out-and-out colonialism of Mozambique and Rhodesia.²⁶⁸⁷ We should note here that in 1963, the policy of apartheid had been declared by the South African Communist Party to be “colonialism of a special type.”²⁶⁸⁸ It is possible that this pronouncement confirmed Tsafendas’s own convictions on the subject. Father Minas told the author about Tsafendas’s political ideas:

“Dimitris used to say that apartheid was like colonialism, because a few Europeans were ruling a land which belonged to Blacks because their ancestors had invaded and conquered it. I remember he used to call the Portuguese in Mozambique and I think the whites in South Africa too, ‘conquerors’ and ‘occupiers;’ he considered Mozambique and South Africa to be ‘occupied lands,’ conquered by foreigners. He used to say that Verwoerd was Hitler’s best student, because he had learned from him some of his methods and laws and he was applying them to the Blacks.”²⁶⁸⁹

As for Tsafendas seeing Dr. Verwoerd and the Whites in South Africa, Rhodesia and Mozambique as “foreigners,” he was certainly not the only one who thought that way. Even Dr. Verwoerd himself acknowledged this idea in a speech on February 8, 1961: “There are people who are far away and do not understand us. They see this southern point of Africa only as a White-dominated country in a large continent with over 200 million people who are black. And then they say we do not fit here, we are foreign to the body of Africa.”²⁶⁹⁰

DR. VERWOERD BEING AGAINST THE ENGLISH WAY OF LIFE

This is again something Tsafendas never mentioned to the two hundred-plus witnesses interviewed by the police, the Commission of Enquiry and the author. Dr. Sakinofsky in his testimony quoted Tsafendas as stating that Dr. Verwoerd was against the “English way of life,” which Tsafendas favoured. This excerpt was read by the author to fifty-eight people who knew Tsafendas, including nine who knew him very well: his half-sister Katerina Pnema, three friends who grew up with him, Ira Kyriakakis, Mary Eintracht and Andreas

²⁶⁸⁷ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁶⁸⁸ Visser, “Postcoloniality of a Special Type: Theory and Its Appropriations in South Africa”, p. 79; Volpe, *Race, Class and the Apartheid State*, p. 28-35.

²⁶⁸⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁶⁹⁰ Pelzer, *Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches 1948-66*, p. 494.

Babiolakis, and Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis, Nick Papadakis, Father Nikola Banovic, Father Minas Constandinou, Father Michalis Visvinis and Fotini Gavasiadis. Not one of them believes he could have made such a comment and to have really meant it.²⁶⁹¹ Tsafendas never repeated the “way of life” comment to anyone else, including medical experts who examined him later.

Tsafendas was also anti-British because of British assistance to the royalists during the Greek Civil War and also because of that country’s former colonial policies,²⁶⁹² therefore it seems unlikely that Tsafendas was concerned about the British Commonwealth or the “English way of life.” However, Tsafendas supported the British Labour Party because of its stance against apartheid and often attended party meetings in London.²⁶⁹³ He considered London to be his favourite city and an ideal place to live, if it was not for the weather and his failure to get a work permit. He was impressed that many different people lived side by side in London and there was no evident racism.²⁶⁹⁴

More importantly, Tsafendas despised royalty and titles. When the British king and queen visited South Africa in 1947, Eleni Vlachopoulos, Tsafendas’s half-sister, who was still at school at the time, wrote or recited a poem or just participated in a ceremony in their honour. She was given a mug bearing a picture of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, which she treasured and which is now in the possession of her son. When Tsafendas found out about it, he protested jokingly in a letter to his father for allowing her to participate in the celebrations, since Michalis, too, was anti-royalist.²⁶⁹⁵

After the Second World War, Tsafendas’s father had become anti-British, too, because of that country’s support for the royalists in the Greek Civil War.²⁶⁹⁶ When Tsafendas returned to South Africa and spent nine months in Pretoria in 1964, he often ate or

²⁶⁹¹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

²⁶⁹² Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁶⁹³ Edward Furness statement to the police 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁶⁹⁴ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁶⁹⁵ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁶⁹⁶ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

visited his half-sister's house. The mug was on display in her house and he told his sister that if he saw it he would "throw it out of the window." Of course, it was a joke and he never did.²⁶⁹⁷

Further, it is clear Tsafendas was lying when he told Dr. Sakinofsky his mother was English. Dr. Sakinofsky had no way of knowing the truth, which was that Tsafendas's mother was born in Mozambique to a Mozambican mother and a German father. He never told anyone apart from Dr. Sakinofsky, that his mother was "a member of an overseas Royal Family." All of Tsafendas's relatives and two of the priests smiled at this comment.²⁶⁹⁸

DR. VERWOERD BEING AGAINST A "CAPE TO CAIRO" UNION

The Cape to Cairo reference is one of the strongest indications that Tsafendas was lying to Dr. Sakinofsky. Once again, none of the two hundred witnesses ever heard Tsafendas say Dr. Verwoerd opposed the idea of a Cape to Cairo union. They never even heard him mentioning the Cape to Cairo union. Tsafendas himself never mentioned it to the police when he was questioned; there is no reference to it in any of the reports by the South African police or PIDE, and it appears that Dr. Sakinofsky is the only person ever to hear him saying it. Furthermore, a Cape to Cairo union was one of Cecil Rhodes'²⁶⁹⁹ dreams for Africa.²⁷⁰⁰ As a fanatical anti-colonialist, Tsafendas had no sympathy for the ideals of an arch imperialist such as Cecil Rhodes.

All the witnesses who knew Tsafendas and who were interviewed by the author were asked whether Tsafendas ever commented about Rhodes and whether he would have

²⁶⁹⁷ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁶⁹⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 22 April 2016; Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁶⁹⁹ (1853-1902) Rhodes was part of the imperial machine, a politician and a businessman with an interest in mining. He funded the South African territory of "Rhodesia" which was named after him. He served as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in South Africa from 1890 to 1896 (*The Times* (London), 'Death of Mr. Rhodes', 27 March 1902: 7). A highly polarising figure, a statue of him was removed from Cape Town University in 2015 amid emotional scenes as reported by the BBC (BBC, 'Rhodes Statue Removed in Cape Town as Crowd Celebrates', *BBC*, 9 April 2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-32236922>).

²⁷⁰⁰ One of Rhodes' dreams for a united Africa was the construction of a railway running from the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa to Cairo in Egypt, a great "red line" on the map of the continent. On world maps of that era, British dominions were always denoted in red. Rhodes had secured much of southern and central Africa for the British Empire. He felt that the best way to "unify the possessions, facilitate governance, enable the military to move quickly to hot spots or conduct war, help settlement, and foster trade" would be to build a "Cape to Cairo Railway" (Lewis R. Freeman, "Rhodes's 'All Red' Route: The Effect of the War on the Cape-To-Cairo and the Control of a Continent", (1915). In Walter Hines Page and Arthur Wilson Page, *The World's Work, Volume 29; A History of Our Time*, RareBooksClub.com, 2012, p. 327-355).

supported such an idea. Some respondents were not able to give a definite answer, but the majority discounted such a possibility outright. Let's examine the evidence:

- Tsafendas himself told the police on September 11, "I was anti-colonial, against slavery and in favour of all colonies which were controlled by Belgium, France and Portugal to be afforded self-government."²⁷⁰¹ His ideas as expressed in this statement were confirmed to the author by several witnesses.
- He attended anti-colonialist meetings and demonstrations in London.²⁷⁰²
- He considered it a disgrace that Zimbabwe had been named Rhodesia in honour of Rhodes.²⁷⁰³
- He told Katerina Pnema and her husband Gerry that one day Rhodes's statues in Africa would be brought down by the people.²⁷⁰⁴ The monument to Cecil Rhodes at Cape Town University was brought down in April 2015.²⁷⁰⁵
- He believed the Whites in Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe had commandeered the land from its rightful owners. Thus these territories were "occupied lands" ruled by "occupiers." However, he recognised the right of Whites who accepted majority rule and opposed colonial government to live there.²⁷⁰⁶
- Tsafendas admitted to the Commission of Enquiry that he endeavoured to recruit people for an uprising against the colonialist Portuguese in Mozambique.²⁷⁰⁷
- PIDE characterised Tsafendas as a "partisan for the independence of Mozambique"²⁷⁰⁸ and admitted that "it is true that one finds in him an obvious spirit of revolt in relation to the Portuguese Administration, and favouring the independence of Mocambique."²⁷⁰⁹

²⁷⁰¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁷⁰² Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁷⁰³ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁷⁰⁴ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁷⁰⁵ BBC, 'Rhodes Statue Removed in Cape Town as Crowd Celebrates', *BBC*, 9 April 2015.

²⁷⁰⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁷⁰⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32.

²⁷⁰⁸ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁷⁰⁹ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

- Another PIDE report stated that Tsafendas wanted to see a “Mozambique governed by natives whether white or black, but separate from the mother-country (Portugal)” and that “he is all for the Independence of this Province.”²⁷¹⁰
- Tsafendas was arrested five times by the Portuguese Police in Mozambique because of his Communist and anti-colonial activities, while he was also banned from entering the country from 1951 to 1963 due to these activities.²⁷¹¹
- He was arrested in Mozambique accused of pretending to be a religious missionary while in reality, preaching “in favour of Mozambique’s independence.”²⁷¹²
- Father Hanno Probst reported Tsafendas to a security officer as a “communist and a dangerous person.”²⁷¹³ “He started swearing at the Mozambique government, saying it did nothing for the black people.”²⁷¹⁴
- According to Inspector Horacio Ferreira, of the Portuguese Security Police in Mozambique, Tsafendas was “intense anti-White” and told him that “the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-Whites.”²⁷¹⁵
- One day after the assassination, a secret telegram from the South African embassy in Lisbon informed the South African police that Tsafendas “has a criminal record in Mozambique, where he is said to have been arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances, including shouting pro-Communist and anti-Portuguese slogans.”²⁷¹⁶
- A report by of Col. van Wyk of the South African police characterised Tsafendas as being “intensely anti-white.”²⁷¹⁷
- Peter Pappas stated that Tsafendas spoke angrily about the Salazar regime in

²⁷¹⁰ PIDE report regarding Demitrio Tsafendas or Dimitrios Tsafendakis, 19 January 1965. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas

²⁷¹¹ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁷¹² PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁷¹³ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷¹⁴ Father Hanno Probst statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷¹⁵ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Demitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁷¹⁶ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁷¹⁷ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Demitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

Portugal and about the Mozambique police.²⁷¹⁸

- Also, in July 1966, just two months before the assassination, Tsafendas gave an interview to a reporter named N.D. Hartford of the *Cape Argus*. They had already met at the beginning of the year when Tsafendas came to the newspaper and enquired whether there was any news of the freedom fighters of Mozambique. He described himself as an “anti-Portuguese rebel and an antagonist of the Portuguese dictatorship.”²⁷¹⁹
- Tsafendas admired Ahmed Ben Bella, Fidel Castro, Amílcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah and Patrice Lumumba, extensively quoting them throughout his whole life.²⁷²⁰
- Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis said of Tsafendas:

“He was very passionate about the independence of Mozambique, and generally about the independence of all colonies. He supported Pan-Africanism and deeply admired anti-colonialist leaders like [Fidel] Castro, [Ahmed] Ben Bella, [Kwame] Nkrumah, [Amílcar] Cabral ... His favourite was [Patrice] Lumumba; he cried when talking about him [because he was murdered]. He had read a lot about them and quoted them often; he could tell you everything about their lives. He even suggested books about them for me to read. He also often quoted [Frantz] Fanon, especially with regard to the assassination [of Dr. Verwoerd], when he was trying to justify it as a justifiable political act. He made me read two of his [Fanon’s] books.”²⁷²¹

- Costas Poriazis characterized Tsafendas as “a political animal. The most politicized person I’ve ever met” and that “there was fire in his eyes when talking politics, especially about the struggle for the independence of Mozambique and other countries in Africa. He was clearly pro-violence [for political reasons].”²⁷²²

All the above evidence is mutually compatible with what Tsafendas told the police and with what several witnesses told the author. However, they are incompatible with what he told Dr. Sakinofsky, which was something that he was the only one to ever have the

²⁷¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend’, 14 September 1966.

²⁷¹⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

²⁷²⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁷²¹ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁷²² Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

“privilege” of hearing.

None of the seventy-five witnesses who were interviewed by the author was ever told by Tsafendas about the “Cape to Cairo” idea. According to twenty-six witnesses, Cleanthes Alachiotis, Father Nikola Banovic, Father Ioannis Tsafaridis, Father Michalis Visvinis, Father Minas Constandinou, Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis, Alexandra Vaporidou, Katerina Pnema, Michael Vlachopoulos, Eleni Vlachopoulos, Ira Kyriakakis, Helen Grispos, Elias Constantaras, Nikolaos Billis, Nick Papadakis, George Kantas, Paul Babiolakis, Nickolas Kambouris, Mary Eintracht, Vasilis Perselis, Emanuil Mastromanolis, Costas Poriazis, Vasilis Perselis, Grigoris Pouftis and Michalis Vasilakis, Tsafendas’s anti-colonialism would never have permitted him to support such an ideal. In fact, Tsafendas declared that Rhodes’ statue and the statues of all other colonialists would one day be removed from everywhere in Africa. These witnesses’ statements about Tsafendas’s political ideas have been included in this chapter already, so they will not be included here again.

Finally, Tsafendas spoke extensively about politics and his life while he was in prison and later in the hospital, but only to people he trusted. He never told anyone any of the things he told Dr. Sakinofsky but repeated what he told all these witnesses prior to the assassination - for example, that he was anti-colonialist and wanted all countries in South Africa to gain their independence.²⁷²³ All the foregoing evidence as to Tsafendas’s political convictions concerning colonialism and Cecil Rhodes make it evident that Tsafendas never supported such an idea and that he was simply lying to Dr. Sakinofsky.

²⁷²³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

DR. VERWOERD'S MEETING WITH CHIEF LEABUA JONATHAN

According to Dr. Sakinofsky, this meeting was for Tsafendas “a further blow to the Commonwealth.” He believed Tsafendas “misinterpreted this meeting as being related to the immorality legislation.” It is highly unlikely that Tsafendas, because of his ideology, would have been concerned about the Commonwealth, something he had never mentioned to anyone before. He talked politics constantly, especially with people he knew well, freely expressing his political ideas.²⁷²⁴ If he had any interest in the Commonwealth, he would have told some of the about two hundred people who were interviewed by the South African police, the Commission and the author.

Furthermore, Tsafendas mentioned the Dr. Verwoerd-Jonathan meeting in his statement to the police on September 11 made no reference to the Commonwealth or the immorality legislation. What he said then was: “The meeting between Dr. Verwoerd and Chief Leabua Jonathan was a contributory fact in my decision to murder Dr. Verwoerd. I say this because I thought the Prime Minister was dealing with the wrong person. Both Dr. Verwoerd and Jonathan were, to my mind, not the real representatives of their countries. I wanted the Paramount Chief of Basutoland to represent the Basuto nation. I wanted to see a government representing all the South African people. I do not think the Nationalist Government is representative of the people and I wanted to see a different government.”²⁷²⁵

Far from referencing the Immorality Act or the Commonwealth, Tsafendas characterised Dr. Verwoerd as a dictator in his usual terms, stating that the prime minister did not represent all South Africans and he (Tsafendas) wanted to see a government that would represent all of the South African people. Tsafendas characterised Dr. Verwoerd as a dictator to more than thirty witnesses. He never commented on Chief Jonathan to any of the witnesses interviewed by the police, the Commission or by the author. As for the Immorality Act, it is true that Tsafendas strongly opposed and openly criticised it, but he did the same with several other apartheid laws, comparing them to the Nuremberg Laws of Nazi Germany.

²⁷²⁴ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷²⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

TSAFENDAS'S APPLICATION FOR A DOUBLE IDENTITY CARD

According to Dr. Sakinofsky, Tsafendas told him that he applied for such a card in order to “try and find a wife among either the White or non-White group: he stated that he had been rejected by women of both race groups and therefore was not able to get married.” Tsafendas is lying again, since several witnesses and he himself stated that he had only applied for reclassification as Coloured.²⁷²⁶

What is more, there is no evidence that Tsafendas was rejected by women of both groups. He had a Black girlfriend, Stella, in Mozambique in the late 1930s, a White Jewish girl around 1940 in South Africa,²⁷²⁷ a Portuguese girlfriend, probably White, in Portugal in the 1950s,²⁷²⁸ a White Communist German woman in Germany also in the 1950s²⁷²⁹ and a Turkish Muslim woman in Istanbul in 1961. The Turkish woman wanted to marry him, but neither was willing to convert to each other's religion and anyway, Tsafendas wanted to go back to Africa.²⁷³⁰ These were at least some of Tsafendas's serious relationships as far as the author was able to establish, but it is very possible that there were others.

Tsafendas never said much about his relationships with women to the priests who visited him in prison or the hospital or to other friends and acquaintances. Asked about girlfriends and how far he had gone with them, Tsafendas would say, “A gentleman never discusses such matters.”²⁷³¹ The author learned about the above relationships from people who were close to Tsafendas at the time and not because he talked about them.

TSAFENDAS NOT HAVING ANY “PASSIVITY FEELINGS”

Dr. Sakinofsky stated that Tsafendas did not have any “passivity feelings” and as we see, Tsafendas did not even mention the tapeworm during this examination. Dr. Sakinofsky was the third doctor to examine Tsafendas on the day of the assassination and he mentioned it to none of them. Dr. Sakinofsky clearly stated that Tsafendas did not have any “passivity feelings” which means to the psychiatrists that, at least at the time, he did not believe he had a

²⁷²⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁷²⁷ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁷²⁸ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

²⁷²⁹ Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

²⁷³⁰ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 4 November 2015.

²⁷³¹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

tapeworm. Tsafendas was not embarrassed to talk about having a tapeworm to everybody he met twenty days after the assassination and, as we have seen, he told doctors in hospitals where he sought admission that he had a “fixation with a tapeworm.”

Thus, if Tsafendas believed he had a tapeworm, as he told these doctors, why did he not use it with Dr. Sakinofsky? The fact that Tsafendas did not have any passivity feelings proves that he did not believe he had a tapeworm, at least at that time. This was a very important issue and contradicted the defence’s line, but it was not picked up by the Attorney-General or the Judge; Dr. Sakinofsky was allowed to continue without being asked to clarify the issue and, as we will see, was not challenged about it in the cross-examination.

Tsafendas spoke freely about the tapeworm to all those who examined him twenty days after the assassination. However, on the day of the assassination, he did not mention it to anyone, not even to a psychiatrist. The idea that Tsafendas hid it for some reason could not possibly be valid, for why would he hide it from Dr. Sakinofsky that day but use it a month later? Even if we assume that Tsafendas was delusional about the things he told Dr. Sakinofsky that day, still he named reasons for killing Dr. Verwoerd which were different from those he would use later with Dr. Cooper and even with Dr. Sakinofsky himself. Again, this suggests that at that time Tsafendas had not decided to use the tapeworm story, having had three opportunities to do so, especially with Dr. Sakinofsky who was a psychiatrist, none of which he used. This again, suggests that Tsafendas was play-acting according to the situation, as he did with the Portuguese and his Saint Peter act when he was accused of campaigning for the independence of Mozambique.

DR. KOSSEW’S DIAGNOSIS

The Defence Counsel refers to Dr. Kossew’s diagnosis of Tsafendas without mentioning that he was diagnosed as such based on yet another delusional idea he appeared to have at the time, this time of a persecutory nature. He had claimed to Dr. Kossew that more than twenty people had died from food poisoning in the house where he was staying²⁷³² and did not mention the tapeworm at all. The incident has been discussed extensively in Dr. Kossew’s testimony.

However, the important issue here is that Tsafendas appeared to have had another

²⁷³² Dr. Ralph Kossew testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

delusional idea, apart from the tapeworm, just two months before the assassination and this was an idea that he never repeated to anyone else. All the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas claimed that he had the tapeworm since the mid-1930s, therefore he must still believe he had it when he was examined by Dr. Kossew, even if he did not mention it. The strange thing is not that he did not mention it, but that he appeared to hold two delusional ideas simultaneously - the tapeworm and the poison murders. This again, suggests that Tsafendas was play-acting according to the situation, as he did with the Portuguese and his Saint Peter act when he was accused of campaigning for the independence of Mozambique. The issue of having two delusional ideas simultaneously has been discussed in Dr. Cooper's testimony.

CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST EXAMINATION

Everything that Tsafendas told Dr. Sakinofsky during their first meeting was a lie or he was extremely confused, which is not unlikely taking under consideration his situation. The fact that he never mentioned any of the things he told Dr. Sakinofsky to anyone else, not even to him again, suggests fabrication. If Tsafendas really meant the things he said, he would surely have told at least one other person, not to mention the doctors who began examining him three weeks later. What he said was completely contradictory to his beliefs as well as to all the evidence gathered by the South African police and later from over seventy interviews and 12,000 documents from archival sources which the author collected. More importantly, the evidence of the police is compatible with the evidence gathered by the author, and incompatible with what Tsafendas told Dr. Sakinofsky.

One important issue concerning this first meeting was not adequately examined and was left unchallenged by the Judge and the Attorney-General. This was that Tsafendas did not tell Dr. Sakinofsky anything about the tapeworm and he did not have any passivity feelings at the time. Twenty days later, Tsafendas would speak freely about the tapeworm to anyone, including Dr. Sakinofsky. He had no problem talking to doctors about it, as he had done happily in the past and would do again in the future.

The doctors at the summary trial would claim that Tsafendas had had a tapeworm since the mid-1930s, that it was controlling his life and was responsible for killing Dr. Verwoerd. If he really believed that, why did he not tell Dr. Sakinofsky so shortly after the assassination? Why did he give Dr. Sakinofsky different motives to those he would give later

to the doctors? And of course different to the ones he gave to the police? The big difference though between the reasons he gave to the police and the reasons he gave to the doctors is that the evidence collected at the time by the police and the evidence later collected by the author are entirely compatible with what Tsafendas told the police but incompatible with what he told Dr. Sakinofsky. This alone suggests that Tsafendas did not at the time intend to use the tapeworm act and only decided to use it later when he could no longer endure the torture.

If you should ask any of those who know the author of this study, they will say that he does not like the heat and prefers cold weather. If ever that author should murder someone and then tell a psychiatrist or his lawyer, “I don’t like the cold weather, I like the heat,” what would all those who knew him for so many years say? This is exactly how the people who knew Tsafendas well felt when they heard about the tapeworm, that he was insane and about all the things he told Dr. Sakinofsky that first day.

Dr. Sakinofsky also very correctly suggested that a forensic psychiatrist should be called by the court for such a case, but his suggestion never materialised. As a matter of fact none of the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas was a forensic psychiatrist. According to Professor Tuviah Zabow, if Tsafendas was a schizophrenic when he was examined by Dr. Sakinofsky and the other psychiatrists, he must still have been one while he was in prison and then in the hospital. His health must also have been deteriorating, given that fact that he did not receive any medical treatment and he was in solitary confinement for twenty-three hours per day for at least twenty-two years. While he was deprived of any contact with his fellow prisoners, he was also brutally assaulted and kept in a room next to the death chamber where executions took place regularly.²⁷³³ However, Tsafendas remained ever faithful to the ideas he had from his youth and never told anyone the sort of things he told Dr. Sakinofsky.

²⁷³³ Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016.

DR. SAKINOFSKY'S SECOND EXAMINATION OF TSAFENDAS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you see the accused subsequent to the 6th September, 1966?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I saw him exactly a month after the first time, on the 6th October.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: In the E.E.G. department at Groote Schuur Hospital.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the E.E.G. department?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: It is the electroencephalography laboratory.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was an E.E.G. taken in this case?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: An E.E.G. had just been taken.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Do you know the result of that E.E.G.?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the result?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: It was normal.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What does that indicate in itself?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: It indicates in itself, as far as the diagnosis of schizophrenia is concerned, nothing.

JUDGE BEYERS: It would have been different if you were dealing with an epileptic?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, indeed.

JUDGE BEYERS: Then you would have found a dysrhythmia or something, which might have been indicative?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Quite so.

JUDGE BEYERS: But on schizophrenia you don't expect to find any dysrhythmia or any other thing wrong with the encephalograph?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No.

JUDGE BEYERS: Is that right?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Quite right.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: On the 6th October, then, did you have an interview with the accused?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I did.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Of what duration?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: About an hour and a half to two hours, I should estimate.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you tell the Court the findings that you made at this interview?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. My findings confirmed my initial impression. The content of the interview was somewhat different, in that he then for the first time spoke to me about this tapeworm that I have heard discussed in this Court, which I regard as a hypochondriacal delusion, a delusion referring to bodily functions. He spoke more about the episode in Portugal when he claimed to have been ill-treated in a paranoid way, and the content of what he had to say was that the Portuguese doctors and nurses, the nuns in the hospital that he was in in Lisbon, were trying to ruin him by giving him shocks on the head. I asked him what the reason was for this. He said he didn't know the reason, but they had asked him if he was a Roman Catholic and he said he wasn't, and the hospital was run by nuns, so he assumed it was because he was a Protestant that they were trying to ruin him. He then went on to reveal to me ideas of passivity, by saying - I said: "Are you going so far as to say that they tried to ruin you because you weren't a Roman Catholic?" He said: "Maybe they were trying to change me." I said: "Change you? How could they change you?" He said "Do something to my brain." I don't want to go into too much detail, but the mechanism which they were using he said was a transformed radio, and then he revealed what I regard as another symptom of schizophrenia, delusional perception, which means that an innocent visual image, something which one may see, like this microphone, takes on a sinister meaning to a patient. He said he had passed an old radio on one of the tables and immediately he knew that this was the instrument that was being used to act on his brain. He called it a "graphanola." I said: "What is a graphanola? Is that a word?" He said: "It is a radio." I said: "Is it a Portuguese word?" He said: "Portuguese, yes." I have looked up this word in seven Portuguese-English dictionaries, and it doesn't exist. I can only conclude that this is what we in psychiatry call a neologism.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is a neologism?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: It is a word which is manufactured by a patient with one of the major mental disorders, chiefly schizophrenia.

JUDGE BEYERS: Is it one of the symptoms of schizophrenic people that they manufacture words?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: Is that what you are telling us?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Some schizophrenics manufacture words. This was the only neologism I elicited.

JUDGE BEYERS: The graphanola?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Graphanola.

JUDGE BEYERS: Did you look up a Greek dictionary?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No, I didn't.

JUDGE BEYERS: It starts with a Greek word?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: It may exist in Greek.

JUDGE BEYERS: And he also speaks Greek, I believe?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, he speaks a number of languages. I didn't look up the Arabic one either.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he claim that this word was a Greek word?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No, he claimed it was a Portuguese word.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What else did you find?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: He said that this graphanola had been used in previous murders which had been hushed up in Lisbon. One of them was the case of a son of a banker. I couldn't really follow him in his reasoning. He didn't seem to have much to go on to establish this, and I took this as part of his delusional system.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What else did you find?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Ideas of reference, which I can quote. This is a symptom of schizophrenia, too. He said that once when he was sitting in a cafe where Coloured people used to gather, from the colonies, "they mentioned at one of the tables I was sitting at what was taking place", namely, that he was having shock treatment and that his brain was being washed. This is an idea of reference. He also showed the symptom of depersonalisation, which means a feeling of change in the body, which is so bizarre that it is regarded as

psychotic. I asked him:

“Do you feel any strange sensation in your body, apart from this tapeworm?” and he said, “No. I don’t feel myself at all sometimes. I don’t feel my body. I don’t feel myself.” I said: “Tell me about that. That is important.” He said: “I don’t feel myself. I am walking, I just don’t feel myself. There are times when I more or less feel my body, but there are periods when I don’t feel myself. I feel I am walking lightly. I feel as if I am floating in thin air.” I think these were the chief features of that particular interview. He said that he had been turned into a hermaphrodite, which I think is significant - just paging through this.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: After the second interview, what was your opinion? To what extent were you now going to review your earlier opinion?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: At that point I felt I could confirm the diagnosis, broadly speaking, of schizophrenia, but I thought one could go further and try and reconcile some of the diagnostic difficulties, by using a particular sub-category of schizophrenia, which is called paraphrenia and which accounts for the relative preservation of this man’s personality. The fact that he was able to amble around the world for 30-odd years without spending more than short periods, that he appears to have spent in mental hospitals. It also accounts for the preservation of his emotions. He was not quite as flat and cold as I expected him to be. And the diagnosis of paraphrenia, hypochondriacal paraphrenia, seemed to me to fit this. There is a textbook - may I refer to it at this stage - called *Schizophrenia*, by Professor Fish from Liverpool, wherein he quotes the paraphrenias as classified by Professor Leonhard of Frankfurt, and he says: “Hypochondriacal Paraphrenia: The bodily hallucinations are usually referred to internal organs and are usually described so grotesquely that it is impossible for a normal person to empathise with the patient.” Further on, he says “Affectivity (that is, emotion) is fairly well preserved. These patients have thought-disorder which Leonhard calls ‘unconcentrated thinking.’ They tend to wander from the point, talk about subjects loosely related to the task in hand, and are inclined to “verbal derailments.” And I thought that, while there may still be diagnostic difficulties about the exact sub-class, he fitted into the broad category of paraphrenia very nicely.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Are there any further comments that you have to make on your second interview, otherwise I think we can now go to your third interview?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No. I did consider, by the way, in both the first and second interviews, whether he was simulating mental illness, and my conclusion was that he wasn’t, because

there were obvious schizophrenic symptoms which he did not have when I led him up to them, and he seemed to be at pains to tell me exactly how he was feeling, rather than to fit in with the pattern that I wanted to fit him into.

COMMENTS ON DR. SAKINOFSKY'S SECOND EXAMINATION OF TSAFENDAS

Tsafendas told Dr. Sakinofsky that he was a Protestant, whereas he was Greek Orthodox. He would never have said that unless he was lying for a reason or for fun. He had always asserted his membership of the Greek Orthodox Church and he knew Christianity too well to mix up Greek Orthodox and Protestant.

Tsafendas also told Dr. Sakinofsky that the Portuguese had tried to “change him.” Tsafendas spoke to several witnesses about this, but not in the way he did with the doctor. He told these witnesses, including the *Cape Argus*, Patrick O’Ryan, Andreas Babiolakis, Father Nikola Banovic, Father Minas Constandinou, Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis, Michalis Vasilakis, Nikolas Kambouris, Mary Eintracht and Ira Kyriakakis that the Portuguese had attempted to “brainwash him,” using the same verb every time. He did mean that they tried to “change him,” but he explained explicitly that they wanted to change his political ideas, using brainwashing and torture. Tsafendas spoke a lot about this, explaining that when they were not torturing him, his captors were pressing on him the advantages that the Mozambicans enjoyed because of the Portuguese, like hospitals, churches and a modern infrastructure.²⁷³⁴

THE GRAPHANOLA

Tsafendas also spoke to Dr. Sakinofsky about a “graphanola” and explained that it was a “radio” that was used to torture him. Dr. Sakinofsky, unaware of the word, concluded that it did not exist and that Tsafendas made it up and this was also a sign of schizophrenia since “some schizophrenics manufacture words.” However, if “graphanola” did not exist, “graphonola” certainly did, not only in Portuguese, but also in English, in which it is spelled “grafonola.” The graphonola was a 1907 improved version of the Columbia company’s

²⁷³⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

graphophone, which itself was a development of the original phonograph, recognisable by its horn. The original acoustic version of the graphonola was later adapted for electricity.

Prior to the assassination, Tsafendas told Father Nikola Banovic, Andreas Babiolakis, Nick Papadakis and Mary Eintracht that his torturers in Portugal had given him electric shocks using a wooden box that looked like the graphophone his father had in Lourenço Marques.²⁷³⁵ After the assassination Tsafendas told Father Minas Constandinou that when he was given electric shocks by the South African police, they also used a small wooden box with wires of different colours, though this time he did not mention the word “graphophone.” He just said it was much smaller than the device used by the Portuguese,²⁷³⁶ which he had previously said was “like a graphophone.”

The attached photographs below show an electric shock equipment and a graphophone from the 1950s and they look very much alike. Tsafendas’s description was quite accurate. Dr. Sakinofsky and the Court, probably unaware of the equipment used by the Portuguese and the South African police to administer electric shocks, could hardly envisage that the wooden box used for such a procedure looked “like a graphophone.” They were obviously unaware that the “graphonola/grafonola” and the “graphophone” were effectively the same device. Tsafendas did not make up the word and described clearly the equipment used by the Portuguese to torture him.

About twenty years after the assassination, while discussing his summary trial with Father Minas, Tsafendas said that he had often tried hard to not laugh at the things they were said about him in the court; this must have been one of those occasions.²⁷³⁷

²⁷³⁵ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²⁷³⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁷³⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

Graphophone

Electric Shock



Box



CONCLUSION REGARDING DR. SAKINOFSKY'S SECOND EXAMINATION

Tsafendas found inspiration for his exchanges with Dr. Sakinofsky from past experiences such as the torture, then changing them a little to make himself sound schizophrenic.

Tsafendas spoke to several people about some of the things he told Dr. Sakinofsky, such as the torture in Portugal, but he never mentioned the absurd things he had volunteered. Why did he tell the absurdities to Dr. Sakinofsky and not to the people he knew? Clearly to present

himself to the medical expert as schizophrenic, something he did not need to do with other people in his life.

Tsafendas said later that most of the things that were heard during his summary trial were lies and sometimes he wanted to laugh.²⁷³⁸ The incident where the word graphonola was not recognised by anyone in the court and was misunderstood by Dr. Sakinofsky must have been one of them. Finally, Dr. Sakinofsky stated that Tsafendas spoke to him for the first time about the tapeworm during this meeting, but he did not elaborate further.

²⁷³⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

DR. SAKINOFSKY'S THIRD EXAMINATION OF TSAFENDAS

THE TAPEWORM AND THE KILLING OF DR. VERWOERD

DEFENCE COUNSEL: He is very preoccupied with his health, is he? He is very preoccupied with his state of health?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: In the third interview he talked about this tapeworm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Now we come to the third interview, again at your request - is that correct?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You saw the accused where?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I saw him at Caledon Square on the 14th of October.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: For how long did you see him?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: For about an hour.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you give the Court your findings and your comments?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. My findings were - I wanted to lead him on to the tapeworm at the beginning, because I wanted to find out more about what this meant to him, and we started talking about the tapeworm, and then he spontaneously said to me: "It may even be a serpent", and went on to describe in a delusional way how this tapeworm was a viper, a demon, a dragon, I thought in a way which wasn't at all solicited. He indicated exactly what this meant to him when he said as follows: "There is a lot in the scriptures about tapeworms. I got to the point in my church not to take bread and wine, when everybody else in the morning used to take it, the communion — you know what you call it, communion?" I said: "Yes." He said: "I said to myself, well, if I have a devil how can I be a partaker? So I left off when I came to my senses. This hasn't been long, this has been a year or two that I have stopped taking wine and bread. I thought, well, if I am taking it, I am trying to make a demon within me holy, or something." To me this was a grotesque description which fitted in with this being a delusion, not simply an idea.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is its significance?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: The significance of delusion?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Yes?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, I think the significance of this means that this man has schizophrenia, and if it can be shown that he has had this delusion over 20, 30 years, then I would say he has chronic delusional insanity — that kind of schizophrenia. I also found identification with the tapeworm. He alludes very much to the scriptures in this interview. He quoted a passage. I asked him if he was possessed by the tapeworm. He said: “Yes, I am possessed by a tapeworm put there by African enemies, African witchcraft.” I said: “Is it as if you were a kind of robot that they can send round the world to do what they want to, because you have got a tapeworm inside you that makes you do things?”, and he gave me an answer which I think as again showing that he wasn’t simulating. He said: “I don’t know what the effects are of that thing, but it seems to have ended up as if this had been the effect.” He quoted a passage from the Bible - I can’t lay my hands right on it - about “Lord, I am a worm, I am a worm”, that somebody says somewhere in the Bible. He drew an analogy between the Old Testament story of Moses and the serpent swallowing other serpents, but when I said did he see Dr. Verwoerd as a kind of Pharaoh and himself as a kind of Moses, he denied that. This was the content of that interview, more or less confirming the findings of the first two interviews.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he say whether this tapeworm sleeps, what its habits were?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. We went into some detail. He said that when he fed this tapeworm, it was like a boa constrictor which coiled itself round his gut, and when he fed it then the boa constrictor left him and left his emotions free. He said that it purred like a cat. In other words, he gave this concept life in a bizarre, grotesque, schizophrenic way. He gave it an animistic life, like someone possessed.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was there any other finding that you made?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, he had more ideas of reference.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is an idea of reference?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Idea of reference is usually found - it is found more often in schizophrenia than it is in another major mental disorder, an affective psychosis, a depressive psychosis, and it concerns the belief that other people, who may not know you from a bar of soap, are talking about you. Like when he said that in the cafe the coloured people were talking about the fact that he had got shock treatment. In this case he spoke about the Bible as having some personal reference to him. He said: “These passages have personally a deep meaning. A lot of these phrases have a meaning for me. They mean something which doesn’t

mean probably anything, which other people just call a lot of rubbish. They can't see it, they can't realise it." I said: "And it has meaning for you but not for other people?", and he said: "Yes, it has meaning for me but not for other people. Something that other people wouldn't understand." I asked him what kind of meaning did it have for him, "Does it mean that you have to do certain things as a result of it?" He said: "It means that it enlightens me. It puts me in the same situation." And then he er-ed. I said: "At the time that you killed Dr. Verwoerd, had you been guided by the Bible?", and he denied this, but he said it was as if he had been hypnotised by the tapeworm, because he couldn't remember what had happened. And he went on to say in a way which aroused considerable emotion: "I fell on him, people tell me, and it is probably true, but I don't remember a thing about stabbing him. I could have stabbed him a thousand times without knowing it." I said: "How? Because you were under hypnotism?" "I don't know what it was. You are a doctor, I am asking you. I was stabbing him, and I have never stabbed people before. I never handled a knife before. I was not myself. I was just stabbing him, and if the people hadn't lifted me off I would have been stabbing a corpse."

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you put the question to him: did the tapeworm have anything to do with the act of killing Dr. Verwoerd?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, I did, several times. He never said to me that the tapeworm, as one perhaps might have expected, that the tapeworm had told him to kill Dr. Verwoerd, but he said that the tapeworm, being a demon inside him, had taken him over, and he remembered another case, when he had blurted out in Lisbon that he was a Protestant, he felt here again the tapeworm was responsible. But the main way in which he attempted to explain how the tapeworm had caused him to assassinate the late Prime Minister was that the tapeworm created a state of mind in him, when he was not himself. It had influenced his life so that he had become interested in a queer sect, wandered about trying to find a means of coping with this tapeworm, and had he not had the tapeworm he would not have been in this particular state of mind, of weakness.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he say that the tapeworm had corrupted him?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: He did say that, yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he say that it had influenced him?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, in the way I have described.

JUDGE BEYERS: I don't want to interrupt, but don't you think the doctor's views are quite

clear enough by now? I am not stopping you; please go on. It is very clear to me what this doctor's opinion is.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I formed the impression that he - for instance, in this passage, if I may quote: I asked him if the tapeworm was the most important influence in his life. He said: "It has caused me to see how other people live. If I didn't have a tapeworm I'd probably be living only for myself. I would not know what the rest of the world was like, what other people thought, their difficulties. I would have taken life, I would have taken life ah ... I would have only seen things ah ... well, I would have taken life for granted. I would have just gone through life enjoying myself, taking life ..." And then he went on to explain how he struggled against this tapeworm within him, it had turned him into a kind of twisted saint. That is how he saw himself.

ASSESSOR: Was all this taken down on tape?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: This interview and the second interview were on a tape recorder.

ASSESSOR: What you are reading out to us now is actually what he said in his own words?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, when I quote, this is verbatim.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he speak with the same flow and fluency that you speak? How was the flow?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No, in the second and third interviews the initial pressure and excitement which had been present in the first interview were absent. Here there were lots of gaps in his train of thoughts and one might have formed a conclusion that this was thought blocking. This was an impedance of his thinking due to this disease process.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You say thought blocking. Is there a difference between thought blocking and thought disorder?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Thought blocking is a variety of thought disorder.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you find any other varieties of thought disorder?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, as I explained just now, there are several. The chief criteria I personally applied are: thought blocking, the interpenetration of thoughts which are not connected with the material that the patient is talking about; and asyndesis, which is a disjunction of utterances which have no meaning with each other, no consecutive meaning.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Your Lordship has suggested that it is pretty clear what this witness

is saying

JUDGE BEYERS: It is pretty clear to me.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The issue of course is whether that view is acceptable to the Court. If that view is accepted by the court, then I have no further questions.

JUDGE BEYERS: The point is whether asking further questions is going to make it more acceptable to the Court than it is now. But I am certainly not telling you that it is accepted by the court.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I think I will proceed to put further questions.

(Cont.): I will put certain general questions to you. Is it legitimate, say for instance when you view your first report, to take single sentences out and say, well, they appear in order, they make sense in themselves, or must you read the whole of what he says and then draw the inference?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I would certainly say the latter, as a psychiatrist. This is absolute sine qua non. One cannot make a diagnosis on an isolated piece of behaviour. One has to take all behaviour and, in fact, backwards in time, into account. I can quote my old teacher, Prof. Sir Aubrey Lewis on this in Price's Textbook of Medicine, 9th Edition, page 1664. He says: "More important than any Burgle feature is the impression of the case as a whole (talking about schizophrenia). The development away from normal interest and response to the real world and the establishment instead of autistic self-satisfaction, so that the patient's personality is twisted awry as it were, and withdrawn from easy contact."

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What does autistic self-satisfaction mean?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Autistic means something which nobody can share with a patient. This is part of his inner life.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is that important in a schizophrenic?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. For instance, I would say that his delusion about this tape-worm is autistic. I cannot share it with him. While I am talking about the first report, what is talked about and the way he talked about the "Cape to Cairo" and the "Commonwealth", was this intelligible to you at the time?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: It was not intelligible to me. I could not see any connection between these slogans, almost. It seemed to me that what he was doing is that he was taking the news

of the day and because of his diseased mental processes he was just throwing them out in a disconnected way. That is how it seemed to me. I couldn't understand it.

COMMENTS ON DR. SAKINOFSKY'S TESTIMONY REGARDING THE TAPEWORM AND THE KILLING OF DR. VERWOERD

Tsafendas told Dr. Sakinofsky that it was the tapeworm which made him travel to several countries. Apart from the fact that as we have seen the true story behind the tapeworm, Tsafendas never mentioned the tapeworm as a reason for his travels, which he called "forced globetrotting."²⁷³⁹ Naturally, he said nothing about it to the police either when he spoke to them about his travels.

More importantly, Tsafendas spoke to several witnesses, like Helen Daniels, Patrick O'Ryan about his travels and never mentioned to them that it was because of a tapeworm. We will not examine again what Tsafendas said about the tapeworm since it is pretty much the same as he told Dr. Cooper and all others who examined him while he was in custody in Caledon Square police station. The author read everything that Tsafendas told Dr. Sakinofsky to forty-six people who knew Tsafendas, including nine who knew him very well and for many years. Their reaction was exactly the same as with the things he told Dr. Cooper. The author would not list their comments here, as they have already been listed in Dr. Cooper's testimony.

However, Tsafendas told Dr. Sakinofsky something that he did not tell Dr. Cooper and it is further proof that he lied to him. According to Dr. Sakinofsky, Tsafendas told him that he "couldn't remember what had happened at the time of the killing," that "I fell on him, people tell me, and it is probably true, but I don't remember a thing about stabbing him. I could have stabbed him a thousand times without knowing it" and that it was as if he "had been hypnotised." This interview took place on October 14. Twice, just a month earlier, on September 11 and September 19, Tsafendas remembered perfectly well how it had happened and described in detail how he killed Dr. Verwoerd and even explained how he had planned it. He did not claim that he was hypnotised or any of the other things he told Dr. Sakinofsky.

On September 11, Tsafendas said:

²⁷³⁹ Demetrios Tsafendakis Affidavit, November 1965. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen, NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

“Some days after I started working in the House of Assembly, all kinds of thoughts came to my mind about murdering the Prime Minister. I saw an opportunity of shooting the Prime Minister from the lobby. I thought of obtaining a firearm. I knew that I had to obtain a licence for a firearm. Obtaining a licence would take too long. This I found out at one of the shops where I enquired about purchasing a firearm in Durban. I thought of going to a ship, the *Eleni*, which I knew was in Cape Town for repairs. I was acquainted with the crew members of the *Eleni* ... I had an idea that I might be able to buy a firearm on the ship because some sailors carry firearms.

I went to this ship about three to four weeks before the assassination of the Prime Minister. I saw the man in the engine room (the donkey man), who told me that the bosun, foreman of the crew, may know where I could obtain a firearm. He said he could get me a “Beretta” revolver and a knife. I also enquired from him about a spring type knife, which he said he could get for me. He said he wanted 80 dollars for the two items. I told him I wanted the revolver and the knife for self-defence, he said he wanted the money in American dollars. He did not show me a revolver or a knife. I said I would return in a couple of days with the money. I waited until the end of August when I got my pay. It was, I think, R95.00. I went to Barclays Bank, Adderley Street, Cape Town and enquired to buy 80 American dollars. I was told that it would cost R56. The lady teller wanted my passport.

The next day I brought my passport and she gave me the 80 dollars. I took a taxi and went to the ship. There I saw the bosun and told him that I have brought the money for the gun and the knife as arranged. He said he did not have the gun, but the galley boy had a small gun which he would try and get for me. The bosun went to the galley boy and brought a small gun which he said I could have for 30 dollars.

I thought it was a small calibre pistol and I decided to buy it. I took it without examining it. They had no bullets. I thought I could buy bullets from local stores. I took the pistol home where I examined it and discovered that it was a gas revolver. On Saturday the 3rd of September, I took the gas pistol back to the ship. I found the bosun with the intention to return the firearm to him. Both the bosun and the galley boy told me that they had spent the money. I wanted another firearm or the return of my money but ended up getting nothing. I went to the captain to protest, but as I saw I could get nothing and did not want to cause a scandal, I gave up and left. I returned to my room in Rondebosch.

The next thing is that I decided to use a knife to stab the Prime Minister in the House

of Assembly. I never discussed my plans with anybody. The shops were closed over the weekend and the following Monday was a public holiday. At about 9 a.m. on Tuesday, 6/9/66, I went to town to buy the knives. I bought one knife from the first shop which was open. This shop is known as City Guns. Then I went to another shop further down the road and bought another knife. Both shops were closed when I arrived. I walked up and down the pavement waiting for the shops to open. I enquired at a certain shop as to when the sports shop would open. I cannot remember whether I spoke to a man or a woman.

I started work at 7.49 a.m. on 6/9/66. I arrived at the House of Assembly at 6.45 a.m. on 6/9/66. I went to work early in order to do my work and then to go out to buy the knives. I did not ask for permission to go to the town to buy the knives. I entered City Guns first and purchased a dagger. I paid R.3.30 for this dagger. I then went to the other shop where I bought another dagger - the one with the aluminium handle. It was more like a stiletto. I bought two weapons in order to make certain of the job which I had in mind, I thought something might go wrong and that one weapon might be taken away from me. Both weapons were wrapped up in brown paper.

After I bought the weapons I returned to the House of Assembly where I removed the paper wrappings from the weapons and left the paper wrappings in my locker. I also left the two daggers in my locker. I started working that morning wearing a khaki overall. When I went to the shops to buy the weapons I changed into a grey suit. When I came back I changed into my navy blue messenger's uniform, then I changed into my uniform. I had a waist-belt underneath my uniform pants, to which two sheaths were attached. I left the two knives in the locker. I then went to the first floor to serve coffee and tea. I waited for the lights to go on indicating which offices were calling for tea and coffee. I was there until about 2 p.m. that afternoon.

A few minutes before the Assembly bells began to ring for the starting of the session, I went to my locker to fetch the knives. I put them into the sheaths inside my pants and went into the Assembly lobby to wait for the Prime Minister's arrival. I had previously planned to stab the Prime Minister in the Assembly hall whilst walking to his bench. I watched him walk past and followed him into the Assembly hail. I tried to pull the dagger from the sheath but had difficulty in pulling it out. Eventually I managed to pull it out, but by that time the Prime Minister had already sat down in his bench. I was very nervous and confused that I cannot remember where I stabbed him the first blow, but I aimed at his chest. I remember stabbing him twice and then the people caught hold of me. They beat me up, kicked me and dragged

me into lobby. I was disarmed and arrested.”²⁷⁴⁰

On September 19, Tsafendas told the police:

“The idea of destroying Dr. Verwoerd entered my mind a few days after I started work as a messenger in the House of Assembly. I saw an opportunity to do so in the House of Assembly because I was inside the house. I first thought of buying a gun with which I could shoot him and then run away. I did in fact buy a gun from the crew of the *Eleni* but I found that the gun was useless. I bought the gun at the end of the month when I got my pay. I went there before to try and get the gun but I had no money. I then waited until I got my pay. I was going to buy a Beretta but the man didn’t keep his word and gave me the other pistol. He made all kinds of excuses. It was only after I found that the gun was useless that I decided on using a knife...

I was going to find refuge on the tanker, the *Eleni*, which I knew was sailing to South America. My planes were, however, upset when I could not get the right pistol. The boat sailed on the Saturday before the Tuesday on which I stabbed the Prime Minister... I never thought about hiding if I had to do the job with a knife. I didn’t have much of a chance of getting away when using a knife. I didn’t care much and didn’t give it a second thought that I would be caught. I just happened to do it that way. I always had a grudge against the South African Government on account of its racial policies and I hated Dr. Verwoerd because he was a foreigner - a Hollander.”²⁷⁴¹

On both occasions, Tsafendas remembers very clearly how he killed Dr. Verwoerd and what preceded it. He does not mention anywhere that he was confused or say anything to suggest that he is a schizophrenic. Tsafendas’s story about the purchase of the gun from the crew and later of the two knives was confirmed by the police from their own investigation and from the interviews they conducted with those involved, as we saw in Chapter 4.

About thirty years later, Tsafendas told the same story he told the police to David Beresford, Liza Key and Fathers Ioannis, Spiros and Minas. He not only described to all these people in perfect detail how he made and executed his plan, as he did with the police, but he gave additional details, such as the fact that he had poured anti-rust solution onto the blades, hoping it would poison Dr. Verwoerd’s blood should he survive the stabbing. Tsafendas

²⁷⁴⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁷⁴¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

could even remember some of the contents of the anti-rust solution; for example the hydrochloric acid and the phosphoric acid.²⁷⁴² This proves that Tsafendas remembered what had happened: not only shortly after the assassination but as long as thirty years afterwards. The fact that he was not able to “remember” this incident when interviewed by Dr. Sakinofsky suggests that he either suffered from a temporary amnesia, for that day and for this incident only, or he lied to him.

Both of Tsafendas’s statements were in the possession of the police and if they were also in the possession of the Attorney-General, as they should have been, it would have been very easy to prove that Tsafendas was lying to Dr. Sakinofsky about not remembering the assassination. However, once again, the statements were not used to challenge a witness’ testimony.

Importantly, Dr. Sakinofsky clarifies that although he asked Tsafendas several times whether the tapeworm had asked him to kill Dr. Verwoerd, he denied it, as he did with Dr. Cooper. However, it became widely accepted that Tsafendas killed Dr. Verwoerd because a tapeworm told him to. Tsafendas himself told several witnesses that both the police and some psychiatrists had tried to make him say it was the tapeworm that ordered him to do it. Tsafendas insisted to these witnesses that he never said such a thing,²⁷⁴³ and according to Dr. Cooper, Dr. Sakinofsky and as we will soon see the other psychiatrists too, he was telling the truth.

²⁷⁴² Liza Key’s *A Question of Madness*; Beresford, ‘Inside Story: The Madness that Destroyed Apartheid’, *The Guardian*, 6 November 1997; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Liza Key in a personal interview, 6 April 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁷⁴³ *A Question of Madness*; Beresford, ‘Inside Story: The Madness that Destroyed Apartheid’, *The Guardian*, 6 November 1997; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Spiros Randos in a personal interview, 5 January 2004; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

COMMENTS ON DR. SAKINOFSKY'S DIAGNOSIS OF "THOUGHT BLOCKING"

None of the two-hundred witnesses who were interviewed by the police and the Commission of Enquiry at the time and another seventy-one who were interviewed later by the author offered anything to suggest that Tsafendas was suffering from thought-blocking. This is clearly something that it is more evident to a psychiatrist, but certainly people can tell whether a man is talking coherently, if there are gaps in his speech and whether he can answer questions and follow a conversation.

Professor van Wyk, the State psychiatrist appointed by the Attorney-General himself, had examined Tsafendas three times by October 6. He had written in his report, which was in the possession of the Attorney-General, that Tsafendas was "orientated," adding, "He gives a good account of himself. His comprehension is good and his answers are relevant. His emotional responses are adequate and apt. His discourse is coherent. At times he is discursive, but not vague and he never strays from the main point of conversation...I have found no indications that he is incapable of following the court proceedings or that he is unable to exercise his rights and privileges and instruct his legal advisers and assist them in the conduct of his defence."²⁷⁴⁴ Thus, Professor van Wyk had not observed any "thought blocking".

Furthermore, just the previous day at the court, Dr. Muller, also a defence witness, had also not observed any "thought blocking" from Tsafendas. The following dialogue took place between Dr. Muller and the Defence Counsel:

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You had no difficulty in communicating with him?

DR. MULLER: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he have difficulty in expressing himself?

DR. MULLER: None at all.²⁷⁴⁵

In addition, Tsafendas was interrogated for several hours by Major Rossouw while he was in custody. When Major Rossouw appeared in front of the Commission of Enquiry, the following dialogue ensued between him and Judge van Wyk:

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you get the impression that what he said was the truth or did you

²⁷⁴⁴ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 81.

²⁷⁴⁵ Dr. Hendrik Muller's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

think that sometimes he was sly?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: I thought that he told the truth – I never got the impression that he tried to evade any question. He answered all the questions spontaneously.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Was he totally prepared to answer everything?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes.²⁷⁴⁶

Major Rossouw and Judge van Wyk of the Commission of Inquiry, both highly experienced in questioning witnesses, did not observe Tsafendas suffering from “thought blocking.” By also looking at both of Tsafendas statements, we see that he did not have the issue Dr. Sakinofsky noted and all of Tsafendas’s answers and narration are perfectly clear without any sign of “thought blocking.” If such an issue was noted by Major Rossouw or General van den Berg, presumably they would have been able to notice it.

These are the statements of people who were questioned by the police and commented on his mental state:

- Gillian Claire Lieberman was a personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation who was often visited by Tsafendas in her office. She “found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation.”²⁷⁴⁷
- Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine to ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that he “never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers.”²⁷⁴⁸
- Helen Grispos knew Tsafendas from birth and grew up with him, while her husband was Tsafendas’s best childhood friend. She told the police that Tsafendas was “well-mannered and intelligent.”²⁷⁴⁹ She also told the author that she never thought Tsafendas was insane. “He never did or said anything to make me or George (her husband) think that he was insane.”²⁷⁵⁰

²⁷⁴⁶ Major Daniel Jacobus Rossouw testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²⁷⁴⁷ Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁴⁸ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁴⁹ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁷⁵⁰ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

- Hendrik van Loggenberg knew Tsafendas and his family well in Pretoria. He told the police that Tsafendas “definitely came across as normal ... he also seemed healthy ...”²⁷⁵¹
- Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Greek Consul in Beira “was often in the company of the subject and others had several conversations with him.” He considered Tsafendas to be “a normal and very intelligent person.”²⁷⁵²
- Albert Vercueil, Tsafendas’s boss at F. A. Poole in Pretoria, said that in the five months he worked with Tsafendas, he found him to be “not a very good worker, but will say that he was an intelligent worker.”²⁷⁵³ He also testified to the Commission of Enquiry that he considered Tsafendas to be “an intelligent man” and never got the impression that he “wasn’t right in his mind.”²⁷⁵⁴
- James Summers, owner of the “Barlings Tea Lounge,” which Tsafendas frequented from July 1966 until the assassination, testified that Tsafendas “was no nuisance, and appeared to be a quite normal, innocent type. I never had reason to even suspect that he could be mentally unbalanced. He acted quite normal.”²⁷⁵⁵
- John Gianouris, the Greek Vice Consul at Lourenço Marques, described Tsafendas as “a normal and intelligent person.”²⁷⁵⁶
- August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be “very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease.”²⁷⁵⁷
- Kyriakos Skordis who Tsafendas used to visit at his coffee shop in Durban for several months in 1965, testified that he “appeared to be quite normal and was apparently in a poor financial position.”²⁷⁵⁸

²⁷⁵¹ Hendrik Johannes van Loggenberg statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁵² South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁷⁵³ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁷⁵⁴ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁵⁵ Herbert James Summers statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁵⁶ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁷⁵⁷ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁷⁵⁸ Kyriakos Skordis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

- Inspector Horacio Ferreira of the Portuguese Security Police was in charge of the cells where Tsafendas was held in custody in Beira in 1964. His statement to the police said he considered Tsafendas to be “normal and regarded him as a very intelligent person.”²⁷⁵⁹
- Costas Michaeletos,²⁷⁶⁰ who knew Tsafendas from birth, stated, “Ever since I knew Dimetrios Tsafantakis, I never, any time observed that he showed any deviations. He also never was an aggressive type person.”²⁷⁶¹
- Richard Poggenpoel lived with him for two weeks in his house and kept on associating up to his arrest, “there was no mention or impression that he was mentally abnormal. He lived a completely normal life.”²⁷⁶²
- John Galanakis, who met Tsafendas in Umtali in 1964, told police that he found Tsafendas to be “an intelligent man.”²⁷⁶³
- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour in Cape Town, interviewed Tsafendas twice. He testified to the police that Tsafendas was “neatly dressed” and he “never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally.”²⁷⁶⁴
- Gideon Cloete, an employee in the Department of Labour, met Tsafendas twice and said he “seemed eager to get employment, was neatly dressed and had a clean appearance.” Cloete said he saw no signs of abnormality, that “he seemed perfectly normal.”²⁷⁶⁵
- George Liberopoulos met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963 and described him to the police as a “normal person with a very high intelligence.”²⁷⁶⁶ Liberopoulos also stated to the author that he “never believed that Tsafendas was insane. He was perfectly normal; very clever man.”²⁷⁶⁷

²⁷⁵⁹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁷⁶⁰ The correct spelling is Michaeletos, not Michaelatos. Costas Michaeletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁶¹ Costas Michaeletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁶² Richard Poggenpoel statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁶³ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁷⁶⁴ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

²⁷⁶⁵ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

²⁷⁶⁶ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁷⁶⁷ George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2015.

- Harry Hall, a member of the Christian Church, knew Tsafendas from March 1966 until his arrest. He testified to the police that he regarded Tsafendas "as a sub-standard intellect, but otherwise found him to be reasonably normal."²⁷⁶⁸
- Reginald Robert Maile was the guard on the *Eleni* while it was docked in Cape Town from July 26, 1966 to September 3, 1966. He saw Tsafendas every day and told the police that he "never got the impression that he could be mentally defective. He was sober, polite and perfectly normal."²⁷⁶⁹
- George Ananiades met Tsafendas in 1963 and described him to the police as a "normal person with a very high-intelligence."²⁷⁷⁰ He later told the author that Tsafendas "is impossible to have been insane. He was a very intelligent and educated man."²⁷⁷¹
- Ian Boswell, administrative assistant at the Department of Labour in Cape Town. He interviewed Tsafendas three times in 1966 and testified that "he was at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute. Aside from being over-talkative, he showed no symptoms of abnormality, during his interviews with me."²⁷⁷²
- John Verghis, owner of a coffee shop in Beira which Tsafendas visited often for several months, said he considered him to be a "normal person."²⁷⁷³
- Lt. Col. P.J.B. van Wyk of the South African police interviewed several people in Rhodesia and in Mozambique, including in Beira and Lourenço Marques, who knew Tsafendas. He stated in his report that Tsafendas, "for all purposes, can be seen as a normal, intelligent person."²⁷⁷⁴
- None of Tsafendas's five colleagues at the Parliament mentioned anything being wrong with him.²⁷⁷⁵

²⁷⁶⁸ Harry Hall statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁶⁹ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

²⁷⁷⁰ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁷⁷¹ George Ananiades in a personal interview, 21 June 2016.

²⁷⁷² Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

²⁷⁷³ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁷⁷⁴ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁷⁷⁵ Piet Bester Burger testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA; Fred Feinauer statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Feliz George Miles statement to the police, 7 October 1966. K150, Vol. 2, File: 1. NASA; Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA; Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

- Petrus Schuin, the head messenger, was one of the three messengers who interviewed and appointed him. He told the Commission of Enquiry that “there was nothing out of the ordinary about him. Tsafendas was the same as any other person that had worked there.”²⁷⁷⁶
- Sydney Wiehand, a messenger who was also on the interview panel in the House of Assembly, said Tsafendas “was a quiet man. He wasn’t the rough type or anything like that. He was quiet, quietly spoken, well-mannered.”²⁷⁷⁷

Several people lived under the same roof or in close proximity to Tsafendas for substantial periods. None of them noticed anything wrong with him:

- Tsafendas lived in Fotini Gavasiadis’s house for a few weeks, then for the next eight months in an apartment next to hers. Throughout this period in Pretoria in 1963-1964, they were very close; she saw and talked to him every day and they worked together in her brother’s café. Gavasiadis never noticed anything wrong with Tsafendas and has no doubt that he was perfectly able to function, not just at a “reasonable level” but beyond that, since he was extremely intelligent and lucid. She told the author:

“Dimitris could buy you and sell you any time he wanted and as many times as he wanted to. He was so clever. He was very convincing and persuasive - he could turn black into white. If you disagreed with something with him, he would find a way to convince you that he is right and that you are wrong - even if you *know* that you are right and that he is wrong! If he made a mistake about something, he would turn things upside-down and at the end, he would even make you apologise to him.”

Gavasiadis laughed at the suggestion that Tsafendas was dysfunctional. She told the author:

“In those nine months, I saw him and spoke to him every day and not even once did he appear to have an issue with his speech or his thoughts. He was always the same. We spent hours and hours talking and his speech was never incoherent, disjointed, blocked or whatever else, it was always perfect. He never gave me even the slightest indication that he might be having the issues you mentioned. It must have been the doctor who said it, who was himself not able to function on a reasonable level if this was his diagnosis about

²⁷⁷⁶ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²⁷⁷⁷ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

Dimitri. Dimitri was not just able, but much more than able to function on a reasonable level. It's absolutely ludicrous for someone to say this about Dimitri and it shows how little he knew him."²⁷⁷⁸ According to Professor Burke, "if you lived with somebody for nine months, you would know if this person was strange."²⁷⁷⁹

- Father Nikola Banovic lived in the same house as Tsafendas for four-five months in 1961, and then for another two-three months, he lived in a house next door. In all this time, he saw him every day. He declares that Tsafendas "was perfectly sane" and he does "not have the slightest doubt about it. It is impossible; Dimitri was not schizophrenic. With God as my witness, he was not crazy. He was more than capable of functioning on a reasonable level; he was a very intelligent and capable man. His brain was a level above most of ours."²⁷⁸⁰
- Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas's first cousin, knew him since he was five years old and grew up alongside him in Mozambique and in Egypt. In Pretoria in 1964, she spent a lot of time with him, including two or three weeks when they lived in the same house. She told the author: "Dimitris unable to function on a reasonable level? Are you sure a doctor said that? I don't know what kind of doctor he was, but he either examined a different person or he had completely lost the plot with Dimitris. Dimitris was one of the most capable and intelligent persons I ever met. Nobody who knew him is going to agree with what this doctor said."²⁷⁸¹
- Patrick O'Ryan hosted Tsafendas in his home for five months in 1965-1966 and was close to him up to his arrest. Tsafendas was described to him by a preacher of the Christian Church as a "highly cultured gentleman, a very refined gentleman who speaks seven languages."²⁷⁸² He formed a "deep liking"²⁷⁸³ for Tsafendas and considered him to be an "enlightened person."²⁷⁸⁴ He also testified that "I had confidence in him and used to like him. He was a very kindly man. In my experience of him he had a good heart ... I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind," or that he "was mentally

²⁷⁷⁸ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

²⁷⁷⁹ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

²⁷⁸⁰ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²⁷⁸¹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²⁷⁸² Patrick O' Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

²⁷⁸³ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁷⁸⁴ Patrick O' Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

disturbed."²⁷⁸⁵ He also found Tsafendas to be "well-spoken and had good vocabulary."²⁷⁸⁶

- John Bornman lived with Tsafendas for six-seven weeks in April and May of 1966. He found Tsafendas to be "normal, intelligent and friendly. He was neat in his person, but his eating habits were messy."²⁷⁸⁷
- Reuben O'Ryan lived in the same house as Tsafendas for five months. He considered him "perfectly normal," saying, "no-one in my family ever thought that he was mad. He couldn't have been insane."²⁷⁸⁸
- Stanley O'Ryan also lived in the same house as Tsafendas for five months and described him as a "very down to earth man, a very quiet man and very friendly. I never suspected, even in the slightest, that he might be unstable. No, never, nothing at all. Perfectly normal."²⁷⁸⁹
- Allan O'Ryan also lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept being in touch for another year. He told the author that no one in the house ever questioned Tsafendas's sanity, "Never. There was no such thing as, 'This person is mad,' you know, or something like that. That never came through. [He was] always very sensible in his answers to anybody."²⁷⁹⁰
- Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas's landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry: "it was a serviced room but I found him making his own bed. When he came to me he was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman. When he paid me, he had a bundle of notes and I took him to be a man of means."²⁷⁹¹
- Elizabeth Groves was Tsafendas's landlady for six or seven weeks and a retired psychiatric nurse. About Tsafendas she said, "I was a nurse and worked in lunatic

²⁷⁸⁵ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁷⁸⁶ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁷⁸⁷ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁷⁸⁸ Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

²⁷⁸⁹ Stanley O'Ryan in a personal interview, 9 April 2015.

²⁷⁹⁰ Allan O' Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

²⁷⁹¹ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

institutions. He was a normal person to the best of my knowledge."²⁷⁹²

- Alice Mary Theyser was Tsafendas's landlady from July 1, 1966 to August 30, 1966, just six days before the assassination. She testified to the police that she "never got the impression in any way that he might be mentally unbalanced. To me he appeared a quite normal person."²⁷⁹³
- Helen Daniels lived with Tsafendas in her parents' house for six weeks in 1965 and "did not notice anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal."²⁷⁹⁴
- Kenneth Ross was Tsafendas's landlord in Durban for two months in 1965. He did not mention anything to suggest that Tsafendas was unable to function on a reasonable level and even stated that he "was very fond of discussing politics and gave me the opinion that he was well-versed in politics."²⁷⁹⁵
- For two months in 1966 Tsafendas had his meals in Mary Scott's boarding house. She told police that she "never got the impression that he could be mentally unbalanced. To me he appeared perfectly normal."²⁷⁹⁶
- J. Willemse was Tsafendas's landlord for one month in 1965. He characterised him as a "sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man."²⁷⁹⁷
- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott's boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest. He, too, disagrees with Dr. Cooper's diagnosis. "Dimitri was not mad, not even a little. He was an exceptional man, very clever too."²⁷⁹⁸
- Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos was Tsafendas's landlady for three weeks in 1966. She

²⁷⁹² Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁷⁹³ Alice Mary Theyser statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁹⁴ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

²⁷⁹⁵ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁹⁶ Mary Kathleen Scott statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁷⁹⁷ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder', 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

²⁷⁹⁸ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

testified to the police that she "considered him to be a completely normal person."²⁷⁹⁹

- Andreas Babiolakis lived with Tsafendas in the same house in Beira for two or three months and knew him since they were children. As for Tsafendas being mad, he said: "If he was mad, then the whole world must be mad. He was not even the slightest disturbed. Every single Greek in Mozambique discussed Dimitri after we heard about the tapeworm; not even one from those who had met him believed that he was mad. He was not; we all said the same thing. He made it up, as he did with the Saint Peter act. If someone believes that he was mad, he did not meet him Dimitri, but someone else."²⁸⁰⁰
- Nick Papadakis also lived with Tsafendas for two months in Beira and Gondola in 1964. He told the author: "I never believed, not even after I read what happened in the trial, that he was insane. He played the fool and they believed him. It's impossible that he was insane, he was absolutely fine and very clever."²⁸⁰¹
- Irene Michaletos and her mother associated with Tsafendas for several months between 1964 and 1965. He even stayed several times at their house. She never noticed anything wrong with him and was sure that he was perfectly sane.²⁸⁰²
- In 1951 and between 1963 and 1965, Tsafendas slept for several nights in the house of his aunt Artemis Michaletos in Lourenço Marques. Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousins and Artemis's sons, who lived in the same house, spent several hours chatting with Tsafendas. Both were adamant in conversation with the author that Tsafendas did not suffer from thought blockage and that he had no problems in following a conversation.²⁸⁰³

John Michaletos told the author:

"We all [his family] had many long conversations with him. I really mean hours and hours, in a row, the same day. He was from the kind of people who have something to tell you, that you could sit and listen to them for hours. And I did that, I very much enjoyed talking and listening to him. He was not boring, he could talk to you about religion, politics and history, his travels and adventures around the world. But he did not show off when

²⁷⁹⁹ Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸⁰⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

²⁸⁰¹ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

²⁸⁰² Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

²⁸⁰³ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

talking; he was a humble man, he never tried to show off, like that he had travelled in so many countries or that he was very knowledgeable. He was very modest and very down to earth, a serious man."²⁸⁰⁴

In addition, Artemis Michaletos, who had brought Tsafendas up in Egypt and lived in Lourenço Marques while he was growing up there, always maintained that he was perfectly sane and very intelligent.²⁸⁰⁵

- Stelios Marangos was Tsafendas's landlord in Beira for six weeks. He did not mention anything to the police about Tsafendas being "unstable" or strange.²⁸⁰⁶

In addition, Tsafendas attended several interviews in his working life and appeared to be perfectly able to answer, or he would not have got the jobs. More importantly, he was examined and interviewed twice by two state doctors for a permanent residency permit for South Africa and neither of them noticed any "thought-blocking," though they were not psychiatrists. However, one would expect anyone, particularly a doctor, to spot whether a patient is able to answer a simple question or if he presents the symptoms mentioned by Dr. Sakinofsky:

- On November 11, 1963, Tsafendas was medically examined by Dr. C. Been for his permanent residence application and was found "not to be mentally or physically defective in any way," and "generally in a good state of health."²⁸⁰⁷ Dr. Been would later examine Tsafendas again "for burns on his body whilst employed at Pooles." Again nothing about his mental state would be noted.²⁸⁰⁸
- On November 14, 1963, Tsafendas was examined again for the same reason by Dr. A.C. McDonald, who also wrote "a favourable report," and subsequently a certificate for permanent residence was issued for him.²⁸⁰⁹

²⁸⁰⁴ John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

²⁸⁰⁵ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

²⁸⁰⁶ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁸⁰⁷ Dimitrio Tsafendas medical certificate issued by Dr. Been for the Aliens Act, 1937. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

²⁸⁰⁸ Dr. Been statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁸⁰⁹ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

In addition to the above two doctors, Tsafendas was seen by a further ten doctors, none of them psychiatrists, over the previous three years and none noted any “thought-blocking”:

- On March 15, 1965, Tsafendas was examined by a South African Railways’ medical officer whose name is indecipherable in his report. He was found to be perfectly healthy, without any issues and therefore capable of working at the company.²⁸¹⁰
- On September 25, 1965, he was examined by Dr. G.C. Baker and nothing was reported about his mental state.²⁸¹¹
- On November 19, 1965, Tsafendas was medically examined to insure that he was able to work for City Tramways in Cape Town. He was found fit to work and duly hired.²⁸¹²
- On January 13, 1966, Tsafendas applied for work at the Marine Diamond Corporation and underwent a medical check-up that same day. The doctor who examined him found Tsafendas to be perfectly healthy and capable of working for the company.²⁸¹³
- On February 25, 1966, Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by I. Eisenberg, a registrar on the Ear, Nose & Throat Department, who did not observe anything mentally wrong with him.²⁸¹⁴
- On April 18, 19, 26 and May 3, 1966 Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by Dr. Leon Goldman, a consultant ear, nose and throat surgeon. He did not observe anything mentally wrong with him and discharged him as “fit” on May 17, 1966.²⁸¹⁵
- From April 19, 1966 to May 15, 1966, Tsafendas was under the medical supervision of Dr. Leon Solomon at Groote Schuur Hospital, suffering from “a deviated nasal septum and epistaxis,” and underwent surgery on his nose. Dr. Solomon during this period did not report any mental disability and found Tsafendas to be fit to return to his work at Marine

²⁸¹⁰ South African Railways Confidential Medical Examination Certificate of Demitrio Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 7, File: S 83708, Tsafendas: D. NASA.

²⁸¹¹ Dr. G.C. Baker Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. No date. K150, Vol. 6, File: 4, NASA.

²⁸¹² Donald Neville Mackay statement to the COE, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁸¹³ Demitrio Tsafendas’s Marine Diamond Corporation Application for Employment, 13 January 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 3. NASA.

²⁸¹⁴ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸¹⁵ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Diamond Corporation. Dr. Solomon examined him again on June 7, 1966, and again did not notice anything mentally wrong with him.²⁸¹⁶

- Dr. Ralph Kossew examined Tsafendas only half an hour after the assassination. His testimony is highly important due to its timing. Dr. Kossew found Tsafendas “not confused ... he answers questions guardedly but does not appear to be confused ... he didn't appear anxious ... He may have been a little bit nervous but not in any marked degree ... He was calm ...”²⁸¹⁷
- Dr. S. Michelson, a specialist physician, examined Tsafendas in the Neurology Department of Groote Schuur Hospital on 3rd June, 1966 and nothing was reported to be wrong with his mental state.²⁸¹⁸
- Finally, Dr. T.A. Darby examined Tsafendas on the evening of the assassination but did not report anything to be wrong about his mental state.²⁸¹⁹

Furthermore, Tsafendas worked and was interviewed on several occasions for jobs or in response to various other applications he had made, and again no one noticed anything. For example:

- Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban, accepted Tsafendas as a Portuguese and Greek interpreter. Rudolph used him “on several occasions” over six months and “got to know him pretty well.” He said, “I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and intelligent. He spoke English properly.”²⁸²⁰
- Petrus Schuin, the head messenger at the Parliament, was also one of the three men who had interviewed him and appointed him. He told the Commission of Enquiry that “there was nothing out of the ordinary about him. Tsafendas was the same as any other person that had worked there.”²⁸²¹

²⁸¹⁶ Dr. Leon Solomon's medical report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA; Medical certificate issued by Dr. Solomon for the Employment Insurance Act, 1946. 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA.

²⁸¹⁷ Dr. Ralph Kossew's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁸¹⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 64.

²⁸¹⁹ Dr. T.A. Darby. Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. G.S.H. NO. 65/014-181, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸²⁰ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸²¹ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

- Sydney Wiehand, who was also one of the three messengers who had interviewed him at the Parliament, said about Tsafendas, "he was a quiet man. He wasn't the rough type, or anything like that. He was quiet - quietly spoken, well-mannered."²⁸²²
- Horst Hartmann, Tsafendas's employer in Frankfurt, Germany, at the heavy engineering company Fries and Son, characterised Tsafendas "as extremely nice and friendly ... I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man... He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman ... he made a good impression and he spoke good German, so I took him on... we liked him ... always laughing, a good worker."
Tsafendas "left on his own wish" although Hartmann "would have liked to keep him."²⁸²³
Tsafendas was given a reference by Hartmann, so his work there must have been satisfactory.
- Gillian Claire Lieberman, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation, whose office Tsafendas often visited, "I had various discussions with him. I got quite interested in him as an individual. ... I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation."²⁸²⁴
- Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine to ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that he "never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers."²⁸²⁵
- Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for Mike's Outfitters for forty-two days in July and August 1966, frequently driving him to the tanker *Eleni* while it was docked in Cape Town. Of Tsafendas, he told the police that he "never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers."²⁸²⁶
- Michaelis Augustides, Tsafendas's employer for two months, found him to be "competent

²⁸²² Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²⁸²³ *Daily Dispatch*, 'He Made A Good Impression', 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, 'The Assassin', 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

²⁸²⁴ Gillian Claire Lieberman statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸²⁵ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸²⁶ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

at his job” and never got the impression that he might be insane.²⁸²⁷

- Ian Boswell, administrative assistant at the Department of Labour, Cape Town. He interviewed Tsafendas three times in 1966 and testified to the police that “he was at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute. Aside from being over-talkative, he showed no symptoms of abnormality during his interviews with me.”²⁸²⁸
- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour, Cape Town, interviewed Tsafendas twice. He told the police that he “never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally.”²⁸²⁹
- Gideon Cloete, also at the Department of Labour, interviewed Tsafendas twice. According to Cloete, Tsafendas “had a neat appearance and made a good impression.” He did not notice any “signs of abnormality” and “appeared totally normal” to him.²⁸³⁰
- Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen, was Tsafendas’s tram instructor in December 1965 and January 1966. He testified that “I did not at all get the impression that mentally anything was wrong with him. He is mentally normal.”²⁸³¹

Tsafendas was also interviewed by Mr Limasollu Naci, owner of a private language college bearing his name in Istanbul, given a week’s trial, and then hired full-time. He worked there for five to six months, teaching English. Mr. Limasollu died before the author’s inquiries began, but his wife, who also worked at the college, believes that it would have been impossible for her husband to hire a man who talked in the manner described by the psychiatrists or suffered from thought blocking. Tsafendas left the college of his own accord and was given an excellent reference, which he used to secure employment in Parliament.

Furthermore, none of the seventy-one witnesses interviewed by the author and knew Tsafendas ever got the impression that his speech was disjointed or that he suffered from thought blocking. For example, Fotini Gavasiadis, who was very close to him and practically lived with him for nine months in 1963-4, told the author:

²⁸²⁷ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 241.

²⁸²⁸ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

²⁸²⁹ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

²⁸³⁰ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas’s summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

²⁸³¹ Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

“[Tsafendas] could buy and sell you and he could do that at any time during a conversation, in the first ten minutes, then again after thirty minutes or an hour and then again after two hours. He wouldn't let you get up from the chair until he had made you agree with what he was saying, especially when talking politics ... He was very convincing and persuasive - he could turn black into white! If you disagreed with something with him, he would find a way to convince you that he is right and that you are wrong - even if you *know* that you are right and that he is wrong! If he made a mistake about something, he would turn things upside-down and at the end, he would even make you apologise to him...

In the nine months I knew him, I saw him and spoke to him every day. Not even once did he appear to have an issue with his speech or his thoughts. He was always the same. We spent hours and hours talking and his speech was never incoherent, disjointed, blocked or whatever else, it was always perfect. He never gave me even the slightest indication that he might have the issues you mentioned.”²⁸³²

The priests who met him in prison and in the hospital in the 1980s and the 1990s and spent hundreds of hours with him are positive that Tsafendas did not suffer from thought blocking, that he was able to participate perfectly in a conversation and that he did not talk in a disjointed manner. Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis told the author:

“[Tsafendas] could speak for hours, telling you things about his life, his thoughts and his ideology, but he could also participate in a dialogue. We spoke for hours about politics, religion and history and he was one of the most knowledgeable people I ever met in all these subjects. He was very argumentative and insistent, especially about politics. He never got lost in the conversation and he would never drop a subject until I had agreed with him. He would never give up a conversation if you disagreed. He was very argumentative and insistent, especially about politics. He never, not even once, seemed to have difficulty expressing himself or talked incoherently. Every single time, everything he said made sense and was perfectly stated. I don't believe for a moment that he could have talked in the way described by the psychiatrists unless he did it deliberately. He spoke and argued even better than most people. His speech and thought were perfectly fine.”²⁸³³

Father Michalis Visvinis told the author:

“He [Tsafendas] was always very alert. I was actually surprised that his mind was so

²⁸³² Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

²⁸³³ Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

alert after so many years in prison. Most of our conversations lasted about an hour and a half and he never lost track, nor did I feel that he was struggling to cope with our discussion...I felt that he [Tsafendas] needed to speak, so several times I would just let him speak. He enjoyed speaking and he could speak for hours. I also often asked him questions about his life, and his answers were always logical and what one would expect. He never evaded any question and I never had to repeat myself to him for a second time, nor was his answer ever off the subject. He always spoke absolutely fine, like a normal man. [His speech] was perfectly articulate and logical, always very coherent. He never said anything to suggest he had a mental problem or that he had any difficulty speaking or thinking and expressing himself properly. This comment is also entirely false.”²⁸³⁴

Mary Eintracht, his first cousin, who grew up with him in Egypt and Mozambique and was constantly with him for nine months in 1963-1964, “Dimitri always spoke very well. He sounded like a very educated man. There was nothing wrong with speech or his thoughts; they were both excellent. He could argue with you for hours and hours for politics. He was very good with words and his brain was bigger than most people’s.”²⁸³⁵

Irene Michaletos knew Tsafendas for more than a year in 1964 and 1965 and he often visited and stayed at her house in Beira. They had several long conversations and she never experienced any problems conversing with him; on the contrary, she found Tsafendas to be an excellent and interesting conversationalist. She told the author:

“It is certainly false that he was unable to follow a conversation or that anyone had any difficulty talking to him. As a matter of fact, it was the exact opposite. I found the conversations with him very easy and interesting, too. He was a great storyteller. I had many long conversations with him. He was from the kind of people who have something to tell you, that you could sit and listen to them for hours. And I did that, I very much enjoyed talking and listening to him. He was not boring, he could talk to you about religion, politics and history, his travels and adventures around the world. But he did not show off when talking; he was a humble man, he never tried to show off, like that he had travelled in so many countries or that he was very knowledgeable. He was very modest and very down to earth, a serious man.”²⁸³⁶

²⁸³⁴ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

²⁸³⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²⁸³⁶ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

Alexander Moumbaris, who spoke to Tsafendas for at least one hour every day for about three months in 1972 in Pretoria Prison, flatly denied that Tsafendas suffered from thought blockage and that he had problems in following a conversation. He told the author:

“He never had any difficulty expressing himself or participating in a conversation. Most times he led the conversations. There were never gaps or pauses in his speech, or anything that would make me think that he was struggling to speak or participate in our conversations.”²⁸³⁷

The *Eleni* men were so impressed by Tsafendas's knowledge and way of speech that they began calling him “Professor.”²⁸³⁸ “We were all wondering how come he knew all these things. How could he be talking like this? He was talking like a university professor”, said Nikolaos Billis, one of the crew.²⁸³⁹ Another, Michalis Vasilakis, said, “I can't explain it, but I remember he had a very specific way of talking, using not very common, but absolutely correct, words. He knew how to speak and how to choose his words. He talked like a professor – that is what we used to say between us and what we called him ... He was a very knowledgeable man. No, his speech was definitely not disjointed, it was excellent.”²⁸⁴⁰

For reasons of space, the study will list only a few of the witnesses who were interviewed by the author, those who knew him best and longest. None of the above witnesses ever got the impression that Tsafendas's speech was disjointed or that he was unable to answer a question properly or blocked in the way Dr. Sakinofsky described.

- His half-sister Katerina Pnefma;²⁸⁴¹
- Father Nikola Banovic who lived with him at the same house for four months in 1961 and then lived right next to his house for another three;²⁸⁴²
- His first cousin Mary Eintracht, who grew up with him and was constantly with him for nine months in 1964;²⁸⁴³
- Ira Kyriakakis, who also grew up with him and spent a lot of time together in 1964 and 1965;²⁸⁴⁴

²⁸³⁷ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

²⁸³⁸ Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015.

²⁸³⁹ Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011.

²⁸⁴⁰ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

²⁸⁴¹ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁸⁴² Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²⁸⁴³ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²⁸⁴⁴ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

- Mario Ferreira, who worked with him for six weeks at the Table Power Station.²⁸⁴⁵
- Andreas Babiolakis, who knew him since they were children, who lived with him for two months in 1964 and associated with him for about a year then;²⁸⁴⁶
- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott's boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest;²⁸⁴⁷
- Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousins, first met him in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique.²⁸⁴⁸
- Costas Poriазis who met him in 1965 in Beira;²⁸⁴⁹
- Alexandra Vaporidis who knew him for about six months in Istanbul in 1961;²⁸⁵⁰
- Nick Papadakis, who knew Tsafendas for two-three months and lived with him for two months in Mozambique in 1964;²⁸⁵¹
- Panagiotis Peroglou and Costas Chagios who were Tsafendas's friends in Cape Town for more than a year.²⁸⁵²

²⁸⁴⁵ Mario Ferreira in a personal interview, 21 May 2019.

²⁸⁴⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

²⁸⁴⁷ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

²⁸⁴⁸ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

²⁸⁴⁹ Costas Poriазis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

²⁸⁵⁰ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

²⁸⁵¹ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

²⁸⁵² Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015; Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

TSAFENDAS'S MEDICAL RECORDS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is the past medical history of this man relevant to you, important to you?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, it is, because one of the criteria for making a diagnosis of schizophrenia is prognosis. In other words, the state of the patient - mental state - in the course of time. And in fact, if one had an almost continuous history of 30 years of this kind of delusional insanity, then I would think that is absolutely pathognomonic of schizophrenia. No other condition that I know of can last-

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And what would his prognosis be?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Hopeless for recovery.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: So if evidence is obtained that he was diagnosed at St. Pancras Hospital on the 26th May, 1959 as being a paranoid schizophrenic?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I had not seen that report but if this were so, I would see this as being consistent with the diagnosis I have made.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And if the authorities there, the doctors who interviewed him, say that he there too talked about the tapeworm, which he called a 'dragon'?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, this would again be absolutely consistent with the diagnosis. I would think that this would mean that he could never have dreamt this up on the spur of the moment as a defence. We had the evidence this morning of a lady called Mrs. O'Ryan, who says that the accused talked to her, some months before the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, about this tapeworm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you comment on that evidence which is now before the Court?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, the only comment I would make is that this makes it all the more likely that there was this delusion, was held continuously in time. It was not something which left him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: If evidence were led, and the Court were to accept the opinion of a person called Dr. Brown, Medical Superintendent of the Hospital on the Isle of Wight - the White Cross Hospital, "that although his conduct in hospital was quiet and amenable, I did note on my report to the authorities that he was suffering from a delusional psychosis which

could affect his conduct very considerably," what would the importance of that be?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, again I haven't seen this report. If this is so, then I have no doubt that this is consistent with the diagnosis of chronic schizophrenia - a variety of chronic schizophrenia.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would it be consistent with a diseased, insane man who assassinated the Prime Minister?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. Yes, because every psychiatrist knows that chronic schizophrenia of the paranoid kind into which this man fits, while apparently amenable and moving about society, could be subject to sudden eruption.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And in that state of eruption would he act in this way, kill somebody?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Under the influence of his diseased brain, he could, yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: If you had evidence - that goes back a little further - that is, evidence from the German hospital near Hamburg to whom you wrote, and you have seen that report ...?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Ochsenzoll?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Again if that evidence is placed before the Court - and let us assume for a moment it is before the Court- what would it establish in your opinion?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: It establishes that at the time he was in the Ochsenzoll he was suffering from a major mental disorder, due to this tape-worm, his belief about the tapeworm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is mention also made in that report of his preoccupation with this tapeworm?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. He had just been investigated in the Tropical Hospital in Hamburg for a tapeworm and the doctors there had told him he had no tapeworm. He refused to believe this, became wretched and took an overdose of sleeping pills - he took 20 sleeping pills in an attempt at suicide. He was admitted to the Ochsenzoll Hospital. They found the presence of hypochondriacal delusion and they gave him a variety of treatments, insulin, opium therapy and finally electric-convulsive therapy - shock treatment.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: If you are told that prior to 1955, and in America (the year 1946, round there) he was certified insane and suffering from hebephrenic schizophrenia, what is your comment about that? The relevance and importance of that evidence?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, my first comment would be that I would not be at all surprised about it being schizophrenia. I would be a little surprised at the diagnosis of hebephrenia, because this betokens a much worse prognosis as far as deterioration, and the man we have in the dock here shows. The patients are characteristically reduced to silly, gibbering idiots.

JUDGE BEYERS: Like a child or something? The word, doesn't it mean 'behaving like a child'?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, Like a child or like a woman. I am not quite sure.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Doctor, sitting as an assessor in this case, would you consider it important to have all this medical history of the past placed before you?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, if I were in that position I certainly would think it was relevant.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Let us come now to your final assessment of this man before the Court. Your opinion is that he is suffering from...?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I regard him as suffering from schizophrenia, the particular sub-category in my opinion being paraphrenia.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is schizophrenia, this mental disease that he has, a psychosis?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: It is a major psychosis.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is he mentally disordered in terms of the Act?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you certify him?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Should he go to an asylum?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: He should, at the State President's pleasure, if I may say so.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you any reservations?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I have no reservations at all.

COMMENTS ON DR. SAKINOFSKY'S TESTIMONY REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S MEDICAL RECORDS

The Defence Counsel refers again, as he did with Dr. Cooper, to some of Tsafendas's medical records from overseas hospitals. In this particular case, advocate Cooper reads from the report from the hospital in the Isle of Wight. First, Dr. Sakinofsky states that he has not seen this report, as Dr. Cooper also did. The question is, since both psychiatrists were part of the defence team, why were they not given these reports, especially since their diagnoses were compatible? Dr. Sakinofsky had said in correspondence with the author, but also stated to the Court, that a patient's medical records are very important. Dr. Sakinofsky himself had written to some of the hospitals where Tsafendas was treated to get his records. The defence team had some of these records in its possession, but did not give them to him.

Reyner van Zyl, the clinical psychologist who examined Tsafendas for the defence stated to the author that he was verbally told that Tsafendas was diagnosed as schizophrenic by many overseas hospitals, but he did not see any of the actual reports, and this was the case with at least some, if not all, of those who examined Tsafendas.²⁸⁵³ However, Dr. Sakinofsky was in possession of the medical report from Hamburg as he had personally requested it from this hospital. He had received them sometime after the 4th of October and while he had already examined Tsafendas at least once and maybe even twice.²⁸⁵⁴

The Defence Counsel then refers again, as he did with Dr. Cooper, to the medical report from "America." As he did with Dr. Cooper, he reads only the diagnosis and does not say anything about the tapeworm or anything else that it is in the report. Then, something unbelievable happens when he asks Dr. Sakinofsky: "Doctor, sitting as an assessor in this case, would you consider it important to have all this medical history of the past placed before you?" The first major question is why all of Tsafendas's medical history was not placed before Dr. Sakinofsky in the first place; before the summary trial where he would have had the time to evaluate it properly? Since the diagnosis was similar to Dr. Sakinofsky's, it would have strengthened his own diagnosis about Tsafendas. However, the report from America, more specifically from Grafton State Hospital, contained two very important phrases that would certainly have been picked up by Dr. Sakinofsky, and the Defence Counsel must have known they could have been damaging for the defence's line.

²⁸⁵³ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

²⁸⁵⁴ Letter of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, to Dr. Sakinofsky, 4 October 1966. K150. Vol. 7, No: 09/4, Subject: Suspect Persons: Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

The report says about Tsafendas that “he faked mental illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings (sinkings) of ships.”²⁸⁵⁵ It also says that Tsafendas “is in the habit of smearing the walls in his room with faeces and is hallucinated and suspicious. He hears voices coming through the radiators.”²⁸⁵⁶ Both of the above statements are very important information for a psychiatrist and their significance has been discussed in Dr. Cooper’s testimony.

We should remember here that the US Immigration authorities had a file on Tsafendas containing “full particulars” of his time in the United States, including the Grafton State Hospital report. The South African embassy in Washington had informed the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs that according to US Immigration officials, Tsafendas was “understood to have shown under psychiatric treatment that he was unstable though not (not)²⁸⁵⁷ insane, but type of man who would easily be used as instrument of Communist or hostile organizations. Impression of U.S. Immigration people at the time was that he had been manipulated and was under influence of someone or some organization. He was subsequently deported to Europe.”²⁸⁵⁸

As to the alleged suicide attempt, Tsafendas must certainly have lied when he said in Hamburg that he had taken twenty sleeping pills. He never spoke about this specific incident, but later stated that he never contemplated suicide while he was in custody, despite the severe torture, because he knew he was not brave enough to do it. Contrary to the general belief, Tsafendas held the view that suicide was not an act of cowardice but one of bravery. He believed that only a brave person would have the courage to take his own life and that people who killed themselves were mistaken in thinking they were weak when they were actually strong.²⁸⁵⁹ In addition, the Grafton State Hospital report stated that Tsafendas threatened the US Immigration authorities with suicide if they deported him. He was later deported, but did not proceed with his threat.²⁸⁶⁰

The Defence Counsel also referred to the reports from the English hospitals, as he did with Dr. Cooper and Dr. Muller. None of them was submitted as evidence and we do not

²⁸⁵⁵ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

²⁸⁵⁶ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

²⁸⁵⁷ This is exactly how it appears in the telegram. There is a second ‘not’ within brackets.

²⁸⁵⁸ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

²⁸⁵⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁸⁶⁰ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

know the detailed contents, apart from the diagnosis. The picture that emerged from Tsafendas's time in London, according to the evidence collected by the South African police but also by the author, is that he does not appear to act as a "paranoid schizophrenic" as the diagnosis suggests. Tsafendas arrived in England on May 16, 1959.²⁸⁶¹ He asked the authorities if he could take a language test and work as a hotel porter, but this was refused, as was his application to remain in the country as a student. He was ordered to leave the United Kingdom by September 2, 1959.²⁸⁶² However, he ignored the order and remained in the UK "working clandestinely because legally he was not authorised."²⁸⁶³ On August 4, 1959, Tsafendas applied for permission to enter South Africa, sending a letter and an application form to the Union's immigration attaché in London.²⁸⁶⁴

According to the report of the Commission of Enquiry, while in London, Tsafendas "was noticed in the company of leftists," confirming Tsafendas's own statement to the police.²⁸⁶⁵ Tsafendas told the police he had attended political meetings organised by the Committee of African Organisations in Hyde Park, plus Labour Party meetings in London's Caxton Hall as well as demonstrations held by anti-apartheid and anti-fascist groups.²⁸⁶⁶ According to the report of the Commission of Enquiry, evidence was submitted to the Commission that while in London Tsafendas tried to "recruit people to take part in an uprising in South Africa." Tsafendas admitted to the Commission "that he did in fact try to recruit people for an uprising," but said "that his aim was confined to the Territory of Mozambique."²⁸⁶⁷ It appears unlikely that a paranoid schizophrenic will be involved in such activities and would associate with all these people and that his condition would go unnoticed.

Tsafendas told Fathers Minas, Ioannis and Spiros many years later that whenever he was penniless and homeless, he always found shelter at a hospital. As he said, hospitals where like hotels with free food and free accommodation.²⁸⁶⁸ As we have seen, according to

²⁸⁶¹ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, London to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

²⁸⁶² Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, London to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

²⁸⁶³ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

²⁸⁶⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraphs 28-30.

²⁸⁶⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 31.

²⁸⁶⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁸⁶⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32.

²⁸⁶⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

Gordon Winter, Tsafendas had said exactly the same thing to General van den Bergh when he was interrogated by him.²⁸⁶⁹

This seems to be the case in the UK. Tsafendas was not allowed to work so when he ran out of money, he admitted himself to the hospital in St. Pancras. A report from the South African Embassy in London also stated that Tsafendas admitted himself to the hospital, claiming he had a fixation with a tapeworm.²⁸⁷⁰ He also talked his way into a hospital on the Isle of Wight. It is the only one of which he spoke extensively to others. He said that while he was in the St. Pancras hospital, he learned about the Isle of Wight, a “beautiful small island” off the south coast of England, with an “impressive psychiatric hospital which was like an ancient castle.” He had never heard of this island and decided to visit it. Tsafendas accordingly cut short his stay at St. Pancras, having “recovered” from his “illness,”²⁸⁷¹ after a few days and on October 4, made his way to the Isle of Wight. After a look around the island, he had himself admitted to the Whitecroft Mental Hospital, near Newport, claiming mental problems.²⁸⁷²

According to Tsafendas, the hospital staff were initially suspicious, considering it strange that a foreigner should just turn up at the psychiatric hospital of this small island. Most patients had been transferred there upon a doctor’s recommendation and nobody had ever turned up on the doorstep. Tsafendas said this was his trickiest problem. He could not claim that he was just passing and suddenly fell ill. Instead, he said he had lost his way trying to get to France and gradually he managed to convince the doctors that his case was genuine.²⁸⁷³

²⁸⁶⁹ Gordon Winter in a personal interview with Dr. James Sanders on behalf of the author, 19 August 2016.

²⁸⁷⁰ Secret Telegram from the South African Embassy in London to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

²⁸⁷¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁸⁷² Secret Telegram from the South African Embassy in London to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

²⁸⁷³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

Tsafendas stayed at the hospital until December 3, 1959, when he was discovered by the British immigration authorities and deported to Germany.²⁸⁷⁴ Again, there is also no mention of the 1964/1965 report from the hospital in Beira where Tsafendas was hospitalised believing he was Saint Peter. For a more detailed analysis of the issue of Tsafendas's medical records see the relevant section in Dr. Cooper's testimony.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you consider your finding on the 6th September, 1966, at 7 p.m. as conclusive?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Did I consider it conclusive?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Up to that point it was conclusive. I was able to make a diagnosis.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And did you think that further tests and observations were necessary?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. Sometimes one is misled by the clinical picture and it is only reasonable to do certain tests to find out whether other conditions are not mimicking this picture.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Is it true that when you examined the accused on the 6th September, 1966, he answered all questions readily?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes he answered them unguardedly.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And you did not find any blocking?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Any blocking? No, not at that time.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He was not vague?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, he was vague, certainly, because I could not follow the processes of his reasoning. When he talked about his royal kinship with somebody called Von Willem and he talked about his quasi political ideas, I could not follow him there at all. When he talked about the meeting between Chief Jonathan and Dr. Verwoerd, it having

²⁸⁷⁴ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, London to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 33.

something to do with the Immorality Act, I couldn't follow him there.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You found no syntactical schizophrenia?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I found no syntactical formal schizophrenic thought disorder at that time, which meant that his grammar was reasonable, taking into account the fact that he was in an excited state.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you agree that you also found the accused to be fully orientated as to time and person?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, I did.

JUDGE BEYERS: All that you are putting to him now he has already said. It is on record. It is from his report.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: How did you come to the conclusion at 7 p.m. that the accused was not in a position to evaluate correctly the consequences of the crime?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I did not come to that conclusion at 7 p.m. I came to that conclusion when I weighed up all that evidence the next morning, when I had thought about it and slept on it, and put it all together. I came to that conclusion, in fact, at the end of that interview when I came out and I said to a member of the Security Police - the Major who was there - I said that this chap ought to go into Valkenburg for observation, and he said - well, that is not relevant. Or if you like, he said: "I feel sorry for the poor bugger."

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: But did you know, when you examined the accused at 7 p.m. on the 6th September, that he had been concussed in Parliament?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, I could see that he had been restrained, yes. Concussed, well, I could not see

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I must object. There is no evidence that the man was concussed in Parliament.

JUDGE BEYERS: It might still come.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Very well, but then put it but

JUDGE BEYERS: Why?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Dr. Kossew was the one who examined him and he did not find him to be concussed.

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Concussion to me ...

JUDGE BEYERS: What is wrong with putting the question? The State hasn't led evidence yet?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Does the State now contend that he was concussed in Parliament and will lead evidence to substantiate that?

JUDGE BEYERS: From that question and the way it is put, I would normally deduce that the advocate putting it has got evidence that he was concussed.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: From a medical man?

JUDGE BEYERS: I don't care from whom he's got it. He might have it from Tsafendas. He is entitled at this stage to cross-examine on that basis. The question is perfectly in order.

DR. SAKINOFSKY: If I may answer that question then from the Attorney-General. I did not conclude it on medical grounds because the man was not confused; he was not disorientated in time and place. Had he been concussed, had he been a man who was unconscious for a time, I would have expected this. And if I found that he was disorientated in time and place then I would have thought that there was concussion present which was influencing my clinical picture at the time.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you know that the accused's nose had been broken?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, I saw stitches. I didn't go into exactly what anatomical feature had been broken,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you know whether the accused had had any injections before you saw him?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I assumed that he would have had an anti-tetanus injection and possibly an antibiotic, but he had not had a sedative and he did not in any way have his consciousness clouded or impaired by concussion when I saw him, and the way I establish this is by orientation in time and place,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Could an injection for pain have impaired his reasoning?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No, I don't think so. Not without sedating him to the point where he was drowsy. He was anything but drowsy.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Couldn't the accused have been suffering from delayed shock?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: When you examined him?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I don't think that he was suffering from delayed shock in any way that would impair the mental state that I found at that time.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you consider it at the time?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. He was not pale. His pulse was good; I felt it several times actually.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you agree that millions of people think that Dr. Verwoerd and the Portuguese Government were in league together?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I think millions of people know that there is a friendly relationship between our two countries, but I would not say that they were in league in the sense that Mr. Tsafendas saw them to be in league. In other words, that the Portuguese Government was influencing the internal affairs of South Africa, the Immorality Act, etc.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: How can you say that this is a delusion?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: How can I say that that is a delusion?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Because taking the whole of his quasi political ideas, in their context, I would think that these are false beliefs which cannot be held by a majority of our society, by anybody other than someone who is mentally deranged. Taking into account the context, not taking things out of context.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Is it true that the subject of the meeting between Dr. Verwoerd and Chief Jonathan was a matter of general political speculation?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, I think that is certainly so.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he know what they were meeting about?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Did who know? Did I know?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: No, the accused?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I don't think he did. Not from what he told me. He told me they were meeting to consider the Immorality Act.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you regard the accused's explanation of the cause of his

headaches as ridiculous?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: His explanation that they were due to pressure?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes. Did you regard it as ridiculous?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No, I didn't regard that in itself as being particularly ridiculous. Lots of lay people talk about their headaches being due to pressure.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: The accused never mentioned to you that it was a tapeworm that was responsible for his illness, did he?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: When? At the first interview?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: On the first occasion?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: On the first interview we didn't get round to the tapeworm, no.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Would you have expected him to have mentioned it on this first occasion?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I don't think so, because there were so many recent events. After all, he had just assassinated the Prime Minister, and one was talking about that and what led him to do that, and his mind, I think, was filled with the quasi-political delusions which he held at that time, in this state of excitement- excitement in the pathological sense.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: If the tapeworm was the reason why he assassinated the Prime Minister, wouldn't you have expected him to have mentioned it on this very first occasion?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I think in retrospect, had I specifically asked him, he would have gone into great detail about the tapeworm, but I didn't ask him.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Would you have expected him to have mentioned it himself?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: No.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Why not?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Because a lot depended on how the conversation was led, and I was interested in the political side, to find out whether he had a political motive, whether this man was a criminal or an insane person.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you ask him why he assassinated the Prime Minister?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, I did.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And what did he say?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: He said because the Prime Minister was against (witness refers to his notes) the Commonwealth, against the English way of life, because he was a foreigner, because he was in league with the Portuguese Government, because he was against the ideal of a Cape-to- Cairo union, and, somehow, also because he had a mother who was of the royal family, of royal birth. Somehow this was also intruded as a reason for his killing the Prime Minister, and I couldn't see the relevance of that.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: So do you agree that the accused only gave political reasons for killing the Prime Minister?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: He gave political reasons at that time. And also, I don't know whether you would include this being a member of an overseas royal family as being a reason - if that is political, then he included that also. And also if you include the delusion of his being subjected to torture, mental torture, in a Lisbon hospital for 14 years, if that is regarded as political, then he gave that as a reason too.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you agree that schizophrenia of hebephrenic type is one of the diseases which leads to rapid disintegration? Which is that - hebephrenia? Yes?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, it is said to lead to rapid deterioration of personality, and, if you recall, just now I said how surprised I was that they had made that diagnosis. But not all that surprised, because we know that originally these categories which Kraepelin and others put forward for schizophrenia merge with one another in the course of a man's life. A man can start off as a paranoid schizophrenia and end up as a hebephrenic schizophrenia - that kind of thing. Or he may schizophrenia start off as a catatonic and end up as a hebephrenic schizophrenia.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: If the accused had been suffering from schizophrenia for 20 years, wouldn't you have expected him to have been permanently detained in a mental hospital by now?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Well, that was one of the reasons why I make the diagnosis of paraphrenia, in fact, and I would not necessarily have expected him to have been detained in a mental hospital. There are plenty of authorities I can't lay my finger on now which point out that a man can amble around the world for 20 or 30 years and spend a short space of time, every couple of years, in a mental hospital, and yet have this chronic incapacitating mental disease, schizophrenia, and yet be liable to erupt, as this man unexpectedly did.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He could be a periodic type, not so?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: This is one kind of schizophrenia which many people don't believe in.

JUDGE BEYERS: What is that?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I think the Attorney-General is suggesting a variety of schizophrenia which with lucida intervalla and then a bit of schizophrenia and then a lucidum intervallum again?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: You say not many people believe in that?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I think many people would prefer to call those a variety of atypic or affective psychosis, but for someone, as one understands this man, to have been for 30 years possessed with this idea that he has got a giant tapeworm inside him, chronic delusional insanity, I would have thought this was entirely out of keeping with that kind of diagnosis.

JUDGE BEYERS: With this sort of come-and-go business?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. With relatively completely lucid intervals in between. I would think that in between, if one probes, one would find disease,

ASSESSOR: Do you base that only on the tapeworm delusion?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, I regard that as a very important delusion, hypochondriacal delusion, particularly if it is established that it has been in existence throughout this man's mental hospital life.

ASSESSOR: Assuming that it has, that alone, you feel, would destroy the idea that it was a periodic form?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. Because I would have thought that somebody who has an episodic illness would bring out fresh delusions, not the same continuous delusion.

JUDGE BEYERS: Even at times when he is in the valleys, when it is not active, the sick, delusional material is still lying at the bottom of the valley, because when he gets up to the rise in the graph again the same thing comes out again - that is what you are trying to say?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: If it was periodic, it would be a tapeworm now, and in a few months' time it would be a lion?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes, quite.

JUDGE BEYERS: And then again?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: A tiger.

JUDGE BEYERS: Or a tiger. That is what you are trying to say?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Yes. With complete normality in between.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: If there is evidence that the accused was diagnosed as a schizophrenic years ago, and there is evidence that over the last few years he has travelled widely and that he could take care of himself, isn't that strongly suggestive of recovery?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Of recovery?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Not in itself, no.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Why not?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: It is the level of life at which this man maintains himself that would have to be taken into account. If he was living as a bum, moving around the world as a locksmith here, as a woodcutter in Sweden and Canada, as a stevedore in another country - a man of his intelligence - I would have thought this is consistent with many schizophrenics that one comes across, and who spend a great deal of their time in mental hospitals too.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Would you have expected the accused to have mentioned to you on the 6th September that he killed the Prime Minister because of this tapeworm?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Not necessarily. He might not have thought I would believe it at that stage.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Dr. Kossew found that the accused was not confused at 2.50 p.m. What would you say about that?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Not confused?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Not confused at 2.50 p.m. on 6th September?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: Sorry - what relation has this to the assassination? When was the assassination supposed to have been done?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: The 6th of September?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: At what time?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Between 2.14 and 2.15?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: So just after the assassination he wasn't confused?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes. Twenty-five minutes after the assassination Dr. Kossew found that he was not confused. I would infer from that that he could not be suffering from concussion at that time. But how do you relate it to your finding that his reasoning was not impaired?

DR. SAKINOFSKY: I think here we are in semantic jungles. The term "confused" to the lay person means somebody who is muddled. But to a doctor it means someone whose consciousness is clouded, who is disorientated in time and place or person and whose attention wanders due to a clouding of consciousness of organic kind. I assume that Dr. Kossew used the medical usage of the word confused.

COMMENTS ON THE CROSS-EXAMINATION

The Attorney-General and the Court made a good attempt to challenge Dr. Sakinofsky's testimony with obvious questions such as why Tsafendas did not mention the tapeworm in their first meeting. Although Dr. Sakinofsky's response seems adequate, it does not explain why Tsafendas mentioned all these other things like the Cape to Cairo union, the Commonwealth etc. as reasons for killing Dr. Verwoerd, but never repeated these reasons to anyone else, not the police nor the medics nor lawyers who examined him. With Dr. Cooper, Tsafendas gave "frustration" as his motive, without mentioning the reasons he gave to Dr. Sakinofsky. However, he gave the police clear and straightforward reasons. What he told them is compatible with the evidence gathered by the police and the author; what he told Dr. Sakinofsky is incompatible with both.

Again, the South African police were in possession of several documents, including statements by people which contradicted Dr. Sakinofsky's diagnosis. The report from Grafton State Hospital was also in the possession of the police and could have also been used to challenge Dr. Sakinofsky's diagnosis. It is highly likely that the police were also in possession of the report from the hospital in Beira where Tsafendas was diagnosed as a schizophrenic who believed he was Saint Peter. None of all this evidence was used to challenge given testimony, thus the author is not in a position to know if the evidence was

given to the Attorney-General.

What is striking is the effort made by the Attorney-General to challenge Dr. Sakinofsky's diagnosis, when his own two State-appointed experts, Professor of Psychiatry van Wyk and clinical psychologist Erasmus had come to the same conclusion as Dr. Sakinofsky. To challenge Dr. Sakinofsky was tantamount to challenging his own two experts. If the Attorney-General had doubts or lacked confidence in his two experts or if he believed that Tsafendas may not have been schizophrenic, why did he not appoint more psychiatrists and psychologists to examine him?

CONCLUSION

Dr. Sakinofsky's diagnosis of Tsafendas as schizophrenic was inevitable based on the evidence available to him. Although he admitted in correspondence with the author that "in psychiatry, after one has interviewed a patient, it is best practice to seek collateral information from family, friends, and medical records," he was not in possession of any information concerning Tsafendas from any of his friends or family. Rightly and professionally, he had contacted some of the hospitals where Tsafendas was admitted in order to seek additional information about him.

Although the defence was in possession of additional medical records for Tsafendas, these were not given to the doctor, probably because they contained information incompatible with that available to the doctor. Withheld or unavailable evidence included the fact that Tsafendas had another delusion in the 1940s, hearing voices from the radiators, while there is also no mention about Tsafendas's delusional idea two months before the assassination that people were murdered in his house. Very importantly, the fact that he had faked mental illness while in an American hospital and had been caught at it is also not mentioned.

The Attorney-General should have been in possession of documentation, from witnesses' statements to medical reports and statements from various organizations around the world to effectively challenge this testimony, but as with other testimonies, this did not happen, although the Attorney-General and the Court tried harder than before to launch a challenge.

The ever-present tapeworm makes its appearance here too and again Tsafendas repeats what he told Dr. Cooper. Everything that Tsafendas told Dr. Sakinofsky was a lie, most of them inspired by real events that had taken place in his life, like the wooden box

similar to a grafonola which the Portuguese used to deliver electric shocks while he was imprisoned in Portugal. Dr. Sakinofsky was not in position to know that these were lies, but the State should have been. The police and the Commission had collected at least two hundred statements from people who knew Tsafendas.

Several extracts from Dr. Sakinofsky's testimony were read word by word, individually, to about sixty people who knew Tsafendas, including nine who knew him very well. None of them believes that Tsafendas meant what he said. Nor did he mention to them any of the topics he gave to Dr. Sakinofsky. Their position is supported by about two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission at the time and none of them mentioned anything like this. Nine of those witnesses who were interviewed by the author were extremely close to Tsafendas and although he confided to them about many things, he never once mentioned the Cape to Cairo union or expressed an interest in the Commonwealth or mentioned any of the things he told Dr. Sakinofsky.

In addition, Tsafendas told several people before the assassination and police and others after the assassination, that he considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant and a dictator, but he never said this to Dr. Sakinofsky. At the same time, he never mentioned to other people what he said to Dr. Sakinofsky. If Tsafendas really believed what he told Dr. Sakinofsky, especially his political ideas, he would surely have mentioned them to someone else. Why would Tsafendas talk about the same political ideas to more than a hundred people, to the South African police and to the Portuguese police, but say something completely different to Dr. Sakinofsky? Obviously, because he was lying to him in an attempt to present himself as "deluded" and mad.

According to Professor Tuviah Zabow, "if Tsafendas was really schizophrenic, his condition should have deteriorated after what he went through in prison, especially without receiving medical treatment."²⁸⁷⁵ However, to the end Tsafendas maintained to everyone he met that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he was a tyrant and a dictator who was oppressing his people and he hoped that his death would bring a change a policy or would be a stepping stone towards the fall of apartheid. He also maintained until his death the political ideas he held before the assassination and had expressed to tens of people, namely being a Communist, anti-fascist, anti-colonialist and supporter of the independence of Mozambique. Tsafendas never changed his political ideas. He never told anyone what he told Dr. Sakinofsky.

²⁸⁷⁵ Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016.

A lot of Tsafendas's claims could very easily been proven to be lies by looking at the evidence gathered by the police. The most obvious example is that Tsafendas told Dr. Sakinofsky he did not remember anything about Dr. Verwoerd's killing and felt that he was hypnotised although he had described it in perfect detail twice to the police while he was in custody. Even thirty years later, Tsafendas was able to describe the assassination in detail.

Dr. Sakinofsky's diagnosis is entirely wrong, but this is hardly his fault. Like Dr. Cooper and the other psychiatrists he was required to evaluate Tsafendas's condition based on what Tsafendas said and on some of his medical records which told half the truth. Dr. Sakinofsky was the only one of those who examined Tsafendas who tried to get additional information about him. Advocate Cooper did an exceptionally good job for his side, as he had done with Dr. Cooper, by handling the Grafton State Hospital report in a carefully selective way. Tsafendas remembered very fondly Dr. Sakinofsky until he died, always speaking highly of him and described him as a "very kind, good and intelligent boy."²⁸⁷⁶

²⁸⁷⁶ Tsafendas in *A Question of Madness*; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 10: GILLIAN CLAIRE LIEBERMAN

INTRODUCTION

Gillian Lieberman was also questioned by the police on October 6.²⁸⁷⁷ She was the last witness to testify this day as the court then adjourned until the next day.

GILLIAN LIEBERMAN'S TESTIMONY²⁸⁷⁸

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Miss Lieberman, what is your occupation?

LIEBERMAN: I am Personnel Secretary.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Which Company?

LIEBERMAN: The Marine Diamond Corporation.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you seen the accused before?

LIEBERMAN: Yes, I have.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where did you see him?

LIEBERMAN: I saw him approximately the first time in February, 1966 employed as...

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And was he employment then?

LIEBERMAN: He was a pump operator on a diamond barge.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Owned by your Company?

LIEBERMAN: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: During which period was he employed as a pump operator?

LIEBERMAN: From the 3rd of February, 1966, and he resigned of his own accord on the 7th of April, 1966.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did he earn per month during this period?

²⁸⁷⁷ Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸⁷⁸ Gillian Claire Liebermann's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

LIEBERMAN: He earned R180 nett.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: During the period of employment with The Marine Diamond Corporation, did you talk to him at any stage?

LIEBERMAN: Yes, I did.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was the nature of your conversation?

LIEBERMAN: I spoke to him on a number of occasions. The first time he came to me, he came to my office, he had a query, and he wished to go and see a doctor.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: For what reason?

LIEBERMAN: He complained that he had something wrong with his ears and nose, with his head, and I referred him to our Company doctor.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he on the occasions that you spoke to him, did he have any grievance, any complaints?

LIEBERMAN: Yes, he did have a number of complaints.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Will you tell us some of them?

LIEBERMAN: He complained about the conditions of employment on our diamond barges. He complained about the type of person we employed on our diamond barge.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was his complaint about then?

LIEBERMAN: Well, I am not quite sure. He complained about the type of person. I never quite understood what he referred to when he meant "type of person", he did not have a tolerance towards the type of superintendent we employed, his superiors, he did not seem to like our superiors.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And as regard white people what was his attitude?

LIEBERMAN: He was rather intolerant towards them. When I refer to white people, the type of white people we employed, that was his intolerance, not to white people as a whole.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How was he dressed?

LIEBERMAN: Rather sloppily dressed.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was the impression you formed of him, overall?

LIEBERMAN: My overall impression was that he was rather untidy, sloppy. He seemed

rather odd to me.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Wasn't he a very dissatisfied person?

LIEBERMAN: Yes, he seemed rather a dissatisfied person.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you tell him that you could not arrange separate facilities for them?

LIEBERMAN: Yes, I did.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And what was his reaction to that?

LIEBERMAN: He accepted that.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Why did he resign? Who advised him to resign? Did you advise him?

LIEBERMAN: I did advise him, he had a number of complaints and his general dissatisfaction of the Company. I suggested that the best thing would be for him to resign and he agreed with me.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused speak to you about the political situation in South Africa?

LIEBERMAN: He wished to know my political affiliation and I told him that in my position as personnel secretary I was not in a position to discuss them.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you find the accused to be intelligent?

LIEBERMAN: Well, I did not find him over-intelligent or under-intelligent. He was of normal intelligence to me. I mean I did not see him that long to be able to assess his intelligence as such.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: How long were you associated with him?

LIEBERMAN: He was employed with us, as I said, for roughly two months, and I met him on a number of occasions, probably this interview I had with him lasted from anything from ten minutes to half- an-hour.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Didn't you say this to the Police: "I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation, but a strange type of person, a unique

character?

LIEBERMAN: Yes, I did.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And is that still your opinion?

LIEBERMAN: Yes, that is my opinion.

COMMENTS ON LIEBERMAN'S TESTIMONY AND TO HER CROSS-EXAMINATION

Lieberman does not tell us much about Tsafendas apart from the fact that he was not happy with working conditions, that he was “rather untidy, sloppy” and he seemed “odd” to her. She had only spoken to him on “a number of occasions” and was not in contact with him every day like the company’s field workers. Lieberman had earlier testified to the police about Tsafendas’s dirty clothes. However, since his was a labouring job, dirty clothes would seem normal. He could hardly have work a business suit for work. All those who knew Tsafendas socially, as we have seen earlier, testified that he was always dressed and that wore dirty clothes only at work. For more about the way Tsafendas was dressed look earlier at Merle Daniels’s testimony.

Lieberman also testified that Tsafendas seemed “odd” to her, but did not elaborate further and neither the Attorney-General nor the Court asked what she meant by that. Leaving the word hanging could give the impression that Tsafendas was a mentally peculiar. However, what Lieberman said in her statement to the police was: “I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation, but a strange type of person, a unique character. Apart from him being well-travelled etc., I got the impression that he was physically different in dress and appearance. He was a big man, with a particularly striking big hat, stainless steel teeth, sloppy dirty clothing.”²⁸⁷⁹

According to her statement to the police, Lieberman had found Tsafendas strange because of how he dressed and his physical appearance, not for what he did or said. On the contrary, she had stated, and this was heard in the court only because of the cross-examination, that she had found Tsafendas to be “intelligent” and “able to reason in conversation.” Lieberman was not the first one to comment on Tsafendas “reasoning power.” Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine or ten weeks at Marine Diamond Corporation, the same company as Lieberman, testified to the police that he “never got the

²⁸⁷⁹ Gillian Claire Lieberman statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers.”²⁸⁸⁰ Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for Mike’s Outfitters for forty-two days in July and August 1966 and told the police that he “never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers.”²⁸⁸¹

Lieberman had also told the police that she got the impression that Tsafendas did “not agree with authority (Governmental or other)” but she did not repeat this statement in court and the Attorney-General did not mention it.

Lieberman was obviously chosen to testify that Tsafendas was an “odd” and “dissatisfied” person who often complained. The defence seemed to turn a blind eye to the fact that she had testified to the police about Tsafendas’s intelligence and reasoning powers, probably because it was proving difficult to find suitable witnesses to support the defence line. If the defence wanted to bring forward witnesses who worked with Tsafendas and knew him reasonably well and were ready to talk about him, they would have called field workers and not an office worker who had limited contact with him. Tsafendas had worked in Marine Diamond Corporation for three months and had co-workers who saw him every day. Three of these workers had already testified to the police.

One of them was Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden, senior security officer of the company’s Colponton diamond boat. He testified to the police that:

“We were transferred from the Marina with a small outboard boat to the Colponton. It was terrible rough seas, so much so that almost all of us old hands got seasick. It struck me that Tsafendas adapted well. He was one of the few who were not sick. With landing, he filled the mess-basin on the lower deck with water and started shaving. His calm way struck me that he must know the sea. Tsafendas was employed as a pump, or engineer, operator and did not work under my direct supervision. I introduced myself to him and talked to him. He was friendly, outgoing, and was not aloof. I noticed that his eating was messy. Otherwise he was completely normal.”²⁸⁸²

Another one was Ralph Lighton who had testified on September 17 that having worked with Tsafendas for nine-ten weeks, he understood that he was “lazy and inefficient,” “used to mix with the Coloureds rather than with the Europeans,” “said that the climbing of

²⁸⁸⁰ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸⁸¹ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

²⁸⁸² Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

the ladders were too much for him. I never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers, but despite his former career in the Merchant Marine, was unsuitable for our work.”²⁸⁸³ Hulse, who also worked for the company at this time, testified to the police on September 28 that Tsafendas “informed him that he left Marine Diamond as the work was too hard for an old man like him.” He also said that Tsafendas “did not appear to be disturbed at any stage.”²⁸⁸⁴

These three witnesses knew Tsafendas better than Lieberman and would have been able to testify to his work skills and ethics. Naturally the defence did not choose them since what they had told the police did not suit the defence line. Instead, Lieberman was brought forward (despite her remark that Tsafendas was able to reason in a conversation and was intelligent), simply because she also testified that he wore dirty clothes, was dissatisfied and a “strange person.” This demonstrates the desperation of the defence to find suitable witnesses to support their line. On the other hand, these three statements could have been useful to the State to challenge the defence, but none of them was used.

²⁸⁸³ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸⁸⁴ Hulse statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

DAY 3: 19 OCTOBER 1966

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 11: REYNER JOHANNES VAN ZYL

REYNER VAN ZYL'S PROFESSIONAL BIOGRAPHY

Reyner Johannes van Zyl, a clinical psychologist practising at Grand Parade Centre, Castle Street, Cape Town, was registered with the South African Medical and Dental Council as a psychologist. He holds a B.A. degree and a Master's in Psychology. He secured the Master's Degree at the University of Pretoria in 1959 and then worked at the Tara Neuro-psychiatric Hospital in Johannesburg as an intern in clinical psychology for eighteen months. For approximately nine months he worked at the Constantia Reformatory as a psychologist and then was employed at Groote Schuur Hospital in the same capacity. He worked at Groote Schuur full-time for two years and for the last three years part-time.²⁸⁸⁵ He was recommended to David Bloomberg by his good friend Dr. Harold Cooper; he was then appointed to examine Tsafendas.²⁸⁸⁶

REYNER VAN ZYL'S TESTIMONY²⁸⁸⁷

VAN ZYL'S EXAMINATION, HIS TESTS AND TSAFENDAS'S IQ

DEFENCE COUNSEL: On what day did you examine the accused?

VAN ZYL: I examined the accused on the 13th October, 1966.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: For how many hours?

VAN ZYL: For three and a half hours.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was it one stretch or did you have a break?

VAN ZYL: There was a break in between.

²⁸⁸⁵ Reyner van Zyl's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁸⁸⁶ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

²⁸⁸⁷ Reyner van Zyl's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: So the first session of the interview lasted how long?

VAN ZYL: For two hours.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And the second for one and a half hours?

VAN ZYL: That is correct.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you drawn up a report?

VAN ZYL: I have done so.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Of your tests and your findings and the conclusion you have come to?

VAN ZYL: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you that report before you?

VAN ZYL: I have.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And there are photostatic copies available which you can hand in to the Court for the Court's convenience. This document which you will read out, adhere to and hand in will be R.S.C.D. would you start at the first paragraph?

VAN ZYL: I interviewed and tested Mr. Demitrio Tsafendas on the 13th October, 1966, for two hours in the morning and 1 1/2 hours in the afternoon.

(Witness reads R.S.C.D). The following psychological tests were used:

- The new South African standardization of the Wechsler Bellevue Adult Intelligence Test.
- The Thematic Apperception Personality Test.
- The Rorschach Personality Test.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Before we go any further, would you explain to his Lordship and the gentlemen assessors with him what is the new South African standardization of the Wechsler Bellevue Adult Intelligence Test?

VAN ZYL: It is an intelligence test consisting of ten sub-tests, and testing different aspects of intelligence. It is generally used for White South Africans and can test in the range from an I.Q. of 20 - which would be an idiot - to an I.Q. of plus-minus 190 - which is out and out a genius.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You say the average White adult?

VAN ZYL: That is correct,

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would the standard test by this test be higher than for, say, an average Coloured adult?

VAN ZYL: If you are going to test a Coloured adult on this test, it is very likely that he will score lower than a White man.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Why?

VAN ZYL: Because it is standardized for White people and there are separate tests for Coloureds.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you deal with the sub-test - the sub-sections of the test. There were ten in number?

VAN ZYL: That is correct.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Just give us the ten?

VAN ZYL: The sub-tests were: Information; Comprehension; Arithmetic; Digit Span; Similarities; Picture Completion; Object Assembly; Block design; Digit symbol substitution; and Picture arrangement.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: May I just pause for a moment. How did the accused react to these tests?

VAN ZYL: He was very co-operative and calm and at ease in the testing situation.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was he interested in what you were asking him, or did he appear to be interested in what you were asking him?

VAN ZYL: He did not particularly appear to be interested but he responded quite well.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: First of all, as to the Information sub-section, what was his score?

VAN ZYL: 11.5.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the significance of that?

VAN ZYL: The average score is 10, and he scored 11.5.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was it a wide range of information that you tested him on?

VAN ZYL: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Comprehension, what was his score?

VAN ZYL: 14.5.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the significance of that?

VAN ZYL: Again the average is 10, which means that it is a very high score.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Arithmetic, what was the result of that?

VAN ZYL: Nine.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is your comment there?

VAN ZYL: That it is somewhat below average

MR. BAKER: Is the average ten throughout?

VAN ZYL: Throughout.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Digit Span?

VAN ZYL: 12.5.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you explain to the Court what is meant by Digit Span?

VAN ZYL: You give the subject some digits to repeat. The easier ones he would have to repeat two or three digits immediately after you had said it, and then more difficult, it goes up to nine digits.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: So again, what is your comment on the figure 12.5?

VAN ZYL: It is again better than average and good.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Similarities, the result was?

VAN ZYL: 8.5.

JUDGE BEYERS: Mr. Cooper, I again don't wish to cut you short, but there does not appear to be any attack upon the fact that this man is of high intelligence. So couldn't we go through this, perhaps, a little less in detail?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Certainly, M'Lord.

JUDGE BEYERS: I did not understand there to be any question of his having more than an adequate I.Q.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: There is just one aspect, that this test also ties up with his present

mental

JUDGE BEYERS: I don't want to put you off.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: That is why I think it is necessary to have a scatter of it. The important feature is schizophrenia; and to have a scatter of it.

(Cont.): Just go on now. What did you find in Similarities?

VAN ZYL: 8.5.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Picture Completion?

VAN ZYL: 13.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Object Assembly?

VAN ZYL: 10.5.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Block design?

VAN ZYL: 10.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Digit Symbol substitution?

VAN ZYL: 8.5.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Picture arrangement?

VAN ZYL: 15.5.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you then go on from that point to read your report further?

VAN ZYL: (Witness continues reading R.S.C.D). "His full I.Q. tests at 113.5. His verbal I.Q. tests at 125.00."

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you test him for his standard of English?

VAN ZYL: As part of the verbal I.Q. test?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Yes?

VAN ZYL: I did.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was your finding?

VAN ZYL: That it was very good.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Compared to, say, Matric, or Standard VIII or university; could you give is some idea?

VAN ZYL: I'd say Matric level.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you proceed then with your report?

VAN ZYL: (Witness continues reading R.S.C.D). "The latter is a separate test of the Weschsler Bellevue Test and is commonly used to give a rough indication of the individual's intelligence. The discrepancy between the full-scale I.Q. and the verbal I.Q. is therefore not important. As can be noted from the above sub-sections, there is a marked scatter in scores which can not only be contributed to higher aptitude on these sub-sections.

As a matter of fact, his verbal I.Q. as compared to his nonverbal I.Q. is 111 against 114, which is not a significant difference. These are the only two broad categories of aptitudes in this test. The scatter is therefore of great significance. This very wide scatter is indicative of gross personality disturbance and some kind of interference of the smooth functioning of the intellect of the individual. His particular pattern of scatter is not 100 per cent typical of any particular type of psychological illness. It is known that an atypical pattern does not necessarily exclude any diagnosis.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In administering the test, what did you find, what impression did you form?

VAN ZYL: (Witness reads R.S.C.D). "I very strongly got the impression that this man has great difficulty in abstract thinking and in expressing himself. The latter I did not think was due to language difficulty because of his high verbal intelligence. My impression was that his original I.Q. was + 125 but that this had deteriorated because of some interfering illness. I gathered from Mr. Tsafendas that this test was also done by the Clinical Psychologist representing the State but I do not think that the learning which took place by repeating the test can invalidate or change the basic pattern significantly."

DR. PETER LAMBLEY REGARDING VAN ZYL'S IQ TESTS

Dr. Peter Lambley, a British psychologist and author of the acclaimed *The Psychology of Apartheid*,²⁸⁸⁸ had worked in the 1970s in South Africa and for some time was colleague of both Dr. Cooper and Mr. van Zyl. The following is an extract from his book about van Zyl's

²⁸⁸⁸ Dr. Lambley's *The Psychology of Apartheid* (1980) was very well received on the time of its publication and was published by The University of Georgia Press. In addition, the foreword of the book is written by Antony Storr, one of the leading psychiatrists of the previous century and Britain's most literate psychiatrist (Anthony Stevens, 'Antony Storr Obituary', *The Guardian*, 20 March 2001).

test:

“The evidence from the IQ testing indicated a temporal impairment - shown by only two low scores out of ten (of z=85) - rather than a major impairment of functioning. Truly hebephrenic schizophrenics show the reverse: impairment on all but one or two tests. Tsafendas’s scores showed him to be withdrawn and cut off - interpreted in court as schizophrenia - but not demented in anything like the degree claimed. Anyone, in fact any normal-neurotic person in the same frightful and shocking situation, would show the same kind of fall-off in performance. If you took Tsafendas’s IQ test results (ten sub-tests) and asked a clinician to evaluate them blind - that is, without knowing who he was - they would say, and I quote: ‘Highly intelligent, creative adult male with some personality problems.’ I did, in fact, take Tsafendas’s results and gave them to other clinicians to rate blind. No one said he was schizophrenic or even severely disturbed. They noted that in some instances, his sub-test results showed an extremely high level of intellectual functioning.”²⁸⁸⁹

**TSAFENDAS, A “WITHDRAWN AND ISOLATED INDIVIDUAL” WITH
“LACK OF HUMAN REACTION”**

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Now you came to the Thematic Apperception Test?

VAN ZYL: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you shortly explain to the Court what the Thematic Apperception Test is, or as you call it, the T.A.T.?

VAN ZYL: It is a test consisting of a series of 20 pictures in which you ask the patient to tell you a story about each one. It represents everyday life, human situations. You ask him what is happening in the test, how he feels, what thoughts are concerned and the possible outcome of the story. And then you analyse that according to a specific training or pattern.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: From this test, what became clear?

VAN ZYL: (Witness reads R.S.C.D) “From this test it is clear to me that the usual type of psychodynamic pattern which is present in neurotic individuals is absent in Mr. Tsafendas’s record. According to the test, it is evident that there is virtually nothing in the way of meaningful interpersonal contact.”

²⁸⁸⁹ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 272-273.

JUDGE BEYERS: "Meaningful interpersonal contact." Could you tell me what that is?

VAN ZYL: The ability to relate warmly with feeling towards a fellow human being.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Give us an example?

VAN ZYL: For example, let's assume you tell somebody that your mother has just died, and he says to you: "So, she has just died" - there is no warmth in the reply.

JUDGE BEYERS: A lack of human reaction?

VAN ZYL: Lack.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What else did he show?

VAN ZYL: (Witness continues reading from R.S.C.D). "Also he shows a marked flatness and absence of feeling except for a strong statement about depression which could not be followed through at the emotional level. He also found it very difficult to project himself and identify with the test stimuli which is indicative of his being a withdrawn and isolated individual. All his test responses were dull and without drive to complete or follow them through. This is indicative of a lack of volition and an element of depression. His whole approach to the test was vague and unsure and he found it very difficult to think constructively and in accordance with his measured I.Q. about the test stimuli. It was quite an effort for me to get him to complete his responses according to my instructions. Without fail, I had to ask him about emotions concerned. On this inquiry, he never gave me a satisfactory answer."

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In view of his difficulty to make reasonable and meaningful contact, what diagnosis did you make?

VAN ZYL: That I would say is a schizophrenic symptom, but of course, the diagnosis does not rest only on this one symptom.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you give us your conclusion then at the top of page 4?

VAN ZYL: (Witness reads R.S.C.'D'). "In view of this individual's difficulty to make reasonable and meaningful contact with the outside world and his disorder of intelligence, emotions and volition, I am making the diagnosis of schizophrenia on this test."

COMMENTS ON VAN ZYL’S ABOVE TESTIMONY

TSAFENDAS BEING A “WITHDRAWN AND ISOLATED INDIVIDUAL”

Van Zyl also characterised Tsafendas as a “withdrawn and isolated individual,” which he described as a symptom of schizophrenia. Many witnesses testified to the contrary, Tsafendas was sociable, friendly and open, since he was a child. The most telling evidence that Tsafendas was neither withdrawn nor isolated comes from the following two incidents:

Guenther Haafe, doorman at the Frankfurt factory where Tsafendas worked for six weeks in 1958. Eight years later, after the assassination, he still remembered the jovial greeting which Tsafendas gave him every morning and said about him: “He was a jolly man, always smiling and friendly. He would almost always come into my locker (room) to say Hi. He was really one of the friendliest workers I have met and trust me, in my twelve years as a doorman I have seen thousands and thousands of faces coming in and out; this man was courteous, they do not make them like that anymore.” Horst Hartmann, Tsafendas’s boss at that job, said Tsafendas was “well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous ... a very pleasant man. He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman ... we liked him ... always laughing, a good worker.”²⁸⁹⁰

While in Beira in 1964, Tsafendas attended the wedding of Vittorio, an Italian friend and fellow Communist, probably from Naples, who was working with him at the time. As the celebrations proceeded, Tsafendas rose from his chair and raised his glass. Everyone thought he was about to deliver a speech. He did indeed deliver a very short speech wishing the newly-weds well, but then, in a ringing baritone, he launched passionately into an Italian Communist song. Most of the Greeks among the guests were speechless, but Vittorio and his Italian friends joined in eagerly, clapping and rhythmically pounding the table with their fists or spoons. When he finished he received huge applause and Vittorio and some of his friends called for another song. Tsafendas obliged with a second Italian Communist anthem and again many guests joined him.²⁸⁹¹

Furthermore:

- Albert Vercueil, Tsafendas’s boss at F.A. Poole Engineering for five months found him to

²⁸⁹⁰ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, ‘The Assassin’, 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966; *The Daily News*, ‘Tsafendas Seen As ‘Mystery Man’’, 8 September 1966: 17.

²⁸⁹¹ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

be a “very friendly, social and talkative person.”²⁸⁹²

- Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden, who worked alongside Tsafendas for about three months at the Marine Diamond Corporation, testified that “he was friendly, outgoing, and was not aloof.”²⁸⁹³
- Owen Smorenberg, who worked with him for five-six weeks, testified that “Tsafendas was very talkative and gave the impression that he was very friendly. He wanted to talk to everybody and it became known to me that he was able to speak different languages.”²⁸⁹⁴
- An unnamed “respected member of the Press gallery” in the House of Assembly “who knew Tsafendas well” spoke to René MacColl, *Daily Express*’s chief foreign correspondent, about Tsafendas. He told him that “far from being a withdrawn sort of man, he seemed to be intent on impressing his personality on one. There was always the big smile, the ready chat and an almost obsessive intention to make you remember him. There couldn’t have been a less grey or faceless figure.”²⁸⁹⁵
- J. Willemse was Tsafendas’s landlord for one month in 1965. He characterised him as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.”²⁸⁹⁶
- Keith Martincich who worked with him at the Marine Diamond Corporation testified that Tsafendas “spoke to me every day and I got the impression that he was sociable type.”²⁸⁹⁷
- Hulse, who worked with him at the Marine Diamond Corporation for nine or ten weeks said “Tsafendas was very talkative.”²⁸⁹⁸
- William Mare Volbrecht, Tsafendas’s school mate at the English Medium Primary School in Middleburg, testified to the police that he was “never a loner and freely mingled with us.”²⁸⁹⁹ His half-sister, Katerina Pnema,²⁹⁰⁰ Mary Eintracht his first cousin who grew up

²⁸⁹² Albert Vercual statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸⁹³ Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸⁹⁴ Owen Smorenburg statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 oor Stafendas. NASA.

²⁸⁹⁵ *Daily Express*, ‘Was It Murder Incorporated?’, 9 September 1966: 2.

²⁸⁹⁶ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

²⁸⁹⁷ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁸⁹⁸ Hulse statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; The edge of the document was not copied, so the word is missing.

²⁸⁹⁹ William Mare Volbrecht statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Verklaring deur Majdor Venter. NASA.

²⁹⁰⁰ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

with him in Egypt and Lourenço Marques,²⁹⁰¹ and Ira Kyriakakis, Helen Grispos and Andreas Babiolakis, who also grew up with him, confirmed Volbrecht’s statement and said Tsafendas was also very talkative since he was a child.²⁹⁰²

- Johannes Aurets, Tsafendas’s supervisor at the South African Railways, told the police Tsafendas “was a well-mannered and well-spoken person. He associated with those working with him. He was soft-spoken and appeared to be of a good nature.”²⁹⁰³
- Colleagues at Durban Magistrate’s Court described him as the “chatty Greek.”²⁹⁰⁴
- Ian Boswell, a clerk at the Department of Labour, testified that Tsafendas was “over-talkative.”²⁹⁰⁵
- Pieter Geldenhuys, also of the Department of Labour, testified that “he was very talkative.”²⁹⁰⁶
- Jacobus Bornman, Tsafendas’s flatmate for two months, characterise him as “a friendly and plausible person.”²⁹⁰⁷
- August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be “very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease.”²⁹⁰⁸
- Reginald Maile, guard on the *Eleni*, testified that Tsafendas was “on very friendly relations with the crew.”²⁹⁰⁹

²⁹⁰¹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

²⁹⁰² Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

²⁹⁰³ Johannes Jaonus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁹⁰⁴ *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Algumas Versoes Sobre A Vida de Tsafendas’, 8 September 1966.

²⁹⁰⁵ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

²⁹⁰⁶ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

²⁹⁰⁷ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁹⁰⁸ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁹⁰⁹ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

- Neville Judson, who worked with him for two months, testified to the police that Tsafendas had “a very friendly way of talking.”²⁹¹⁰ He later said that Tsafendas was “overly talkative and sociable.”²⁹¹¹
- Michaelis Augustides, Tsafendas’s employer for two months, also found him to be “overly talkative and sociable.”²⁹¹²
- Tsafendas made a “good impression” on his colleagues in Frankfurt; they said he was “always smiling” and characterized him as being “very kind”, “a nice guy” and a “good comrade.”²⁹¹³
- Jose Lopez Baltazar, a fireman in Beira, testified that “when Tsafendas was in the presence of whites, he said little or nothing, but was friendly and talkative with the Bantu.”²⁹¹⁴
- Peter Pappas, whose café in Durban Tsafendas often visited, characterised him as “pleasant.” He also stated that Tsafendas “was friendly with white down-and-outs and when he had some money he would give them a few cents.”²⁹¹⁵

Having seen the above evidence, van Zyl admitted that it was “very contradictory” to his diagnosis, and that the picture of Tsafendas that emerges from it is completely different to his diagnosis and to the person he examined. “This is clearly a completely different person, no question about it,” he said. Asked whether it was possible that this aspect of his diagnosis was wrong, van Zyl conceded that it was “very possible, it looks this way, I do not know what to say. These statements were not given to us [back then].” He concluded that his diagnosis would have “definitely” been different if he had been in possession of this evidence at the time.²⁹¹⁶

It should also be noted that in addition to the witnesses named above, van Zyl’s diagnosis of Tsafendas as withdrawn and isolated is rebutted by the seventy-one witnesses

²⁹¹⁰ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

²⁹¹¹ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 241.

²⁹¹² Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 241.

²⁹¹³ PIDE’s News Digest; *Le Courrier d’Afrique*, ‘Em Torno Do Assassinado do Primeiro Ministro Sulaficano; Versoes Contraditorias Circulam Sobre A Personalidade Do Assassino’, 9 September 1966: 1. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

²⁹¹⁴ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

²⁹¹⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend’, 14 September 1966.

²⁹¹⁶ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 9 January 2017.

interviewed by the author, who saw him as friendly, sociable and talkative. Their individual testimonies will not be listed for reasons of space, but the author will note two of them as representative of the general opinion. Father Nikola Banovic described Tsafendas as “one of the most sociable persons I ever met. He would always go and introduce himself to people he did not know in the church. He was not shy at all to speak to someone.”²⁹¹⁷ Katerina Pnema also disagreed with van Zyl’s comment, repeating to the author that her half-brother “could not keep his mouth shut for anything.”²⁹¹⁸ Allan O’Ryan said of Tsafendas:

“He greeted ... if he didn’t greet you, it would have been because he was in a hurry or something like that. But he was not someone to get involved just with anybody. And even the people in the street got to know him and greeted him as a man of... you know, as a distinguished gentleman, because of the way he dressed. He greeted everybody. And even the people around... we lived in an area where there were gangsters and people like that – they all showed him respect.”²⁹¹⁹

Fotini Gavasiadis told the author:

“Dimitris a withdrawn and isolated individual? You are making me laugh! He was the most outspoken and sociable person I ever met. He will speak to everyone, he was not shy at all. Some people when they see someone in the street they know and they can’t be bothered talking to him, they will pretend they have not seen him. Dimitris was the opposite; even if he saw someone who was far, he will shout to him to stop and talk to him.”²⁹²⁰

TSAFENDAS’S “LACK OF HUMAN REACTION”

According to van Zyl, Tsafendas showed a “lack of human reaction” to the tests he carried on him and there was “no warmth” in his reply. Examples of compassionate actions in Tsafendas’s past would give the mistake to this diagnosis. Tsafendas cried like a baby in front of his relatives upon reading in a letter that Elena, Father Nikola Banovic’s twelve-year old daughter, had drowned in Turkey. He lost his appetite and ate almost nothing for several days.²⁹²¹ While he was in custody for the assassination, he begged the police to let him keep

²⁹¹⁷ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²⁹¹⁸ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁹¹⁹ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

²⁹²⁰ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

²⁹²¹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

her photograph, but the police took it and he never saw it again. Even thirty years later, Tsafendas would weep when talking about the drowned girl.²⁹²²

As to an absence of feeling, Tsafendas is on record as deeply mourning his father and birth mother, constantly writing to family and friends, lending money and giving handouts to poor people. He was devastated when he learned that his step-mother was not his real mother and that his real mother had died.²⁹²³ Upon returning to Mozambique after twelve years in exile, Tsafendas desperately sought for information about his mother and for the location of her grave.²⁹²⁴ Later, when he was back in Pretoria, the first thing he did was to visit his father’s grave. For nine months until he left, he would visit it at least once a week, tidying it, leaving flowers and lighting a candle. He often complained to his step-mother that she was not looking after the grave site properly.²⁹²⁵

²⁹²² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁹²³ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

²⁹²⁴ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

²⁹²⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015.

Furthermore, Tsafendas always carried photographs of his family in his wallet and he sent them letters with pictures and postcards from wherever he travelled.²⁹²⁶ He also sent postcards to his close friends and thank you cards to those who had helped him, like Aris Tsafantakis' parents in Crete²⁹²⁷ and Father Nikola Banovic in Istanbul.²⁹²⁸ He lent money to his flatmate John Bornman and refused to take the repayment,²⁹²⁹ he gave money to poor Whites in Durban,²⁹³⁰ he defended two Black South African workers who were cheated by his colleague Nick Vergos,²⁹³¹ he helped a poor Indian man to build a room in his house,²⁹³² he brought food to the O'Ryan house and gave money to Allan O'Ryan for his bus fare to school.²⁹³³

The fact that Tsafendas did not show much interest in van Zyl's tests had nothing to do with his intellect or emotions. Tsafendas twice clearly told the police that he did not care about what would happen to him and he expected to be executed. Therefore, why would he care about IQ or Digital Symbol Substitution tests? What is more, Tsafendas had already done exactly the same tests when he was examined by Erasmus two weeks previously, which could have been another reason for him to not have bothered going through exactly the same things again.

Finally, by the time Tsafendas took these tests, he must have known that he was going to be found insane, since he had already been examined by five psychiatrists. Being experienced with psychiatrists and aware that the authorities wanted him declared insane, why would he bother with yet more tests, which, some thirty years later, he characterised as "childish stuff"?²⁹³⁴

THE RORSCHACH PERSONALITY TEST

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Then you did the Rorschach Personality Test?

²⁹²⁶ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

²⁹²⁷ Aris Tsafantakis in a personal interview, 13 April 2016.

²⁹²⁸ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²⁹²⁹ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁹³⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend', 14 September 1966.

²⁹³¹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 5 August 2011; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

²⁹³² Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal intergiew with the author, 30 January 2015.

²⁹³³ Allan O' Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

²⁹³⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

VAN ZYL: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The Court knows, but I think for the record would you just shortly explain to the Court what the Rorschach Personality Test is?

JUDGE BEYERS: This part of the Court does not know.

VAN ZYL: It is a series of ten standardized ink blots which is shown the patient.

JUDGE BEYERS: Modern paintings?

VAN ZYL: Almost, which you show the patient and then he responds to it. You know, when you ask him what it looks like or what it reminds him of, or what it could possibly represent.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: On the Rorschach Test, Tsafendas showed?

VAN ZYL: On the Rorschach Test Mr. Tsafendas showed some typical signs of schizophrenia. They were the following: Arbitrary variation in form accuracy with decrease in F +.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is F + ?

VAN ZYL: It is an inability to see something in the ink blot which could be equated reasonably accurately with something commonly known to all of us.

JUDGE BEYERS: You mean if most of us sitting here saw that ink blot we'd see some resemblance to some ordinary object which we know, and he failed to do so?

VAN ZYL: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Proceed further?

VAN ZYL: (Witness reads R.S.C.D), W responses of poor quality.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What are W responses?

VAN ZYL: That is, if the patient only uses the whole of the ink blot and not part of the ink blot, but the response that he gives is of poor quality again in resembling something reasonably well-known.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the next observation?

VAN ZYL: (Witness reads R.S.C.D). Bizarre and unusual detail.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What do you mean by "Bizarre and unusual detail"?

VAN ZYL: May I give you an example?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Certainly, give the Court an example?

VAN ZYL: One of the ink blots that I showed him, he said: “I see a leg, but there has been a considerable amount of atrophy. It may be a rat’s leg or a rabbit’s leg, but I am not quite sure what species it belongs to, but there has been a considerable amount of atrophy,” so really, a jumbled lot of nonsense.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The next observation?

VAN ZYL: (Witness reads R.S.C.D). F C virtually absent. Which means that he cannot give form to colour, and in psychodynamic terms it means he is not able to control his feelings adequately.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: As regards Colour naming?

VAN ZYL: Colour naming is of the same order as F C. It is related to that. For instance, you show him a red ink blot, and then he’d say this is just red. Whereas usually a person says: “It is a red butterfly or a red dragon” or whatever the case may be.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Blocking?

VAN ZYL: Blocking is the inability

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did you find?

VAN ZYL: That he did not answer to one of the cards. He could find nothing in it.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: So that is described as “blocking”?

VAN ZYL: That is blocking, yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What else did you find?

VAN ZYL: Original responses of poor form level. For example, he said that he saw the face of a man in a position that I have never come across before on the ink blot. It was part of the small detail of the blot and he showed me eyes where I couldn’t possibly see eyes, and a nose and a mouth which were just not there.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Now we come to Undifferentiated shading.

VAN ZYL: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You found that?

VAN ZYL: Yes, I found that.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What do you mean by Undifferentiated shading?

VAN ZYL: That is if the patient sees shading in a very vague and non-specific way.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did you find further?

VAN ZYL: Queer specifications (which is considered to be extremely important in the diagnosis of schizophrenia).

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What do you mean by Queer specifications?

VAN ZYL: For example, the patients would say that: "I see a peculiar shape which may be a bat, which may be a bird, but of course I cannot say which species of bird or which species of bat." And then deriding his own responses as he goes along, saying that it is a very poor performance.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You say he derides his own response?

VAN ZYL: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What else did you find?

VAN ZYL: Then Description, which is when the patient describes the ink blot in terms of its outline only, not saying that it is an island, or something like that, but "Here the line goes up, and there it goes down, and it goes in a circle", so describing the outline of the ink blot without giving its real meaning,

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What else did you find?

VAN ZYL: The Perseveration, which is that he carried on in his mind with the same thought or the same response all the time on one ink blot, and he also carries it over to the second one, perhaps.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You have given us these various findings. Would you continue with your report now?

VAN ZYL: (Witness reads R.S.C.D) "This in itself is probably meaningless to even a psychiatrist, but the interpretation of all this means very poor human contact, lack of self-control, emotional flatness, disturbance of intellect, and a general disintegration of the ego. From this I feel that the diagnosis of schizophrenia can safely be made."

COMMENTS ON VAN ZYL'S RORSCHACH PERSONALITY TEST ON TSAFENDAS

According to van Zyl's interpretation of the tests, Tsafendas had "very poor human contact," a diagnosis which, as we have already seen, was diametrically opposed to the opinions of people who knew him. That Tsafendas derided his own efforts suggests he was simply not interested, but van Zyl concludes that a diagnosis of schizophrenia can safely be made. However, van Zyl later admitted in a personal interview with the author that all the statements given to the police by people who knew Tsafendas, along with Tsafendas's own two statements found in the archives, portrayed a completely different man from the one he examined.²⁹³⁵

Furthermore, Dr. Peter Lambley, who had worked with van Zyl stated that he was inexperienced and not formally trained in the Rorschach test procedure. He wrote that:

"[Van Zyl] could not formally score an ink blot protocol, his grasp of psychotic signs was superficial, and he was unfamiliar with the research literature pertaining to Rorschach scores and schizophrenia, then, as now, still in its infancy. Examination of Tsafendas's responses and the interpretations given in court clearly showed that the testers were inexperienced. One clear example: Tsafendas saw a leg on one of the ink blot cards but was not sure if it was a rat's leg or a rabbit's. This very example was used in court to substantiate his schizophrenic diagnosis: ... such jumbled and nonsensical reactions are typical of schizophrenia which typically includes bizarre or unusual detail . . .

This statement comes out of a text book and the statement is true, but the example is not. It is not unusual to get this kind of response in intelligent adults; what the examiner was confusing in this instance was the confabulatory response category into which he thought Tsafendas's 'Leg' response fell, which it did not. This kind of loose and often inaccurate reflection marked the psychological analysis presented in court."²⁹³⁶

Van Zyl told the author that although they worked together, Dr. Lambley never spoke to him. He stated that Lambley was "talking nonsense ... just absolute bloody nonsense," but admitted that he was inexperienced and not fully acquainted with the Rorschach literature, and that he was better with the Thematic Apperception Test:

"I don't think, then and now in particular... I'm no great Rorschach expert, where the guys do a Ph.D. in Rorschach, and that's the only thing they pursue all throughout their careers. I'm nowhere in that league. But certainly the symptoms were there. I'm kind of

²⁹³⁵ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

²⁹³⁶ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 239.

averagely capable as far as the Rorschach is concerned. I'm more capable in other things."²⁹³⁷

As For the Rorschach literature, van Zyl said:

“Well, you know, I'm fairly familiar. I've read books about it, and research articles and so on and I have a fair knowledge. But to say that I am totally familiar or unfamiliar, or that I was ever asked in court about research and records, it simply didn't happen.”²⁹³⁸

²⁹³⁷ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

²⁹³⁸ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

Nevertheless, although van Zyl was inexperienced and not an expert on the Rorschach test, he was never challenged and his findings were simply accepted. Finally, according to Professor Alban Burke:

“Whether the interpretation was right or wrong, the Rorschach ink blot test was never a scientific tool, it was mainly a projective test, and, as in psychology, there are many approaches to things. So by saying it was incorrect, you could also say, ‘it was not the way I would have done it,’ so whether it was correct or incorrect doesn’t really matter. The fact is that those tests and the interpretation of those tests, were always open to interpretation. You could have done it, come to me with the results, and I would have looked at the same results and I would have come up with a different conclusion, so whether it was done correctly or incorrectly, is neither here nor there. The test could, at most, say that there is a possibility of schizophrenia, at the very most, but you could never make an accurate diagnosis. There are people who would argue that you could, but you could never make an accurate diagnosis of schizophrenia based on that test, or on any test for that matter...

I still think that your best instrument for making a diagnosis like this is what the people around you say, and your assessment of the functioning of the person; that gives you the best idea. The psychological tests would confirm what you have picked up, so what you would always have with any kind of diagnostic assessment is, you would have your observations of the patient, the information you get from the people around, and your psychological tests, and then you pick up themes. If you pick up the same themes in those three areas, then you say, ‘this is the diagnosis.’ If it’s only in one of those areas, you can’t confirm the diagnosis until you’ve got some kind of confirmation from other areas, as well, so it’s a weak way of making a diagnosis.”²⁹³⁹

VAN ZYL’S GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON TSAFENDAS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What were your observations?

VAN ZYL: (Witness reads R.S.C.D). “In talking to Mr. Tsafendas, I got the impression that he was vague in thinking and difficult to communicate with at a personal level. I felt that he was in a world of his own. In his talk, he was circumstantial and often went off the point. His thoughts were constantly blocking and he was very poor in abstract thinking such as when asking him to explain the meaning of the idiom – ‘A stitch in time saves nine.’ He said, by

²⁹³⁹ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

the way, that it is a labour-saving device. His emotions were flat and sometimes incongruous. He also grimaced and made rocking (stereotyped) movements with his head and had great difficulty in expressing himself. On both occasions when I visited him, he was lying on his bed presumably asleep or just doing nothing and was slow in his movements.

JUDGE BEYERS: Explain to me the use of the word “stereotyped” there, with the rocking movements. What does it mean? Was it a movement like any other movement or was it stereotyped to a certain condition? It can mean two things there. Do you mean every movement was like every other one?

VAN ZYL: Yes.

DC (Cont.): Now, your comment on the interview?

VAN ZYL: (Witness reads R.S.C.D). “My function and my reason for seeing Mr. Tsafendas was mainly to test him and not so much to interview him. I did, however, ask him about the tapeworm which he had told Dr. Cooper about. I communicated with Dr. Cooper very briefly with the consent of Mr. D. Bloomberg. Mr. Tsafendas jumped at the opportunity to tell me about this and came back to this topic every now and then throughout both interviews. He told me that he began suffering from this during 1936 and since then his whole existence had centred round the tapeworm. He has constantly got to eat to keep the tapeworm happy, otherwise it pricks him on certain nerve centres in his stomach or makes a noise which he can feel inside himself. The result of all this is that he had become withdrawn and lived only to eat and to sleep.

Apparently he had X-rays taken and consulted many people about his tapeworm. He had taken an interest in this to the extent that he knows about a machine which the Japanese invented to show up foreign bodies in the abdomen, stating that there is such a machine at the Queen Mother Maternity Hospital in Glasgow. According to him, the Americans have a similar invention. He also stated that the doctors only sent him to psychiatrists about this and that they had then given him shock treatment and not investigated his tapeworm condition any further. It appears as if this has been a long-standing delusion. He told me that he thought the tapeworm had a lot to do with his alleged attack on the late Dr. Verwoerd. This apparently has brought him into conflict with other people before. He was, however, very vague about it and could not explain the direct relationship in any other way than saying that it makes him impulsive. He also appeared to have no strong feelings about being in gaol or about his alleged attack on the late Dr. Verwoerd.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Now the discussion?

VAN ZYL: (Witness reads R.S.C.D). “From the above tests, observations and interview, it is quite clear to me that this man is suffering from schizophrenia. His schizophrenia to me is not as absolutely florid as one sometimes sees it in Mental Hospitals, but taken into account his high intelligence, this is not very surprising because often a schizophrenic can contain his illness to a certain extent by virtue of his intelligence, and they achieve much less than can be expected of them by virtue of their intellect. This, I think, is the case with Mr. Tsafendas.

COMMENTS ON VAN ZYL’S GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON TSAFENDAS

The issue of the tapeworm has already been examined, so it will not be discussed again. According to van Zyl’s testimony in the court, Tsafendas “has constantly got to eat to keep the tapeworm happy.” It is true that he ate a lot, but he never attributed it to the tapeworm. In addition, van Zyl claimed that Tsafendas “had become withdrawn and lived only to eat and to sleep.” This is perhaps the least accurate statement in van Zyl’s diagnosis. Tsafendas:

- while in Mozambique, he “was on two occasions suspected of dedicating himself to communistic activities.”
- voluntarily joined the military wing of the Greek Communist Party during the Greek Civil War;
- had voluntarily taught English to Greek and Turkish children in Istanbul and in Mozambique;
- had joined the British anti-apartheid movement and took part in several anti-apartheid and anti-fascist demonstrations in London;
- was arrested and imprisoned twice in Mozambique because he was “advertising in favour of Mozambique’s independence”;
- was arrested and imprisoned twice in Portugal due to his political ideas and activities in Mozambique;
- was willing to do “anything that would get the South African regime out of power”;
- was exiled for twelve years from Mozambique due to his political ideas and activities;
- took visitors in South Africa to a township in Cape Town to show them the hardships of apartheid and convince them to not spend any money in the country because, he said, they would be contributing to apartheid’s economy;
- was saving money to go and live in Cuba, which he had named as his preferred

destination because of the political situation there.

When presented with this list, van Zyl agreed that a person involved in such activities as these is not someone who “just eats and sleeps.”²⁹⁴⁰

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL’S ASSISTANT

BRUNETTE: I would like to just clarify a few points on your findings.

VAN ZYL: Yes.

BRUNETTE: With regard to the Wechsler Bellevue Test, I note that the highest score that you noted was the one for “Picture Arrangement.”

VAN ZYL: Yes.

BRUNETTE: That is a test into his social insight, is that so?

VAN ZYL: I feel it can be viewed as that. I have not come across it in the literature, that it is definitely termed to be social insight, certainly not in the new standardization of the Wechsler Bellevue Test.

BRUNETTE: Isn’t that score of 15.5 for “Picture Arrangement” inconsistent with a person who has been a schizophrenic for about 20 years, or a long period?

VAN ZYL: No.

BRUNETTE: Why do you say so?

VAN ZYL: It is not only social insight that counts. It is also intelligence that counts, and I do not think that that particular sub-section of the test really tests social insight.

BRUNETTE: But is it consistent or inconsistent with schizophrenia of long-standing?

VAN ZYL: I’d say that it is somewhat inconsistent.

BRUNETTE: To what extent do you say it is inconsistent?

VAN ZYL: That it is surprising to find this.

JUDGE BEYERS: Does it mean that by this time you would have expected that activity to deteriorate further than it has?

²⁹⁴⁰ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 9 January 2017.

VAN ZYL: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: Is that the correct way of putting it?

VAN ZYL: Yes.

BRUNETTE: Does that also fit in with your finding that he was not a florid schizophrenic?

VAN ZYL: May I explain what I mean by the word florid?

BRUNETTE: Yes?

VAN ZYL: The type of schizophrenic that you find in the mental hospital, listening to voices and seeing things and being completely withdrawn and isolated and completely incapable of caring for himself, even to a small extent.

BRUNETTE: He was not that type?

VAN ZYL: No.

BRUNETTE: He was a type that was capable of looking after himself to a certain extent?

VAN ZYL: To a certain extent, yes. That is correct.

BRUNETTE: I see also that his arithmetic score was not very high. Would you say he was capable of looking after his money and running a banking account?

VAN ZYL: Yes, I would say so.

BRUNETTE: On the Rorschach Test, you said that you found blocking of his thought processes in that he did not react to one card.

VAN ZYL: That is correct.

BRUNETTE: Why do you say that that was blocking?

VAN ZYL: This is commonly accepted in the literature on the Rorschach technique that this is blocking.

BRUNETTE: Could it also be caused by anxiety?

VAN ZYL: It could be but I didn't think Mr. Tsafendas was anxious at all.

BRUNETTE: You said that a repetition of these tests would not make any difference, but surely, by repeating them he must learn to perform and to react to the test?

VAN ZYL: I didn't say on the Wechsler Bellevue that it made no difference. I said that it would make no difference to the particular pattern, and if he had learned to perform he would

only have done better on the tests instead of giving an even poorer performance.

BRUNETTE: Did you make any allowance for the fact that he may have learned some of these tests before?

VAN ZYL: No, I did not.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS BY THE ASSISTANT OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

JUDGE BEYERS: I assume you know something about the contents of the 1916 Act on Mental Disabilities?

VAN ZYL: Unfortunately, not very much. I shall explain my situation: As a clinical psychologist one is not legally permitted to certify a patient.

JUDGE BEYERS: I understand. I now need to ask for your confirmation that schizophrenia is definitely a mental disability in terms of the law?

VAN ZYL: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: Should you now interview this man as you had previously done – and I expect a responsible answer – would you have certified him if it were part of your duties? Does he need to be certified according to the Act?

VAN ZYL: If I had just performed the tests on him and had known nothing about his previous impulsive acts and so on, then I should not have certified him. He seems to be such a harmless person.

JUDGE BEYERS: If you had only the clinical tests?

VAN ZYL: Yes, then I would not have done so.

JUDGE BEYERS: At this moment, if I had to transfer my responsibility to you, would you certify him?

VAN ZYL: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: What has happened since your tests that you are now satisfied to certify him?

VAN ZYL: I have heard of the history of his impulsive actions and behaviour.

JUDGE BEYERS: Can you state that your tests, taken against the background and history about which you have learned, that you would consider certifying such a person?

VAN ZYL: Yes, definitely.

JUDGE BEYERS: Does the history to which you refer include the murder of the Prime Minister?

VAN ZYL: No.

JUDGE BEYERS: Would his background without that knowledge, in your opinion, lead you to certify him?

VAN ZYL: Yes.

COMMENTS ON THE CROSS-EXAMINATION

Van Zyl stated that he would not have certified Tsafendas based on the tests if he was not aware of his previous “impulsive actions and behaviour.” However, in a personal interview with the author, van Zyl stated that he would not have certified him if he had seen the statements made by the people who were questioned by the police. He also admitted to the author that if he had seen these statements before he examined Tsafendas, his final diagnosis would have been different, “Yes. Look, obviously that is important information, and information that influences one’s findings in the end. There is no doubt about it.”²⁹⁴¹

Furthermore, van Zyl stated in the cross-examination that he “heard of the history of his impulsive actions and behaviour,” but this behaviour was not evident during his examination where Tsafendas seemed like “such a harmless person.” van Zyl told the author that he was told about Tsafendas’s “impulsive” behaviour by David Bloomberg and the other psychiatrists, mainly by Dr. Cooper who was a good friend. However, none of these psychiatrists had personally witnessed any impulsive behaviour by Tsafendas; they were simply told about it verbally by his defence team.²⁹⁴²

²⁹⁴¹ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

²⁹⁴² Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

Van Zyl also admitted to the author that he was told by the police and the defence lawyers that Tsafendas was “a straightforward case of a schizophrenic”. Furthermore, he given Tsafendas’s medical record in an oral summary by Tsafendas’s lawyers and never actually saw any such reports; he accepted that the procedure followed during the examination was not appropriate and would not have carried much weight in a South African court today as it was not supported by any Third-Party Information. He said:

“We were told, or I was told – the group of guys that examined him – that he had been in various mental hospitals all over the world... Yes. Well, you know, we were given this information – that he was a disturbed, schizophrenic man. And that was the background that we had available, and nothing else. The third part [the medical reports] was given to us almost in summary. He has been to this hospital, that hospital, that hospital... I think three or four were mentioned – various hospitals overseas.”²⁹⁴³

Again, statements gathered by the South African police from people who knew Tsafendas and could challenge and contradict van Zyl’s diagnosis were not used. The only brief challenge came when van Zyl was forced to admit that Tsafendas 15.5 score for “Picture Arrangement” is somewhat inconsistent with a person who has been a schizophrenic for about twenty years or a long period.

VAN ZYL’S ADMISSIONS

Van Zyl concluded during his testimony in the court that his tests definitely showed that Tsafendas was “suffering from schizophrenia,” adding that he was very intelligent, above average. Van Zyl told the author that at the time he “firmly believed he [Tsafendas] was schizophrenic.” However, van Zyl also conceded in a personal interview that he reached this decision based on what he was told about Tsafendas’s past by the defence lawyers and on what Tsafendas told him, without looking at any of his medical reports or talking to people who knew him. He also admitted that he was inexperienced with some of the tests he conducted, though no one questioned this at the time.²⁹⁴⁴

Van Zyl conceded to the author that the witnesses’ statements about Tsafendas and Tsafendas’s own two statements to the police showed a completely different man from the one he and the other psychiatrists examined. He also accepted that in these statements, there

²⁹⁴³ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

²⁹⁴⁴ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

was no indication of Tsafendas suffering from schizophrenia. He felt that for Tsafendas to have been evaluated properly, all this evidence should have been given to those who examined him. Van Zyl admitted that “yes, sure ... it should have been given, yes ... Of course they were important. Look, obviously that is important information, and information that influences one’s findings in the end. There is no doubt about it.”²⁹⁴⁵

Van Zyl admitted to the author that aspects of his diagnosis, as well as at least some aspects of the diagnoses by the other psychiatrists, “appear to have been wrong” as they are “very contradictory” to the picture of Tsafendas which emerges from the evidence that the police had gathered at the time.²⁹⁴⁶ He also told the author:

“Well, you know, *these* statements are very contradictory to the information that I worked on ... You know, I agree with you. The information that you have given me is very different from what my findings were at the time, and the findings of the other experts. Why these documents weren’t made available to us, as experts [I do not know] ...”²⁹⁴⁷

Asked by the author if he thought that the police deliberately did not give this evidence to them in order to conceal Tsafendas’s political motivation, van Zyl replied, “Well, obviously, obviously”, and admitted that this seems to be “the only logical reason as to why the police withheld the information”.²⁹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, although van Zyl admitted that at least some aspects of his diagnosis “appear to have been wrong”, that the evidence the police had in its possession was “very contradictory” to his diagnosis and that it showed with “no question” a “completely different” Tsafendas from the one he examined, he refused to admit that his overall diagnosis was inaccurate. He told the author that in order to correctly determine whether his initial diagnosis was accurate or not, he would have needed to examine Tsafendas again, this time taking into account the evidence he did not have in his possession in 1966. He also added that he believes that Tsafendas must have had some “fairly gross personal instability” because of the way he killed Dr. Verwoerd, “in an amateurish way” without an escape plan.²⁹⁴⁹ He said:

“With this new information, I’m beginning to think that he was a guy with, at least, fairly gross personal instability. And I wouldn’t have been surprised that, within that context, he would develop schizophrenic symptomatology, as a consequence of this. But what I didn’t

²⁹⁴⁵ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

²⁹⁴⁶ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

²⁹⁴⁷ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

²⁹⁴⁸ Reyner van Zyl in personal interviews on 10 April 2016 and on 9 January 2017.

²⁹⁴⁹ Reyner van Zyl in personal interviews on 10 April 2016 and on 9 January 2017.

know about was his political involvement, as reported. [Tsafendas appears to have been] an unstable individual, with a particular political view, clearly, as stated there; who acted, in my opinion, beyond the scope of reality; and who may have been suffering psychotic episodes of schizophrenia from time to time.”²⁹⁵⁰

Van Zyl believes that a schizophrenic could be politically involved and could kill someone for political reasons: “Oh, he can kill him for political reasons, but to do something that is so outrageous, and so amateurishly planned, with a knife, in the middle of Parliament is ridiculous. A real assassin doesn’t work like that.” Van Zyl considers that a man of Tsafendas’s intelligence “should have planned better.” He admits, however, that Dr. Verwoerd’s assassination was “obviously” politically motivated and that a man with deep political convictions, like Tsafendas, is capable of committing such an “amateurish” act without being a schizophrenic.²⁹⁵¹

²⁹⁵⁰ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

²⁹⁵¹ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 12: JAMES JOHNSTON**INTRODUCTION**

Before we examine Johnston's testimony, it should be stated that he had testified to the police on October 6 that "I do not know Tsafendas very well and the longest discussion I had with him was for about 10 minutes at each occasion."²⁹⁵² These occasions were just two, so a man who had spoken to Tsafendas for twenty minutes in his life was asked to testify in the court about him, while Tsafendas's family and people who knew him for years or months or lived under the same roof or were neighbours were ignored. This demonstrates how stretched the defence was for witnesses to support their line. Johnston was presumably chosen because he told the police Tsafendas seemed to be "slightly unbalanced," although he did not say anything else to support the defence argument.

Johnston, Martincich and Barbeau were the three of more than two hundred witnesses questioned by the police and the Commission who commented negatively on Tsafendas's mental state. Barbeau testified that after talking to him a few times, she got the impression he "was not all there" and Martincich thought after knowing Tsafendas for two-three weeks that there "was something mentally wrong with him" because Tsafendas sometimes mumbled to himself. Johnston testified that as a result of his two ten-minute meetings, he concluded that Tsafendas was "slightly unbalanced and that he seemed to have a mysterious background but otherwise he appeared to be all-right."²⁹⁵³

²⁹⁵² James Johnston statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁹⁵³ James Johnston statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Both Johnston and Barbeau were members of the Christian Church. Merle Daniels, also a member of the church, had admitted the previous day under cross-examination at the summary trial she “would like to protect the name of the Christian Church.” Many of the Church’s law-abiding members were interviewed by the police²⁹⁵⁴ and felt deeply embarrassed to be so questioned, as well as endure the publicity shone on the Church by Tsafendas’s criminal act. They felt it cast the whole of their church in a bad light and like the Greek Community in South Africa, tried to distance themselves and the Church from Tsafendas.²⁹⁵⁵ As with the majority of the Greek community, some from the Christian Church tried to portray Tsafendas as not one of them and perhaps a mad man, in order to protect their reputation. It must be more than a coincidence that the only two witnesses who testified negatively to the police about Tsafendas’s mental state were members of the Christian Church.

Tsafendas often clashed with leaders and members of the Christian Church because they advocated “the Biblical idea of subservience to a Government,” including to the governing National Party and its policy of apartheid.²⁹⁵⁶ None of the members of the Christian Church revealed this to the police, apart from Patrick O’Ryan.²⁹⁵⁷

JAMES JOHNSTON’S TESTIMONY²⁹⁵⁸

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is your occupation?

JOHNSTON: I am a minister of the Christian Church and have been in this ministry for almost 39 years. The first time I met Mr. Tsafendas was shortly after his arrival here at the Cape.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: When was that?

JOHNSTON: It was in September, I would think.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Of which year?

²⁹⁵⁴ *The Observer*, ‘Police Question S. African Sect’, 18 September 1966: 2; *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Tsafendas’s Brothers are Quizzed’, 18 September 1966: 18: 5.

²⁹⁵⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁹⁵⁶ Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013; Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁹⁵⁷ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

²⁹⁵⁸ James Johnston’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

JOHNSTON: Of last year. (Witness says he is a little hard of hearing.)

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did you come to meet Mr. Tsafendas?

JOHNSTON: I went along to see him at his home, where he was staying at Mr. Daniels's place.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Why were you called to see him?

JOHNSTON: I went to see him because I heard that he had been staying there and that he was a Greek or a Portuguese, and I went to see him chiefly in connection with his racial status.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Why did you go to see him in connection with his racial status?

JOHNSTON: I wanted to find out whether he was a white man or a Coloured man.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You were interested because he was a member of your persuasion?

JOHNSTON: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you discuss this racial position with him? Did you discuss his racial status with him?

JOHNSTON: I did, yes. I asked him whether he was a European or whether he was a Coloured man. The reason why I asked him that was because I was concerned about him being a foreigner, and if he was a Coloured man it was quite right for him to stay in a Coloured home as well as going to services in a Coloured home. But if he was a European or a white man, I would ask him to go along to services that were held in a white home.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you tell him that it was contrary to law for a Coloured man to mix in white circles, and conversely for a white man to mix in Coloured circles?

JOHNSTON: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: That was your view?

JOHNSTON: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did he react when you had this little conversation with him?

JOHNSTON: I must say that I found him rather strange or odd. He told me that he would like to classify himself as a Coloured man, but he gave no reason for it. And then he began to talk about his travels. He began to talk about his travels and the countries that he visited. And that just gave me the impression of being a strange man.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he continue to attend meetings held by Coloured members of your persuasion, or did he attend meetings of the white members of your persuasion?

JOHNSTON: Excuse me, I couldn't just catch that.

JUDGE BEYERS: Did he continue with the white people or did he continue with the Coloured people?

JOHNSTON: He continued with the Coloured people until I had further discussions with him in February of this year. Then he came along to see me at the place where I was staying, at Mr. Slater's home in Plumstead. Then he told me that he had obtained employment at the Marine Diamond Corporation. And then the discussion came up again about whether he is a white man or a Coloured man, and he produced a small bit of typewritten paper with his name and number and a "W", which showed me that he was a white man. I then asked him if he would go along to services that were held in a white home, and he said he would.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And he did?

JOHNSTON: He did, yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What kind of impression did Tsafendas make upon you?

JOHNSTON: Well, the discussions that I had with him was chiefly from a business point of view, because he wanted to find out different things. But the impression that I got of him was that he was an odd man, a strange man, because any discussion that we entered into he could never follow it fully.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did you think about his mental state?

JOHNSTON: His mental state - he didn't give me the impression that he was - he was a bit strange, and I would say just a little mentally unbalanced.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Do you remember that during the time that you knew him he received treatment for his nose?

JOHNSTON: He told me that after he had left the Marine Diamond Corporation. He came to see me on another occasion, and he told me that he was then receiving treatment for his nose and that he was staying at a convalescent home, either in Mowbray or Observatory. And then he told me that he'd be staying there for some time. I asked him whether he was going to stay there. He said he was going to make his home there, and that struck me as being odd or strange, and I didn't pursue that any further.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You have told us that he told you he was working for Marine Diamonds?

JOHNSTON: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Before he left for South West Africa, did he speak to you about it, did he ask you for names of persons?

JOHNSTON: He did. He told me that he was working for some weeks at a stretch and then he was off at weeks at a stretch also, and in the weeks that he was off he would like to visit our friends in South West Africa. But, while I had the addresses of them, I was not too keen to give it to him at all.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Why didn't you want to give him the names?

JOHNSTON: I didn't want to give him the names because he was a strange man and he was making himself more of a nuisance among the friends that he was with down here.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was he a violent man, to your knowledge?

JOHNSTON: I never saw him violent in any way.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How would you describe him?

JOHNSTON: He was always mild when he spoke to me, and whenever I advised him in any matter he took it very meekly.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You made a statement to the police, not so?

JOHNSTON: I did, yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you say this to the police: "The Sunday night before the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd I saw Tsafendas at a service in Mr. Hall's home in Pinelands, but he did not discuss anything or take part in the service that night. He appeared to be perfectly normal."?

JOHNSTON: That is correct.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You said that?

JOHNSTON: That is correct.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Then you added to this: “I must say I did not speak to him apart from saying good-night. “Did you say this: “I did think Tsafendas to be slightly unbalanced and that he seemed to have a mysterious background, but otherwise he appeared to be all right.”?”

JOHNSTON: I did say that, yes.

COMMENTS ON JOHNSTON'S TESTIMONY

Johnston stated that he got the impression that Tsafendas was a strange, odd man after hearing about his travels and the countries he visited, but did not state what was strange about it. He also does not explain what was strange about Tsafendas telling him that he was going to live in Mowbray or Observatory. Surprisingly, the Attorney-General did not find it necessary to ask. More than two hundred witnesses who testified to the police, to the Commission and to the author stated that Tsafendas often spoke about his travels; none of them found this strange.

When asked about Tsafendas's mental state, Johnston testified that he got the impression that he was an “odd man, a strange man because any discussion that we entered into he could never follow it fully ...” Johnston had not mentioned in his statement to the police anything about Tsafendas's perceived inability fully to follow a discussion. Obviously two ten-minute conversations were sufficient to give Johnston such an impression. The issue of Tsafendas's alleged inability to follow a conversation has been examined in detail in the relevant section of Dr. Cooper's testimony, so it would not be discussed again here.

The Attorney-General referred Johnston in cross-examination to his statement to the police that Tsafendas seemed to be “perfectly normal” on the evening before the assassination. Then he asked him again about his comment that “I did think Tsafendas to be slightly unbalanced and that he seemed to have a mysterious background, but otherwise he appeared to be all right.” However, he did not pursue this line of questioning and did not ask Johnston to explain his statement to the police. Nor did he ask him to explain what was so strange and odd about Tsafendas's stories about his travels. There seems little supporting evidence, therefore, that Tsafendas was “slightly unbalanced.”

Johnston testified to the police in the same statement that he had only seen Tsafendas “periodically and had no discussions with him ... I do not know Tsafendas very well and the longest discussion I had with him was for about 10 minutes at each occasion.” The third and

last time they had spoken, all they said each other was “good night.” Astonishingly, the Attorney-General, with the statement in front of him, did not ask the obvious question: How reliable could an opinion be about another person when it was formed from two ten-minute meetings with the person concerned?

CONCLUSION

This must be one of the weakest testimonies ever made to a court, clear proof of David Bloomberg's uphill struggle to find suitable witnesses to support the defence's line. A man who spoke to the accused for twenty minutes was asked for his assessment of the accused's character while people who knew him intimately, including his family, were ignored because their evidence would not support the defence line. However, the Attorney-General ignored the question of a twenty-minute character assessment and the creditability of the witness.

Johnston testified that he found Tsafendas to be odd and strange because of his stories about his travels and because he couldn't fully follow a discussion, although he did not specify what was so odd and strange about either. None of the two hundred witnesses questioned by the police, the Commission of Enquiry and the author detected this supposed oddness in Tsafendas, indeed most of them were impressed by Tsafendas's description of his travels. As to his inability to follow a conversation, this was a something only Johnston ever perceived. Notably, when he was first questioned, Johnston mentioned neither of these two character traits of Tsafendas to the police.

Despite the evident frailty of Johnston's testimony, Judge Beyers, though presumably unaware of the twenty-minute acquaintance of Tsafendas with the witness, said in his verdict: "Daniels said that this man is mad. It was obvious to O'Ryan and his wife. It was obvious to Mr. Johnston that this was a queer, strange man."²⁹⁵⁹

²⁹⁵⁹ Judge Beyers' verdict on Tsafendas's summary trial, 20 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 13: GIDEON JACOBUS CLOETE

GIDEON CLOETE'S TESTIMONY²⁹⁶⁰

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where do you work?

CLOETE: I am a clerk in the Department of Labour in the general enquiries office.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where?

CLOETE: In the Department of Labour.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In Cape Town or Pretoria or where?

CLOETE: Cape Town.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How long have you worked there?

CLOETE: Since 3 September 1957.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the exact nature of your work?

CLOETE: The general enquiry work in the office.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Does it concern people who come to make enquiries?

CLOETE: Yes, people who come to make enquiries concerning labour.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And also people who are looking for work?

CLOETE: Yes, people looking for work and any information which they want, which they need, those are the people who come to make enquiries with me.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The man who is in the Court today, Demitrio Tsafendas, have you ever seen him before?

CLOETE: Yes

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where?

CLOETE: The first time that I encountered him and met him was on 26 April of this year.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where was this?

²⁹⁶⁰ Gideon Jacobus Cloete's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

CLOETE: In my office in the Department of Labour in Cape Town.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did he want?

CLOETE: On that occasion he was off work on sick leave and he came about sick leave pay.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you grant him sick leave pay on that occasion?

CLOETE: Yes. I personally completed the application form for him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And did he receive the sick leave pay?

CLOETE: Yes, he did receive it.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How much did he receive?

CLOETE: I am unable to tell you how much it was.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: But approximately how much?

CLOETE: I definitely cannot tell you how much it was.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Apart from this occasion, did you see him on any other occasion?

CLOETE: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: Would that be a Government grant?

CLOETE: Yes. He had undergone an operation on his nose, according to the medical certificate which had been completed by the Medical Doctor.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Apart from the occasion when he applied for a grant, did you see him again?

CLOETE: I saw him again during July of this year, also in the office.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What was he looking for at your office?

CLOETE: He came to me with three cuttings from an English newspaper which had been placed by employers in connection with positions which were vacant. And the reason why he came to me, was that he wanted my help, and wanted to use my telephone. I then explained to him that I could not allow him to actually use the telephone personally, but that I would help him by telephoning the firms myself to find out whether the positions were still vacant.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you do that?

CLOETE: Yes, I did as he wanted, he handed me the advertisements and I telephoned the firms. The first two of the advertisements did not supply the names of the firms in the

newspaper, only the telephone numbers were given. I then called the firms and the receptionists who answered the telephone told me that the situations had already been filled. I then called the third telephone number and was put through to the works foreman, as it was an engineering firm in Maitland. The job which was vacant there was in connection with welding work. I spoke to the foreman personally.

JUDGE BEYERS: Mr. Cooper, is all this necessary?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: No, your Honour ... Did he then go to the employer for an interview?

CLOETE: I just want to complete my testimony.

JUDGE BEYERS: I know you want to finish, but I have a great deal still to deal with and I have no interest with what you are presently busy completing. Will you please deal with the only relevant information and complete the rest at your office.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he go to the place?

CLOETE: I told him that the foreman had told me to tell him that he must

JUDGE BEYERS: Did he go to the place?

CLOETE: I do not know that.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he come back again?

CLOETE: He did not come back to me again. I have never seen him again after that.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was your impression that he was serious? That he was anxious to find work?

CLOETE: It did seem to me that was a person who really want to work. It was for that reason that he had come to me for help.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Was the accused well-dressed and did he have a neat appearance?

CLOETE: Yes, he had a neat appearance and made a good impression.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Were any signs of abnormality about him which you observed?

CLOETE: Absolutely nothing. He appeared totally normal to me.

COMMENTS ON CLOETE'S TESTIMONY

Cloete's testimony is a further indication of the defence's problems in finding suitable witnesses to support its line. Cloete was obviously chosen to support Dr. Cooper's claim that Tsafendas was actively seeking work but was unable to hold down a job. The witness's testimony is very short and the only thing it really offers is validation of Dr. Cooper's claim and diagnosis. However, in cross examination, Cloete also says something that contradicts what has been stated in the summary trial and agrees with the vast majority of witnesses, that Tsafendas was well-dressed and showed no signs of "abnormality."

CONCLUSION

Although Cloete agrees with Dr. Cooper that Tsafendas was actively seeking work, he disagrees with other defence claims, describing Tsafendas as a "totally normal" man, "well-dressed" and of "neat appearance."

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 14: GERALD EDWARD SHAW

GERALD SHAW'S TESTIMONY²⁹⁶¹

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is your profession?

SHAW: I am a journalist.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And during the present Parliamentary session where were you engaged?

SHAW: In the Press Gallery.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The Press Gallery of...?

SHAW: Of the House of Assembly.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you spend a great deal of time there during the present session?

SHAW: Yes, I did.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Shortly, what is your function in being there?

SHAW: I am a political correspondent of *The Cape Times*.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: During this session did you come to know the accused?

SHAW: Yes, I did. That is so.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did you come to know him?

SHAW: He was employed as a messenger; he was serving tea and coffee and things like that in the Press Gallery.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How efficient did you find him?

SHAW: He was not an efficient messenger.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did you regard him?

SHAW: Well, he mixed things up. He mixed orders up, and I thought he must be a bit mentally retarded.

²⁹⁶¹ Gerald Shaw's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Can you give us an example?

SHAW: Yes. On one occasion, the morning of the assassination of the Prime Minister, he brought me some tea when I ordered it and I paid him, and he re-appeared about 10 minutes later with a whole handful of notes, change. But I had already been given change by him when he brought the tea. So I drew this fact to his attention and he left. He seemed somewhat confused.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Any other experiences before the day?

SHAW: Well, yes. On that same occasion I reminded him that he hadn't collected money from me for a hamburger and coffee I'd ordered on the previous Friday. On that Friday I ordered this hamburger and coffee and it did not come. And I went back and listened to a debate and when I came back, it still wasn't there. I happened to glance into the office of a colleague next-door to my office, and I saw standing on the table a hamburger and coffee, which was cold. So I assumed he had delivered it to the wrong office.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he know whose office he had to deliver it to?

SHAW: Yes the order was placed in my office. We press a bell and the chap comes to the office and you place the order.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How were his manners? How did he behave?

SHAW: I found him off-hand. He didn't have the usual demeanour of a messenger, he didn't seem to be terribly obliging. He used to walk into the office without knocking and things like that.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was he capable of holding down this job of a messenger, in your opinion?

SHAW: Well, I wouldn't have employed him as a messenger; certainly not.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: If he had been employed by a commercial concern, would he have lasted?

SHAW: I think if they had been very tolerant employers he might have.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you lodge any complaints against the accused?

SHAW: About his efficiency as a messenger?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes?

SHAW: I did not.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Why not?

SHAW: Well, I suppose I am fairly tolerant about this sort of thing.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: How many reporters were there?

SHAW: In the Press Gallery? Off-hand I suppose there must be about twenty.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And the accused was the only messenger there?

SHAW: No, he was not. There were other messengers.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: How many were there?

SHAW: Three in all.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Was the accused very busy?

SHAW: I suppose fairly busy, yes

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I suppose fairly busy?

SHAW: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Wasn't he fairly busy?

SHAW: Well, in the Press Gallery I would be rather more preoccupied with my own job, I suppose. But he was fairly busy.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He was very busy?

SHAW: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Was he friendly?

SHAW: I did not find him friendly.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did you ever see where the accused stood when the bells rang?

SHAW: Once I noticed him standing at the door of the Press Gallery upstairs. At the time the

bell was ringing.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Is it a fact that from there he could have seen where the late Prime Minister sat?

SHAW: Yes, I think he probably could.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Was he supposed to have been there?

SHAW: Well, I don't know really.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I suppose I had better ask that question of some other witness. The psychologist says that the accused can work with money and that he can also run a banking account. How do you explain the episode that you told the Court about?

SHAW: I don't think I could explain it. He wasn't efficient in working with money in his dealings with me,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Isn't it perhaps because the accused was very anxious on that occasion?

SHAW: Yes, that may be so. It depends. There were other occasions.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What time was this?

SHAW: This particular incident with the change?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes?

SHAW: It could have been between 10 and 11 a.m.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What change did you have to get?

SHAW: I can't be completely sure about this.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes, I appreciate that.

COMMENTS ON SHAW'S TESTIMONY

Let us examine the two incidents described by Shaw: how Tsafendas gave him the wrong change and how he delivered a hamburger to the wrong room. The first reaction is that these errors were the sort of mistakes that anyone could make, wrong change, wrong recipient. They do not signal schizophrenia or serious incompetence. More importantly, we have to examine when the incidents took place. The wrong change was given to Shaw only a few

hours before the assassination. Tsafendas had already bought the knives by then and was waiting for the right moment to strike, as he explained in his statement in the police. With something like that on his mind, it is hardly surprising that he mixed up the reporter's change.

The hamburger incident took place on Friday, September 2, 1966. This was the day Tsafendas was scheduled to work as a waiter at a function organized by Parliamentary correspondents, which Dr. Verwoerd was expected to attend.²⁹⁶² Tsafendas had planned to shoot Dr. Verwoerd, flee to the *Eleni* and hide until departure the next day.²⁹⁶³ Although this plan was eventually aborted, Tsafendas's mind that morning at Parliament would certainly have been focussed on his preparations for the killing, which could certainly excuse his absent-mindedness.

Tsafendas had spoken to the police about both of his plans and therefore the Attorney-General should have been aware that the incidents described took place on days when Tsafendas was planning the assassination attempt and was presumably seriously distracted from his normal duties. If the Attorney-General was not aware of Tsafendas's initial plan of September 2 because he was not given his statements, he certainly knew that the incident with the correspondent's money occurred on the very day of the assassination. Surprisingly, he failed to make the connection. It must be more than coincidence that both incidents took place on the days when Tsafendas was planning to assassinate Dr. Verwoerd and nothing untoward about him was noted on other days. If Tsafendas was customarily inefficient this would have been remarked upon, and Shaw did not mention any incident concerning Tsafendas on any other day. In addition, none of Tsafendas's five co-messenger who were interviewed by the police and the Commission of Enquiry had anything negative to say about Tsafendas's work and the Chief Messenger stated clearly that there were no complaints against him.

Shaw wrote later that he had only a "brief acquaintanceship"²⁹⁶⁴ with Tsafendas, another pointer to the desperation of the defence team to find suitable witnesses for its case. Had it wanted reliable and sincere opinions about Tsafendas's capabilities, there were several witnesses who had worked with him for several months. These included for example Albert Vercueil, who worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole engineering, and Ralph

²⁹⁶² Fred Feinauer statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁹⁶³ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁹⁶⁴ Shaw, *Believe in Miracles: South Africa from Malan to Mandela – and the Mbeki Era*, p. 64.

Lighton, Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden and Hulse, his co-workers for three months at Marine Diamond Corporation. Obviously, these witnesses could not support the defence's line and therefore were not called, while Shaw, and Smorenberg, were.

It is surprising that none of Tsafendas's colleagues at the Parliament was asked to testify in the summary trial, especially as the Attorney-General could have used them to challenge Dr. Cooper's testimony. Even more surprising is what the Attorney-General did on the first day of the summary trial when he suggested there was evidence that Tsafendas was an efficient messenger, essentially contradicting Dr. Cooper's diagnosis that since Tsafendas was a schizophrenic, he was not able to perform his duties efficiently. This is the dialogue that took place:

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: If I put it to you that he performed his work in the House of Assembly normally and efficiently, would you agree with that?

SHAW: I would like to know details of that. I would say that a highly intelligent man performing as a messenger in court may well be able to perform fairly reasonably, but I would suspect in this man that he didn't in fact perform all that reasonably. I would be surprised, in fact, that he performed altogether satisfactorily.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: But he was a messenger in the Press Gallery, and if he didn't perform his duties efficiently wouldn't he have been dismissed?

SHAW: I understand that he was only there for a short time.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He was there from the 1st August to the 6th September?

SHAW: Yes. I must draw a conclusion from this that he wasn't completely and obviously hopeless and inefficient in his duties.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: But if there is evidence that he performed his duties normally and efficiently, you won't deny that?

SHAW: If the evidence is such, I must accept it.²⁹⁶⁵

Van den Berg suggested that Tsafendas's work in the House of Assembly was efficient and normal. He seemed to know that for a fact, but he did not adduce any evidence to support his claim or challenge Dr. Cooper's testimony and left the issue there. It seems odd that evidence appeared to exist which would challenge Dr. Cooper's diagnosis but it

²⁹⁶⁵ Dr. Harold Cooper's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

remained unheard, leaving Shaw's statements on record in apparent validation of Dr. Cooper's opinion.

The police and the Commission of Enquiry interviewed five Parliamentary messengers who had worked with Tsafendas. They were Piet Burger,²⁹⁶⁶ the Chief Messenger and Sydney Wiehand²⁹⁶⁷ and Petrus Schuin,²⁹⁶⁸ both senior messengers, all three of whom had interviewed and appointed Tsafendas. Another two messengers, Fred Feinauer²⁹⁶⁹ and Felix Miles,²⁹⁷⁰ also testified to the police. None of these five messengers stated that Tsafendas was inefficient or that they saw anything wrong with him. On the contrary, Schuin described Tsafendas as an ordinary man and "same as any other person that had worked there."²⁹⁷¹

It is curious that none of Tsafendas's Parliamentary colleagues testified at the summary trial while five of them did so to the police and the Commission of Enquiry. Equally strange is that the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas did not seek any information about him from the messengers who worked with him daily for five weeks up to the assassination.

According to Sydney Wiehand, for someone to be appointed "he must be of sober habits, he must be always neat, and then also we ask him if he's got any sickness, or anything like that, then he must tell us. If so, then he must get a report from the doctor that he is fit for duty."²⁹⁷² Petrus Schuin also described Tsafendas as an ordinary man and "same as any other person that had worked there."²⁹⁷³ Wiehand testified that he never received any complaints from anyone about Tsafendas's work. However, he was told by another messenger, Mr. Pienaar, that Tsafendas was eating a lot, then sitting and sleeping. However, Wiehand did not receive this as a complaint and testified that most messengers, including himself, ate and slept until they were required to work again. Pienaar's comment had more to do with his surprise

²⁹⁶⁶ Piet Bester Burger testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²⁹⁶⁷ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²⁹⁶⁸ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²⁹⁶⁹ Fred Feinauer statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

²⁹⁷⁰ Felix George Miles statement to the police, 7 October 1966. K150, Vol. 2, File: 1. NASA.

²⁹⁷¹ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²⁹⁷² Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²⁹⁷³ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

about how much Tsafendas was eating because he thought he was overeating.²⁹⁷⁴ These statements were in the possession of the police and the Commission and should have been known to the Attorney-General.

In addition, an unnamed “respected member of the Press gallery” in the House of Assembly “who knew Tsafendas well,” talked to René MacColl, *Daily Express*’s chief foreign correspondent, about Tsafendas. He said that “far from being a withdrawn sort of man, he seemed to be intent on impressing his personality on one. There was always the big smile, the ready chat and an almost obsessive intention to make you remember him. There couldn’t have been a less grey or faceless figure.”²⁹⁷⁵

Forty-one years later, Shaw wrote about Tsafendas, “In my brief acquaintanceship with him in the Press Gallery I had never found Tsafendas to show signs of insanity ... I told the judge of the incident with the hamburger, the change and the pot of tea, and of my belief that Tsafendas was rather slow mentally.”²⁹⁷⁶ Shaw’s belief notwithstanding, several witnesses testified to the police, and the psychiatrists and the psychologists agreed, Tsafendas was not slow mentally, indeed that he was more intelligent than the average person. What is likely is that the incidents mentioned were the result of his anxiety on days when he planned to kill the prime minister. Alternatively, Tsafendas’s attitude on those days may have been one of laziness or indifference since the only reason he was working in Parliament anyway was to find the opportunity of killing Dr. Verwoerd.

CONCLUSION

How reliable was Gerald Shaw as a witnesses and to what extent was he qualified to testify, since he had only a “brief acquaintanceship” with Tsafendas? It mattered very little to the defence, as long as his evidence supported its argument and it did that perfectly. Shaw turned out to be an excellent witness for the defence. His testimony validated Dr. Cooper’s diagnosis and appeared to stop in its tracks the Attorney-General’s argument that Tsafendas was efficient, since he failed to bring any of that evidence forward.

What makes it stranger is the van den Berg must have had the evidence in his possession since at least five messengers had testified to the police and none of them reported

²⁹⁷⁴ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

²⁹⁷⁵ *Daily Express*, ‘Was It Murder Incorporated?’, 9 September 1966: 2.

²⁹⁷⁶ Shaw, *Believe in Miracles: South Africa from Malan to Mandela – and the Mbeki Era*, p. 64.

that Tsafendas was inefficient. By not using any of the messengers' evidence, the Attorney-General handed an easy victory to Dr. Cooper and to the defence team. In doing so, the portrayal of Tsafendas as a man who could not even perform the lowly job of messenger prevailed. Finally, Shaw himself stated clearly that, although a defence witness, he "never found Tsafendas to show signs of insanity."²⁹⁷⁷

²⁹⁷⁷ Shaw, *Believe in Miracles: South Africa from Malan to Mandela – and the Mbeki Era*, p. 64.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 15: FELIX BERNHEIM

FELIX BERNHEIM'S TESTIMONY²⁹⁷⁸

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You are a handwriting expert, are you?

BERNHEIM: Yes, I am.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you been shown a sample of the accused's handwriting?

BERNHEIM: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And have you been shown this document (R.S.C.E)?

BERNHEIM: Yes, I have seen the document.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In whose handwriting is it?

BERNHEIM: The handwriting of the accused.

JUDGE BEYERS: What document is that, Mr. Cooper?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: A letter which the accused wrote.

JUDGE BEYERS: I haven't seen it yet.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Your lordship will see it now. It is a letter written by the accused to the Prime Minister of England in 1959.

JUDGE BEYERS: The only purpose of this witness is to identify the handwriting?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Yes. I therefore don't think it is necessary to read through it.

COMMENTS ON BERNHEIM'S TESTIMONY

Bernheim refers to a letter which Tsafendas is said to have written to the British Prime Minister in 1959, Harold Macmillan. Bernheim identified Tsafendas's handwriting as that of the person who wrote the letter in question, which is signed "Staa-Sin-Hah." As we will see from Dr. Zabow's examination which follows, the letter was submitted in evidence to the court as Exhibit E. However, nothing has been recorded in the trial's records about what

²⁹⁷⁸ Felix Bernheim's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

followed the submission and the letter was not found in the National Archives.

According to Press reports at the time, the letter was handed to Judge Beyers. He glanced at it and said, "I cannot make head nor tail of it. Which of course is the purpose of giving it to me."²⁹⁷⁹ The letter was apparently written from St. Pancras hospital in London and was found in Tsafendas's medical file. It was headed: "St. Pancras Hospital, c/o North Wing, London. NW1." It was undated but refers to a letter written from 10 Downing Street on September 14, 1959, on behalf of the British Prime Minister, acknowledging receipt of a previous letter.

The letter began:

"Dear Sir, with reference to your letter dated September 14, 1959. Which I am enclosing as I have written on the back of it, just to make sure... Well, I have just had a second nervous breakdown because the situation is so serious. You can have us all killed if you don't do the following."

The letter then mentions a statue brought to London during Queen Victoria's reign which he described as a "*hieroglyphs*," adding if it is the original one, then "*it is sacrilege*."

It goes on:

"Dave this is getting too hot to handle, and in order to appease them before we all get fried, I suggest brother that you make a concession and give it back to them. I could arrange for the correct type of representations in the negotiations ... I don't think Labour can make Britain more prosperous. Don't let them convince you now you have the cards in your hand. And Mexican Litvinoff could act as mediator... Do not send anything back unless you consult me, as to the method and how it will have to be effected, including transportation etc. I have no more to write at present and am yours sincerely."

On the last page there are Greek characters and then the sentence: "*Please don't ask me why fish and chips is cheaper at the restaurant or vice versa?*" The last sentence is: "*This was a lucid 60 seconds and five more or more.*"²⁹⁸⁰

Tsafendas never spoke to any of the witnesses the author interviewed about writing such a letter, but this does not mean that he did not write it. The author read its contents to forty-six witnesses who knew Tsafendas well. None of them believed that Tsafendas wrote the letter or, if he did, that he meant it seriously. They included people who

²⁹⁷⁹ *The Cape Argus*, 'He Wrote to the British Premier ...', 19 October 1966: 1-2.

²⁹⁸⁰ *The Cape Argus*, 'He Wrote to the British Premier ...', 19 October 1966: 1-2.

knew him extremely well, such as Father Minas Constandinou, Father Nikola Banovic, Father Michalis Visvinis, Katerina Pnefma, Mary Eintracht, Andreas Babiolakis, Costas Chagios, Irene Michaletos, Antony and John Michaletos, Michalis Vasilakis, Nikolas Kambouris, Reuben and Allan O’Ryan, Elias Constantaras, Emanuil Mastromanolis, Ira Kyriakakis, Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis, Costas Poriazis, Fotini Gavasiadis and Alexandra Vaporidis.

Between leaving Istanbul in December 1961 and being arrested in September 1966, Tsafendas wrote regularly to Father Nikola Banovic. Father Nikola stated that “all his letters were very normal; they were nothing like this ... he never wrote anything strange. These are like the letters of someone else. It couldn’t have been Dimitri’s unless he had gone mad by then which I very much doubt, as in seven months he never said or did anything to suggest that he was mad.”²⁹⁸¹

Tsafendas also corresponded regularly, from 1942 until 1963 and then again from 1964 until his arrest, with his family, his first cousin, Mary Eintracht, and his good friend, Ira Kyriakakis. Often, the letters to his family included a post-card and sometimes a small souvenir, or even, though rarely, a picture of Tsafendas himself from wherever he was at the time. According to Mary Eintracht, Ira Kyriakakis and his half-sister Katerina Pnefma, all of Tsafendas’s letters were perfectly normal and nothing like the gibberish letter to the prime minister. His friends and relatives are adamant that Tsafendas could not have written what appeared in the London letter; or if he did, that he couldn’t have meant it – he must have done it to gain something.²⁹⁸²

Katerina Pnefma remembers that Tsafendas sent at least two letters to his father from London. One was in 1962, shortly after his father had died, which Tsafendas had not heard about. His step-mother then wrote to tell him of his father’s demise. Pnefma is not certain when the other letter was sent to his father but it had to be before his death in 1962. Since the only other time Tsafendas was in London was 1959, that would most likely be when the letter was sent. Pnefma remembers the letter clearly because Tsafendas included a small painting of the Tower of London, which is still in the possession of her family. She does not remember what he had written in any of these letters, but she is certain that there was nothing unusual or

²⁹⁸¹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²⁹⁸² Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

anything to suggest that her half-brother had a mental problem. “All his letters were the same as usual,” she said.²⁹⁸³ Eintracht and Kyriakakis are not sure whether they received any letters from Tsafendas from London, but they both got letters from many different countries and none of them contained anything abnormal. They cannot believe that Tsafendas wrote the letter in question but say that if he did, he must have had a reason.²⁹⁸⁴

A strong indication that Tsafendas wrote the letter in question to support his act is evident from the following where one could clearly see his thinking and his manoeuvres. Tsafendas confided the truth about the tapeworm to Father Minas Constandinou and explained about the trial and his abuse in custody. However, he asked him to tell the prison staff that he talked about the tapeworm all the time and that he was “very mad,” so they would “leave him alone.”²⁹⁸⁵ Tsafendas also asked Rika Nikolatos and Father Minas to bring a double portion of food and to lie to the guards that he had asked for two portions because he wanted to feed the worm too.²⁹⁸⁶

In addition, while Tsafendas was in prison in the 1960s and 1970s, he wrote several letters to the prison authorities, all of which contained references to the tapeworm and bore some vague similarities to the London letter. Tsafendas signed most of these letters as Mimikos Demitrios Tsafantakis von Willem de Kanhume.²⁹⁸⁷ Mimikos is the same as Dimitris, which is how he was known as a child, before the family name Tsafantakis. The rest is presumably his maternal grandfather’s surname.

Later, during the 1980s, when Father Minas visited Tsafendas in Pretoria Central Prison he always asked him if he wanted anything and he always got the same reply, “No.” One day, however, Tsafendas asked if the priest would write letters to some of his friends to see if they were all right. He said he preferred not to write himself because they might feel uncomfortable to get a letter from prison and he did not want the police to note his association with them. The letters were to go to Father Nikola Banovic in Istanbul, Manuel in Lourenço Marques, John Michaletos in Athens and Patrick O’Ryan in Cape Town. Tsafendas gave the priest their addresses and apologised for being unable to pay the postage. Father Minas wrote to the four men, who replied eagerly that they would like to correspond with

²⁹⁸³ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

²⁹⁸⁴ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

²⁹⁸⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁹⁸⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁹⁸⁷ Tsafendas’s Correctional Serice File in NASA.

Tsafendas direct. However, Tsafendas declined. He gave no reason to Father Minas, simply saying that “it would be better if you write them and post them.”²⁹⁸⁸

Sometime in 1994, but after the elections of April 27 that year, when Tsafendas was in the Pretoria Prison hospital, Father Minas visited him again. Tsafendas asked if he would post some letters he wished to write and mentioned that he would use the hospital address for correspondence if they wanted to write back. Surprised, the priest asked why he was now ready to write the letters himself. Tsafendas explained that in the 1980s any letters he wrote would have been read by prison censors. Since the authorities regarded him as a lunatic who believed he harboured a tapeworm, they would expect the letters to contain evidence of his insanity, including perhaps references to the worm. Tsafendas said that if he had written letters of that nature to his friends, they might conclude he really had gone mad.²⁹⁸⁹

Subsequently, Tsafendas started writing normal letters again, signing them with his name and not mentioning the tapeworm or anything else that would suggest he was insane. These letters were perfectly logical and similar to those he wrote before he was imprisoned, without, of course, any mention of the tapeworm or any other absurd claim. Father Nikola Banovic received a few letters from Tsafendas in the 1990s and they were exactly like the ones he would write to him in the 1960s.²⁹⁹⁰ Father Minas Constandinou, Mary Eintracht, Helen Grispos, and Ira Kyriakakis also received letters from Tsafendas in the 1990s and they were also perfectly normal, just as before.²⁹⁹¹

Furthermore, when in jail, Tsafendas talked perfectly normal to fellow prisoners and to people who visited him, including Professor Renfrew Christie, James Mange, Alexander and Marie-Jose Moumbaris, Father Spiros Randos, Father Minas Constandinou, Father Ioannis Tsafaridis, Father Michalis Visvinis and Dimitris Skoularikis.²⁹⁹²

The fact that Tsafendas wrote bizarre letters to the prison authorities, many times referring to the tapeworm and sometimes offering a softer line on Dr. Verwoerd, while in private conversations he talked in sober political terms, denouncing Dr. Verwoerd as a tyrant

²⁹⁸⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

²⁹⁸⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

²⁹⁹⁰ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

²⁹⁹¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

²⁹⁹² Professor Renfrew Christie in a personal interview, 12 April 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Alexander and Marie-Jose Moumbaris in a personal interview, 7 March 2010; Dimitris Skoularikis in a personal interview, 26 April 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

and a dictator, suggests that his letters to the prison officials were to convince them he was still mad and so the guards should “leave him alone,” as he told the priests. If Tsafendas believed the content of his letters, he would have said the same to those who talked to him. The fact that what he told these witnesses was the same as he told tens of witnesses before the assassination proves these were his true ideas and not anything he said in his letters.

Significantly, when apartheid collapsed and he was transferred from prison to a hospital, he wrote freely to his friends, never mentioning anything he had written to the prison authorities. All this suggests that the letters Tsafendas wrote while in prison, knowing very well that they were going to be read by the prison authorities were deliberate attempts to convince them that he was still insane. Naturally, he had to keep his guard up. He had already been tortured though officially considered to be insane, and he would have been well aware of the prospect of renewed torture should the authorities discover that he was sane and expressing anti-Verwoerd sentiments to his friends.

As for the London letter in question, for Tsafendas to spend time writing such a missive seemed an incongruous use of his energies and hardly reflective of his mental state at a time when he was deeply involved in politics, in the British anti-apartheid movement and other anti-fascist organizations, participating in many anti-apartheid, anti-fascist and anti-colonialist demonstrations. According to the report of the Commission of Enquiry, Tsafendas, while in London, “was noticed in the company of leftists,”²⁹⁹³ he attended political meetings in Hyde Park, Labour Party meetings at London’s Caxton Hall and many others organised by the Committee of African Organisations as well as anti-apartheid and anti-fascist demonstrations.²⁹⁹⁴ According to the Commission’s report, Tsafendas tried to “recruit people to take part in an uprising in South Africa.” Tsafendas admitted to the Commission that he tried to recruit people for an uprising, but his aim was “confined to the Territory of Mozambique.”²⁹⁹⁵ These activities are hardly the things a schizophrenic man would get up to in his spare time.

The reasons why Tsafendas was hospitalised in this hospital have been extensively discussed in Dr. Cooper’s testimony. The question is: Why would Tsafendas write an incomprehensible letter to the British Prime Minister in 1959 from a hospital in north London? He later wrote letters to the authorities seeking to convince them he was insane. It

²⁹⁹³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 31.

²⁹⁹⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

²⁹⁹⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32.

seems that this was done with the same intention; to strengthen his claim to mental instability with the doctors. That the letter was never posted but ended up in the doctors' hands was very convenient for Tsafendas. It meant that it was read by the doctors. If he seriously wanted to post the letter, he could have done so, as he did with his first letter to the PM. That it ended up with his own doctors instead strongly suggests he wrote it to support his claim to be insane. The fact that the Prime Minister's acknowledgement of his first letter was addressed to Tsafendas by name indicates that he used his proper name in the first letter. It is also highly unlikely that the Prime Minister's office would have replied to the first letter if it was of the same type as the one in question.

Furthermore, Tsafendas, while at this hospital, was looking for work and often wrote off for jobs. It seems highly likely that to write such letters, which would certainly end up in the hospital's possession, was the perfect camouflage. Seeing Tsafendas writing so many letters could have made the doctors curious about their contents. A schizophrenic man sitting in hospital writing out job applications was not a regular sight. However, this is a hypothesis on the author's part, as we do not know exactly what did happen at that time. It must be said that Tsafendas's behaviour and attitude in similar situations in the future makes this scenario a very possible one.

It is also worth mentioning here that the defence could simply have asked Tsafendas if this letter was his and since it was found in his medical file, according to the defence, it would have been accepted by the court without the need of a handwriting expert. Since Tsafendas had not contested the fact that he had written the letter, what was the point of having someone examine it? The defence could have just submitted it as evidence. A graphologist is used only in cases when something written is contested. Since Tsafendas did not contest that he had written the letter, what was the point of appointing someone to examine his letter? This suggests that Bernheim was simply used as a "show witness" for the defence, purely with the aim of creating an impression.

Another issue that should be raised about this letter is whether Bernheim's opinion was wrong. Although there is no evidence to suggest this, the possibility cannot be ruled out. Like certain members of the judiciary and doctors in South Africa who "conspired with the security police to keep torture and murder under wraps,"²⁹⁹⁶ there is little doubt that some handwriting experts did the same. An infamous case was to occur ten years later involving a

²⁹⁹⁶ Quoted in Bizos, *No One to Blame? A Personal Account of Inquests into Some Deaths in Detention under Apartheid*, p. vii.

student activist and a suicide note. Mapetla Mohapi, aged twenty-five, a former official of the South African Students' Organisation and of the Black People's Convention, was arrested on July 15, 1976 near East London. Twenty-one days later, the police announced that Mohapi had committed suicide in his cell, leaving a note in his handwriting. K. Landman, a South African handwriting expert, said he had no doubt that Mohapi's suicide note was in the same handwriting as another document written by Mohapi. However, two world renowned graphologists disagreed and declared the note a forgery.²⁹⁹⁷ By big coincidence, Wilfrid Cooper, Tsafendas's advocate, was also the advocate for Mohapi.²⁹⁹⁸

It is worth mentioning here that on September 9, 1966, the *Daily Dispatch* carried a reproduction of Tsafendas's signature and an analysis by Dr R.M. Schweitzer of East London, who it described as a graphologist of thirty years' standing. Dr. Schweitzer managed to portray Tsafendas quite accurately based on his handwriting, indeed more accurately than any psychiatrist would do at his summary trial. He suggested the writer "experienced difficulty in accepting discipline, had unsteady working habits, showed evidence of vindictiveness, but was idealistic, a person of great enthusiasm and a quick thinker." By studying loops, whirls and letter shapes, Schweitzer concluded that the signatory was "intelligent" and "capable of learning and thinking logically and can at times co-operate," but he also nurtured emotional inhibitions and needed more sympathy in his emotional life. By underlining his signature three times, the writer signalled that he could be extremely vain.²⁹⁹⁹

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the letter in question makes no sense. However, none of the people who corresponded with Tsafendas over the years ever received anything in the same vein from him. The fact that Tsafendas wrote letters to the prison authorities in a similar confused style aimed at confirming his insanity to them suggests that he did the same while at the St. Pancras hospital. When Tsafendas was in prison, he never mentioned to his fellow inmates or to the priests who visited him any of the things he wrote about in his letters. He later asked two priest visitors to assure the prison warders that he was mad and talked about the tapeworm all the time, so that they would leave him alone. In addition, when Tsafendas was in London, he wrote perfectly sensible letters to his family, while the evidence of his many

²⁹⁹⁷ Shireen Motala, *Behind Closed Doors*, (Braamfontein: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1987), p. 34-35.

²⁹⁹⁸ For more about the case see: Motala, S. (1987) *Behind Closed Doors*

²⁹⁹⁹ *Daily Dispatch*, 'The Hand the Killer Wrote', 9 September 1966: 1.

political activities further suggests that he was perfectly fine while he was there.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 16: ABRAHAM AUBREY ZABOW**DR. ZABOW'S PROFESSIONAL BIOGRAPHY AS RELATED BY HIM TO THE COURT**

Dr. Zabow, a psychiatrist practising at the time at the Medical Centre, Cape Town, having qualified as a doctor in December, 1949 with M.B. and Ch.B. from the University of Cape Town. After completing his internship year, he practised as a general practitioner for eleven years. Because of his interest in psychiatry since his student days, he took a full-time post at Valkenberg Mental Hospital as a clinical assistant for a year, from 1962 to 1963, and then a further year as a registrar in the Department of Psychiatry at Groote Schuur Hospital. During this time, he took certain examinations: the Diploma in Psychological Medicine at the University of Cape Town, and the Fellowship of the Faculty of Psychiatrists of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of South Africa, and eventually registered as a specialist psychiatrist.

For administrative reasons, Dr. Zabow joined the staff of Groote Schuur Hospital as a consultant in June, 1964, but did not register with the Medical Council until November or December of that year. Then, in January, 1965, he started in private practice and remained a part-time consultant in psychiatry at Groote Schuur Hospital; he also took on the post of part-time consultant in psychiatry to the Somerset Hospital. Dr Zabow declared that he had seen, certified and treated schizophrenics in the course of his practice and felt competent to express his opinion in the Court.³⁰⁰⁰

DR. ZABOW'S TESTIMONY³⁰⁰¹**DR. ZABOW'S FIRST EXAMINATION ON TSAFENDAS**

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You have interviewed the accused at the request of Mr. David Bloomberg, the attorney for the defence?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, I was asked by Mr. David Bloomberg to see the accused, and I saw him

³⁰⁰⁰ Dr. Abraham Aubrey Zabow's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³⁰⁰¹ Dr. Abraham Aubrey Zabow's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

on three separate occasions. The first time was on 30th September, when I saw him on my own, except that Mr. Bloomberg was there. There were no other psychiatrists present.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you do that deliberately?

DR. ZABOW: Yes. I wanted to be able to see this man on my own and form an independent clinical opinion of him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: After you had had that interview did you, again independently of other medical witnesses, communicate your opinion to the defence?

DR. ZABOW: Yes. I formed an opinion at the first interview and communicated that verbally to Mr. Bloomberg at the time, and then in writing as well, and I have had no reason to change my opinion since then.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The subsequent interviews were on which days?

DR. ZABOW: They were on the 4th October and the 11th October, and at these interviews Drs. MacGregor and Cooper were also present.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How long did the first interview last?

DR. ZABOW: Each of the interviews lasted approximately an hour and a half, I didn't time them exactly. All in all I was with the accused for at least four and a half hours.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: At this stage, on the basis of these interviews alone, what opinion did you form?

DR. ZABOW: On the basis of these interviews alone, I formed the opinion that the accused was suffering from schizophrenia. At my first interview I was satisfied that he was psychotic and schizophrenic, but I was not yet able to be sure into which category of schizophrenia he fell. Subsequent interviews have enabled me to form the opinion that although he is not a textbook case of any particular variety, he falls mainly into the category of a paranoid schizophrenic.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Your first interview with the accused, how did it go? Will you tell us, so that the Court can for itself see how a psychiatrist sets about his job of determining the mental state of the patient?

DR. ZABOW: May I stress to the Court, with respect, that in interviewing a patient for psychiatric examination one tries to be as systematic and review certain systems in the same way as a physician undertakes a medical and physical examination. One does not just look at

the man, listen to him talk, and then form a sort of general opinion. In the same way as a physician would look at the general condition of the patient and then examine his various systems - the respiratory system, the cardio-vascular system, and so on - the psychiatrist tries to examine the various systems which make up the behavioural pattern and the overall mental picture of the person whom he is seeing. So that the first impression, naturally, is the first sight of the patient.

JUDGE BEYERS: You mean he has got a sort of set procedure like Dr. Muller has when he looks me over?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, that is what I mean.

JUDGE BEYERS: How is my pulse, and does my liver hurt?

DR. ZABOW: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: And you do the same thing with the mind?

DR. ZABOW: That is right.

JUDGE BEYERS: Then I know what you are talking about.

DR. ZABOW: My first impression was of a man who - remember that I knew that he had been alleged to have assassinated the Prime Minister, and I was expecting certain things, and what I was struck by was the incongruity of my first meeting with him. Mr. Bloomberg introduced us to each other. He was not very tidy, he hadn't shaved - one could say that this was because of the circumstances that he was in. But then I asked him: "How are you?" I can look up my exact words, but I asked him "How are you?", and I have in the course of my experience seen other people who had been held for murder, and conducted psychiatric examinations on them, and this was quite an unexpected reply. I said: "Tell me, how are you feeling?" He said: "I always feel tired and exhausted. I just feel as usual, tired and exhausted, and my appetite is always good and my bowel movement is regular." Now he had been introduced to me as a psychiatrist, and one would have expected him to take the issue, well, this is the man who is supposed to be coming to help him, and yet this was the pattern of incongruity, and many times in that interview and subsequent interviews there was equal incongruity.

COMMENTS ON DR. ZABOW'S FIRST EXAMINATION ON TSAFENDAS

Dr. A. Zabow acknowledges that Tsafendas was untidy and unshaven because of the circumstances. What he did not know was that Tsafendas was being tortured regularly and left in dirty, wet clothes for days. Tsafendas said that he was allowed to have a shower and change clothes only when he was visited by his lawyers or the psychiatrists.³⁰⁰² Obviously Dr. A. Zabow was not in position to know that.

Dr. A. Zabow stated that he interviewed Tsafendas three times, with each session lasting about an hour and a half, making it "at least four and a half hours." The most important thing that Dr. A. Zabow said was that he diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic "on the basis of these interviews alone," that is, without any additional information about him. Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky, Reyner van Zyl and Professors Tuviah Zabow, cousin of Dr. Aubrey Zabow, Alban Burke, Kirk Heilbrun, Robert L. Sadoff, and Phillip Resnick highlighted to the author the importance of collecting as much information as possible about the patient by talking to people who knew him, such as his family and friends, and by consulting his medical and criminal record.³⁰⁰³

However, that was not the case here. Dr. A. Zabow relied only on what he heard from Tsafendas and what Tsafendas told him was entirely different to what he told some two hundred relatives, friends and acquaintances who were interviewed by the police, by the Commission and by the author. Dr. A. Zabow found incongruity in Tsafendas, but none of the aforementioned witnesses noticed incongruity. Indeed, the witnesses who were interviewed by the author denied any incongruity in Tsafendas's everyday life.

TSAFENDAS'S "THOUGHT DISORDER"

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What were your major findings? We have had Dr. Cooper give evidence at great length, and we have had lots of other evidence given here. What were your major findings?

DR. ZABOW: My major findings were that this man suffered from a clearly recognised and

³⁰⁰² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

³⁰⁰³ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016; Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017; Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 17 December 2016; Professor Robert L. Sadoff in a personal interview with the author, 12 August 2015; Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky in correspondence with the author, 30 March 2016; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

recognisable mental illness known as schizophrenia. Now in schizophrenia there are certain clearly defined disorders of mentation, of thought processes, of emotional life, of contact with reality and of perception, which one can look for in the course of one's systematic examination, and I found many of them there, and particularly I found many important ones, so important that certain authors, particularly Kurt Schneider, would say that even the presence of one of them is sufficient, in the absence of organic disease of the brain, to diagnose schizophrenia.

For instance, I found thought disorder. This thought disorder consisted of an inability to pursue the point of a question and answer sequence. Several times, in the course of my first interview and in the course of other interviews as well, he could not - he appeared not to be able to deal with - what was being asked, and we arrived, not merely at the point in a roundabout way - some people are circumstantial - but in his case we just never got there at all. Sometimes he went off at a complete tangent; sometimes he just petered out; and on one occasion I remember specifically asking him "Now what did I ask you?", and he looked a bit dazed, perplexed, and was not really able to say. If the Court wishes it, I could quote this passage. It runs into about three or four pages of typed foolscap, and I think it took a good few minutes for the accused to ramble through it.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Well, unless the Court wants the exact passage, give the Court the substance of the passage?

DR. ZABOW: This was in the course of our third interview. Drs. MacGregor, Cooper and myself were present, and Drs. Cooper and MacGregor had been asking the accused questions, and then I went on and asked him, "You don't know what this is about? The sequence of events is, of course, that you planned to assassinate Dr. Verwoerd and that you did murder him. What we are trying to understand is just how that came about."

JUDGE BEYERS: That is what you said?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, that is what I said to him. He said to me: "Yes. I er ... (I am going to try and put in the pauses, my Lord, with the hesitations, because I feel this is important to understand how he spoke to us).

ASSESSOR: Is this a transcript of a recording?

DR. ZABOW: This is a transcript of a recording. I also have my own written verbatim notes which are fairly substantially the same, but my handwriting in taking it down was not so good: "Yes. I don't know how that came about exactly, but I can tell you how I got quite a

few people have asked me questions of how I got to Cape Town and I gave them er ... quite a few versions of how I got to Cape Town but er. My mind ... my memory went bad a bit as to how I came to Cape Town and one of the influencing factors was ... that made me come to Cape Town as I was working there as a casual interpreter, was the fact that I received a letter through someone in my Church, through a person in my Church, through one of the people, a pastor in my church, and this pastor was in Cape Town. He is known as Willy Clarke. And I received the letter while I was in Cape Town or he received it, I mean, through somebody. It was not posted to him. It was brought to him by someone personally from Cape Town.

It was brought. It had no stamp on it. It was I think that I can remember. It was brought and handed to him and he called me over to his house and I went to get the letter. And the letter had been opened. It had been tampered with. And he gave me the letter. Oh, there's a mistake here.

Excuse me, I'm sorry. The pastor's name was Willy Clarke. He did not call me to his house to give me the letter. I had never been to his house and I went one day to visit him and when I got there he gave me this letter. He said he had received it from somebody that came from Cape Town. The envelope was opened and (long pause) I took the letter and we spoke for a few minutes and then I left. Later on, as I was going down the road, I passed through the race course" (this was in Durban, my Lord) "and there must have been the ... what you call it? The July handicap. I had never been to horse racing in all my life because we don't go to racing but I ... as I was passing by ... I like animals ... so I stopped and I went to look at the horses running round the course and they were getting near the bend"

JUDGE BEYERS: I wish that was all I did. (Laughter.)

DR. ZABOW: "And two jockeys I remember fell off and when I saw that accident."

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Just repeat that to his Lordship.

DR. ZABOW: He may not have been able to hear it.

JUDGE BEYERS: Two jockeys fell off? "Two jockeys I remember fell off."

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What year was that?

DR. ZABOW: It must have been 1965, I presume. "I saw that accident and the animals went right round the racecourse and I had a look at them - so it must have been the July ... Must have been in the month of July that I received the letter. I then ... I left and I went home and I must have read the letter later on. Must have read the letter later on. The letter stated, this girl

stated, her name was Helen Daniels, that she had heard about me when she was on holiday in Brakpan in the Home. There were some Christians living in the Transvaal on the Rand," My Lord, it goes on. If I could just point out ...

JUDGE BEYERS: Does he ever get back to what you asked?

DR. ZABOW: No, In fact, this goes on now to something about an identity card, then working for Marine Diamond, and then I said to him ...

JUDGE BEYERS: Before you interfere again, before you interpose a question again, does he ever get back to it?

DR. ZABOW: No, never at all.

JUDGE BEYERS: Does he ever get back to killing the Prime Minister and why?

DR. ZABOW: No, not at all.

JUDGE BEYERS: He has now rambled through the Durban July and I don't know what all, but does he ever get back to the Prime Minister?

DR. ZABOW: I will just make quite sure. I will read the last few words: "They did not care very much about papers out on the barges isolated." (This was because he had no identity- card. You will remember, he had given that in and had a receipt instead.) "They took on anybody, outlaws, criminals, they a receipt like that I was considered before this happened I was considered (pause) something like that. So they did not mind. They did not mind (pause) accepting me out there and they accepted me. They ..." - and then I interrupted him. I said: "May I ask you something else, Mr. Tsafendas. What were you trying to tell me now?" Then he said "Er" and there was a long, long pause. And then he said "Concerning what?" Then I asked him, "You know, we asked you about the Prime Minister." He said: "I was trying to tell you how I got to Cape Town. What made me ... er ... what was the influencing factor that made me come to Cape Town. Then after that I lost ... after I got here ... after what happened after I got here about getting married ... I had lost the intention that made me come to Cape Town," (Because originally he was trying to say he had come to Cape Town to meet this Helen Daniels.) "I kept on wandering around. You know, I got this job" - and once again we still cannot get back to the point. If I could put this into technical terms, this is a variety of schizophrenic thought disorder in which the patient is unable to follow the main trend of thought, and various side issues obtrude themselves on to his thinking, and he is not able logically to discriminate between the primary object of his discourse and the secondary

intruding factors. I could go on to the other aspects now.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Just a little comment. The fact that he tells you about the pastor as Willy Clarke, and then he comes back and he has forgotten about it again and he talks about Willy Clarke, what is that indicative of?

DR. ZABOW: I am not altogether sure of the point.

JUDGE BEYERS: It is indicative of thought disorder?

DR. ZABOW: Of thought disorder, yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: Which is the first symptom you look for?

DR. ZABOW: Yes.

COMMENTS ON DR. ZABOW'S ABOVE TESTIMONY

DR. ZABOW'S DIAGNOSIS OF "THOUGHT DISORDER"

Dr. Zabow stated that he diagnosed "thought disorder" and that Tsafendas was unable to deal with what he was asked and properly answer a question. This is something that Dr. Cooper also diagnosed, but it is something that none of the about two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police, by the Commission of Enquiry and by the author ever noticed in Tsafendas. More importantly, Tsafendas was questioned twice by Major Rossouw while he was in custody. When Major Rossouw appeared in front of the Commission of Enquiry, the following dialogue followed between him and Judge van Wyk:

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you get the impression that what he said was the truth or did you think that sometimes he was sly?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: I thought that he told the truth. I never got the impression that he tried to evade any question. He answered all the questions spontaneously.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Was he totally prepared to answer everything?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes

By also looking at Tsafendas's two statements to the police, we see that he did not have the problem Dr. Zabow noted and all of his answers and his narration are perfectly clear without any sign of "thought disorder." If such a problem was noted by Major Rossouw or General van den Berg, presumably they would have raised it.

In addition, Tsafendas attended many interviews in his working life and appeared perfectly capable of answering questions or he would not have got the jobs. More importantly, he was examined and interviewed twice by two state doctors for his South African permanent residency permit and neither of them noticed any "thought-disorder," though they were not psychiatrists:

- On November 11, 1963, Tsafendas was medically examined by Dr. C. Been for his permanent residence application and was found "not to be mentally or physically defective in any way," and "generally in a good state of health."³⁰⁰⁴ Dr. Been would later examine Tsafendas again "for burns on his body whilst employed at Pooles." Again nothing about his mental state would be noted.³⁰⁰⁵
- On November 14, 1963, Tsafendas was examined again for the permit by Dr. A.C. McDonald, who also wrote "a favourable report" and subsequently a certificate for permanent residence was issued for him.³⁰⁰⁶

In addition to these two doctors, Tsafendas was examined by another ten physicians, none of them psychiatrists, over the course of three years, and no one noticed any signs of thought disorder or an inability of answering questions:

- On March 15, 1965, Tsafendas was examined by a South African Railways' medical officer whose name is indecipherable in his report. He was found to be perfectly healthy, without any issues and therefore capable of working at the company.³⁰⁰⁷
- On September 25, 1965, he was examined by Dr. G.C. Baker and nothing was reported about his mental state.³⁰⁰⁸
- On November 19, 1965, Tsafendas was medically examined to insure that he was able to work for City Tramways in Cape Town. He was found fit to work and duly hired.³⁰⁰⁹

³⁰⁰⁴ Demitrio Tsafendas medical certificate issued by Dr. Been for the Aliens Act, 1937. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

³⁰⁰⁵ Dr. Been statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁰⁰⁶ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demitrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

³⁰⁰⁷ South African Railways Confidential Medical Examination Certificate of Demitrio Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 7, File: S 83708, Tsafendas: D. NASA.

³⁰⁰⁸ Dr. G.C. Baker Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. No date. K150, Vol. 6, File: 4, NASA.

³⁰⁰⁹ Donald Neville Mackay statement to the COE, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

- On January 13, 1966, Tsafendas applied for work at the Marine Diamond Corporation and underwent a medical check-up that same day. The doctor who examined him found Tsafendas to be perfectly healthy and capable of working for the company.³⁰¹⁰
- On February 25, 1966, Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by I. Eisenberg, a registrar on the Ear, Nose & Throat Department, who did not observe anything mentally wrong with him.³⁰¹¹
- On April 18, 19, 26 and May 3, 1966 Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by Dr. Leon Goldman, a consultant ear, nose and throat surgeon. He did not observe anything mentally wrong with him and discharged him as "fit" on May 17, 1966.³⁰¹²
- From April 19, 1966 to May 15, 1966, Tsafendas was under the medical supervision of Dr. Leon Solomon at Groote Schuur Hospital, suffering from "a deviated nasal septum and epistaxis," and underwent surgery on his nose. Dr. Solomon during this period did not report any mental disability and found Tsafendas to be fit to return to his work at Marine Diamond Corporation. Dr. Solomon examined him again on June 7, 1966, and again did not notice anything mentally wrong with him.³⁰¹³
- Dr. Ralph Kossew examined Tsafendas only half an hour after the assassination. His testimony is highly important due to its timing. Dr. Kossew found Tsafendas "not confused ... he answers questions guardedly but does not appear to be confused ... he didn't appear anxious ... He may have been a little bit nervous but not in any marked degree ... He was calm ..." ³⁰¹⁴
- Dr. S. Michelson, a specialist physician, examined Tsafendas in the Neurology Department of Groote Schuur Hospital on 3rd June, 1966 and nothing was reported to be wrong with his mental state.³⁰¹⁵

³⁰¹⁰ Dimitrio Tsafendas's Marine Diamond Corporation Application for Employment, 13 January 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 3. NASA.

³⁰¹¹ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Dimitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁰¹² I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Dimitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁰¹³ Dr. Leon Solomon's medical report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA; Medical certificate issued by Dr. Solomon for the Employment Insurance Act, 1946. 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA.

³⁰¹⁴ Dr. Ralph Kossew's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³⁰¹⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 64.

- Finally, Dr. T.A. Darby examined Tsafendas on the evening of the assassination but did not report anything to be wrong about his mental state.³⁰¹⁶

Like a normal worker, Tsafendas was interviewed for jobs and other applications and again no one noticed anything amiss, for example:

- Petrus Schuin, the head messenger at the Parliament, was also one of the three men who interviewed and appointed Tsafendas. He told the Commission of Enquiry that "there was nothing out of the ordinary about him. Tsafendas was the same as any other person that had worked there."³⁰¹⁷
- Sydney Wiehand, who was also one of the three messengers who had interviewed him at the Parliament, said about Tsafendas, "he was a quiet man. He wasn't the rough type, or anything like that. He was quiet - quietly spoken, well-mannered."³⁰¹⁸
- Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban appointed Tsafendas as a Portuguese and Greek interpreter. Rudolph used him "on several occasions" in a period of six months and "got to know him pretty well." He testified that "I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and intelligent. He spoke English properly."³⁰¹⁹
- Horst Hartmann, Tsafendas's employer in Frankfurt, Germany, at the heavy engineering company Fries and Son, characterised Tsafendas "as extremely nice and friendly ... He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman. I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man...he made a good impression and he spoke good German, so I took him on... we liked him ... always laughing, a good worker." Tsafendas "left on his own wish" although Hartmann "would have liked to keep him."³⁰²⁰ Tsafendas was given a reference by Hartmann, so his work there must have been satisfactory. Tsafendas got a reference from this job, so his work there must have been quite satisfactory.

³⁰¹⁶ Dr. T.A. Darby. Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. G.S.H. NO. 65/014-181, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁰¹⁷ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

³⁰¹⁸ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

³⁰¹⁹ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁰²⁰ *Daily Dispatch*, 'He Made A Good Impression', 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, 'The Assassin', 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

- Ian Boswell, administrative assistant at the Department of Labour in Cape Town. He interviewed Tsafendas three times in 1966 and testified to the police that “he was at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute. Aside from being over-talkative, he showed no symptoms of abnormality, during his interviews with me.”³⁰²¹
- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour in Cape Town, interviewed Tsafendas twice. He testified to the police that Tsafendas was “neatly dressed” and he “never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally.”³⁰²²
- Gideon Cloete, also employed at the Department of Labour, interviewed Tsafendas twice. According to Cloete, Tsafendas “had a neat appearance and made a good impression.” He did not notice any “signs of abnormality” and “appeared totally normal” to him.³⁰²³
- Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen was Tsafendas’s tram instructor in December 1965 and January 1966. He testified to the police that “I did not at all get the impression that mentally anything was wrong with him. He is mentally normal.”³⁰²⁴
- August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be “very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease.”³⁰²⁵

Tsafendas was also interviewed, and hired after a week’s trial, by Limasollu Naci, the owner of the private language college that bore his name in Istanbul. He worked there for five-six months. Newly interviewed, Mrs. Adviyé Vedia Limasollu, Mr. Limasollu’s widow, who also worked at the college at the time, believes that it would have been impossible for her late husband to hire a man who talked in the way described by Dr. Zabow; equally

³⁰²¹ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

³⁰²² Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

³⁰²³ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas’s summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

³⁰²⁴ Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁰²⁵ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

impossible that no-one should notice for six months.³⁰²⁶ Tsafendas left the college of his own will and got a very good reference, which he used to get the job in the House of Assembly in Cape Town.

Furthermore, just a few weeks after Dr. Kossew diagnosed him as schizophrenic and just two months before the assassination, in July 1966, Tsafendas gave a seventy-five-minute interview to a journalist named N.D. Hartford of the *Cape Argus*. They had met at the beginning of the year when Tsafendas came to enquire whether there was any news of the freedom fighters of Mozambique. He described himself as an "anti-Portuguese rebel and an antagonist of the Portuguese dictatorship."³⁰²⁷ Hartford's impression was that Tsafendas was normal. He had no reason to believe that he was mentally defective. According to Hartford, Tsafendas spoke fluently without any noticeable gaps in his conversation.³⁰²⁸

None of the two hundred or so witnesses who were questioned by the police and by the Commission mentioned anything about Tsafendas's way of speech. They all said he spoke perfectly well, like a normal person. Indeed, several were impressed by him:

- Gillian Claire Lieberman, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation, whose office Tsafendas often visited, "I had various discussions with him. I got quite interested in him as an individual. ... I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation."³⁰²⁹
- Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine to ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that he "never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers."³⁰³⁰
- Patrick O'Ryan said "he was well-spoken and had good vocabulary."³⁰³¹
- Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban appointed Tsafendas as a Portuguese and Greek interpreter. Rudolph used him "on several occasions" in a period of six months and "got to know him pretty well." He testified that "I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and

³⁰²⁶ Advye Vedia Limasollu in a personal interview, 8 January 2016.

³⁰²⁷ *The Cape Argus*, 'Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.' 7 September 1966: 3; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

³⁰²⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

³⁰²⁹ Gillian Claire Lieberman statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁰³⁰ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁰³¹ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

intelligent. He spoke English properly."³⁰³²

- J. Willemse was Tsafendas's landlord for one month in 1965. He characterised him as a "sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man."³⁰³³
- Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for Mike's Outfitters for forty-two days in July and August 1966, frequently driving him to the tanker *Eleni* while it was docked in Cape Town. Of Tsafendas. He told the police that he "never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers."³⁰³⁴ He later said that Tsafendas was "overly talkative."³⁰³⁵
- Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas's landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry that Tsafendas "was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman."³⁰³⁶
- Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Greek Consul in Beira "was often in the company of the subject and others had several conversations with him." He considered Tsafendas to be "a normal and very intelligent person."³⁰³⁷
- August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be "very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease."³⁰³⁸

Furthermore, none of the witnesses the author interviewed (apart from the members of his defence team) noticed any signs of thought disorder or of an inability of answering questions and no-one ever got the impression that Tsafendas suffered from thought disorder. Every friend or acquaintance contacted was surprised that anyone could believe Tsafendas was unable to answer a question properly and spoke as Dr. Zabow described. Fotini

³⁰³² Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁰³³ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder', 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

³⁰³⁴ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

³⁰³⁵ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 241.

³⁰³⁶ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

³⁰³⁷ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁰³⁸ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Gavasiadis and Mary Eintracht used the same word, "ridiculous."³⁰³⁹ Of course this was not Dr Zabow's fault, as he simply repeated what Tsafendas had told him.

Mary Eintracht, his first cousin, who grew up with him in Egypt and Mozambique and was constantly with him for nine months in 1963-1964, "Dimitri always spoke very well. He sounded like a very educated man. There was nothing wrong with speech or his thoughts; they were both excellent. He could argue with you for hours and hours for politics. He was very good with words and his brain was bigger than most people's."³⁰⁴⁰

Fotini Gavasiadis, who was very close to him and practically lived with him for nine months in 1963-4. She told the author:

"[Tsafendas] could buy and sell you and he could do that at any time during a conversation, in the first ten minutes, then again after thirty minutes or an hour and then again after two hours. He wouldn't let you get up from the chair until he had made you agree with what he was saying, especially when talking politics ... He was very convincing and persuasive - he could turn black into white! If you disagreed with something with him, he would find a way to convince you that he is right and that you are wrong - even if you *know* that you are right and that he is wrong! If he made a mistake about something, he would turn things upside-down and at the end, he would even make you apologise to him...

In those nine months, I saw him and spoke to him every day and not even once did he appear to have an issue with his speech or his thoughts. He was always the same. We spent hours and hours talking and his speech was never incoherent, disjointed, blocked or whatever else, it was always perfect. He never gave me even the slightest indication that he might be having the issues you mentioned."³⁰⁴¹

Fathers Ioannis, Michalis and Minas who met him in prison and in the hospital in the 1970s, the 1980s and the 1990s and spent hundreds of hours with him are positive that Tsafendas did not suffer from thought disorder, that he was able to participate perfectly in a conversation and that he never talked in a disjointed manner.³⁰⁴² Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis said:

"[Tsafendas] could speak for hours, telling you things about his life, his thoughts and

³⁰³⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³⁰⁴⁰ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

³⁰⁴¹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³⁰⁴² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

his ideology, but he could also participate in a dialogue. We spoke for hours about politics, religion and history and he was one of the most knowledgeable people I ever met in all these subjects. He was very argumentative and insistent, especially about politics. He never got lost in the conversation and he would never drop a subject until I had agreed with him. He would never give up a conversation if you disagreed. He never, not even once, seemed to have difficulty expressing himself or talked incoherently. Every single time, everything he said made sense and was perfectly stated. I don't believe for a moment that he could have talked in the way described by the psychiatrists unless he did it deliberately. He spoke and argued even better than most people. His speech and thought were perfectly fine."³⁰⁴³

Father Michalis Visvinis told the author regarding Dr. Zabow's comment,

"No, no, this is not true; he did not talk like this [with gaps in his speech]. He never spoke like this with me, his speech was always absolutely fine. I felt that he [Tsafendas] needed to speak, so several times I would just let him speak. He enjoyed speaking and he could speak for hours. I also often asked him questions about his life, and his answers were always logical and what one would expect. He never evaded any question and I never had to repeat myself to him for a second time, nor was his answer ever off the subject. He always spoke absolutely fine, like a normal man. [His speech] was perfectly articulate and logical, always very coherent. He never said anything to suggest he had a mental problem or that he had any difficulty speaking or thinking and expressing himself properly. This comment is also entirely false."³⁰⁴⁴

For reasons of space, the study will list only a few of the witnesses who were interviewed by the author, those who knew him best and longest. They all insist that Tsafendas never appeared to be suffering from thought disorder in front of them:

- Alexander Moumbaris;³⁰⁴⁵
- Katerina Pnema, Tsafendas's half-sister;³⁰⁴⁶
- Father Nikola Banovic who lived with him at the same house for four months in 1961 and then lived right next to his house for another three;³⁰⁴⁷
- His first cousin Mary Eintracht, who grew up with him and was constantly with him for

³⁰⁴³ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³⁰⁴⁴ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

³⁰⁴⁵ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

³⁰⁴⁶ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁰⁴⁷ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

nine months in 1964;³⁰⁴⁸

- Ira Kyriakakis, who also grew up with him and spent a lot of time together in 1964 and 1965;³⁰⁴⁹
- Andreas Babiolakis, who knew him since they were children, who lived with him for two months in 1964 and associated with him for about a year then;³⁰⁵⁰
- Thirteen crewmen from the *Eleni* who saw him every day for forty-two days;³⁰⁵¹
- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott's boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest;³⁰⁵²
- Irene Michaletos, who knew him for more than a year (1964-1965) and whose house he often visited;³⁰⁵³
- Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousins and sons of Artemis Michaletos, Tsafendas's aunt and his father's sister who brought him up in Egypt. They first met Tsafendas in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique.³⁰⁵⁴
- Costas Poriазis who met him in 1965 in Beira;³⁰⁵⁵
- Alexandra Vaporidis, who knew him for about six months in Istanbul in 1961;³⁰⁵⁶
- Nick Papadakis, who knew Tsafendas for two-three months and lived with him for two months in Mozambique in 1964;³⁰⁵⁷
- Panagiotis Peroglou and Costas Chagios who were Tsafendas's friends in Cape Town for

³⁰⁴⁸ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

³⁰⁴⁹ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

³⁰⁵⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

³⁰⁵¹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 19 January 2016; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

³⁰⁵² Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

³⁰⁵³ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

³⁰⁵⁴ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

³⁰⁵⁵ Costas Poriазis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

³⁰⁵⁶ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

³⁰⁵⁷ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

more than a year.³⁰⁵⁸

As for the story Tsafendas told Dr. Zabow about the horses, the author interviewed all the witnesses who knew Tsafendas at the time, but no one remembers him ever mentioning such a story, though it could not be ruled out. The author read the above story and how Tsafendas spoke to several of the witnesses who knew Tsafendas for a very long time and spent a lot of time with him, and not one of them recognises Tsafendas talking this way. People like Father Minas Constandinou, Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis, Katerina Pnema, Andreas Babioulakis, Mary Eintracht, Father Nikola Banovic, Nikolas Kambouris, Michalis Vasilakis, Emanuil Mastromanolis, Elias Constantaras, Costas Chagios, Ira Kyriakakis, Irene Michaletos, John Michaletos, Antony Michaletos, Nick Papadakis, Father Michalis Visvinis and Alexandra Vaporidis were all adamant that Tsafendas could never have talked like that unless he did it deliberately.³⁰⁵⁹

³⁰⁵⁸ Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015; Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

³⁰⁵⁹ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; Irene and John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

COMMENTS CONCERNING HOW TSAFENDAS GOT TO CAPE TOWN

Tsafendas himself stated clearly to the police when he was interrogated how he came to Cape Town from Durban and said nothing like the things he told Dr. Zabow:

“... While I was still living at the Durban Men’s Home I was trying to obtain a lift to Cape Town. I managed to get a lift with a director of a cardboard factory in Cape Town in a Ford Sedan car. I got a lift with this man as far as Port Elizabeth. From Port Elizabeth I bought a train ticket Cape Town. I arrived in Cape Town during September or October, 1965. When I arrived in Cape Town I went to stay at 1 San Sauci Street, Belville with the family of a girl who was staying there and who had written to me previously to say that she wanted to marry me. Her name was Helen Daniels, a Coloured woman. She belonged to the same church as me, i.e. ‘The Christian Church.’ I did not, want to get married. This war her idea. I stayed there for almost two months while I was searching for a job. I found work at the Table Bay Power Station. When I found work, I paid the Daniels family for my hoard and lodging.”³⁰⁶⁰

Almost thirty years later, Tsafendas would repeat to Father Minas Constandinou the exactly same reasons and how he got to Cape Town from Durban, without mentioning any of the things he told Dr. Zabow.³⁰⁶¹

THE TAPEWORM

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Would you proceed?

DR. ZABOW: The other symptoms which I looked for were evidence of delusional thinking, and associated with this evidence of feelings of passivity or feelings of influence from an agency. Here is a play on words, because in Schneider’s writing he talks about influence from an external agency, and one could argue that the tapeworm is internal, but I think we could agree that in fact it is an external agent which has an animus of its own.

JUDGE BEYERS: It is obviously external to the motivation of the man himself?

DR. ZABOW: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: Other than the man himself would be external means?

³⁰⁶⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁰⁶¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

DR. ZABOW: Yes. Other than the man himself. So that here is another primary symptom of schizophrenia, one which Schneider would say, in the absence, once again, of organic brain disease, would make the condition of schizophrenia the diagnosis. It is not a question now of deciding what other conditions could do this. Once one has excluded organic brain disease - and he has had an E.E.G., he has had a Wasserman done and he has had a full neurological examination by a physician - then we are left with schizophrenia. I don't want to labour the point, because you have heard this so often, but I just want to stress that these were the things that I looked for and found. So that I now had thought-disorder, delusions, feelings of influence. One of the other important features of schizophrenia, although not diagnostic, is the presence of hallucinations in a setting of clear consciousness. There are many conditions in which there are hallucinations when the patient's level of consciousness is lowered, but once again there are very few conditions, in the absence of organic brain disease, in which there can be hallucinations, other than schizophrenia, in a setting of clear consciousness. The typical hallucination which one would expect a schizophrenic to complain of is an auditory one, and at no time has the accused complained to me of that. But there are other hallucinations, and in his case there has been the disordered perception of some activity going on inside him. To me he has described it as a feeling, at various times, of pain or discomfort, or, in more clear terms, as the tapeworm unwinding when it smells food and then coming up to smell the food, and then after it has fed the tapeworm settles down again. The tapeworm rests, and then Tsafendas may rest as well.

Now, it is not very important whether one were to call this a visceral hallucination or a tactile hallucination, or even, for that matter, an illusion. In other words, there may be some - now and then everybody has experienced the sensation of peristalsis, of a wind travelling in the abdomen, or a hunger-pain, or something, but these are normal physiological sensations, and when a man describes it in the terms in which Tsafendas has described it, then it becomes either a hallucination, or perhaps one could call it an illusion, but I would prefer perhaps even to call it a delusional percept: he is perceiving something in terms of his delusional system.

The other, I think, important aspect of his disorder which I found was his autism, that is his lack of contact with reality. The accused basically, although he does understand words when one speaks to him and, as has been shown repeatedly in this Court, he is an intelligent person, his grasp of reality is such that he is not basically in the same world as we are. His world is a world dominated by an agency which at times causes him discomfort, at times causes him to behave in embarrassing ways, and he has described to me how at times the tapeworm has

caused him to utter embarrassing statements. It is a world in which his sensitivity and perception of other people is altered. He has described to me how he is more sensitive to the feelings of other people and understands how they feel. When he says that, he says it in a - not in the sense that one may talk of empathy, but rather that he has an altered perception. But more prominent that this was the fact that when at one stage we tried — or rather, I asked him in one interview - I can't remember exactly how it led up to it, but I can give you the - it was towards the end of our last interview with him. It seemed that he wasn't altogether really with us as to why we were there. Now we were three psychiatrists. He had already seen each one of us individually, and then he had seen myself and my two colleagues on two previous occasions together. Then he was seeing us again for the third time together, and from the way he spoke it seemed that he wasn't altogether aware of why we were there or what was going on. And if I, with your permission, my Lord, could tell you what this sequence was (witness refers to page 11 of the transcript of the recording he made): I asked him: "You said a while ago, I gathered, that you appreciate the fact that we are assisting you. In what way do you feel that we are assisting you?"

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is that the question you put to him?

DR. ZABOW: Yes. "Well, I gathered the fact that you were, I mean, giving me this attention, I mean, that's what I meant, concerning this matter." "Which matter?" "I beg your pardon?" "Which matter in particular?" "Well, er ... concerning this matter about the tapeworm ... about ... and all this ... er. "We have had a few talks with you together, what do you feel has been the object of our talks? What do you feel we are trying to do?" "I ... er ... I don't know what exactly. But I feel I feel the pain and I want to convince you people to get me the tapeworm out. That's what worried me. Even if it meant a surgical operation or something in the bowels. I'd be willing to undergo a surgical operation and the bowels to be opened in two or three places ... large and small intestines ... but these can be sewed up again and that would prove whether I ... that will be definite proof that I had a tapeworm, furthermore (pause) trying to find something to see what is there because the X-ray department are obsolete as far as tapeworms and other things are concerned", and then he went on to describe this machine which I think is similar to what Dr. van Zyl described in his evidence this morning.

Then I asked him: "What is Mr. Bloomberg's function in this whole situation?" (He was with us at the time.) "I don't know ... what ... er ... whether Mr. Bloomberg is an assistant attorney but ... er and he has (pause, and then he started to laugh) I am very indebted to him for

what he has been trying to do for me ... I don't exactly know what ... er ... I want to thank him for especially getting those ... er ... documents from overseas and other things." And then he was asked - I say "he was asked", because I am not sure if it was I or one of my colleagues who asked him: "Where do we fit in with Mr, Bloomberg?" "Er" "Or do we fit in with him at all?" "Well, I think Mr. Bloomberg has been nominated by the ... by the Court ... and so has Mr. Cooper and another man, Mr. Burger. But I ..." "But where do we come in?" (that is, us doctors) "Well, I think you are private physicians. I don't think you are Government physicians. I think you are private physicians." "For what reason do you think we are here?" "Well, I ... er ... to assist me I think." "In what way?" "Well, to find out what has been the cause of what ... how this matter took place or something, I really don't know ... I ... I really don't know why you people ... I know you are investigating ... er ... I don't know whether it's just research work or whether it's just ... er ... I ... that I can't say ... I ... (then a very long pause)" "What sort of doctors do you think we are? You said physicians, what sort of a doctor?" "I know you are a psychiatrist" - he addressed that specifically to me - "I know you are a psychiatrist. And ... er ... I think Dr. MacGregor is ... I think you said you were a medical practitioner and er ... Dr. Cooper, I thought you were a lawyer. I ... well I just thought so because of your questions ..." "Why should you feel that Dr. Cooper is a lawyer asking these questions?" I said: "Yes, but we all, you included, address him as 'Doctor'." Then there was a very long pause: "Well, I call lawyers also doctors. I also call lawyers of advocates lawyers." "Isn't one of your lawyer's names actually Cooper?" I asked him. "Well, er ... yes."

Then I said: "Is he Mr. Cooper of Advocate Cooper?" "No, he is Advocate Cooper. He's er ... he was er ... something to do with." Then I put in "Dr. Cooper?", and then there was a long pause. And then he was asked: "What I am trying to find out is, is there anything because they have the same name that made you feel that Dr. Cooper is a lawyer." This was not merely punning, my Lord; this is a recognised variety of schizophrenic thought-disorder as well - I will come back to the autism, but may I just add this - in that schizophrenics often relate similarities to the predicate of a sentence instead of to the subject. For instance, they may say that a table and a dog are the same because they both have legs. Their logical classification breaks down, and they do not think logically, as ordinary people do. I am not labouring the point, because this only happened once in all the times that I saw him, but it may have been significant here, because both the advocate and one of the psychiatrist's names were Cooper, that he seemed to be confused as to the function of the psychiatrist, Dr.

Cooper. To come back to the autism which this had to do with: Here is a man who is on trial for murder, a man who has been seen by his defence attorneys, his advocates, by several doctors. We all asked him how he came to murder the late Prime Minister, what he felt about it. We have all taken pains to, I think, exclude malingering or simulation. And yet, after three joint interviews and several individual interviews, we arrive at the fact that we are interested doctors who are interested in helping him about his tapeworm and are listening to him talk about his tapeworm. He didn't seem able to connect our presence there with our functions at all.

JUDGE BEYERS: You say you have dealt with other people under similar circumstances, people referred to you, who are up for trial for murder?

DR. ZABOW: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: Do you feel that even the intellectually much more ordinary man we usually get on murder would by that time have known exactly what you were there for?

DR. ZABOW: In my experience, which includes both at Valkenberg and in private practice, I have at no time, in any racial group, or even having to use an interpreter, had any difficulty in directly engaging the accused in discussion about the crime, the circumstances of the crime, and I have never found any one of these people to be unaware of what my function was. In fact, if anything at all, they were only too pleased that I was there and could try and put something across to them.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was Tsafendas grateful? Did he express his gratitude for the attention that you and the other two doctors had given him?

DR. ZABOW: Yes. This was another aspect of it. He expressed his gratitude to the three of us for taking so much notice of his tapeworm, because, as has been said in Court before, no-one really paid attention to him. He complained about it, he was sent off to psychiatrists, they gave him shock treatment. No-one had ever patiently sat and listened to his tale of woe about the tapeworm, which, I must add, I haven't burdened you with the details of everything he said about it, but he gave me chapter and verse about visiting the chemist in Lourenço Marques anything on a pail of water. It was all there, as it has come up repeatedly.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What did he call it, the tapeworm?

DR. ZABOW: At various times he called it - in my presence, apart from what has been said in other people's presence - a tapeworm, a demon and a devil. In fact, I asked him whether by

demon he actually meant anything supernatural, and he explained to me that what he meant was that as in the Middle Ages, when someone was possessed by something which influenced his life, so he felt himself to be possessed by this demon.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you consider whether this was merely hypochondriacal, this talk about the demon and about the tapeworm?

DR. ZABOW: I considered it, but not for very long, because it was so patently not a neurotic hypochondriasis. It was a delusion of much greater proportion. It was part of a psychotic illness, and it just did not have the characteristics of what we normally understand by hypochondriasis.

COMMENTS ON DR. ZABOW'S TESTIMONY REGARDING THE TAPEWORM

The issue of the tapeworm has been examined in Dr. Cooper's and Patrick O'Ryan's testimonies, so it will not be examined again here. However, we will examine Tsafendas's statement to Dr. Zabow that the tapeworm often made him "behave in embarrassing ways."

The author read those parts of the above testimony where Dr. Zabow recited Tsafendas's words to him to twenty people who knew Tsafendas very well and to another ten who were with him for forty-two consecutive days up to three days before the assassination. Most of them laughed in derision and all said they could not believe that Tsafendas had spoken that way. They said they were sure that Tsafendas talked in such a fashion deliberately in hopes of being found insane. Every one said he never spoke like that and would never have done so in normal circumstances. The question of Tsafendas's talking in such a way has been discussed earlier and witnesses' detailed comments have been included in Chapter 4 as well as earlier in this Chapter, in Dr. Cooper's testimony. Therefore, the author will list here only the names of those who were read these extracts and made the comments set out above:

- Katerina Pnema, his half-sister.³⁰⁶²
- Father Minas Constandinou who knew him since 1963 and visited him in Pretoria Central Prison and later in the prison's hospital and in Sterkfontein Hospital.³⁰⁶³
- Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis who visited him in Pretoria Prison hospital and in

³⁰⁶² Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁰⁶³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

Sterkfontein Hospital.³⁰⁶⁴

- Father Michalis Visvinis who visited him very regularly for five years (1989-1994) in Pretoria Central Prison and in Zonderwater prison.³⁰⁶⁵
- Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas's first cousin, knew him since he was five years old and grew up with him in Mozambique. She spent a lot of time with him in Pretoria in 1964, when they occupied the same house for two or three months.³⁰⁶⁶
- Father Nikola Banovic, in 1961, lived in the same house as Tsafendas for four months and in a house next door for another two or three months.³⁰⁶⁷
- Fotini Gavasiadis who spent every day for nine months with him.³⁰⁶⁸
- Ira Kyriakakis, who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques and remained a lifelong friend.³⁰⁶⁹
- Reuben O'Ryan lived with Tsafendas in the same house for five months and kept in touch with him for another year.³⁰⁷⁰
- Costas Poriazis who met him in 1965 in Beira.³⁰⁷¹
- Irene Michaletos was very close to Tsafendas between 1964 and 1965.³⁰⁷²
- Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousins and sons of Artemis Michaletos, Tsafendas's aunt and his father's sister who brought him up in Egypt. They first met Tsafendas in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique.³⁰⁷³
- Alexander Moumbaris who spent three months in a cell next to Tsafendas's in Pretoria Prison. They spoke every day for an hour when they exercised together in the prison yard.³⁰⁷⁴
- Andreas Babiolakis knew Tsafendas since they were children and had lived in the

³⁰⁶⁴ Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³⁰⁶⁵ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

³⁰⁶⁶ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

³⁰⁶⁷ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

³⁰⁶⁸ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³⁰⁶⁹ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

³⁰⁷⁰ Reuben O'Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

³⁰⁷¹ Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

³⁰⁷² Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

³⁰⁷³ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

³⁰⁷⁴ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

same house as him in Beira for about two-three months.³⁰⁷⁵

- Nick Papadakis, who knew Tsafendas for two-three months and lived with him for two months in Mozambique in 1964;³⁰⁷⁶
- Costas Chagios, a Cape Town café owner, who knew Tsafendas for about two years.³⁰⁷⁷
- Alexandra Vaporidis knew Tsafendas for about six-seven months in Istanbul in 1961.³⁰⁷⁸
- Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town when they both had their meals at Mary Scott's boarding house and saw him daily until his arrest.³⁰⁷⁹
- Helen Grispos was another who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques, and her mother was the best friend of Tsafendas's step-mother.³⁰⁸⁰
- Ten of the sailors of the *Eleni* saw Tsafendas every day for forty-two days and up to three days before the assassination.³⁰⁸¹

Dr. Zabow stated that Tsafendas appeared unable to understand why all the psychiatrists were there and that he thought that they were just trying to help him with the tapeworm. How did he come to this conclusion? Because Tsafendas told him so and Dr. Zabow, just like the other psychiatrists, took it at face value. However, Tsafendas was perfectly able to understand what was happening when he was questioned by the police, where twice he stated clearly why and how he killed Dr. Verwoerd. He was also perfectly able to understand and described what happened even thirty years later. Then suddenly, he is lost and unable to understand what is happening. It is obvious that Tsafendas is lying to Dr. Zabow.

Tsafendas told the police that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he was “disgusted with his racial policies,” because he was not the real representative of ALL the South African

³⁰⁷⁵ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

³⁰⁷⁶ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

³⁰⁷⁷ Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015.

³⁰⁷⁸ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

³⁰⁷⁹ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

³⁰⁸⁰ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

³⁰⁸¹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 19 January 2016; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

people and because he hoped that a change of policy would take place after his death. He said exactly the same things to at least five witnesses after the assassination (Fathers Ioannis, Minas, Spiros, Alexander Moumbaris, Liza Key), while he was in the prison and later in the hospital.³⁰⁸² The only people that Tsafendas spoke to in an insane way about the assassination were the psychiatrists, his lawyers and the prison authorities.

If Tsafendas was insane at the time of the assassination and when he was examined by the psychiatrists, his situation should have deteriorated while he was in prison. He was denied medication and for at least thirteen years was brutally and systematically tortured. However, in prison and later in the hospital, Tsafendas did not speak the way he did to Dr. Zabow and the other psychiatrists to those he knew and trusted. On the contrary, he gave these people, the same reasons he gave to the police about the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd and even went further, discussing details which he had not revealed to the police. According to Professor of Forensic Psychiatry Tuviah Zabow, if Tsafendas was really a schizophrenic, it would not have been possible for him to recover without receiving medical treatment, especially because of torture and harsh treatment he revived in prison.³⁰⁸³

None of the about two hundred witnesses who were interviewed by the police and the Commission and those who were interviewed by the author said that Tsafendas behaved in “embarrassing ways.” All of them, apart from the members of his defence team, stated that he was perfectly fine and behaved normally. We will not list all the witnesses who testified to that, plus the cases of Barbeau, Martincich and Johnston, as they have been covered in detail in Dr. Cooper’s testimony. Many that the author spoke to had spent a lot of time with Tsafendas and knew him since he was a child, such as his half-sister Katerina Pnefma, his cousin Mary Eintracht, Andreas Babiolakis, Ira Kyriakakis and Helen Grispos. All grew up with Tsafendas and none remembers Tsafendas doing anything embarrassing or abnormal. They insist that he always behaved like a normal man.³⁰⁸⁴

His half-sister Pnefma, considered some of his behaviour to be an embarrassment, but this was not necessarily how it would be perceived by people who were perhaps less conventional or conservative. For example, her half-brother tried to organize a strike by

³⁰⁸² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Liza Key in a personal interview, 6 April 2015; Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³⁰⁸³ Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016.

³⁰⁸⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

workers at the dock where he was employed. What was embarrassing was that Katerina and her husband had asked the owner to give Tsafendas a job there. She considered embarrassing the fact that when he was refused entry to Lourenço Marques, Tsafendas pretended to be suffering from appendicitis, was taken ashore to a hospital and then fled. She was embarrassed that Tsafendas denounced as fascists some guests at her sister's wedding in 1941 although they were indeed Nazi supporters. That Tsafendas often argued loudly about politics and was a self-proclaimed Communist and radical who opposed apartheid and the Portuguese colonialists was embarrassing for her. As were his frequent denunciations of Greeks and whites who supported apartheid, and whites in Rhodesia and the Portuguese in Mozambique he called "foreigners who had stolen the land." Those were the embarrassing incidents that Pnema could recall. "Apart from this, his behaviour was perfectly normal," she said. "He was a normal and intelligent man. You could tell he was intelligent after a five-minute conversation with him. He was the cleverest of us all. He got the brain from my dad."³⁰⁸⁵

People like Fotini Gavasiadis, Father Nikola Banovic, Alexandra Vaporidis, Andreas Babiolakis, Nick Papadakis, Costas Chagios, Reuben O'Ryan, Joyce Dick, Stanley O'Ryan, Pamela Abrahams, Elias Constantaras, Irene, Costas and Antony Michaletos, and Panagiotis Peroglou, all of whom knew Tsafendas for more than a year, do not recall any embarrassing behaviour by Tsafendas; on the contrary, all say his behaviour was always perfectly normal. The other witnesses interviewed by the author, although they did not spend as much time with Tsafendas, also cannot recall any embarrassing incident caused by him and they all maintained that Tsafendas was well-behaved and never did anything in the slightest embarrassing.

³⁰⁸⁵ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

Finally, Dr. Zabow testified that at one point, while Tsafendas was talking about David Bloomberg's role, Tsafendas started laughing. Tsafendas later said that he often wanted to laugh, over what he heard about himself in court and over the things he told the doctors.³⁰⁸⁶ He said he had to try very hard to be calm while he was talking "like this," i.e. insanely, and not to laugh. Presumably on this occasion, he failed to control his amusement.

COMMENTS CONCERNING THE WAY TSAFENDAS SPOKE TO DR. ZABOW

The author read the transcript of Tsafendas's interview by Dr. Zabow, as read in the court, to forty-six people who knew Tsafendas. None of them recognised Tsafendas as talking in such a fashion; they said if he did, or pretended to do so, then he did it for a purpose. All declared that Tsafendas talked perfectly clearly and everything he said always made sense. The comments of the witnesses this time were less detailed since they had already listened to what Tsafendas told Dr. Cooper and Dr. Sakinofsky. Therefore, to avoid repetition, the author will only state the names of thirteen witnesses who knew Tsafendas extremely well. All strongly denied that Tsafendas could have said all this. They were: Fotini Gavasiadis, Katerina Pnema, Mary Eintracht, Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis, Costas Chagios, Andreas Babioulakis, Alexandra Vaporidis, Father Michalis Visvinis, Antony, Irene and John Michaletos, Nick Papadakis, Reuben O'Ryan and Elias Constantaras.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TAPEWORM DELUSION

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the significance of a delusion?

DR. ZABOW: The significance of a delusion is that it is a symptom. It is not an illness in itself. It is a symptom of a disordered state of mind, a breakdown in functionings of the mind, which in all of us correlates our input of information, our memory, our processes of logical thinking; co-ordinate this with our emotional life,. When a man has a delusion of this nature, when he experiences feelings of passivity to do with this delusion, one cannot say that he is functioning in the ordinary way. He is not able to use logical thought processes, because his whole associational processes in his mind have broken down. I think this is particularly important, that the delusion is a symptom of mental illness. It is not in itself a disease. It is a symptom of a severe mental illness. If I may draw once again a physical analogy, it may help.

³⁰⁸⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

One can be breathless for a number of reasons. One can be breathless because of unaccustomed exertion, or one can be breathless because of severe heart disease. Breathlessness in itself is a symptom. The severe heart disease is a serious condition. A delusion of this variety - chronic, over 20 years - sorry: the delusion itself I know of for not 20 years. I am sorry. Mental disorder for 20 years. I think the delusion was first mentioned out 1959, that I can remember for the moment, but that is already six years. Feeling of passivity. These are more than just isolated things. This is a general mental disease, in which all the functions of the mind become affected, so that one cannot expect a man with this sort of illness to exercise judgment, to be able to weigh up issues, to attach the correct amount of importance to particular things which are happening to him and around him.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: If the evidence is that he had this delusion in 1955, then it is a long-standing delusion?

DR. ZABOW: Yes. It is a long-standing delusion. It is in many ways just more evidence of what I have just said.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In relation to the charge against the accused, what role did this delusion play?

DR. ZABOW: From my interviews I tried to ascertain just how the delusion fitted in to the murder. It was extremely difficult to get a clear-cut account, in the sense that I don't think that there is a clear-cut account; I don't think that this man is able for himself to know what precisely happened. One went so far as to say: "Look, did the tapeworm tell you to commit the crime?" He says no. And he says that if he was not infested with a tapeworm he would not have committed the crime. Then, in another sequence, he talked about the tapeworm being right in the middle of it.

JUDGE BEYERS: That is a phrase Dr. Cooper used, I remember?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, this was at a joint interview. "Right in the middle of it." So that rather than say that the delusion caused the crime, the way that I understand schizophrenia I would say that the delusion is part of the mental illness. The crime is a result, in my opinion, of the mental illness. Rather than to say that the delusion caused the crime.

JUDGE BEYERS: I follow. You could get delusions which are far more closely associated with murder than this delusion?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, in the classical paranoid ...

JUDGE BEYERS: It could be linked to the object that you are killing?

DR. ZABOW: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: You didn't get this sort of direct, that the late Prime Minister and this animal or creature he describes were at one stage delusionally the same?

DR. ZABOW: No. In fact, we actually put it the other way and asked him if he felt that the late Prime Minister was responsible for his infestation,

JUDGE BEYERS: But you could get a delusion which is strong enough to that a man is killing another human being and thinks it is a dog?

DR. ZABOW: Yes. Even there, there is usually other evidence of mental disorder, but certainly the paranoid delusion may appear to be more directly related to the crime than in this instance.

JUDGE BEYERS: I follow you entirely.

COMMENTS ON THE TAPEWORM'S SIGNIFICANCE ACCORDING TO DR. ZABOW

According to Dr. Zabow, Tsafendas was unable to exercise judgment and assess what was happening to him and around him. However, Tsafendas's life proves the exact opposite:

- Tsafendas seemed to be perfectly aware in 1947/1948 of the creation of Israel and donated money and even sold his clothes to a fundraiser to support the event.³⁰⁸⁷
- In Istanbul during the second half of 1961, he volunteered to teach English to poor Greek and Turkish children. At the same time, he managed to get a full-time job as a teacher of English at the best private language college in Istanbul. He stayed for nearly six months before resigning to move on.³⁰⁸⁸
- Tsafendas was penniless when he arrived in Istanbul in June 1961. He went to a hospital and donated his blood to earn some money in order to survive.³⁰⁸⁹
- In 1964 in Mozambique, he became aware of that a colleague was in difficulty and

³⁰⁸⁷ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 April 2015.

³⁰⁸⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA;

³⁰⁸⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

worked voluntarily with him to build an extra room on his house so the man's daughter could get married.³⁰⁹⁰

- In the 1930s and in 1964, also in Mozambique, Tsafendas taught English and History to poor children believing that education was the most important tool in someone's life.³⁰⁹¹
- In 1964 in Durban, he was very well aware of the difficulties faced by some poor White people and frequently gave them money.³⁰⁹²
- In 1965, for the five months he lived with Patrick O'Ryan, he frequently bought food for everyone, knowing the family was poor. When O'Ryan complained that this embarrassed him because he was the head of the house, Tsafendas told the children that it was their father who was buying the food.³⁰⁹³
- He also seemed to be perfectly aware of what he needed to say when applying for employment or for the permanent residency permit where he simply lied about his past, saying he had never been hospitalised, arrested or imprisoned. In November 1963, he managed to hide his past from three officials of the Ministry of the Interior who interviewed him for his permanent residency application.³⁰⁹⁴
- Tsafendas seemed to be perfectly aware of the politics in Mozambique and the situation with the Portuguese. From Britain he smuggled anti-colonialist and anti-apartheid books in order to conduct propaganda for the independence of Mozambique. Although he was arrested twice accused of conducting subversive propaganda, he avoided a lengthy prison term by putting on one of his mad acts, in this case pretending to be Saint Peter. Before that, he had the courage to tell his Portuguese interrogators that he wanted to see "a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the mother nation."³⁰⁹⁵

³⁰⁹⁰ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

³⁰⁹¹ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 April 2015; Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³⁰⁹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend', 14 September 1966.

³⁰⁹³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

³⁰⁹⁴ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie.NASA.

³⁰⁹⁵ PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

- Tsafendas also appeared perfectly aware of the situation in South Africa and the importance of Dr. Verwoerd, whom he believed was the “brains behind apartheid,” which is why he decided to kill him, believing that “a change of policy would take place” or at least it would be a stepping stone towards the fall of apartheid.³⁰⁹⁶

The author could include other incidents that disprove Dr. Zabow’s testimony, but they are clearly set out in Tsafendas’s biography. Finally, Tsafendas again denied that the tapeworm told him to kill Dr. Verwoerd, although he says that the tapeworm was in the middle of it. This matter has been examined in detail in Dr. Cooper’s testimony. However, we will state again that what Tsafendas told the police concerning his motive and his beliefs about Dr. Verwoerd are entirely compatible with what he told several witnesses before and after the assassination. On the other hand, what he told Dr. Zabow is the opposite of what he told the witnesses and compatible only with what he told his psychiatrists and lawyers.

TSAFENDAS: “NOT WRONG FOR ME TO KILL DR. VERWOERD”

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Does he feel that it would have been wrong for anybody else, for instance, to have killed the Prime Minister, or would it have been right for somebody else to have killed the Prime Minister?

DR. ZABOW: Yes. In my first interview, bearing in mind the purpose of the interview, I asked him questions which might apply to McNachten rules, and I asked him whether he knew that killing another person was wrong, and he qualified it and said yes, in peace time it is wrong. Then I said “it wasn’t it wrong of you to kill the late Prime Minister?”, and then he said: “No, for me it wasn’t wrong. For anyone else it would have been wrong. For me it wasn’t wrong.” I must put this in its context. This was all part of the conversation, trying to sort out whether there was a political motive, whether this man was able to form - whether he was in fact psychotic - and it was in the process of asking him these questions. This transcript came out very badly, and I am going to refer to my own written notes.

JUDGE BEYERS: You are looking for something to show why it would have been wrong for somebody else to do it but not him?

DR. ZABOW: Yes. I just want to put that in the actual context. (Witness looks at his notes.)

³⁰⁹⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: We might come back to it at a later stage.

JUDGE BEYERS: It is rather an important one, Mr. Cooper. You don't remember his answers?

DR. ZABOW: I am just trying to put it in the context. As I said, he said “For me it wasn't wrong”, but I just want to put it into the context. It was the natural outcome of all these things put together”, his tapeworm, his mental illnesses in the hospital where one of the nurses had told him that he had schizophrenia. We had been talking about his previous psychiatric history. “It was the natural outcome of all these things put together. This was not something that was done in a day. It took many years for all the build-up to get to the stage where I got to murder Dr. Verwoerd. It was not wrong in my eyes, what I was doing. When I did it I wasn't one of the public. I was my individual self.” And then he went still, paused, and then I asked him: “Now, do you know that you can hang for murdering someone?”, and he said: “I can't pronounce myself on how I feel” - but, my Lord, not as clearly as I have said it to you. This was a series of “ers” and disjointed thoughts, but one had the feeling all the time that he could not give - and repeatedly one tried at subsequent interviews and during that interview to get him to give a clear account of what happened, why it happened and how it happened, and t no time could he follow this logical pattern. It always tied up with not being well, being physically ill, mentally ill, the influence of the tapeworm, always tired, not being able to work, and so on. This was the context of the interview.

COMMENTS CONCERNING TSAFENDAS'S CLAIM THAT IT WAS “NOT WRONG” FOR HIM TO KILL DR. VERWOERD

With regard to the assassination, Tsafendas was unable to give Dr. Zabow a clear account of what happened, why it happened or how it happened. However, he gave a perfectly clear account of his motivation and how he planned and killed Dr. Verwoerd in both of his statements to the police. In nether statement did he say anything that bore the slightest resemblance to what he told Dr. Zabow. In addition, what Tsafendas told the police is exactly what he told several witnesses after the assassination.³⁰⁹⁷ Nothing that he told Dr. Zabow bore even the slightest similarity to what he told the police or the other witnesses later.

³⁰⁹⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

As we have seen, Tsafendas also gave the police and later witnesses clear political reasons for killing Dr. Verwoerd. He even characterised Dr. Verwoerd's possible assassination as justifiable even before it happened, on the basis that it was morally acceptable to slay a tyrant and a dictator, an action that is known as "tyrannicide." He repeated the same argument to several witnesses after the assassination. The issue of Tsafendas's motive and how he killed Dr. Verwoerd have been extensively discussed with the testimonies of Dr. Cooper and Dr. Sakinofsky. The fact that Tsafendas gave a completely different account of the assassination is not questioned in court by the Attorney-General.

DISCUSSING TSAFENDAS'S MEDICAL HISTORY WITH HIM

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Are there any other factors which you feel - before we come to our assessment - are important and which weighed with you - that is, just from your interviews with the accused?

DR. ZABOW: From my interviews?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: From the interviews, yes.

DR. ZABOW: I think I have covered behaviour, thought disorder, delusions, feelings of passivity, autism. His own account of his life and his own account of his psychiatric and medical history obviously helped me to come to an assessment. Here was a man who told me how he had been in various hospitals in various parts of the world. He described having had shock treatment. He described having escaped from, I think, at least one hospital. He described having been told at one stage that he had schizophrenia. And, once again to draw an analogy between physical and psychiatric medicine, one is most concerned with the history of the patient and his illness in order to assess the degree of illness and the prognosis of the illness.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: One factor which you can help the Court on is the accused's emotional level?

DR. ZABOW: The accused's emotional level I found to be rather blunt at most points. He displayed very little - in fact, I must say to me he displayed no anxiety when I spoke to him. He did not seem overly concerned with his predicament, but only with himself and his difficult sensations and his discomfort, but not with his situation.

JUDGE BEYERS: Mr. Cooper, I have had quite a lot of this now, and I will take some more

if you wish to feed it to me. I am interested in the work that has been done, but don't you think that you are overburdening the Court with details?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: My Lord, my difficulty is

JUDGE BEYERS: I know your difficulty, and you must appreciate mine and I cannot at this stage tell you that you are doing so. I just want you to consider whether you aren't perhaps giving us a bit of indigestion.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: My difficulty is that it has not been put crisply to any of my experts what the State says.

JUDGE BEYERS: I agree with you. I have been looking for that myself. I agree with you. It hasn't been put.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Therefore I can't take anything for granted.

JUDGE BEYERS: No, of course not. I can't tell you to take anything for granted, but I want you to be intelligent too.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: They say a nod is as good as a wink.

JUDGE BEYERS: I want a conclusion to this, and I think the details we have had quite long.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: May I just put the position? I will try to curtail my examination now, but naturally, should something arise in the State's.

JUDGE BEYERS: If you ask me to call Dr. Zabow back, I undertake to say "Yes." Just shortly, did you find thought blocking?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, there were times when I found thought blocking, when he would, in fact, be talking about one thing, there would be a pause and he could not continue talking about it at all. I actually asked him at the first interview whether he had any of the other disturbances of thought in the past. I asked him had he ever felt himself flooded with thoughts, or his thoughts suddenly cutting out, and he told me that at times this had happened. Once again, an important aspect of schizophrenic thought disorder.

COMMENTS ON DR. ZABOW DISCUSSING TSAFENDAS'S MEDICAL HISTORY WITH HIM

Dr. Zabow states here that he came to the conclusion that Tsafendas was schizophrenic also by taking into account Tsafendas's medical history as it was described to him by the accused

himself; he accepted without question an alleged schizophrenic's own account of his medical history. It seems though that Tsafendas told Dr. Zabow only parts of his medical history, omitting his hospitalization in Beira, where he was also diagnosed as schizophrenic after he claimed to be Saint Peter, and that he was caught out faking mental illness in the USA.

The author is not in position to know for certain if Tsafendas mentioned these incidents, but given that Dr. Zabow did not refer to it, we could assume that Tsafendas omitted them. Why would Tsafendas do that? Presumably because as an experienced "schizophrenic," he was aware that it would raise suspicion if it was found out that just about two years before the assassination, Tsafendas also believed himself to be Saint Peter. Presumably, Tsafendas also failed to mention that he was medically examined at least ten times the past two and half years and none of the doctors who checked him spotted any of the alleged symptoms as described in the court.

It is surprising that Dr. Zabow took for granted Tsafendas's own account of his medical history and did not seek to double-check it. Professor Kirk Heilbrun disagrees with the method used by Dr. Zabow to diagnose Tsafendas and the fact that he relied on what his patient told him. He told the author that if he was in his position he "would have sought information from the second and third domains [collateral interviews with people who knew Tsafendas and his medical and criminal record] rather than additional information from the first domain." He added he did not believe it possible to make an accurate diagnosis about a patient, especially in a forensic case, after observing him for only three one-and-a-half-hour sessions.³⁰⁹⁸

Dr. Zabow mentions again that Tsafendas suffered from thought disorder and had admitted to him that this was something that had happened in the past, too. However, none of the witnesses who were interviewed by the author and who knew Tsafendas (apart from his defence team) noticed anything like that about him and that it never happened while they were present. Since we have discussed the issue before, for more about it see Dr. Cooper's and Dr. Sakinofsky's testimonies. Tsafendas himself never mentioned anything resembling thought disorder to people who knew him nor to any of the nine doctors who examined him while he was in South Africa for jobs or permanent residency applications. As for the issue of Tsafendas not being concerned about his fate, this is something that we have discussed extensively in the testimonies of Dr. Cooper and Mr. van Zyl.

³⁰⁹⁸ Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017.

DR. ZABOW'S CONCLUSIONS REGARDING TSAFENDAS

JUDGE BEYERS: As a result of these investigations you carried out, are you quite satisfied that the accused is a schizophrenic?

DR. ZABOW: I am absolutely satisfied that the accused is a schizophrenic.

JUDGE BEYERS: The degree? Would you say he was a certifiable schizophrenic?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, I would. Would you like me to say why?

JUDGE BEYERS: Yes, I would?

DR. ZABOW: First of all, I diagnosed.....

JUDGE BEYERS: I will put my question differently. Are you satisfied, as a result of your investigations, that he is mentally disordered for the purposes of Section 2 of the Mental Disorders Act?

DR. ZABOW: Yes. I am satisfied that he suffers from a mental disorder, that he is unable to care for himself, that he needs control and treatment. That he is a danger to himself, I am not sure of, but to others. But I would put him mentally disordered in terms of the Act, that he falls into the first sub-group of mental disorder.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: And where should he be kept?

DR. ZABOW: He should be kept in a suitable institution where he could be adequately controlled and even at this late stage of his illness I feel that he should get treatment for whatever worth that may be.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the prognosis?

DR. ZABOW: Unfortunately, for recovery, the prognosis is poor. For a reasonable degree of control under supervision, there may be, but for recovery after a 20-year history of schizophrenia, I would be most surprised - having taken into account his mental state as I have seen it and having heard facts presented in this Court - to hear that he would ever recover completely. I would always regard him as being a chronic psychotic, a chronic schizophrenic.

JUDGE BEYERS: You use the word 'chronic' - it has been used several times. What exactly does chronic mean in that context?

DR. ZABOW: In that context I only mean a schizophrenic who has had the illness for a long time and that the illness has been present during the time that he has had it. There has been no total remission.

JUDGE BEYERS: There must be many people walking around who have in some degree certain elements of schizophrenic conditions - I am not sure we haven't all got bits and pieces of it - but there must be lots of people that have them?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, not all schizophrenics are in mental hospitals, if that is what you mean.

JUDGE BEYERS: Yes. Would you suggest that all schizophrenics should be in mental hospitals?

DR. ZABOW: No, I would not suggest that all schizophrenics should be in mental hospitals.

JUDGE BEYERS: This becomes a matter of degree?

DR. ZABOW: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: In this man's case is the degree such that you think he should be?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, I think - and I would like to stress this - that presuming he presented at an out-patients' or clinic which I were doing, and he had not been accused of murder (because I don't want the Court to feel that I am basing this on the murder) I would take the history with the mental examination - I don't say that I would straightaway certify him and put him into a mental hospital, but I would certainly institute treatment. I would want to know his social background, I would want to know whether he is able to live adequately on his own, earn a living and hold down a job adequately; in other words, whether he can look after himself, or not. I might, if I felt it indicated, ask a social worker or the Community Nurse to call at the places where he lived and find out what sort of person he is, how he relates to the people around him. This is where I would, if possible - and I don't guarantee that I would be right - try and assess whether he is, in fact, a danger to himself or to the community. Then, eventually, I would have to come to a decision after a period of investigation and possibly out-patient treatment, as to whether to hospitalize him, or not. So that it would be an overall investigation. On the evidence presented to this Court - and I sat in the Court since the proceedings started - I think that I have found out very much what the social worker and the Community Nurse would have found out, and that was that he can't hold down a job, that he is a drifter and that he certainly needs, at least, treatment and possibly control.

ASSESSOR: The evidence led from Mr. Daniels and his wife and the witnesses that

followed, the people with whom he lived, rather confirms your diagnosis?

DR. ZABOW: Yes. I was particularly struck by the description of this man; the way he walked in with this parcel of meat, with the blood dripping down him, and was only pre-occupied in feeding the worm. Everything else went by the board. Now, one may say that a navy-type, a labourer, an uncouth person might behave in such a way. But then we must take the overall picture into account; remember, this is a man of intelligence; this is not an unintelligent, feeble-minded person; so that it would add weight to the fact that he is not able to live, what we would call I suppose, a normal sort of life.

JUDGE BEYERS: I think we are approaching this wrongly. In answering the question whether you would certify him, I was concerned with this man's mental condition today. I am not concerned with his mental condition at the time when he committed the murder. I am concerned with his mental condition today. So in telling me whether today this man is a person who falls within the definition of the Mental Disorders Act, you must not disregard the murder, you must take it into account. The murder is probably one of the most important factors that you should take into account in expressing an opinion?

DR. ZABOW: With respect, I misunderstood the emphasis of your question. Certainly, up till the last time that I interviewed the accused - that was on the 14th of the month - I felt him at that time to be mentally disordered in terms of the Mental Disorders Act, and certifiable. I am sorry, I used the word 'murder.' It is the killing. To be precise, on the 11th October, when I last examined this man psychiatrically I regarded him as being mentally disordered in terms of the Mental Disorders Act, and I would have no hesitation in signing a Mental S.2 to support that opinion.

JUDGE BEYERS: You'd sign it today?

DR. ZABOW: Up to yesterday. In terms of the Act I must have examined him within seven days.

JUDGE BEYERS: If I asked you yesterday or the day before?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, I would

JUDGE BEYERS: You would have no hesitation?

DR. ZABOW: In completing a Mental S.2 as a specialist psychiatrist.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You have seen this letter, Exhibit E?

DR. ZABOW: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: I don't want to deal with it at all but what is your comment on that letter?

DR. ZABOW: My comment on this letter is that it shows schizophrenic thought disorder and is the sort of letter which could well be used in a text book of psychiatry to illustrate schizophrenic thinking.

COMMENTS ON DR. ZABOW'S CONCLUSIONS REGARDING TSAFENDAS

Dr. Zabow's conclusions about Tsafendas show more clearly than anywhere else how wrong he was in his diagnosis of Tsafendas.

TSAFENDAS BEING UNABLE TO CARE FOR HIMSELF AND NEEDING CONTROL AND TREATMENT

Several of the diagnoses of Tsafendas have been off the mark in this summary trial, such as Dr. Cooper's that Tsafendas is unable to function on a reasonable level, and this is equal to it. If Tsafendas was unable to care for himself, how did he manage to survive the forty-eight previous years of his life? A man who, although penniless most of the time, managed to travel to sixteen countries where he knew no-one yet never spent an evening without a bed. A stranger in all these countries, he always managed to find a job and sometimes he even thrived, as he did in Istanbul, where he worked for almost half a year at the Limasollu Naci College.

Tsafendas always seemed to find a way of achieving his goals. During the Greek Civil War, he managed to join the Democratic Army of Greece, the military wing of the Greek Communist Party, and he survived. Arrested five times by the Portuguese police because of his political ideas and political activities, he managed to secure his release each time. Banned from entering Mozambique due to his anti-colonialist beliefs and activities, he convinced the Portuguese that he was harmlessly mad so they allowed him to return. Tsafendas attended several job interviews and no one noticed anything wrong with him, and that included three officials at the Ministry of the Interior who interviewed him three times over his application for permanent residency in South Africa. PIDE would not have held a detailed 130-pages file on Tsafendas and withheld from South Africa information on his political activities if he was a man who was not able to look after himself.

The following are some incidents and statements which are indicative of Tsafendas's character and ability to care for himself:

- Peter Pappas, owner of a Greek café in Durban, said when Tsafendas had some money he would give “a few cents to the white down-and-outs of the city.” Pappas said, “When his luck was out, I sometimes gave him a free meal, but when he started work he paid me.”³⁰⁹⁹ These are hardly the things that someone who is unable to look after himself would do.
- Jacobus Borman was Tsafendas's flatmate. He told the police “on one occasion I had no money and then Tsafendas gave me five cents. I later wanted to return the money to him, but he would not take it.”³¹⁰⁰
- On January 25, 1965, Tsafendas was released after three months' imprisonment in Beira for subversive propaganda. Penniless as without a roof over his head, Tsafendas asked if he could sleep at the Beira fire department premises and the fire-fighters agreed. He slept there for ten nights, making sure that “he arrived at mealtimes, when he was invited to share in the food.”³¹⁰¹
- Tsafendas was penniless when he arrived in Istanbul in June 1961. He went to a hospital and donated his blood to earn money for food and bed.³¹⁰²
- When he was arrested in Beira by the Portuguese police with a suitcase full of anti-fascist and anti-colonialist books, but also some Bibles, he was accused of pretending to be a Christian missionary spreading the word about religion, while in reality preaching “under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique's independence.”³¹⁰³ Questioned in custody, Tsafendas came up with the idea of pretending to be Saint Peter, which fitted perfectly with his story of Christian missionary preaching. The Portuguese thought he was mad and released him.³¹⁰⁴

³⁰⁹⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend’, 14 September 1966.

³¹⁰⁰ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³¹⁰¹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

³¹⁰² Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³¹⁰³ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³¹⁰⁴ Alberto Henriques de Matos Rodrigues conclusion to the Subdirector, 23 January 1965. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Conclusion, signed by António Fernandes Vaz, 22 January 1965. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

- When he was ordered to fulfil his duty of compulsory military service in the Portuguese army, he pretended to be mad and got away with it.³¹⁰⁵
- In 1964 in Beira, John Emmanuel Marvis lent him twenty escudos, which Tsafendas paid back a few days later.³¹⁰⁶
- In 1963, he managed to convince the Portuguese that he was a “reformed man,” no longer a Communist or a supporter of the independence of Mozambique, but just a little bit mad and harmless, so they granted him amnesty and allowed him to return to Mozambique after twelve years of exile.³¹⁰⁷

The author asked forty-six relatives and friends who knew Tsafendas well if they ever got the impression he was not able to care for himself. Not a single one agreed. Again, we list opinions by those who knew him very well:

- Fotini Gavasiadis, who was with Tsafendas every day for nine months in 1963-1964, was shocked and asked, “Are you serious? Are you sure the doctor said this about Dimitri? He must have examined a different man.”³¹⁰⁸
- Mary Eintracht, his cousin who grew up with him in Egypt and Mozambique, characterised the comment as “ludicrous” and “for laughs.”³¹⁰⁹
- Tsafendas lived with the O’Ryans for five months. No one in the family saw him as someone unable to care for himself or in need for treatment. On the contrary, they thought of him as a “resourceful and capable” man. Because Patrick O’Ryan refused to take any rent from him, Tsafendas would bring food to the house almost every day; he often bought sweets and toys for the children,³¹¹⁰ and he also gave money to Allan O’Ryan for his bus fare to school when his mother was unable to do so.³¹¹¹ Reuben O’Ryan said of Tsafendas: “We all loved him ... he was an adorable man ... he was the answer to our

³¹⁰⁵ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

³¹⁰⁶ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

³¹⁰⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³¹⁰⁸ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 18 March 2016.

³¹⁰⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 18 March 2016.

³¹¹⁰ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019; Stanley O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 9 April 2015; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

³¹¹¹ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

prayers. We were poor and he brought food to our house.”³¹¹²

I could go on listing evidence to prove how wrong Dr. Zabow’s testimony was, but I feel that this particular statement is best disproven by reading Tsafendas’s biography in Chapter 2, everything else that has been discussed in this chapter and more importantly all the statements of the people who knew Tsafendas. For more about Tsafendas’s ability to care for himself see his biography (Chapter 2).

TSAFENDAS BEING UNABLE TO LIVE ADEQUATELY ON HIS OWN

Interestingly, Dr. Zabow stated that he would like to have known Tsafendas’s social background, whether he was able to live adequately on his own and how he related to the people around him. This could easily have been discovered if Dr. Zabow had spoken to people who knew Tsafendas, or easier, if he had read any of the one hundred and fifty statements that the police took from people who knew him. He would have seen that Tsafendas was more than able to live on his own, as he did for two years in Mozambique (1937-1939), two years in Greece (1947-1949), three years in Portugal (1955-1958), nine months in Pretoria in 1963-1964, three-four months in Beira in 1964, three-four months in Istanbul in 1961.

According to Mary Eintracht and Fotini Gavasiadis, Tsafendas was perfectly fine living on his own in Pretoria in 1963-1964 for eight months. Both were surprised by Dr. Zabow’s comments and believed they were completely off the mark.³¹¹³ According to Alexandra Vaporidis and Father Nikola Banovic, who met him in Istanbul, Tsafendas managed perfectly well living for three-four months on his own.³¹¹⁴ Andreas Babiolakis, Costas Poriазis, Nick Papadakis, Antony, Irene and John Michaletos, Marina Tsihlakis and Ira Kyriakakis, who knew Tsafendas while he lived on his own in Mozambique, both in Lourenço Marques and in Beira, stated to the author that he was perfectly competent to live alone and nobody ever thought otherwise.³¹¹⁵

³¹¹² Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

³¹¹³ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³¹¹⁴ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

³¹¹⁵ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Irene and John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriазis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016; Marina Tsihlakis in a personal interview, 03 April 2015.

Ira Kyriakakis and Andreas Babiolakis also remembered Tsafendas living in his father's house in Lourenço Marques from 1937 to 1939 on his own. They both remember him being excited at having the whole house to himself, although he often told them that he missed his family. Both said Tsafendas managed perfectly well, living his own at age nineteen. Babiolakis said Tsafendas was happy to be on his own because he was able to bring his girlfriend Stella to the house any time he wanted to. He even allowed some of his friends to take their girls to his house because they were still living with their parents.³¹¹⁶ Katerina Pnema, his half-sister, stated to the author that "if he was not capable of living on his own, my dad would have never left him on his own. Its absolute nonsense the doctor's comment."³¹¹⁷

Further proof of Tsafendas's ability to live adequately on his own comes by reading his biography. He travelled all around the world on his own, he visited countries where he was a complete stranger and still managed not only to survive, but on many occasions to live the "normal life" the doctors claimed he did not have - in Hamburg, for example, where he lived for a couple of years with his German girlfriend. Presumably Tsafendas lived on his own for two years in Greece (1947-1949) and Portugal (1951-1953, 1960-1963).

TSAFENDAS BEING A "DRIFTER"

Calling Tsafendas a "drifter" is like calling Odysseus a drifter. Tsafendas never travelled aimlessly or just for the sake of it. Wherever he went was for a purpose. Remember he was banned from South Africa and Mozambique and was prosecuted in Portugal. As result of this, he travelled either to find employment (Sweden, Germany, England), or because these countries were on the way to his destination (Syria, Lebanon, France, Spain, Denmark, Italy), or simply for a holiday (Bulgaria, Rhodesia, Greece again).

Dr. Zabow seems to be unaware that Tsafendas was forced to spend the years from 1951 to 1963 in exile, having been banned from Mozambique, the country of his birth, because of his pro-Communist and anti-colonialist activities. At the same time, he was barred from South Africa because he was a Communist "half-caste" who was suspected of being engaged in Communist propaganda when he lived in Mozambique. In the years up to 1963, Tsafendas made nine applications for permanent residence in South Africa and all were

³¹¹⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

³¹¹⁷ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

rejected; he made at least six to be allowed to return to Mozambique, all of which were turned down.

Mozambique was then a Province of Portugal and Tsafendas was officially a Portuguese citizen. However, not only was Tsafendas banned from Mozambique, he was prosecuted and imprisoned in Portugal. The authorities objected to his past political activism in Mozambique and the fact that he was a Communist who opposed the dictatorship of Premier Antonio Salazar. As for drifting around the world, Mozambique and South Africa were the only countries Tsafendas lived in prior to being banned from them, although as a child, he had also lived for a year in Egypt. While serving the Allied cause as a merchant seaman in World War Two, he was stationed in Canada and in the United States. In 1947, he was deported from America to Greece and it was then that his odyssey began. With Mozambique, Portugal and South Africa inaccessible, he tried to find a place to live.³¹¹⁸

The fact is Tsafendas was travelling because he was not allowed to live where he wished to live, in Mozambique and South Africa. “Forced globe-trotting,” he called it.³¹¹⁹ If one of his visa applications had been successful, he would have gone there immediately. It is true that Tsafendas travelled much more widely than most people, but an analysis of his journeys and intentions comprehensively disproves Dr. Zabow’s characterization of Tsafendas as a “drifter.” He spent the first twenty-three years of his life in Mozambique, Egypt and South Africa. He lived in those countries because that was where his family was. From 1941 to 1947, he lived in the United States or, during the Second World War, at sea serving in American Liberty Ships. In 1947, and against his will, he was deported to Greece because of his Greek origins, although he wanted to return to Mozambique.

While in Greece, he joined the Democratic Army, the military wing of the Greek Communist Party, and fought with them in the civil war. When it was obvious that the Communists had lost and the war was coming to an end, Tsafendas applied for a visa to return to South Africa. In his application he wrote, “I am here a man without a country, living in strange lands with people who have different ways of living, customs and languages.”³¹²⁰ The application was turned down. He decided to try Mozambique, via Portugal. He managed

³¹¹⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³¹¹⁹ Demetrios Tsafendakis Affidavit, November 1965. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen, NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³¹²⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 17.

to do this by taking ship from Greece to France, then travelling on foot to Portugal through Spain.³¹²¹

In Portugal, in November 1949, Tsafendas was arrested because the authorities had questions about his identity. It was discovered that he was indeed a Portuguese citizen, but had not served his compulsory term in the military and that he had been dismissed twice from jobs in Mozambique for Communist activities.³¹²² Tsafendas spent the next year in prison but was then released and boarded a ship to Mozambique. He arrived there in October 1951 but was refused entry because he was listed in official files as a Communist and suspected of involvement in subversive activities.³¹²³ This refusal led to his next twelve years being spent in exile. In January 1952, he was back in Portugal and was arrested in Lisbon. The police discovered that he was a Communist and an avowed anti-colonialist who was under suspicion of “unclear activities” during his time in Mozambique and put him in jail again.³¹²⁴

Upon his eventual release a few months later, with his chosen destinations South Africa and Mozambique unattainable, he decided to go to Sweden, where he had heard he could get a job as a welder. He travelled there through Denmark, and eventually got a job as a carpenter.³¹²⁵ He did not stay in Sweden long as the weather was too cold and the money too little, so he moved to Hamburg, Germany. Tsafendas remained in Germany from early 1954 to June 1955. During his time there, he sent off applications to be allowed to return to Mozambique and to South Africa. All were rejected and in mid-1955 he returned once more to Portugal and spent the next three years working as a hawker in Lisbon.³¹²⁶

Weary of constant PIDE supervision and police harassment, Tsafendas decided in 1958 to leave Portugal, and he travelled to Brussels to sell embroidery at the international exhibition, Expo 58. From there, he went back to Germany and spent the next year and a half in Frankfurt, working for one and half months at Fries and Son, six months for Anglo-American Fashions and Designers, and then another six months at a US Army printing

³¹²¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³¹²² PIDE Confidential Report about Demitrio Tsafendas, 7 June 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³¹²³ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

³¹²⁴ *Diario Popular*, ‘E Conhesido em Lisboa o Assassino do Dr. Verwoerd’, 9 September 1966.

³¹²⁵ Ochsenzoll Hospital report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1, Sub-file: 1/8. NASA.

³¹²⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

works.³¹²⁷ During his time in Germany, he lived on his own but had a relationship with a German girl who was a Communist.³¹²⁸

In May 1959, Tsafendas travelled to Britain, hoping to find a job. He was refused a work permit and took “clandestine” jobs to survive.³¹²⁹ While in London, once again, he applied for permission to enter South Africa, sending a letter and an application form dated August 4, 1959 to the Union’s immigration attaché in London. A note attached to his file at the embassy stated that Tsafendas had sought permanent residence status in South Africa several times without success, that in 1941 he entered illegally and was fined; it said he had Communist leanings and had threatened to enter without permission if he was denied again. The diplomat dealing with the application wrote, “Refusal is suggested!” On September 11, 1959, “Demetrio Tsafandakis, alias Demetrio Tsafendas,” was blacklisted by the South African Department of the Interior, meaning that he could receive no passport or admission facilities without the consent of the Department’s head office.³¹³⁰

In London, Tsafendas also became politically active with anti-apartheid and anti-fascist organisations. He was discovered to be in the country illegally and in December 1959, the British sent him back to Germany, where he spent the next six months working in a tractor factory in Munich.³¹³¹ In March 1960, he read about the Sharpeville massacre and decided to return to South Africa and “do something” against Dr. Verwoerd and apartheid.³¹³² Convinced by now that he would not be allowed to enter the country legitimately, he decided on an illegal route, “through the African states south to South Africa.” The first stage took him through the Balkan States to Piraeus, Greece, then he took a ferry to Alexandria, Egypt. There his passport expired and he was unable to renew it or replace it, but with the help of the Red Cross, he managed to get to Beirut and Jerusalem.³¹³³

With his Africa North-to-South plan blocked, Tsafendas decided to return to Portugal. Travelling through Lebanon and Syria by bus, he crossed the Taurus mountain

³¹²⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³¹²⁸ Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

³¹²⁹ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³¹³⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraphs 28-30.

³¹³¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³¹³² Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

³¹³³ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

range and reached Ankara, Turkey in May 1961. A month later, he arrived in Istanbul, where he worked as a teacher of English at the best private language college in Turkey at the time, the Limasollu Naci College.³¹³⁴ In December 1961, he left to visit a former comrade from the Greek Civil War who lived in Sofia, Bulgaria. His visit lasted two weeks and then he went to Greece to spend Christmas with his good friend John Michaletos and his family.³¹³⁵ In January 1962, he travelled to the island of Crete to meet his relatives and see where his beloved father and his hero great-grandfather were born. From Greece, he travelled to Italy, then took the train to Lisbon, where he arrived in February 1962.³¹³⁶

Tsafendas worked as a welder in Lisbon until July 1962, when he went back to England and again participated in anti-apartheid and anti-fascist demonstrations. In late 1962, he learned that his father had died and he determined to visit his grave in South Africa. After several more unsuccessful applications for a visa for Mozambique and South Africa, in August or September of 1963, after twelve years of exile, the Portuguese government relented. Convinced by an “act” he put that he was mad but harmless, and “reformed” in terms of his political ideology, the authorities gave him amnesty and permission to return to Mozambique.³¹³⁷

In October 1963, Tsafendas arrived in Mozambique and a month later, with the help of his family, he was back in South Africa in Pretoria. He remained in Pretoria until July 1964, working for five months for F.A. Poole Engineering and the rest of the time at his half-sister’s café. He crossed into Rhodesia to visit another half-sister he had not seen since 1941, and from there went again to Mozambique. He remained in Beira from October 1964 until November 1964, working for the Hume Pipe Company,³¹³⁸ before being arrested by the Portuguese police for “making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.”³¹³⁹ After three months in

³¹³⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³¹³⁵ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

³¹³⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³¹³⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Minas Constantinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³¹³⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³¹³⁹ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

jail in Beira, he left Mozambique for Durban in March 1965. He remained there until October 1965, working off and on as an interpreter at the Durban Court, as a welder at Fraser and Chalmers for two months and for a month for South African Railways. After receiving a letter from Helen Daniels who said she wanted to meet and marry him, he travelled from Durban to Cape Town, where he met her. He remained in Cape Town from October 1965 until September 1966.

None of the above travels can be described as aimless. Tsafendas himself, as already mentioned, characterised them in his affidavit as “forced globetrotting”³¹⁴⁰ and he was right. Several countries happened to be on the way to his destination, like France, Italy, Spain, Syria, Lebanon, Denmark and Turkey. Naturally, he spent little time there because he was just passing through. This does not apply to Turkey, where he got a teaching job and stayed for seven months. He visited Greece for the second time, Rhodesia and Bulgaria for holidays. For business and work, he travelled England, Belgium and Sweden, while one of the Liberty ships during the Second World War also took him to Canada. Apart from places where he stayed only weeks or a few months, this is his life story:

- Six years in Egypt, all in Alexandria (1919-1925)
- Seventeen years in Mozambique: 16 years in Lourenço Marques and one in Beira (1918-1919, 1925-1939, 1963-1964)
- Five years in South Africa: approximately two years in Pretoria, one in Johannesburg, one in Cape Town and a eight months in Durban (1939-1941, 1963-1966, plus school in Middleburg)
- Six years in the USA in Boston and New York, a lot of this time at sea (1941-1947)
- Two years in Greece, all in Athens (1947-1949)
- Six years in Portugal, all in Lisbon (1951-1953, 1955-1958, 1962-1963)
- Three years in Germany, all in three cities, Munich, Frankfurt and Hamburg (1953-1955, 1958-1959)
- Seven months in Turkey in Istanbul (1961)³¹⁴¹

This is not drifting, it is the odyssey of a man who was forced to live in exile from the

³¹⁴⁰ Demetrios Tsafendakis Affidavit, November 1965. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen, NASA.

³¹⁴¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

country where he was born (Mozambique) for twelve years, who for sixteen years was not allowed to enter the country where his family lived (South Africa) and who was prosecuted and imprisoned because of his political beliefs in the country of his official nationality and where, after Mozambique, he spent most of his time (Portugal). Wherever he was, he always applied for permission to return to Mozambique and South Africa. Had he been allowed to return to either country or left in peace in Portugal, this vast Baedeker of travel would never have been opened.

Tsafendas travelled through so many countries mainly for two reasons:

- In search of a better place to stay and work
- He needed to cross through many countries to reach his destination.

Tsafendas's desperate efforts to return to Mozambique or South Africa and find a place to live and work without being followed by the police do not constitute "drifting." His peregrinations recall those of Odysseus, who travelled for ten years through many different places to reach his destination.

Finally, it might also be noted that a person who travels from place to place, finds work where he stops and then moves on, is not necessarily a schizophrenic. On the contrary, several highly successful people, especially exponents of the arts, have lived such a life. During his thirties, the renowned and influential French poet, Arthur Rimbaud travelled the world, moving from country to country and sustaining himself with jobs along the way. He did so because he wanted to explore lands and cultures outside of his French experience. History has not labelled Rimbaud as a schizophrenic or an aimless drifter. Unlike Rimbaud, however, Tsafendas did not keep moving for pleasure, but usually because he was barred or deported from a country and was forced to travel elsewhere. He made the most of his enforced sojourns, learning new languages and investigating cultures, but his life's aim was always to settle down, at first in Mozambique and later South Africa.

TSAFENDAS'S INABILITY TO HOLD DOWN A JOB AND HOW HE RELATED TO PEOPLE AROUND HIM

Tsafendas's ability to find and hold down a job has been discussed extensively in Dr. Cooper's testimony. As to how Tsafendas related to people around him, this could be seen by the people's own statements that have been used in this study. Furthermore, it could also be seen in Dr. Cooper's testimony.

DR. ZABOW'S PROGNOSIS REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S CHANCE OF RECOVERING

As for Tsafendas ever being able to recover from his schizophrenia, all those who knew him while he was in prison and in the hospital strongly believe that he was not schizophrenic and that he was perfectly all right when he was talking to them. None of these witnesses ever thought that Tsafendas might be a schizophrenic and he never told them any of the things he told his defence team and those who examined him during the summary trial. These witnesses include Alexander and Marie-Jose Moumbaris, Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis, Father Spiros Randos, Liza Key, Father Minas Constandinou, Father Michalis Visvinis, Rika Nikolatos and Dimitris Skoularikis.³¹⁴²

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you agree that the finer feelings in regard to family and friends are the first to be affected in a schizophrenic?

DR. ZABOW: I would agree that they may be one of the earlier signs, but if you are asking me to say that it is a sine qua non then I can't say that.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Doesn't such a person lose sympathy and regard for their people?

DR. ZABOW: It depends on the phase and the activity of his illness, it depends what sort of contact you are referring to. I am not altogether sure that I understand. If you could explain to me, with respect, what particular relationship you wish me to deal with.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He enquired about his friends while he was in gaol. Has that got

³¹⁴² Professor Renfrew Christie in a personal interview, 12 April 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Alexander and Marie-Jose Moumbaris in a personal interview, 7 March 2010; Dimitris Skoularikis in a personal interview, 26 April 2015; Father Spiros Randos in a personal interview, 5 January 2004; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

any significance?

DR. ZABOW: Well, we have heard in Court from people who knew him that he had friendships with them: the Daniels' the O'Ryan's. The Daniels' commented - I think it was the Daniels or the O'Ryan's - one of the families commented on his fondness of the children. I have taken that into account in coming to my formulation.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you think that there is emotional blunting?

DR. ZABOW: I have observed some emotional blunting, but I would like to stress that emotional blunting is not the symptom of schizophrenia, it is rather a disorder of emotion which may at times be blunted, at times incongruous, and at times there may be rages or depression, very often in keeping with the inner phantasy life, the autistic life of the patient, and not necessarily with outer reality.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: In what sub-class of schizophrenia do you put the accused?

DR. ZABOW: In this morning's evidence I mentioned I felt he fell most closely into the paranoid group, but that he was not a typical paranoid schizophrenic.

JUDGE BEYERS: The sub-classes are very fluid, aren't they?

DR. ZABOW: That is the point I wish to make.

JUDGE BEYERS: They are not species of the same genus. They are emanations and they intertwine and they show signs of one and signs of another. Isn't that so?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, that is so.

JUDGE BEYERS: That is how I understand the subject. I don't know much about it.

DR. ZABOW: That is correct. One doesn't always get a textbook picture of a particular typo.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you agree that one gets periodic schizophrenics?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, there is a condition described more correctly than periodic schizophrenia, as periodic catatonia, which is a specific variety of schizophrenia described by a Scandinavian psychiatrist Jessing, which he has attempted to relate to the activity of the thyroid gland. It is not the sort of illness that this man presents with, which has to do with catatonic disorder, which is more particularly a motor manifestation of schizophrenia, either acute excitement or catatonic stupor. I would not class the accused in that group at all and I may add that, although Jessing has described this group and it is mentioned in most text books it is not necessarily accepted by all authorities.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Do you get remissions in regard to this condition?

DR. ZABOW: Which condition? Remission in regard to which condition?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: In regard to the condition you have just described?

DR. ZABOW: Periodic catatonia?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes?

DR. ZABOW: I believe that the text books describe remissions. I have not personally seen this.

JUDGE BEYERS: What on earth is remission? Is that a time when you do not show the thing?

DR. ZABOW: Well, that would be either a time - it depends there on the definition of the remission. It may either mean, in some people's view, that the disease was no longer present, or perhaps in other people's view, that the disease is no longer manifested,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: To what extent do you think the accused could plan, if there is a serious thought disorder?

DR. ZABOW: Once again I must stress and think of the intelligence itself of the patient, I must stress that although he has once been diagnosed as hebephrenia, we must now accept that it was not a pure hebephrenia anyway, and that there is a certain amount of ego function intact. It is not uncommon for paranoid schizophrenics to be able to plan very ably, but in keeping with their autistic view of the world. Let us say, as they see the world they plan, and the plan itself may be a reasonably complex one, although I am not sure that buying two knives in the morning and stabbing someone the same day is necessarily a complex plan. One could even credit a paranoid with planning something more complex. So that I don't see any contradiction between what has been described to the Court in this man's actions and his mental condition.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused give you a detailed account of how he planned to kill the deceased?

DR. ZABOW: I attempted to get an account from him on several occasions. At times he described to me, as has been described to the Court, how he stabbed the, and how, had he not been held back, he would have continued to stab the deceased. At other times he got so far off the point, as I outlined in my this morning's evidence, that it was impossible to get a coherent

account of what had led up to the killing.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused tell you that he first decided to kill the Prime Minister early in August, 1966?

DR. ZABOW: I hesitate. I am not sure that he told me directly, or if I heard it in evidence in Court, but I am aware of it. He did tell me about a gas pistol. I think this was the occasion when he had considered it.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Before we get to that, did he tell you that he originally planned to shoot the deceased?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, that is why I say the 2.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And did he say that he arranged to buy a Beretta pistol from a seaman on the tanker 'Eleni'?

DR. ZABOW: Once again I must say I am not sure if the accused told me this, or if I heard it in the Court here.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he tell you that he waited for his salary at the end of August, 1966, before buying the pistol?

DR. ZABOW: He didn't tell me that, no

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And did he also tell you that he intended escaping on the ship 'Eleni' after shooting the deceased?

DR. ZABOW: When I questioned the accused about escape it was mainly in relation to the escape at the time of the alleged offence, and at that time it seemed to me that I could not - in fact, not seem to me, it was so - that I could not get a clear answer from him. He said that he was not aware of the situation and had not a plan to escape. At a subsequent interview I tried to ascertain whether there was any question of him trying to make a sacrifice of himself, and once again there was no logical answer; it got tied up with the tape worm and his whole mental condition.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he tell you how he came into possession of this gas pistol?

DR. ZABOW: I say once again I do not recall asking him specifically. My emphasis, in interviewing him, was on assessing the mental state, the motivation and rather the circumstances of the actual event than the plan which came to no good. I didn't enquire into all that detail.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he say that he changed his plans after he had purchased the pistol which was not suited to his purpose?

DR. ZABOW: The same answer applies. I don't know that I can say.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused tell you that he decided to kill the Prime Minister by stabbing him?

DR. ZABOW: Well, I am not sure that he used the words 'by stabbing him' but he certainly did tell it to me because he told me about buying the knives, so that I was aware of it.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused also tell you that on the morning of the 6th September, 1966, he changed his uniform in Parliament and put on a suit to go down town?

DR. ZABOW: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he say that he left Parliament and went to buy two daggers at different shops round about 9.00 a.m.?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, I have an idea that I may even have the name of the one shop in my notes. It was a gun shop, or something, I think he said. But in any case, I was aware of that too.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did he tell you that he stabbed the Prime Minister in a minute or two when his body-guard was going around to the public gallery?

DR. ZABOW: No, he did not tell me that. As he described that to me, he told me that he was in a sort of a, almost dazed condition; that he came to when he found the people were restraining him, and he said to me that had they not restrained him he would have continued stabbing the deceased repeatedly. At that time he also (for the record) displayed a certain amount of incongruity in telling me this, when he couldn't understand why he was restrained so violently, nor could he understand the reaction of the people around him, and the injuries that he received. He didn't seem to be able to appreciate, you know, he would be restrained.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Did the accused tell you that he hid the daggers in his locker?

JUDGE BEYERS: What is the relevance of all this? The only relevance I can see: Is it possible for a person suffering from schizophrenia to plan, and to plan quite elaborately, to do something?

DR. ZABOW: The answer to that question is 'Yes.' It is possible. All this goes to show that he planned it,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You say that he could plan, he could plan carefully, even if he was in that condition?

DR. ZABOW: Yes, he could plan. I have said that I feel he could even have planned more complexly than has been described to us, and I would still say that this is in keeping with his schizophrenic illness.

JUDGE BEYERS: Of course, assuming he is a chronic schizophrenic, then his planning would also be related to the unreal and shadow world in which he lives, rather than to the world of reality? I am putting a plain question, I am not being clever.

DR. ZABOW: No, I think one must divide it into the mechanics of the planning and the motivation of the planning. The mechanics obviously - the fact that a knife will kill a human being - he has accepted that part of the real world. But the overall motivation, the whole situation in his mind which led to this plan and to the carrying out of this act, was planned in terms of his autistic life, rather than in terms of reality of the world in which he lives.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Does the accused give a good account of his actions?

DR. ZABOW: If counsel would tell me what he means by a 'good account'?

JUDGE BEYERS: The witness has told us at length about the garbled, nonsensical, stupid, disjointed account which the accused did give him when he asked him the question. He has read out at length the account he gave him when he asked him: "Did you kill the Prime Minister, and why?" He read pages of the account.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Would you have expected that the accused could have performed his job in Parliament efficiently?

DR. ZABOW: That would depend on the nature of the work the accused was expected to perform.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He was a messenger?

DR. ZABOW: A messenger could have unskilled or skilled duties. It would still depend on the nature of the actual work, not- the designation of the post.

COMMENTS ON THE CROSS-EXAMINATION

Dr. Zabow, just like Dr. Cooper, was unable to get a coherent account from Tsafendas about his killing of Dr. Verwoerd. However, as we have seen in Dr. Sakinofsky's testimony, Tsafendas was well able to give a perfect and detailed account of what led up to the killing and the killing itself twice to the police, but also thirty years later to several witnesses.

Dr. Zabow also stated that Tsafendas told him that he "was not aware of the situation and had not a plan to escape." He said, "At a subsequent interview I tried to ascertain whether there was any question of him trying to make a sacrifice of himself, and once again there was no logical answer; it got tied up with the tapeworm and his whole mental condition." However, Tsafendas gave a perfectly clear and logical answer to the police regarding his escape and about 'sacrificing' himself. More importantly, he discussed the subject in detail thirty years later with three different witnesses on different occasions. Both the issue of escape and "sacrifice" have been discussed in detail in Dr. Cooper's testimony.

Van den Berg's incompetent and irrelevant questions continued with Dr. Zabow. He first asked him whether Tsafendas gave "a good account of his actions." Judge Beyers had to intervene again to remind him that "the witness has told us at length about the garbled, nonsensical, stupid, disjointed account which the accused did give him when he asked him the question. He has read out at length the account he gave him when he asked him: "Did you kill the Prime Minister, and why?" He read pages of the account." Naturally van den Berg then dropped the subject.

What was extraordinary about the Attorney-General's handling of the issue was not so much his incompetent and irrelevant questioning as the fact that once again he did not use the plethora of evidence he had in his possession, including the report of Professor van Wyk, his own expert-witness, which flatly contradicted Dr. Zabow's assessment. Prof. van Wyk said that after he had examined Tsafendas three times, he had found that "he is orientated. He gives a good account of himself. His comprehension is good and his answers are relevant. His emotional responses are adequate and apt. His discourse is coherent. At times he is discursive, but not vague and he never strays from the main point of conversation."³¹⁴³ Though van den Berg had this critical report in his possession, he chose not to use it but to waste time with footling questions.

³¹⁴³ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 81.

Van den Berg's next question was whether he expected Tsafendas to work in the Parliament efficiently. Again, this is a completely incompetent question, though it would have been relevant before Gerald Shaw's testimony. Shaw had testified to the court just a few hours before that he found Tsafendas's work in Parliament to be inefficient, so what is the purpose of asking his opinion about it? Van den Berg's question would have been perfectly relevant and competent if he had followed up the issue and brought evidence to support his initial argument that Tsafendas's work was efficient. Since he did not do that, what was the purpose of the question? No matter what Dr. Zabow's answer was, it would have made no difference. This question offered nothing at all to the State's case, while it strengthened further the defence's.

The Attorney General's cross-examination of Dr. Zabow was arguably the weakest in the entire summary trial. It was pointless, aiming nowhere and going nowhere, adding nothing of substance to the State's case and posing no challenge to the witness, despite the volumes of evidence the South African police had in its possession.

CONCLUSION

Dr. Zabow diagnosis is almost identical to those of Dr. Sakinofsky and Dr. Cooper. Naturally, therefore, it contains the same mistakes. You do not have to be a psychiatrist to see that Dr. Zabow's diagnosis is miles from the real Tsafendas; the Tsafendas described to the police and to the author by over 200 witnesses. Tsafendas is presented by Dr. Zabow, after four hours and a half of examination, as a man who was not able to look after himself and live adequately on his own, although at the time he was forty-eight years old and had travelled to sixteen countries, most of the time with very little money, countries where he knew no one, but still managed to work and survive. He is also called a "drifter," which is like calling Odysseus a drifter because of his travels. Tsafendas's odyssey is misunderstood and characterised as drifting by Dr. Zabow, who is clearly not aware of the circumstances of his travels

Dr. Zabow admitted that he based his diagnosis entirely on what he heard from Tsafendas, without receiving any other information from friends, family or even his medical records. The fact remains that his diagnosis on Tsafendas is very wide off the mark, as two hundred witnesses can verify. Tsafendas remembered Dr. Zabow until he died. Dr. Zabow and Dr. Sakinofsky were names Tsafendas remembered in later life, always with fondness.

DEFENCE WITNESS No. 17: DR. JAMES WILLIAM MACGREGOR

DR. MACGREGOR'S PROFESSIONAL BIOGRAPHY AS RELATED BY HIM TO THE COURT

A specialist psychiatrist and neurologist since 1937 practising in Cape Town. Qualified in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1937 and worked in a general hospital, then in a mental hospital. Took his Diploma of Psychological Medicine in London in 1938, then went to Oxford. In 1939, Dr. MacGregor joined the British army and in 1940 was appointed an acting specialist psychiatrist and neurologist. Two years later, he was made a full psychiatrist and neurologist and worked in a head injury unit throughout the war. In 1945, he was made consultant neurologist and psychiatrist to the South East of England for the Army. In 1947, he took membership of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh and in 1949, membership of the Royal College of Physicians of London. He came to South African in 1949 and since then had been a specialist neurologist and psychiatrist on the register of the South African Medical Association, working at the Groote Schuur Hospital and in private practice. For the last three years, head of the Neurology Department at Groote Schuur Hospital and a lecturer at the University of Cape Town in neurology. In the course of his professional life, saw many schizophrenics.³¹⁴⁴

EXTRACTS FROM DR. MACGREGOR'S TESTIMONY³¹⁴⁵

EXAMINING TSAFENDAS AND TAKING "SHORTCUTS"

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You were asked by Mr. Bloomberg, attorney for the defence in this case, to examine the accused who is now before Court?

DR. MACGREGOR: I was.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: With a view to determining his mental state?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes.

³¹⁴⁴ Dr. James William MacGregor's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³¹⁴⁵ Dr. James William MacGregor's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Shortly, how many examinations did you make?

DR. MACGREGOR: I had three examinations. On the 29th of September this year, and on the 4th and 11th of October of this year. All in Caledon Square. Each one lasting approximately an hour and a half or so.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Your first interview was conducted in the presence of Mr. Bloomberg?

DR. MACGREGOR: It was.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: There were no other medical practitioners present?

DR. MACGREGOR: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: It was your purpose to establish independently of the opinions of other medical practitioners what you felt the accused's mental condition was?

DR. MACGREGOR: It was.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Correct?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Were you, on the basis of that interview alone, able to form a firm opinion as to the accused's mental state - present mental state?

DR. MACGREGOR: I was. I formed a firm opinion, and I put it in writing, and I gave it to Mr. David Bloomberg, saying that I considered this man was suffering from schizophrenia of the paranoid type, and that he was probably certifiable. I was not absolutely certain of this, and I wanted to have other interviews in order to be quite certain about that.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Tell the Court, shortly, and just give the salient features of your first interview?

DR. MACGREGOR: I thought I had to - time was a little bit precious; I had to take shortcuts. I accepted what was given to me about this man's life history, various dates and to which countries he had been. I told him that I was a psychiatrist and I wished to see what his mental state was. I then divided my psychiatric interview up in the usual way. I asked him questions about his childhood; asked him questions about his adult life, his interests, his views on life, his aims, his religion, his political views, and then, finally, coming down to the murder, the motives for the murder and his feelings about the murder.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Approaching the matter and analysing the position – you have analysed it. Will you deal with those heads? First of all his thinking or disturbance of thinking?

DR. MACGREGOR: He showed considerable disturbance of thinking. His thinking was woolly and disjointed. He gave birth to delusions concerning a tapeworm. I can go into more detail about this, but the Court has had a great deal about this, but I await your instructions, my lord, as to whether I should enlarge on this. But it was very much the same matter about the tapeworm which he has told other psychiatrists, and which has been related here.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you have to prompt him on it?

DR. MACGREGOR: No, I knew nothing about this tapeworm before I saw him. And within, I should think three minutes of asking him about his childhood, this story of the tapeworm started to come out.

JUDGE BEYERS: Was this a new one to you? Have you ever heard this one before?

DR. MACGREGOR: I have never heard this one before.

JUDGE BEYERS: A man being almost under the machinations and control of a tapeworm?

DR. MACGREGOR: No. At first I didn't even know whether it was relevant.

JUDGE BEYERS: Have you ever seen it anywhere?

DR. MACGREGOR: I have known schizophrenics who believed that they had spirits and demons within them, yes, but not a tapeworm.

JUDGE BEYERS: That is a completely new one?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In your initial interview did you try and lead him away from the tapeworm? Did you get him to talk about something else?

DR. MACGREGOR: Well, at first I tried to lead him away from it, but then I wasn't aware that it was of much importance. But it didn't take very long to realise that this was the central theme of his thought. Very early on he told me that this tapeworm had changed his whole life. Again at first I approached it as a purely medical matter, and asked him what tests had been done, what sort of tapeworm it was, and how he thought it was there, and we got the same kind of replies that had been given to other people, that this was a special tapeworm. He called it in that particular interview a demon, a snake and a devil. He described it in grossly

exaggerated terms as a very large tapeworm, probably 20 or 30 feet long, probably related to an East African species. Such was the command of his language that he used the term “serrated,” “with serrated edges.”

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where did he feel that he could obtain treatment for this bizarre tapeworm?

DR. MACGREGOR: He told me at that interview that he thought the only place where he could be treated satisfactorily was in South America.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Has he since expressed any other opinion as to how he could be treated for the tapeworm?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes. He thought that he might go to Glasgow and be treated with this machine which was described earlier on this morning. But he still thinks perhaps in South America he would get the best treatment.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did he also consider whether he may not go to a surgeon to have it cut out?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes. He has told me that it is incurable, except by surgery, and that this machine that he mentioned was probably only a diagnostic method of discovering the whereabouts of this worm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Again, this is repetition, but it is important; this is a serious enquiry, it is a serious charge. What is the importance of this delusion, if I may call it that?

DR. MACGREGOR: It seems to me that it has disorganised his whole personality, his whole relationship with the real world.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What has it done to his personality?

DR. MACGREGOR: I don't know what the delusion has done to it, because this is, I think part of a schizophrenic process. But it has altered his actions in certain ways in that he is forever thinking of food for this tapeworm, and forever being careful, he told me this, not to pass too close to shops with delicacies in the windows in case the tapeworm smelt this and would crawl up underneath his chest and start causing him pain. He further told me that the pains caused by this tapeworm are so terrible that, if it had not been for his religion, he would be dead.

COMMENTS ON DR. MACGREGOR'S ABOVE TESTIMONY

ON TAKING "SHORTCUTS" DUE TO THE LACK OF TIME

Like Dr. Zabow, Dr. MacGregor also spent a total of four and a half hours with Tsafendas. Dr. MacGregor admitted something that went unmentioned by the other psychiatrists although it affected them too, and appeared quite understandable in the circumstances. This was that under pressure of time, he was forced "to take shortcuts" in his examination and accept what was given to him by Tsafendas about Tsafendas's own life history without the opportunity to check it further. This admission by Dr. MacGregor says a great deal, not only about his diagnosis and how he came to it and how reliable it could be, but also about the way things were done by all those involved with Tsafendas's defence due to the pressure of time.

THE TAPEWORM

The issue of the tapeworm, as Dr. MacGregor observed, was extensively discussed earlier in this chapter and in this report, so it is not going to be discussed here again. However, we should mention that Tsafendas spoke about the tapeworm in relation to his childhood and only three minutes after Dr. MacGregor had brought up his childhood. As we have seen before, Tsafendas never mentioned the tapeworm to anyone when he was a child, not even to his family.³¹⁴⁶

³¹⁴⁶ For more about the issue look at Dr. Cooper's testimony.

Dr. MacGregor conceded he had never heard of anyone hallucinating about a tapeworm and that it was something “completely new” to him. This is exactly what Tsafendas said about why he used the tapeworm ploy - because it was unique and everyone took an interest in it and believed him. He later said, “Everyone hears voices or pretends to be Napoleon, but who would ever suspect anyone who believes he has a tapeworm?” Tsafendas had been impressed by the way the psychiatrists treated Tom Tuff, who supposedly had a tapeworm, and the amount of attention he was receiving from them. This was the reason Tsafendas adopted the tapeworm idea – its uniqueness.³¹⁴⁷ The author is not in position to know whether Tom Tuff really believed he had a tapeworm or not, but it was he who inspired Tsafendas to use it.

TSAFENDAS'S “ONLY WISH”

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Have you put to him what he would like, what one wish he had in life?

DR. MACGREGOR: At the end of that first interview I put it to him that if he were to be granted one single wish in life what would it be, and I expected him to say that he would like to be out of the Police cells, a free man, but to my surprise he said he wanted to get rid of the tapeworm. I then thought I would give him an alternative, and I said slowly and carefully to him that if he had an alternative between two wishes, either to get rid of the tapeworm or to avoid this terrible tragedy, to avoid all the fuss and horribleness of being a prisoner awaiting trial, with his life in danger, and avoid the murder, avoid all the consequences of the murder, if he had a choice between that and getting rid of the tapeworm, which would he choose, and, without any hesitation, he said there would be no point in being free unless he got rid of the tapeworm.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: How did you find his emotional balance?

³¹⁴⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

DR. MACGREGOR: I thought his emotional balance was extremely poor. He showed great ferocity of emotion. I put to him that he was accused of murdering a man - not only that he was a politician, but that he was a man who was a father and a husband - and what did he think of this, and he said yes he had thought about it. And this was the one time when he used a word which he mispronounced he said it has caused me "misery", and I believe he meant "misery." And I said "Tell me further, what do you think about this? - What do you think about the Prime Minister's wife?" And he said "Yes, I thought about her." Then there was a long pause. I asked him again what has he thought about her, and he said "I would not like to meet her face to face." I said "Have you thought anything else about her?" and he said "Yes, I wouldn't like to live in Cape Town." I said why would he not like to live in Cape Town, "I am asking you what have you thought about the consequences of this murder?", and he said yes, he would not like to live in Cape Town because he didn't think he could face up to people, and he would prefer to go to South America and to start cultivating the ground there, he would like to be in the jungle. And then there was a whole ramble about having a pool, he would like there to be fish in the pool, and he could work there, and work hard.

COMMENTS REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S "ONLY WISH"

When Dr. MacGregor asked Tsafendas about a wish, he replied that his only wish was to "get rid of the tapeworm." We won't discuss the tapeworm again, but just to show how this answer was a "performance" for the psychiatrists, we list the following incidents. In 1996, Tsafendas was visited in prison by Alexander and Marie-Jose Moumbaris. When they asked him if there was anything he wanted, he replied, "my freedom."³¹⁴⁸

When Tsafendas was frequently asked by Father Minas Constandinou, Rika Nikolatos, Father Spiros Randos and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis who visited him in prison and later in hospital if there was anything he wanted, he always gave the same answer, "my freedom." He never asked them for help to "get rid of the tapeworm."³¹⁴⁹ In 1993, Tsafendas wrote a letter to his good friend John Michaletos "kindly requesting" him to endeavour to have him released from prison.³¹⁵⁰

³¹⁴⁸ Alexander and Marie-Jose Moumbaris in a personal interview, 27 June 2014.

³¹⁴⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³¹⁵⁰ Letter of Dimitri Tsafendas to John Michaletos, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

**TSAFENDAS'S RACIAL PREFERENCES AND DR. VERWOERD BEING
"THE RIGHT MAN"**

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In this context, you remember that a Mr. Smorenberg said that Tsafendas worked under him at the power station. You heard Mr. Smorenberg say that?

DR. MACGREGOR: I did.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Mr. Smorenberg said they were one day below the surface, 40 feet down I think, or something like that, in an eerie chamber which he likened unto a dungeon, and then this little conversation took place. Tsafendas suggested there that it would be a good thing if all the Coloured people were brought into the chamber, the chamber closed, and a door opened and the seawater then drown then. That remark. On the other hand we have it that Tsafendas was very fond of the O'Ryans and the Daniels, and that from time to time he thought about becoming a member of the Coloured community. What is your comment on this?

DR. MACGREGOR: I think this shows an ambivalence, a variation, a plus and minus sign so to speak about his attitude towards the Coloured. And this kind of ambivalence is very typical of the attitudes of schizophrenics. They are inconsistent in their attitudes and outlooks.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You have it there that on that occasion he thought Dr. Verwoerd was a good man - I think he put it that he was the right man?

DR. MACGREGOR: I heard the witness say that, yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Now you have it subsequently that he goes and stabs Dr. Verwoerd, the person whom he two months previously called the right man. What is your comment on that?

DR. MACGREGOR: I think that probably is an example of this very kind of ambivalence again, when schizophrenic swings from one extreme to the other.

**COMMENTS ON DR. MACGREGOR'S TESTIMONY ON TSAFENDAS'S RACIAL PREFERENCES
AND DR. VERWOERD BEING "THE RIGHT MAN"**

Dr. MacGregor attributed Tsafendas's dislike of Coloureds, according to an incident reported by Owen Smorenberg, to schizophrenia. He said: "I think this shows an ambivalence, a

variation, a plus and minus sign so to speak, about his attitude towards the Coloured. And this kind of ambivalence is very typical of the attitudes of schizophrenics. They are inconsistent in their attitudes and outlooks.” However, as we have seen, it was not Tsafendas who was inconsistent in his views, but Smorenberg’s statement. Smorenberg’s statement has been analysed and dismissed by the author as inaccurate for various reasons, which were obviously unknown to Dr. MacGregor.

The issue of whether Tsafendas liked or disliked Coloureds has also been examined at length in the testimonies of Dr. Cooper and Smorenberg himself, so these issues will not be discussed again here. However, the surprising thing here is that Smorenberg’s contradictory statement is taken as “ambivalent” behaviour by Tsafendas by Dr. MacGregor, who is obviously unaware of Tsafendas’s political ideas and character. The fact that the statement is contradictory is attributed to schizophrenia and not that Smorenberg might have misunderstood.

Advocate Cooper then carefully and intelligently manipulates Tsafendas’s alleged words and from Dr. Verwoerd being the “right man,” he becomes a “good man.” Thus, Advocate Cooper asks how Tsafendas could have killed someone he thought he was a “good man.” The issue of the “right man” has also been extensively discussed in Smorenberg’s testimony. Dr. MacGregor, obviously unaware of Tsafendas’s beliefs about Dr. Verwoerd, attributes it to “ambivalence” again, “when a schizophrenic swings from one extreme to the other.” However, as we have seen repeatedly, Tsafendas did not swing from one extreme to the other. More than a hundred witnesses testified to this study, to the police and to the Commission that Tsafendas opposed apartheid, while more than twenty testified that he considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator, Hitler’s best student, not the real representative of all South African people etc. Not a single one of the three hundred witnesses who were questioned by the author and by the police at the time said anything about Tsafendas considering Dr. Verwoerd to be the “right man.” Of course, Dr. MacGregor was not in position to know that and could only comment on what was given to him, as he himself admitted.

The fact that Smorenberg’s statement is a contradiction to Tsafendas’s actions and to what was testified by the O’Ryans and the Daniels about him, is taken as “ambivalent” behaviour by Tsafendas without anyone considering the possibility that Smorenberg’s statement was inaccurate. Dr. Macgregor was not aware of the inaccuracy of Smorenberg’s statement, but the Attorney-General must have known since he would have been in

possession of the one hundred and fifty statements the police gathered from people who knew Tsafendas, the two statements that Tsafendas gave to the police and several other evidence gathered by the South African police that could have easily broken down Smorenberg's testimony. The fact that van den Berg failed to use them when Smorenberg testified gave the defence the opportunity to use this false testimony to further support their line. The Attorney-General remained in his seat, offering no challenge.

TSAFENDAS HAVING "NO AIM IN LIFE," "ACHIEVED NOTHING WORTHWILE IN HIS LIFE" AND "NO FRIENDSHIPS OF LASTING DEPTH"

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Similarly, you have here the incident when at seven o'clock in the morning, at the Daniels's, he knocks them up, he has a bag of meat which could feed about two people, tomatoes and eggs etc., and he wants a pan and he wants a little stove to make a meal, but he eats this meal in a gargantuan way, if I can say it.

JUDGE BEYERS: Don't look like that about a rare done T-bone steak, Mr. Cooper. You are pulling a face about something which I wouldn't mind having tonight.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: He eats it with the blood, and then he says he is feeding the worm. What is your comment on that?

DR. MACGREGOR: Well, I think this illustrates how this delusion about the worm disorganised his life and his realistic approach to life.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you find any disturbance of volition?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes. I think this great stubborn persistence after years of investigations in the belief that he still had the tapeworm - no one could shake him about this - this is a very good example of this stubbornness, the negativistic attitude of the schizophrenic. His whole drifting life in which, as far as I can make out, he never achieved anything worthwhile, any concrete act, concrete position that is worthwhile - he never seemed to achieve any friendship of lasting depth, and he had no particular desires to achieve anything. He had no aim in life except to get rid of this tapeworm. This too is typical of the lack of volition, the lack of pattern, the lack of drive of the schizophrenic.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is this "borne out" by the history that we have of him in Cape Town between the 28th of August and the time of his arrest? Going from one job to another, being unemployed and visiting hospitals?

DR. MACGREGOR: That is consistent with his state, but I would not have diagnosed schizophrenia just on that alone. It is perfectly consistent with a schizophrenic state.

COMMENTS ON TSAFENDAS HAVING “NO AIM IN LIFE,” “ACHIEVED NOTHING WORTHWILE IN HIS LIFE” AND “NO FRIENDSHIPS OF LASTING DEPTH”

The above is an identical diagnosis to that of Dr. Cooper and as we have seen in his testimony, is entirely inaccurate. Tsafendas’s friendships and relationships with people have been covered at length in comments on Dr. Cooper’s testimony, as have the other two claims, but due to their importance and in order to show how wrong Dr. MacGregor was, they will be discussed here again, although not in such detail. The issue of the steak at Daniels’s house and the “feeding the worms” comment have been discussed extensively in Peter Daniels’s testimony.

According to Dr. MacGregor, Tsafendas had achieved nothing and had no aims in his life. The fact that PIDE had a 130-page file on him since he was twenty and that he was forced into exile from Mozambique and prosecuted in Portugal for his Communist and anti-colonialist beliefs and activities give the lie to Dr. MacGregor’s assessment of a life lacking in aims and achievements. As for doing something “worthwhile,” Tsafendas taught English without charge for six or seven months to Greek and Turkish children in Istanbul, and also on two occasions to poor children in Mozambique. This was because he believed education was “worthwhile.” That he was an active member of the British anti-apartheid and anti-fascist movements, participating in demonstrations and that he smuggled anti-apartheid literature into South Africa would certainly be considered “worthwhile” by many, though undoubtedly not by everyone, especially in South Africa in 1966.

This supposedly aimless man toured villages in Beira, seeking to raise awareness of the independence cause and for this suffered imprisonment and torture.³¹⁵¹ Working for Mozambican independence at the cost of arrest, imprisonment and torture by the Portuguese Police is an achievement rooted in conviction. The fact that the Director-General of PIDE in Portugal instructed the Sub-Director of PIDE in Mozambique that “information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of your country should not be transmitted to the

³¹⁵¹ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

South African authorities,"³¹⁵² can also be seen as an achievement for Tsafendas. That he joined the Greek Communist Party and its military wing, the DSE, during the Greek Civil War and fought for a cause was the achievement of an aim.

Finally, he taught at Turkey's best private language college for about half a year. That was an achievement not everyone could have managed. Whether one agrees or disagrees with Tsafendas's political ideas, it cannot be denied that the activities listed above are many more than most ordinary people achieve. Yet that does not make these people non-achievers or schizophrenics.

³¹⁵² Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

Tsafendas did enough during his lifetime to render significant service to society, the question of Dr. Verwoerd's assassination being debatable. Far from having no aim in life, he had well-defined goals. He wanted "to create a resistance to the regime of South Africa" and was willing to "anything that would get the South African regime out of power."³¹⁵³ He fearlessly told the PIDE agents who were questioning him that he wanted to see "a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the mother nation," and that he was strongly in favour of the independence of Mozambique.³¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, Tsafendas did not simply cherish these as hopes for Mozambique's future, but worked actively to secure them by campaigning for independence and by "making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses."³¹⁵⁵ For his political beliefs and his efforts to raise awareness of the independence issue, he was five times arrested, imprisoned and tortured and forced to live on exile for twelve years.

However, the most glaringly obvious aim of Tsafendas's life was right there in front of Dr. MacGregor and he failed to see it. Tsafendas wanted apartheid to end, he wanted to see a government in South Africa that would represent all the South African people and he wanted Dr. Verwoerd removed so that national policy would change, as he told the police in his statement³¹⁵⁶ and later repeated several times.³¹⁵⁷ However, Dr. MacGregor was not in possession of Tsafendas's statement, or the statements given to the police by people who knew him or of any other information to apprise him of who Tsafendas really was. Thus, as he openly admitted, he simply took what was given to him at face value.

THE IMPORTANCE OF VAN ZYL'S TESTS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: We also had the evidence of the psychologist, Mr. van Zyl, this morning. What is the significance of his findings and his observations?

³¹⁵³ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demetrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³¹⁵⁴ PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³¹⁵⁵ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³¹⁵⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³¹⁵⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

DR. MACGREGOR: I believe this finding of scatter, as it is called, is very significant and indicates strongly, tends to indicate a schizophreniform process. And furthermore his inability to deal adequately with abstract situations. He finds it easier to deal with concrete situations. It is quite typical of a schizophrenic.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: So you find that important evidence?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes, I do. Confirmatory but not diagnostic.

JUDGE BEYERS: More or less a cross check?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes. I don't think anyone would diagnose schizophrenia on that alone.

COMMENTS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF VAN ZYL'S TESTS

Dr. MacGregor found van Zyl's tests as "confirmatory, but not diagnostic." However, as this study has already shown, van Zyl's tests were inaccurate and his conclusions wrong. Since this issue has been discussed extensively in van Zyl's testimony, it would not be discussed here again.

TSAFENDAS SIMULATING

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Isn't the work of the clinical psychologist helpful in trying to remove the possibility of all this being simulated?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes, I think so. Very much so. And, taking that point, all of us of course wondered whether this man might be simulating, and I went there prepared to deal with a man that might be simulating, because I knew very little about him, except what I had read in the papers. But you know, when one put things to him which, if he was simulating, he could have clutched at, he didn't take them. When one asked whether he heard voices, which is a common thing, for mad people to hear, he denied this. But I am not sure whether he doesn't actually hear some kind of voice. But we know schizophrenic people often deny that they have hallucinations. When I asked him whether he had any sense of unreality, no.

COMMENTS REGARDING TSAFENDAS SIMULATING

The issue of simulation has been discussed in detail in Dr. Cooper's testimony. However let us briefly examine what was said here. Dr. MacGregor stated that he considered whether or

not Tsafendas was simulating. He tried the same “trick” that Dr. Cooper tried. He asked him if he heard “any voices, which is a common thing, for mad people to hear.” As with Dr. Cooper, Tsafendas did not fall into the trap, denying any such thing. Why did Tsafendas react in this way? Because twenty years earlier, he had pretended to hear voices and he was then discovered to be simulating. The Grafton State Hospital report also stated that in 1946 Tsafendas heard voices from the radiators.³¹⁵⁸

The Commission of Enquiry, which had no psychiatrist, noted that Tsafendas is “quite knowledgeable about mental disorders—he also admitted to the Commission that he had read fairly extensively on the subject in order to determine what was wrong with him... and [the Commission] therefore adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him. It is clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act.”³¹⁵⁹ Of course the Commission of Enquiry was in possession of most of the documents gathered by the police, plus others. Dr. MacGregor was unaware of anything about Tsafendas except what he heard from him.

Given that Tsafendas was experienced with psychiatrists, it was to be expected that he did not take Dr. MacGregor's bait. It is also evident that Dr. MacGregor was not aware of the contents of the Grafton State Hospital report, where it said that Tsafendas had “faked mental illness” and had claimed to hear voices from the radiators.³¹⁶⁰ Naturally, Tsafendas's experience with psychiatrists had increased since 1946 and he did not make the same mistake of claiming to hear voices. Dr. MacGregor was not aware of this, unlike the Commission of Enquiry, the South African police and presumably the State.

TSAFENDAS'S HOSPITALIZATIONS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Was he influenced by people? Did he feel himself under pressures from outside agencies of any kind?

³¹⁵⁸ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

³¹⁵⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

³¹⁶⁰ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

DR. MACGREGOR: No. All these questions were not put at once. One had to slip them in unobtrusively. When I asked whether he thought he was mentally unbalanced, he denied this firmly - not in any way. If one said to him "Why have you been in so many mental hospitals?" then we got all kinds of reasons, including the reason that at least on one occasion he was put into a mental hospital in Lisbon because the doctors were so poorly paid that the only way they could supplement their earnings was to take patients from the tropical hospital, where he was being investigated for a tapeworm, keep their clothes and belongings, and put them in a mental hospital. This he told me was well known, and it was told to him by the cook, nurses and by many people outside. When I said this was a ridiculous statement because, if it was true, it would become public, he said no, the corruption was so great that no one could ever make this public.

COMMENTS ON TSAFENDAS'S HOSPITALIZATIONS

The issue has been examined extensively in Dr. Cooper's testimony and therefore it would not be discussed here again.

TSAFENDAS'S MANNERISMS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: His face - what were his facial mannerisms?

DR. MACGREGOR: Most of the time throughout these interviews he looked in a bland, rather disinterested, way. From time to time he would make a grimace, which I think Dr. Cooper referred to, which is half a smile, half a snarl. He pulled down the corners of his mouth and showed his teeth. This seemed to be irrelevant to the subject that was under discussion at the time. From time to time he rocked backwards and forwards, and, particularly at the last interview, he seemed to scratch himself continuously. When I asked whether there was any reason for this, he paid no attention and just went on scratching.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the significance of this?

DR. MACGREGOR: I think these are mannerisms such as are common in schizophrenic patients. I saw no other reason. Stereotyped repetition of these movements, which were not very noticeable, particularly the rocking wasn't particularly noticeable, but, particularly at the last interview, it went on the whole time.

COMMENTS ON TSAFENDAS'S MANNERISMS

The report from Grafton State hospital also stated that Tsafendas demonstrated peculiar mannerisms.³¹⁶¹ However, none of about two hundred people who were interviewed by the author, by the Commission or by the police at the time mentioned anything about peculiar mannerisms. The author specifically asked forty-six witnesses who knew Tsafendas well about this, and no one ever saw him do anything like Dr. MacGregor described. It would be unnecessary and not practical to name every person who was asked about this, particularly since names are given in the introduction of the study. Here is a short selection from the many knew Tsafendas very well and spent a lot of time with him and denied ever noticing grimaces or rocking or scratching or suchlike by Tsafendas:

- Katerina Pnema, his half-sister.³¹⁶²
- Father Nikola Banovic, in 1961, lived in the same house as Tsafendas for four months and in a house next door for another two or three months.³¹⁶³
- Father Michalis Visvinis who very regularly visited him for five years in prison (1989-1994).³¹⁶⁴
- Fotini Gavasiadis spent every day for nine months with him.³¹⁶⁵
- Allan O'Ryan lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept being in touch for another year.³¹⁶⁶
- Reuben O'Ryan lived with Tsafendas in the same house for five months and kept in touch with him for another year.³¹⁶⁷
- Stanley O'Ryan lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept in touch for another year.³¹⁶⁸
- Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas's first cousin.³¹⁶⁹
- Ira Kyriakakis who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques and remained a

³¹⁶¹ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

³¹⁶² Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³¹⁶³ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

³¹⁶⁴ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

³¹⁶⁵ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³¹⁶⁶ Allan O' Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

³¹⁶⁷ Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

³¹⁶⁸ Stanley O' Ryan in a personal interview, 9 April 2015.

³¹⁶⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

lifelong friend.³¹⁷⁰

- Irene Michaletos was very close to Tsafendas between 1964 and 1965.³¹⁷¹
- John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousin, met him in Lourenço Marques in 1951, and saw a lot of him in Mozambique between 1963 and 1965.³¹⁷²
- Antony Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousin, met him in Lourenço Marques in 1951 and saw a lot of him in Mozambique between 1963 and 1965.³¹⁷³
- Andreas Babiolakis knew Tsafendas since they were children.³¹⁷⁴
- Costas Chagios knew Tsafendas from 1965 until his arrest.³¹⁷⁵
- Alexandra Vaporidis knew Tsafendas for about six-seven months in Istanbul in 1961.³¹⁷⁶
- Joyce Dick, one of Helen Daniels's best friends and member of the Christian Church.³¹⁷⁷
- Peter Protoulis was a supplier of foodstuffs to the tanker *Eleni*. He met Tsafendas on board.³¹⁷⁸
- Miltiades Kaldis knew Tsafendas for about a year, having met him in 1965 in Cape Town.³¹⁷⁹
- Elias Constantaras met him in 1965 in Cape Town and saw him almost daily until his arrest.³¹⁸⁰
- Helen Grispos, another who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques.³¹⁸¹
- Peter Peroglou ate at the same place as Tsafendas for several months in 1966.³¹⁸²
- Pamela Abrahams knew Tsafendas for several months in 1966.³¹⁸³

³¹⁷⁰ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

³¹⁷¹ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

³¹⁷² John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

³¹⁷³ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016.

³¹⁷⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

³¹⁷⁵ Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015.

³¹⁷⁶ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

³¹⁷⁷ Joyce Dick in a personal interview, 6 August 2016.

³¹⁷⁸ Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 3 August 2016.

³¹⁷⁹ Miltiades Kaldis in a personal interview, 12 March 2016.

³¹⁸⁰ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

³¹⁸¹ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

³¹⁸² Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

³¹⁸³ Pamela Abrahams in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

- Nick Augustides, the son of the owner of Mike's Outfitters in Cape Town for whom Tsafendas worked on commission for about two months in 1966.³¹⁸⁴
- Ten of the sailors of the *Eleni* saw Tsafendas every day for forty-two days and up to three days before the assassination.³¹⁸⁵

TSAFENDAS'S E.E.G.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: An E.E.G. was taken?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes. That was perfectly normal. That was done in my department at Groote Schuur.

JUDGE BEYERS: What is that?

DR. MACGREGOR: An electro encephalogram. That was perfectly normal.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is that finding inconsistent with your diagnosis of the accused's condition?

DR. MACGREGOR: It is perfectly consistent with schizophrenic process. It is not likely to be - one is not likely to have a normal E.E.G. In fact I think it is practically impossible to have a normal E.E.G. in a mental picture due to some years of organic process in the brain. In other words if this picture was due to brain damage back in 1959 we would have an abnormal E.E.G.

JUDGE BEYERS: Or if it was due to epilepsy?

DR. MACGREGOR: Or if it was due to epilepsy.

JUDGE BEYERS: You would see it there?

DR. MACGREGOR: We would almost certainly see it. I specifically got the technician to get him to overbreathe, flash lights at him which are ways of simulating the abnormal waves, and bringing them out if epilepsy is present.

JUDGE BEYERS: If I understand anything of what I have heard, and understand anything

³¹⁸⁴ Nick Augustides in a personal interview, 19 February 2016.

³¹⁸⁵ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 19 January 2016; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

about the subject of schizophrenia, you would find nothing?

DR. MACGREGOR: That is the usual finding, yes, in my experience. There are other people who say that they are rather abnormal waves, but this depends on the degree of dementia. If the schizophrenic patient is very demented, then you may get abnormal, rather irregular waves - not epileptiform waves. But when the personality, when the intellect is not too far deteriorated, the picture is nearly always a normal one, unless there is some other factor present, isn't the dysrhythmia of the waves caused "by the electric impulse passing through the tissues? Mustn't you by that time have a physiological change taking place?

DR. MACGREGOR: There must be a physiological change, yes. And this is one of the arguments which many psychiatrists put forward to the fact that they believe that schizophrenia is primarily

JUDGE BEYERS: It may have an organic background?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes.

TSAFENDAS'S THOUGHT-BLOCKING, PAST MEDICAL RECORDS AND DR. MACGREGOR'S PROGNOSIS

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Did you find thought blocking?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes. In my first interview, not very much thought blocking. He paused. I was not very happy about putting this down as thought blocking. But in the second, and particularly in the third interview, he showed very marked thought blocking. On one occasion there was absolute silence for a timed period of just on two minutes. There were very many occasions when he stopped speaking for ten seconds, and would then go off at a complete tangent.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In short then, what is the accused's present mental state?

DR. MACGREGOR: I believe that he is suffering from schizophrenia. I would put I think it into the paranoid type. Dr. Sakinofsky put it in the paraphrenic type. I would not quarrel with this. A paraphrenic type is a subdivision of the paranoid type. I don't think one needs to be too exact as to which category one puts it in. That he is suffering from schizophrenia I have absolutely no doubt at all. That he is certifiable within the meaning of the Act I have also no doubt at all.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Is it a long standing disease?

DR. MACGREGOR: I believe in his case it has gone on from at least 1946 or 1947, yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is the prognosis?

DR. MACGREGOR: I agree with the others in thinking the prognosis is hopeless. But it would be worthwhile giving him treatment, but I would not give it with any sanguinity.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Where should this Court, in your opinion, send the accused?

DR. MACGREGOR: My opinion isn't worth very much, but, if I were asked, I would say he must be sent somewhere where he can be very closely watched and guarded, because he told us that on at least two occasions he has escaped from mental hospitals, once in Germany and once in Lisbon.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Should he be sent to an asylum?

DR. MACGREGOR: I don't think any ordinary asylum would hold this man for any length of time.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Finally, do you see any purpose whatsoever in having any further medical examination of this man?

DR. MACGREGOR: Not unless the Court were to ask me - I myself would not see any further purpose at all.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Just finally, you have seen the information from overseas concerning this man's past medical history and mental history?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: What is your comment on that? How important is that information?

DR. MACGREGOR: If that information is correct, I think it is absolutely consistent and confirmatory of the fact that this man has had chronic paranoid schizophrenia for many years.

COMMENTS ON DR. MACGREGOR'S ABOVE TESTIMONY

TSAFENDAS'S MEDICAL RECORDS

Dr. MacGregor states here that he has seen some "information from overseas" concerning Tsafendas's "past medical history and mental history." He then, surprisingly maybe, states that "if this information is correct ..." which suggests that he is unsure whether or not the

information is correct. The author is not in a position to elaborate further on the subject as it does not know which information Dr. MacGregor is talking about. However, the likelihood must be that the information regarding Tsafendas's medical history was given to him verbally by the police and the defence, as in the case of van Zyl.

It seems unlikely that if he had seen a medical report from a British or an American hospital with his own eyes he would have asked if this information was correct. What seems likelier is that he was merely told of some of the contents. That he learned about Tsafendas's past history from Tsafendas himself can be adduced from his statement that Tsafendas "told us that on at least two occasions he has escaped from mental hospitals, once in Germany and once in Lisbon." This argues strongly that his source was Tsafendas, not any medical report. Most likely, as with van Zyl, he was given the summary of a medical report stating just that Tsafendas was diagnosed in such and such hospital as being a schizophrenic.

Furthermore, Dr. MacGregor was not aware of very important information regarding Tsafendas's medical history, such as the fact that he had faked mental illness before, that he claimed to hear voices in the early 1940s and that on at least four occasions he had shown signs of mental illness while being interrogated in detention. This again suggests that he had not seen the report with his own eyes and was probably told about the diagnosis only. Furthermore, the fact that he did not personally see any medical reports is also suggested by his statement at the beginning of his testimony that "time was precious" and he had "to take shortcuts. I accepted what was given to me about this man's life history, various dates and to which countries he had been." Dr. MacGregor also stated that he made his diagnosis on the basis of his interviews with Tsafendas alone without mentioning consulting any medical reports.

We should also mention here again that at least the report from the Grafton State Hospital did not become available to the defence before, at best, the 5th of October, when Dr. MacGregor and all the defence's expert witnesses, apart from Dr. Sakinofsky and van Zyl, had already examined Tsafendas twice and concluded that he was a schizophrenic.

DR. MACGREGOR'S PROGNOSIS

Dr. MacGregor's prognosis was that Tsafendas's condition was "hopeless," with doubts that treatment could help him. However, thirty-three years later witnesses declared that Tsafendas was perfectly fine. In all that time, he had received no treatment (at least not for the first

twenty-eight years); for at least twenty-three years he was kept in solitary confinement for twenty-four hours per day, in a cell right next to the death chamber, often forced to watch the executions; he was frequently and severely beaten, deprived of books and newspapers and even contact with his fellow prisoners.

That Tsafendas was perfectly normal after that was testified by Alexander and Marie-Jose Moubarris, Dimitris Skoularikis, Liza Key, Rika Nikolatos and Fathers Minas Constandinou, Spiros Randos, Ioannis Tsafaridis and Michalis Visvinis. All these people visited or saw Tsafendas in prison or in the mental hospital to which he was eventually moved, and spent considerable time with him. None ever got the impression that Tsafendas was insane or “hopeless” in the way described by Dr. MacGregor and by the other psychiatrists at this summary trial. More importantly, after his long incarceration, Tsafendas explained in detail everything regarding Dr. Verwoerd’s assassination and his life. What he told these witnesses is entirely compatible with what two hundred people told the police and the author and completely incompatible with Dr. MacGregor’s and the other psychiatrists’ testimonies.

COMMENTS ON TSAFENDAS’S THOUGHT-BLOCKING

The issue has been discussed extensively in the testimonies of Dr. Sakinofsky and Dr. Zabow.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE ASSISTANT OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

BRUNETTE: Can you perhaps remember when it was that you saw the accused for the first time?

DR. MACGREGOR: Yes, on the 29th September. At about 6.30.

BRUNETTE: You say he was not certifiable on that day?

DR. MACGREGOR: I say I wasn’t very happy about considering him certifiable.

JUDGE BEYERS: The doctor never said anything of the kind. He said on the strength of the first interview he had with him he would have been doubtful whether he would at that stage certify him, which is quite different from your telling him that he says that at that stage he was not certifiable.

BRUNETTE: You would not have been prepared to certify him on that day?

DR. MACGREGOR: If I had been pressed to certify him on that day I would have asked for a longer interview. But I had about an hour and a half with him, and I knew there was no need to certify him on that day, and I knew I was going to have further opportunity of seeing him, so I thought to myself that I would just bide my time, but I did say in my report that I thought that he was probably certifiable.

BRUNETTE: You also mentioned that schizophrenics do move from one extreme to the other. So do you concede that you get remissionary periods?

DR. MACGREGOR: No, that is not what I meant, moving from one extreme - one extreme of emotional attitude - one extreme of an attitude towards a person, a negative attitude, perhaps disliking them, distrusting them, to a more positive attitude of liking them and trusting them. This has nothing to do with remissions. It is all part of the schizophrenic process.

BRUNETTE: Do you concede that there are periodic types?

DR. MACGREGOR: I concede that there are periodic types, but I would also agree with the last witness that - in my opinion these are virtually always the catatonic type. And I don't believe this patient is a catatonic type of schizophrenic. He had no evidence of catatonia when we saw him.

BRUNETTE: Did you get any information in probing the history of the accused that he had simulated suicide before?

DR. MACGREGOR: No, I knew nothing about any simulation of suicide.

JUDGE BEYERS: Simulated suicide - what on earth does that mean? He pretended to commit suicide?

BRUNETTE: He pretended. Feigned suicide.

JUDGE BEYERS: What does that mean, that he committed suicide but was not successful?

BRUNETTE: Unsuccessful, yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: Simulated suicide would mean that he pretended to commit suicide but didn't try it.

BRUNETTE: Perhaps I can put it in a better way: any of simulated abnormality?

DR. MACGREGOR: I know nothing in the reports that say that he simulated abnormality.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The only matter that remains at present is the subject that I raised at the commencement when I outlined my case, if I might call it that, and that is the taking of evidence on commission, I have prepared an application which I now want to formally place before your Lordship.

JUDGE BEYERS: This is not the stage to do it, nor will I deprive you of the right to do it. Should it, after evidence is led by the State, be necessary, I will allow you to make the application, and I will consider it on its merits. But obviously in granting or not granting leave to take evidence overseas, the first consideration is whether the evidence can assist the Court, if it is not necessary it obviously cannot assist the Court, I think you should wait, but I will allow you to make the application again, if necessary.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Subject to that, I have no further evidence to lead.

COMMENTS ON THE CROSS-EXAMINATION

The most astonishing part of Brunette's cross-examination is his reference to Tsafendas having simulated abnormality before. Even more extraordinary, although it is not spelled out, is that Brunette suggests that such information is in Tsafendas's medical records. It is unclear what Tsafendas is supposed to have done on this occasion and where this information came from, but the important thing here is that the State had in its possession such vital information and it had not been used, especially with the defence's psychiatrists. It seems that the State did not consider it important enough or for some reason deliberately did not bring this issue up when challenging the defence psychiatrists who had examined Tsafendas, even when the issue of simulation came up. As for Brunette's cross-examination, neither he nor the Attorney-General nor the judge saw fit to pursue the simulation angle and the matter was allowed to drop.

The Attorney-General's assistant refers initially to Tsafendas having simulated suicide. Although the author cannot be certain to which incident Brunette refers, this is probably in Hamburg when Tsafendas turned up at the Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital claiming falsely that he had attempted suicide by taking twenty sleeping pills. The fact that Tsafendas was lying does not appear anywhere in the reports from this hospital, so if this was

the incident Brunette is referring to, how did he know about it? Tsafendas never discussed this particular incident with anyone who was interviewed by the author. However, he discussed the issue of suicide in philosophical and religious terms several times with the priests who visited him.

Tsafendas firmly believed that only a very brave man could commit suicide and considered himself not brave enough to do so. That was why, he said, he never contemplated suicide, not even when he was tortured in custody or in prison. Also, he considered suicide to be seriously sinful and since he was very religious, this was another reason why he never contemplated such an act.³¹⁸⁶ If he did not contemplate suicide at some of the worst times of his life, why would he do so in Hamburg? It is not impossible but very unlikely that the suicide attempt mentioned in Dr. Bieser's report was genuine. The more likely scenario, which would fit with Tsafendas's life style and ideas, is that being penniless and homeless in Hamburg, he admitted himself to the Tropen Krankenhaus Hospital claiming he had a tapeworm; when he was discharged, since no tapeworm was found, he was still penniless and homeless and so admitted himself to another hospital, lying that he had taken the twenty sleeping pills. It is possible that Brunette was referring to this incident, although the author did not find any evidence to support or contradict the possibility. It is merely the author's opinion based on Tsafendas's beliefs and modus operandi with the hospitals. If Brunette was referring to this incident, he got the information from a source that was not found in the archives or anywhere else by the author.

The only other reference to suicide in Tsafendas's medical records is from the United States in 1943, when he told the US Immigration he would commit suicide if he was deported. However, that was just a threat and obviously never carried it out. As for "simulating abnormality," the South African police were very well aware that Tsafendas had done such thing at least twice. The first was the report from the Grafton State Hospital which said that in 1943 Tsafendas had faked mental illness to avoid being shipped out; the second was when Tsafendas pretended to be mad so as to avoid compulsory service in the Portuguese Army in 1952, which was known to the police from witnesses' statements.

³¹⁸⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

CONCLUSION

Dr. MacGregor's testimony and diagnosis are very similar to those of the three other psychiatrists. He comes to the same conclusions and therefore the same misdiagnosis. There is a major difference to the other psychiatrists' testimonies, however, and this is that Dr. MacGregor admits freely that he was pressed for time and took "shortcuts" in order to complete his diagnosis, which was based exclusively on four and a half hours he spent with Tsafendas, without consulting any additional information.

The most important thing we learn from Dr. MacGregor's testimony is that the State was aware that Tsafendas had "simulated abnormality" before, but had not found it important enough to bring up with all the other defence witnesses. Another important element in his testimony is that he refers to "information from overseas," as if this information is inevitably correct. He is unlikely to be referring to actual medical reports, as he would have known they would be right. More likely, he is referring to information about Tsafendas's medical history that was given to him verbally, as was the case with van Zyl and very probably with the other psychiatrists, too. Dr. MacGregor's diagnosis and conclusions are entirely wrong, but he is hardly to blame since he made them only by talking to Tsafendas and without any supplementary information. Once again, the Attorney-General did nothing to challenge testimony despite the plethora of evidence which the South African police had in its possession.

Tsafendas remembered Dr. MacGregor warmly in later years, referring to him as "the Scottish psychiatrist." Father Minas does not remember exactly what Tsafendas said, except that he referred to him in positive terms, as he did with Dr. Zabow and Dr. Sakinofsky.³¹⁸⁷

³¹⁸⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

DAY 4: 20 OCTOBER 1966

**PROSECUTION WITNESS No. 1: JACOBUS ANDREAS JOHANNES
ERASMUS**

INTRODUCTION

Jacobus Erasmus, a clinical psychologist with an M.A. in Psychology, was working at the time at Weskoppies Hospital in Pretoria; he was the State's first expert witness.³¹⁸⁸

EXTRACTS FROM JACOBUS ERASMUS'S TESTIMONY³¹⁸⁹

BRUNETTE: On the 28th and 29th of September 1966 did you interview the defendant?

ERASMUS: Yes.

BRUNETTE: Did you perform certain tests?

ERASMUS: Yes.

BRUNETTE: Explain to the Court what these tests were - The Wechsler-Bellevue IQ Test; the Wechsler Memory Scales; the MMPI; the T.A.T. and the Rorschach Tests. Are these tests the same as those described to the Court by Dr. van Zyl?

ERASMUS: Yes, except that I did two additional tests.

BRUNETTE: What were your findings from the tests?

ERASMUS: I first did the Wechsler- Bellevue test. My findings were that his intellectual capacity was classified within the upper limits of the average. His IQ was 109. Whereas he has a higher potential intellectual capacity, this is diminished by restricting factors revealed by the patterns of the sub-tests of the Wechsler-Bellevue tests and the large difference between the verbal IQ of 117 and the practical IQ of 100.

³¹⁸⁸ Jacobus Andreas Johannes Erasmus' testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 20 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³¹⁸⁹ Jacobus Andreas Johannes Erasmus' testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 20 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

In order to determine these factors it is necessary to analyse the different sub-tests. Here there is a lowering of both the concentration capacity and the visual-motor coordination. This diminished concentration and attention capacity are attributable to the fact that the subject has difficulty in keeping his thoughts to one subject, his anxiety state, general anxiety and debilitation and depression. This would explain why the subject, Tsafendas, frequently repeats the questions put to him and is inclined to be long-winded. He would therefore find difficulty to direct his thoughts to one subject only because of these other possible problems. This could also derive from the acutely psychotic patient's being unable to concentrate. A prior psychotic episode could also lead to diminished capacity and poor concentration. Although this cannot be eliminated in this instance, it is unlikely given the good achievements in some of the other sub-tests and the absence of spread within the sub-tests.

The poor visual-motor coordination is due to the generalised apathy, slowness of the patient in performing motor tasks. He was unable to consistently perform the practical tasks in the given time. This phenomenon frequently occurs with patients who are in a debilitating state of anxiety and psychological disintegration. There is a formulary for psychological disintegration which is used in this test and it is 21%. At the patient's age, the expected level is 11%, which should then be corrected and then the rate of disintegration level of 10% for intellectual capacity, which places him on the borderline- which raises the doubt of whether he has disintegrated or not.

If it was higher than 10% one could have confirmed this. Although possible indications of disintegration were found, this was uncertain, and could have been explained with reference to his age or the presence of psychic tension.

Then I also used the Wechsler Memory Test in which he achieved an IQ of 106, which places him above the average of 100. The Wechsler Memory Test purpose is to test the memory and is equivalent to the IQ test, but has a memory quotient. Here Tsafendas had a good result, he had no defect in his memory.

Then I also performed the Rorschach Test where the results did not reveal any bizarre response distortions or perseveration or any other tendencies to disintegration. The responses were reasonably appropriate for the stimuli, but only minimal responses were given, which indicates a blockage or inability to react freely. The responses were also stereotypical. This test shows a weak ego development and an insufficient control of the tendency to act impulsively.

The subject therefore cannot strive towards adult objectives and often resorts to fantasy. He shows a strong tendency towards withdrawal from his surroundings. As a result of this, his evaluation of his surroundings is primarily subjective and he is incapable of objectivity. This is connected to and combined with his unfulfilled need for acceptance.

According to the Rorschach Test, the subject's personality development is on an infantile level, with a tendency to withdrawal; a stereotypical tendency towards a general withdrawal from reality. As a result of the small amount of responses given in this test because of the existing blockages in the subject, it is difficult to do an accurate analysis of this test.

There were 10 cards and he only responded to 7 or 8.

The above conclusions about the Rorschach Test were confirmed by the T.A.T. Test in which he gave logical responses showing a good insight into the motivations of the figures. He displayed a good grasp of the connection between self and the outside world and no distortions were found. Although the subject, (D.S.) connected well with the outside world, he was always reworking reality in terms of his own dream and fantasy world, without being involved in a realistic way.

Tsafendas sets extremely high ideals for himself, but is unable to take positive steps to achieve them, and rather believes in his own fantasy world and that his ideals would be achieved through supernatural and magical means.

JUDGE BEYERS: Is this not a textbook definition of a schizophrenic?

ERASMUS: Yes, it does fit in with that definition. Interpersonal interactions in the T.A.T. Test were acknowledged while these took place. However, because of the undertone of depression, these interactions were not experienced as satisfactory by D.S.

The M.M.P.I. Test is the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory Test which is a personality questionnaire containing many different items, including hypochondria, psychopathy, paranoia, schizophrenia. The subject is questioned and graded on each of the above scales. This test also has an invalid scale. When the subject does not answer the questions consistently, the test is invalidated and the result cannot be used. This is the case here with Tsafendas, who was careless and inconsistent in his answers and the result was thus invalid.

The high levels in the various scales were those of schizophrenia, depression, hypochondria and psychopathy. He achieved low scales for paranoia and manic tendencies. But I reiterate that the test results can be accepted because he was inconsistent in his answers.

JUDGE BEYERS: What is your conclusion after all your tests?

ERASMUS: What these tests especially show is that there are clear signs of schizophrenia from the signs of the blockages encountered, the poor capacity for concentration is often found, and the strong fantasy world. There are also aspects of the sub-tests which do not entirely fit in with the Wechsler-Bellevue Tests, particularly the various sub-tests with picture arrangement, where he did well and where his insights were also good. On the other hand, it is to be expected that the schizophrenic's intellectual capacity would not be affected and that the intelligence would remain on which level. Also, the history of the accused should also be considered, in which case it will be accepted that schizophrenia is present.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE DEFENCE COUNSEL

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Do you not contest the opinions of Drs. Zabow, Cooper and Sakinofsky that the accused before the Court is schizophrenic?

ERASMUS: No, I do not contest this.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: That he is untreatable?

ERASMUS: No.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: That he should be sent to an institution?

ERASMUS: In the light of the history...

DEFENCE COUNSEL: In the light of the evidence which has been presented to the Court?

ERASMUS: Correct, I do not contest it.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: The Court can only come to one conclusion, do you agree?

ERASMUS: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: That he is mentally disturbed? Correct?

ERASMUS: Yes.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: That he ought to be certified? Correct?

ERASMUS: No answer...

DEFENCE COUNSEL: You just said so - yes - correct?

ERASMUS: Is it necessary that I give an opinion?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Yes, it is very necessary. I want an unanimous conclusion.

ERASMUS: Yes.

COMMENTS ON ERASMUS'S TESTIMONY

TSAFENDAS BEING "UNABLE TO DIRECT HIS THOUGHTS TO ONE SUBJECT ONLY"

According to Erasmus, Tsafendas "frequently repeats the questions put to him and is inclined to be long-winded. He would therefore find difficulty to direct his thoughts to one subject only. This is very similar to Dr. Cooper's diagnosis which said that Tsafendas was unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes.

Major Rossouw, head of the Security Police in Cape Town and a highly experienced interrogator, was the officer in charge of Tsafendas's interrogation. Rossouw questioned Tsafendas on several occasions over at least twenty days and the transcripts of two of these interrogations were found in the NASA and have been examined here. The first of these sessions lasted two days and the second seems to have taken a few hours. The second transcript contains Rossouw's questions and Tsafendas's answers. Rossouw told the Commission of Enquiry that Tsafendas "told the truth – I never got the impression that he tried to evade any question. He answered all the questions spontaneously" and he was "totally prepared to answer everything."³¹⁹⁰

Rossouw made no mention to Erasmus's comment that Tsafendas "frequently repeats the questions put to him ..." Indeed, reading both of the transcripts makes clear that there was no repetition. If something of the sort was observed by Rossouw, an experienced interrogator, he would have almost certainly mentioned it to the Commission and most probably called in a psychiatrist to examine Tsafendas. However, none of that happened.

Major Rossouw was not the only one who failed to observe the symptom mentioned by Erasmus. None of the two hundred or so witnesses questioned by the police and the Commission of Enquiry observed it either. Some expressed exactly contrary views. For

³¹⁹⁰ Major Rossouw testimony to the Commission of Enquiry, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

example:

- Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine-ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, “never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers.”³¹⁹¹
- Gillian Claire Lieberman, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation, whose office Tsafendas often visited, “I had various discussions with him. I got quite interested in him as an individual. ... I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation.”³¹⁹²
- Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for Mike’s Outfitters for forty-two days in July and August 1966, frequently driving him to the tanker *Eleni* while it was docked in Cape Town. Of Tsafendas, he told the police that he “never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers.”³¹⁹³
- Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban appointed Tsafendas as a Portuguese and Greek interpreter. Rudolph used him “on several occasions” in a period of six months and “got to know him pretty well.” He testified that “I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and intelligent. He spoke English properly.”³¹⁹⁴

The author asked forty-six witnesses who knew Tsafendas well if they thought that Erasmus’s diagnosis was correct and whether they had noticed anything of the sort with him. They all strongly disputed Erasmus’s conclusions. For example, Father Michalis Visvinis who visited Tsafendas for five years in prison (1989-1994) and got to know him very well, told the author:

“He [Tsafendas] was always very alert. I was actually surprised that his mind was so alert after so many years in prison. Most of our conversations lasted about an hour and a half and he never lost track, nor did I feel that he was struggling to cope with our discussion... I felt that he [Tsafendas] needed to speak, so several times I would just let him speak. He

³¹⁹¹ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³¹⁹² Gillian Claire Lieberman statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³¹⁹³ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

³¹⁹⁴ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

enjoyed speaking and he could speak for hours. I also often asked him questions about his life, and his answers were always logical and what one would expect. He never evaded any question and I never had to repeat myself to him for a second time, nor was his answer ever off the subject. I never noticed that, it never happened [Tsafendas being “unable to direct his thoughts to one subject only”]. I don’t think that this is true. His speech was always absolutely fine. He always spoke like a normal man. [His speech] was not disjointed or anything else. It was perfectly articulate and logical, always very coherent. He never said anything to suggest he had a mental problem or that he had any difficulty speaking or thinking and expressing himself properly.”³¹⁹⁵

Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis told the author:

“[Tsafendas] could speak for hours, telling you things about his life, his thoughts and his ideology, but he could also participate in a dialogue. We spoke for hours about politics, religion and history and he was one of the most knowledgeable people I ever met in all these subjects. He was very argumentative and insistent, especially about politics. He never got lost in the conversation and he would never drop a subject until I had agreed with him. He would never give up a conversation if you disagreed. He never, not even once, seemed to have difficulty expressing himself or talked incoherently. Every single time, everything he said made sense and was perfectly stated. I don’t believe for a moment that he could have talked in the way described by the psychiatrists unless he did it deliberately. He spoke and argued even better than most people. His speech and thought were perfectly fine.”³¹⁹⁶

For reasons of space, the study will list only a few of the other witnesses who were interviewed by the author, those who knew him best or longest:

- His half-sister Katerina Pnefma;³¹⁹⁷
- Ira Kyriakakis who grew up with him and spent a lot of time together in 1964 and 1965;³¹⁹⁸
- Andreas Babiolakis who knew him since they were children, lived with him for two months in 1964 and associated with him for about a year then;³¹⁹⁹
- Alexander Moumbaris who spent three months in a cell next to Tsafendas’s in Pretoria

³¹⁹⁵ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

³¹⁹⁶ Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³¹⁹⁷ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³¹⁹⁸ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

³¹⁹⁹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

Prison in 1972. They spoke every day for an hour when they exercised together in the prison yard. They met again in March 1996 at Sterkfontein Hospital,³²⁰⁰

- Thirteen crewmen from the *Eleni* who saw him every day for forty-two days in 1966;³²⁰¹
- Elias Constantaras who lived under the same roof for two months in Cape Town in 1966 and knew him for more than a year;³²⁰²
- Irene Michaletos who was very close to him for more than a year (1964-1965), when he often visited her house in Beira;³²⁰³
- John Michaletos, Irene's husband, Tsafendas's cousin and the son of Artemis's (Tsafendas's aunt who brought him up in Egypt), met Tsafendas in 1951 and associated with him in 1963-1965, getting to know him very well.³²⁰⁴
- Antony Michaletos, John's brother, met Tsafendas in 1951 and associated with him in 1963-1965, getting to know him very well.³²⁰⁵
- Alexandra Vaporidis who knew him for about six months in Istanbul in 1961;³²⁰⁶
- Nick Papadakis, who knew Tsafendas for two-three months and lived with him for two months in Mozambique in 1964;³²⁰⁷
- Panagiotis Peroglou, Stratis Vamvarapis, Antonis Nichas and Costas Chagios, who were Tsafendas's friends in Cape Town for more than a year.³²⁰⁸

³²⁰⁰ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

³²⁰¹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 19 January 2016; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

³²⁰² Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

³²⁰³ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

³²⁰⁴ John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

³²⁰⁵ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016.

³²⁰⁶ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

³²⁰⁷ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

³²⁰⁸ Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015; Miltiades Kaldis in a personal interview, 12 March 2016; Antonis Nichas in a personal interview, 31 March 2016; Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016; Stratis Vamvarapis in a personal interview, 31 May 2016.

TSAFENDAS “CANNOT STRIVE TOWARDS ADULT OBJECTIVES AND OFTEN RESORTS TO FANTASY,” SHOWS A “STEREOTYPICAL TENDENCY TOWARDS A GENERAL WITHDRAWAL FROM REALITY,” AND HE “SETS EXTREMELY HIGH IDEALS FOR HIMSELF, BUT IS UNABLE TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS TO ACHIEVE THEM, AND RATHER BELIEVES IN HIS OWN FANTASY WORLD AND THAT HIS IDEALS WOULD BE ACHIEVED THROUGH SUPERNATURAL OR MAGICAL MEANS”

Erasmus’s above testimony is completely inaccurate. Tsafendas cherished many adult objectives which were more serious and highly principled than most peoples. For example, he was strongly in favour of the independence of Mozambique and wanted to see “a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the mother nation.”³²⁰⁹

Tsafendas campaigned constantly for independence, distributed books and leaflets and tried to raise awareness of this goal, while in 1938 he had attempted to raise awareness against Portugal’s forced cotton policy. For these very public efforts and other political activities in Mozambique, he was arrested five times and imprisoned three times by the Portuguese. More importantly, PIDE considered him to be a “partisan for the independence of Mozambique.”³²¹⁰

Another major objective was an end to apartheid; Tsafendas wanted to see “a government that would represent all South Africans,”³²¹¹ he wanted to bring about “a change of policy” in South Africa,³²¹² to “create a resistance to the regime of South Africa” and was even willing to do “anything that would get the South African regime out of power.”³²¹³ He strove to achieve this goal by smuggling anti-apartheid literature into the country, asking foreign visitors not to spend any money so as not to contribute to the apartheid economy.

Finally, he took the most drastic of measures to achieve his objective (or “fantasy” according to Dr. Erasmus) by killing the man he believed had created and was “the brains behind apartheid,”³²¹⁴ in the hope that “a change of policy would take place.”³²¹⁵ Certainly, independence for Mozambique and an end to apartheid in South Africa were “adult themes”

³²⁰⁹ PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³²¹⁰ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³²¹¹ Demitrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³²¹² Demitrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³²¹³ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³²¹⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³²¹⁵ Demitrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

as Tsafendas strove tirelessly to achieve both goals. Of course, Erasmus was unaware of all this and diagnosed him according to what he was told by Tsafendas himself and the results of the tests he gave him.

None of the two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission of Enquiry at the time reported anything with the slightest resemblance to what Erasmus said. Furthermore, none of witnesses interviewed by the author (apart from the members of Tsafendas's defence team) agreed with Erasmus's diagnosis. People who knew Tsafendas well said that far from being withdrawn from reality, he was a firmly grounded yet highly principled idealist. We feel it is not necessary to include all the statements as we have seen the comments in previous testimonies. Was Tsafendas a dreamer living in a fantasy world because he wanted to see an independent Mozambique and to bring an end to apartheid? To paraphrase John Lennon, "you may say he was a dreamer, but he was not the only one..."

TSAFFENDAS "SHOWS A STRONG TENDENCY TOWARDS WITHDRAWAL FROM HIS SURROUNDINGS"

According to Erasmus, Tsafendas showed "a strong tendency towards withdrawal from his surroundings. As a result of this, his evaluation of his surroundings is primarily subjective and he is incapable of objectivity." Again, this is completely inaccurate. Two witnesses out of around two hundred who testified to the police said Tsafendas "did not mix freely and kept to himself most of the time,"³²¹⁶ and that he was "not very talkative."³²¹⁷ The vast majority declared the opposite:

- William Mare Volbrecht, a friend and schoolmate at the English Medium Primary School in Middleburg, testified to the police that Tsafendas was "never a loner and freely mingled with us."³²¹⁸ Tsafendas's half-sister, Katerina Pnefma, his first cousin who grew up with him in Egypt and Lourenço Marques, Mary Eintracht, and Ira Kyriakakis, Helen Grispos and Andreas Babiolakis, who also grew up with him, agreed with Volbrecht's comment and said that from childhood Tsafendas was sociable, friendly and very

³²¹⁶ Charles Edwin Woods statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³²¹⁷ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³²¹⁸ William Mare Volbrecht statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Verklaring deur Majdor Venter. NASA.

talkative.³²¹⁹

- An unnamed “respected member of the Press gallery” in the House of Assembly “who knew Tsafendas well” spoke to René MacColl, *Daily Express*’s chief foreign correspondent, about Tsafendas. He said that “far from being a withdrawn sort of man, he seemed to be intent on impressing his personality on one. There was always the big smile, the ready chat and an almost obsessive intention to make you remember him. There couldn’t have been a less grey or faceless figure.”³²²⁰
- Keith Martincich who worked with him at the Marine Diamond Corporation testified that Tsafendas “spoke to me every day and I got the impression that he was sociable type.”³²²¹
- J. Willemse was Tsafendas’s landlord for one month in 1965. He characterised him as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.”³²²²
- Hulse who worked with him at the Marine Diamond Corporation for nine or ten weeks said “Tsafendas was very talkative and always expressed his...”³²²³
- Ian Boswell of the Department of Labour, in his description of Tsafendas, included the phrase, “aside from being over talkative ...”³²²⁴
- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour, testified that “he was very talkative.”³²²⁵
- Owen Smorenberg who worked with him for five-six weeks, testified that “Tsafendas was very talkative and gave the impression that he was very friendly. He wanted to talk to everybody and it became known to me that he was able to speak different languages.”³²²⁶
- Albert Vercueil, his boss at F.A. Poole Engineering for five months found him to be a

³²¹⁹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³²²⁰ *Daily Express*, ‘Was It Murder Incorporated?’, 9 September 1966: 2.

³²²¹ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³²²² *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

³²²³ Hulse statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; The edge of the document was not copied, so the word is missing.

³²²⁴ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

³²²⁵ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

³²²⁶ Owen Smorenburg statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 oor Stafendas. NASA.

“very friendly, social and talkative person.”³²²⁷

- August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be “very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet.”³²²⁸
- Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden worked with Tsafendas for some three months at the Marine Diamond Corporation and testified that “he was friendly, outgoing, and was not aloof.”³²²⁹
- Tsafendas made a “good impression” on his colleagues in Frankfurt; they said he was “always smiling” and characterized him as being “very kind”, “a nice guy” and a “good comrade.”³²³⁰
- Jacobus Bornman, his flatmate for two months, summed Tsafendas up as “a friendly and plausible person.”³²³¹
- Jose Lopez Baltazar a fireman in Beira, testified that “when Tsafendas was in the presence of Whites he said little or nothing, but was friendly and talkative with the Bantu.”³²³²
- Reginald Maile, shipguard on the *Eleni*, testified that Tsafendas was “on very friendly relations with the crew.”³²³³
- Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for two months and testified to the police that he had “a very friendly way of talking.”³²³⁴ He later said that Tsafendas was “overly talkative and sociable.”³²³⁵

³²²⁷ Albert Vercual statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³²²⁸ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³²²⁹ Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³²³⁰ PIDE’s News Digest; *Le Courrier d’Afrique*, ‘Em Torno Do Assassinado do Primeiro Ministro Sulafricano; Versoes Contraditorias Circulam Sobre A Personalidade Do Assassino’, 9 September 1966: 1. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

³²³¹ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³²³² Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³²³³ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

³²³⁴ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

³²³⁵ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 241.

- Michaelis Augustides, Tsafendas's employer for two months, also found him to be "overly talkative and sociable."³²³⁶
- Panagiotis Peroglou who knew Tsafendas for about a year, testified to the police but his statements have gone missing. However, in a personal interview, he and his wife Pamela Abrahams, who had also met Tsafendas, characterised him as "very talkative, courteous and friendly."³²³⁷

Perhaps the most convincing proof that Tsafendas did not tend to "withdraw from his surroundings" as Erasmus suggested, comes from the following two incidents:

Guenter Haafe was the doorman at the Frankfurt factory where Tsafendas worked for six weeks in 1958. Haafe was interviewed eight years later, shortly after the assassination, and vividly remembered the jovial greeting Tsafendas gave him every morning:

"He was a jolly man, always smiling and friendly. He would almost always come into my locker (room) to say Hi. He was really one of the friendliest workers I have met and trust me, in my twelve years as a doorman I have seen thousands and thousands of faces coming in and out. This man was courteous, they do not make them like that anymore."³²³⁸

In addition, Horst Hartmann, Tsafendas's chief on the Frankfurt job, said Tsafendas was "well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous ... a very pleasant man. He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman,"³²³⁹ "we liked him ... always laughing, a good worker."³²⁴⁰

³²³⁶ Lambley, *The Psychology of Apartheid*, p. 241.

³²³⁷ Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

³²³⁸ *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966; *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17.

³²³⁹ *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966; *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17.

³²⁴⁰ *Daily Express*, 'The Assassin', 8 September 1966: 2.

Furthermore, Fotini Gavasiadis said that while Tsafendas worked at her brother's café, he "was always with a smile in his mouth, chatting and joking with the customers ... he was very popular, especially with the older customers. Some of them were coming to the café just to talk to him. They were quite old and had no else to talk to. Dimitris patiently listened to their stories or whatever they had to say. He always had a comforting word for them and for those who needed it."³²⁴¹

While in Beira in 1964, Tsafendas attended the wedding of Vittorio, an Italian friend and fellow Communist, probably from Naples, who was working with him at the time. As the celebrations proceeded, Tsafendas rose from his chair and raised his glass. Everyone thought he was about to deliver a speech. He did indeed deliver a very short speech wishing the newly-weds well, but then, in a ringing baritone, he launched passionately into an Italian Communist song. Most of the Greeks among the guests were speechless, but Vittorio and his Italian friends joined in eagerly, clapping and rhythmically pounding the table with their fists or spoons. When he finished he received huge applause and Vittorio and some of his friends called for another song. Tsafendas obliged with a second Italian Communist anthem and again many guests joined him.³²⁴²

As well as the witnesses questioned by the police, all the witnesses interviewed by the author characterised Tsafendas as very friendly, very sociable and very talkative. None agreed with Erasmus's diagnosis. Their testimonies cannot be listed here for reasons of space, but the words of those reproduced above clearly prove Erasmus was wrong.

CONCLUSION

Erasmus's diagnosis is mostly based on the tests he conducted on Tsafendas. These showed Tsafendas as a completely different person to the one described by two hundred and fifty people to the police, to the Commission and to the author. Again, Erasmus did not have any other information about Tsafendas apart from what he heard from him. Some thirty years later, Tsafendas characterised the psychological tests he took while he was in custody as "childish stuff."³²⁴³

Asked by the author to comment on the psychological tests, Professor Burke said:

³²⁴¹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³²⁴² Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

³²⁴³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

“Back in those days, the psychological tests were very unsophisticated, so you could have had results, and it could have been argued one of two ways to say it proves or disproves. It was never an exact science. Whether the interpretation was right or wrong, the Rorschach ink blot test was never a scientific tool, it was mainly a projective test, and, as in psychology, there are many approaches to things. So by saying it was incorrect, you could also say, ‘It was not the way I would have done it,’ so whether it was correct or incorrect doesn’t really matter.

The fact is that those tests and the interpretation of those tests, were always open to interpretation. You could have done it, come to me with the results, and I would have looked at the same results and I would have come up with a different conclusion, so whether it was done correctly or incorrectly, is neither here nor there. The test could, at most, say that there is a possibility of schizophrenia, at the very most, but you could never make an accurate diagnosis. There are people who would argue that you could, but you could never make an accurate diagnosis of schizophrenia based on that test, or on any test for that matter.

I still think that your best instrument for making a diagnosis like this is what the people around you say, and your assessment of the functioning of the person; that gives you the best idea. The psychological tests would confirm what you have picked up, so what you would always have with any kind of diagnostic assessment is, you would have your observations of the patient, the information you get from the people around, and your psychological tests, and then you pick up themes. If you pick up the same themes in those three areas, then you say, ‘This is the diagnosis.’ If it’s only in one of those areas, you can’t confirm the diagnosis until you’ve got some kind of confirmation from other areas, as well, so it’s a weak way of making a diagnosis.”³²⁴⁴

However, the most important thing here is not Erasmus’s testimony as it was given to the court, but the fact that he had diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic from the 29th of September. This is highly significant because it means that since he was one of the State’s two expert witnesses, he must have been given his diagnosis to the Attorney-General, the man who appointed him in the first place, before he testified in the court. What makes this even more important is the fact that the State’s other expert witness, Adolph van Wyk, a Professor of Psychiatry, had also found Tsafendas to be a schizophrenic. Therefore despite the fact that both of the State’s experts found Tsafendas to be insane, thus agreeing with the defence, the Attorney-General appeared to be “sceptical” about the defence’s witnesses,

³²⁴⁴ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

questioning them extensively, when his own experts had already come to the exactly same conclusion. The issue will be discussed in detail in Professor van Wyk's testimony which follows.

**PROSECUTION WITNESS No. 2: PROFESSOR ADOLF JOHANNES
VAN WYK**

**PROFESSOR VAN WYK'S PROFESSIONAL BIOGRAPHY AS RELATED BY HIM
TO THE COURT**

Adolf Johannes van Wyk qualified as a physician in 1938, with the degrees M.B., Ch.B., and worked in general practice until 1949. He then began specialising in psychiatry, gained the DPM diploma and was placed on the register as a specialist-psychiatrist. From that time, he worked solely in the field of mental disorders and psychiatry. Professor van Wyk was appointed consulting psychiatrist in the prisons, carried out many observations for the State and testified often in court. His prison work included occasionally interviewing prisoners who had been sentenced to death on behalf of the State President. His appointments included Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Pretoria, head of the Department of Psychiatry, Senior Psychiatrist of the General Hospital, and also Adjunct Commissioner of Mental Health of the Republic of South Africa.³²⁴⁵ Professor van Wyk, as State's expert witness, had also examined John Harris.³²⁴⁶

PROFESSOR VAN WYK'S TESTIMONY³²⁴⁷

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Have you observed the accused?

PROF. VAN WYK: Yes, I saw the accused on five occasions: on 23 September, on 24 September, on 4 October, on 13 October and on 14 October.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: You were in the Court all the time that the psychiatrists for the defence testified, is that so?

³²⁴⁵ Professor Adolf Johannes van Wyk's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³²⁴⁶ Cooper, *Under Devil's Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 107.

³²⁴⁷ Professor Adolf Johannes van Wyk's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

PROF. VAN WYK: Yes, I was present the whole time and I also possess certain reports of his illnesses overseas, which I also studied. The last one which I received from the Ochsenzoll Hospital in Hamburg is also in my possession.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I would like you to give your conclusions to the Judge and his learned assessors.

PROF. VAN WYK: If one undertakes to observe and study a particular case, particularly if it is current, the first thing to consider is simulation. It is something which one should definitely distinguish, and then, even if one finds a psychological problem, in the second instance one must determine – even if there is a psychological problem, that does not imply irresponsibility – is the accused so affected by the mental state that he is not responsible for his deed?

And these were the two things which were uppermost in my mind the whole time that I had the accused under observation. During the first two observations, on the 23rd and the 24th, I was a little uncertain, because the man was very evasive, and one could not really place him, to determine to what extent there was simulation, and I felt at that time that I definitely would not certify him with the information and with the interviews which I had had with him until then. I wanted to know more about his background; I wanted to know more about the motivation for the act, would he be able to give this? Although he was evasive in that respect, it could also be a schizophrenic symptom. They often say “I don’t know. It may be.” That is a disturbance in thought processes. Because they cannot adequately express their thoughts, they answer in a seemingly evasive way. To what extent had he tried to evade giving the real reason? And I wanted to know more about the background.

On the 4th of October I found a symptom in the accused which definitely appeared spontaneously and which made me definitely decide that he was schizophrenic and that it was a disturbance of the self, of a passivity phenomenon, in the sense that the person blames influences outside himself for his thoughts, emotions and actions.

JUDGE BEYERS: Does one call this, the impassiveness, passive/passivity phenomenon?

PROF. VAN WYK: Passivity phenomenon?

JUDGE BEYERS: Yes, or a disturbance of the self? He regards himself as a sort of instrument?

PROF. VAN WYK: Yes, as a robot operated by someone else. I can give a good example. I dealt with a non-white young woman who kicked over fire buckets and had fights and then said that it was not she, but her late brother who had done it. In other words, she was totally passive and was taken over by an outside influence. Something happened which persuaded me that it was not simulation. This came out after Mr. Bloomberg was present at the interview and I asked him about the tapeworm – and I definitely put leading questions to him and he had the chance, should he have wanted to simulate, that he could have done so. Then I asked him: can you tell me why you travelled around so much in the world? He pondered this for a while and then he said to me: “You know, doctor, in the beginning I thought I did it myself. It was voluntary, it was by myself, but you know now I realise that it was the tapeworm that made me travel over the whole world.” Then I followed this up in the afternoon, without Mr. Bloomberg – it was perhaps unauthorised, but I felt concerned. So that afternoon I again interviewed him from 3 to 4 and then I focussed more on this and gave him more chance to talk and that afternoon he said to me,: “Doctor, sometimes I say things (this came out spontaneously) sometimes I say things to people and they get annoyed with me and actually it is not I who says these things, but the tapeworm which forces me to say those things.”

That is definitely a cardinal symptom of schizophrenia. But until that time I had not realised the extent of the schizophrenic condition and to what extent and whether it rendered him certifiable. And whether the tapeworm was just a secondary delusional- imaginary interpretation of the passivity phenomenon.

It happens that a person can display the passivity phenomenon, and then he begins to explain the passivity phenomenon by saying that he has been hypnotised, or another influence is at work on him. Is it in the passivity that the tape worm manifests? Or is it just a delusional- imaginary interpretation of a passivity phenomenon?

But after later on, after one had heard the person’s history here in the Court, I had to come to the conclusion that it – the tapeworm - is actually a primary delusional imaginary thing, and that it was not just an imaginary interpretation of his passivity manifestations.

JUDGE BEYERS: I think I follow you.

PROF. VAN WYK: And with taking this into consideration, the mental disturbance which in the beginning was vague, later with more interviews – and we all know that thought disturbances in schizophrenia are often difficult to find. When one has an interview with a

patient on his own you may not find any thought disturbance. When he is on his own and is at ease and feeling good, he does not have to show you a thought disturbance. But if you encounter him where he has to talk in front of an audience or in a situation where there is a certain amount of emotion, the thought disturbance phenomenon is displayed. Often it manifests typically and very nicely. And with the first interviews he only displayed roundabout statements and long-windedness and evasiveness and I was not sure what this was all about – was it just a thought disturbance or was it just evasiveness?

But during my interviews with him on the 13th and 14th – and I should have wanted to see him again on the 15th, but it was not possible for me, the defence needed to see him and I was unable to do so – it became clear to me that there was definitely a measure of thought disturbance present with him. And with all the information available to me, beside the fact of the murder, as consulting psychiatrist, if I had encountered this person with all the information now available, I would have had to certify him. There was no question but that it fell within the ambit of the Mental Health Act of 1916.

JUDGE BEYERS: You say that other than the murder, but the murder itself meets one of the requirements, namely that he is a danger to others?

PROF. VAN WYK: Yes.

JUDGE BEYERS: So, at the moment, if today this problem was put forward to you and this man was sent to you today and you were asked: “Must he be certified, yes or no?” - would you have any doubt today?

PROF. VAN WYK: No, there will be no doubt at all. He can commit a crime but it does not have to be as a result of his mental illness, and I felt – after all that one has heard – that, he said to me for example “There was a pressure building up” and I had the feeling that it was because of the tapeworm, and he said: “ It had to break out some time”, and then he became a little evasive about this situation, and it kept on building up, this mental illness of his, and he said to me that he never knew that it would manifest in such a manner, and to a certain extent he blamed the doctors. At one stage he said to me that he had consulted the doctors and that they never put him in a hospital or put him into an institution. He said that if they had done so, this would never have happened.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY THE DEFENCE COUNSEL

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Do you agree, on the fourth day of this enquiry, with the opinion that Dr. Cooper so stoutly defended on the first day of this enquiry?

PROF. VAN WYK: That the man is certifiable under the Mental Disease Act?

DEFENCE COUNSEL: Yes, that he suffers from schizophrenia?

PROF. VAN WYK: Yes, but it is not a conclusion which I have only reached today. I came to that conclusion before.

DEFENCE COUNSEL: So you also agree with Dr Zabow, Dr MacGregor, and Dr Sakinofsky?

JUDGE BEYERS: But this witness has already said what you want. Can you possibly get more? It says much for you that you took a time in coming to your conclusion. One does not make up one's mind hastily about these things. It is a responsible task and it redounds to your honour that you did not come to a hasty conclusion but that you took your time and gradually reached your conclusion. I appreciate it.

COMMENTS ON PROFESSOR VAN WYK'S DIAGNOSIS

Before we examine this development, we should examine Professor van Wyk's testimony. Professor van Wyk stated that he wanted to know more about Tsafendas's background and "motivation for the act." However, instead of seeking additional information from Tsafendas's friends and family, as Dr. Sakinofsky and Professors Tuviah Zabow, Burke, Heilbrun and Resnick all recommended, Professor van Wyk attempted to get the information from Tsafendas himself, just like Dr. Cooper, Dr. Aubrey Zabow and Dr. MacGregor. He, too, accepted what he was told without question. He could very easily have found what he was looking for in the two statements Tsafendas gave to the police. He could also have got much information from the about two hundred statements the police and the Commission of Enquiry took from people who knew him.

Professor van Wyk also states that he was in possession of "certain reports" from overseas hospitals and that the last one he received was from Ochsenzoll Hospital in Hamburg. There is no mention of the Grafton State Hospital report, which was certainly in the possession of the South African police since September 16,³²⁴⁸ or of the report by the

³²⁴⁸ Letter of the USA Embassy in Cape Town to the South African Security Branch, 3 October 1966. Correctional Service. Subject: Demitrio Tsafendas. File: 80/0043 A123 Vol. 1. NASA.

Government Hospital in Beira. The author is not in position to know whether these reports were in Professor van Wyk's possession. If they were, as they should have been, he never referred to Tsafendas faking mental illness while in the USA and that he believed he was Saint Peter just two years ago in Mozambique.

In his diagnosis, Professor van Wyk stated that he gave Tsafendas the opportunity to simulate by offering him leading questions which Tsafendas did not fall for. Professor van Wyk seems unaware or ignored the fact that Tsafendas had been caught pretending to be mad and that he was experienced with psychiatrists. The Commission of Enquiry, which had no psychiatrist, noted that Tsafendas is "quite knowledgeable about mental disorders—he also admitted to the Commission that he had read fairly extensively on the subject in order to determine what was wrong with him... and [the Commission] therefore adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him. It is clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act."³²⁴⁹ Although this was evident to the Commission, it was not evident to Professor van Wyk, who was a psychiatrist and accepted everything Tsafendas said.

We will not examine the tapeworm again, but we should look at two of the things Tsafendas told Professor van Wyk about it: "Sometimes I say things to people and they get annoyed with me and actually it is not I who says these things, but the tapeworm which forces me to say those things" and "You know, doctor, in the beginning I thought I did it myself. It was voluntary, it was by myself, but you know now I realise that it was the tapeworm that made me travel over the whole world."

Firstly, Tsafendas repeatedly called his travels "forced globetrotting." He used this description with several people and even on his affidavit. He said he had to live "like a gypsy" because he was exiled from Mozambique, barred from South Africa and continually persecuted in Portugal. He never mentioned the tapeworm as a reason for his travels to anyone, not even to the police. Both of the alleged tapeworm statements were read by the author to forty-six witnesses who knew Tsafendas very well. Not even could accept that Tsafendas believed what he was saying. Since the issue with the alleged statements has also been discussed before, I would not again list the people's reaction to them.

Professor van Wyk also said in his testimony: "when one has an interview with a patient on his own you may not find any thought disturbance. When he is on his own and is at

³²⁴⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

ease and feeling good, he does not have to show you a thought disturbance. But if you encounter him where he has to talk in front of an audience or in a situation where there is a certain amount of emotion, the thought disturbance phenomenon is displayed.” This is an inaccurate diagnosis. Again, all of the forty-six witnesses who were asked about the above statement strongly deny that this was the case with Tsafendas. Since it would be impractical to include everyone’s statement, the study will present only the following five examples contradicting Professor van Wyk’s diagnosis.

From the mid-1930s to 1939 and then again in 1964 Tsafendas voluntarily taught English and History to Greek and Mozambican children in Mozambique.³²⁵⁰ Ira Kyriakakis one of his students, strongly dismisses Professor van Wyk’s diagnosis. Kyriakakis said, “Dimitris really loved teaching. You could tell. He was a natural talent. Of course he did not have any issue talking in front of us. How would he have taught if he had a problem?”³²⁵¹

In 1961, Tsafendas worked for about six months as a teacher at the best private language college in Turkey. Naturally, he had to talk in front of an audience five days per week and clearly this was no problem since the owner of the college, Mr. Limasollu Naci, tried to keep him on his staff and when he left gave him a positive reference. Furthermore, for six or seven months also in 1961, Tsafendas taught English to Greek and Turkish children in Istanbul. Father Nikola Banovic and Alexandra Vaporidis were often present at the lessons, which were held in a room near the Greek Orthodox church of Panagia in the city’s Pera Taxi district.

Asked about Professor van Wyk’s diagnosis, Father Nikola said:

“No, we never understood anything like this. (Tsafendas) loved teaching and he was clearly enjoying it. He was really good, really, really good. He was funny and witty and at the end of each lesson, he would tell the students a story about his travels. All the students waited for that. I was not present at the classes he had at Mr. Limasollu’s college, but I was told by Mr. Limasollu that he was exactly the same with the students there. They all adored him. He made a very positive contribution to the Greek community here and after he left, we all missed him, especially the children... For many years, they asked, ‘When is Mr Dimitris

³²⁵⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Irene and John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 29 April 2015; Costas Poriadis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

³²⁵¹ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

coming back?’ He never showed any thought disturbance while he was teaching or any time he was with us. He was always perfectly fine.”³²⁵²

Alexandra Vaporidis also lived in Istanbul at the time. She did not know Tsafendas well, but her husband, Father Agathagos Vaporidis, was very close to him. Tsafendas had dinner once in her house and she often spoke to him at church and was present at some of his classes. “I saw him teaching many times although we only spoke briefly each time at the end of the lesson. I never noticed anything to be wrong with him while he was teaching or any other time. He seemed to enjoy teaching and the children enjoyed it too. They were all very sad when he left.”³²⁵³

Andreas Babiolakis and Nick Papadakis went often with Tsafendas at the Scala Café in 1964 in Beira, where many Greeks gathered. Both strongly deny that Tsafendas had any kind of thought problems and insist that he enjoyed talking in front of an audience about politics. Both remember an incident in Gondola when Tsafendas attended the wedding of Vittorio, an Italian friend and fellow Communist, who was working with him at the time. As the celebrations proceeded, Tsafendas rose from his chair and raised his glass. He delivered a very short speech wishing the newly-weds well and then in a ringing baritone, launched passionately into an Italian Communist song. Most of the Greeks were speechless, but Vittorio and his Italian friends joined in eagerly, clapping and pounding the table. When he finished, Tsafendas received huge applause and Vittorio called on him to sing another one. Tsafendas duly sang another Italian Communist anthem and again many guests joined him.³²⁵⁴

³²⁵² Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

³²⁵³ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 10 October 2015.

³²⁵⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

Fotini Gavasiadis also strongly denies that Tsafendas had any such issue. She said that when Tsafendas worked at her brother's coffee shop for nearly nine months, "he talked constantly with the customers. A lot of them, especially very old men, would come to the shop just for him, to talk about history, religion and his travels. He avoided talking to them about politics because he believed they were all or most of them supporters of apartheid. No, he had no problems talking in front of an audience. He was perfectly fine, as he was at all other times."³²⁵⁵

Professor van Wyk also stated that Tsafendas's "thought disturbance" becomes evident with "a certain amount of emotion." However, while Tsafendas was in custody in Caledon Square, which certainly could be classified as a time of high emotion, he displayed no signs of disturbance, certainly not in his two statements. Speech and thought processes are entirely logical. It had been the same in November 1964 when Tsafendas was interrogated by PIDE agents in Mozambique accused of conducting propaganda for the independence of Mozambique. He was questioned by PIDE's Sub-Inspector, Joaquim Piçara Sabino, Brigade Chief Augusto de Sousa Maia, and agent Virgílio Francisco.³²⁵⁶ He told them clearly and logically that he wanted to see "a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the mother nation."³²⁵⁷ Inspector Horacio Ferreira, who was in charge of the police cells where Tsafendas was kept characterised him as being "intense anti-white" and convinced that "the Portuguese Government has never done anything for its non-whites." He added that Tsafendas was "normal" and he regarded him "as a very intelligent person."³²⁵⁸

PROFESSOR VAN WYK'S DIAGNOSIS AND THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

Professor van Wyk was the last witness to testify in the summary trial, bringing it to an "abrupt end," as David Bloomberg and Wilfrid Cooper rightly said.³²⁵⁹ It was abrupt, because no one expected the State's main witness to give such evidence. The defence team was under the impression that Professor van Wyk had diagnosed Tsafendas as being able to follow the

³²⁵⁵ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 11 June 2016.

³²⁵⁶ PIDE Record of questions. 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³²⁵⁷ PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³²⁵⁸ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, File 1/5. FILE Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

³²⁵⁹ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 98.

trial proceedings and would not mention anything about schizophrenia. Professor van Wyk's report, written before October 6 although the exact date is not known to the author, had said:

“He is orientated. He gives a good account of himself. His comprehension is good and his answers are relevant. His emotional responses are adequate and apt. His discourse is coherent. At times he is discursive, but not vague and he never strays from the main point of conversation. The tests indicate that his intellectual abilities are above average. He maintains that he is infested with a tapeworm, and that this influences his life. He denies that he suffers from hallucinations. I have found no indications that he is incapable of following the court proceedings or that he is unable to exercise his rights and privileges and instruct his legal advisers and assist them in the conduct of his defence.”³²⁶⁰

This report was given to the defence team on October 6. By that time Professor van Wyk had seen Tsafendas three times (September 23, 24 and October 4). The other State witness, Erasmus, the psychologist, had testified just a few minutes before Professor van Wyk that he had examined Tsafendas on September 28 and 29 and his tests had revealed “clear signs of schizophrenia.” However, Professor van Wyk's report says nothing about signs of schizophrenia and states the tests showed that Tsafendas was “very intelligent.”

The question is: why did Professor van Wyk not include in his initial report that the other State witness, Erasmus, had found signs of schizophrenia? He must have discussed the case with him as they were both State's expert witnesses and the psychologist's job was to perform the tests and support the psychiatrist's diagnosis. It seems highly unlikely that van Wyk was unaware of Erasmus's tests, as he specifically refers to tests that showed Tsafendas's intelligence. These were the tests carried out by Erasmus, as he testified a few minutes earlier. There seem to be five possibilities:

- The tests were differently interpreted at the time and Erasmus did not find “clear signs of schizophrenia” then; that would explain why this is not in Professor van Wyk's report. Perhaps Erasmus later changed his mind regarding the interpretation of the tests, maybe also influenced by Professor van Wyk's diagnosis, and discovered the “clear signs of schizophrenia.” That would explain what he told the court and why such information was absent from Professor van Wyk's report. It would also agree with Professor Burke's statement that the “those tests and the interpretation of those tests, were always open to

³²⁶⁰ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 81.

interpretation.”³²⁶¹

- Erasmus told Professor van Wyk that the tests showed that Tsafendas as very intelligent but forgot to mention that there were also “clear signs of schizophrenia.”
- Erasmus told Professor van Wyk that there were “clear signs of schizophrenia” in the tests and the Professor forgot to include it in his report.
- Professor van Wyk did not consider the tests as accurate and dismissed them, accepting only results of the intelligence tests.
- For some reason Professor van Wyk deliberately omitted it from his report.

The author cannot think of any other reason why Prof. van Wyk’s initial report did not contain the findings of Erasmus’ tests as they were presented in the court and it does not mention anything about Tsafendas’s alleged schizophrenia. Very importantly he found Tsafendas to be “orientated,” giving “a good account of himself. His comprehension is good and his answers are relevant. His emotional responses are adequate and apt. His discourse is coherent. At times he is discursive, but not vague and he never strays from the main point of conversation.” The above diagnosis completely contradicts the diagnosis of Dr. Cooper, Dr. Sakinofsky and Dr. Zabow.

However, Professor van Wyk also stated that he later, on October 4, he changed his mind and diagnosed Tsafendas as a schizophrenic. This was confirmed when he examined Tsafendas twice more on October 13 and 14, four and three days before the beginning of the trial. Since both of the State’s witnesses had diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic, therefore agreeing with the defence’s line and experts, which was known at the time to the State, the question is: Why did the Attorney-General appear so sceptical of the defence’s witnesses? The State was aware of the defence’s line since the 6th of October, so if van den Berg disagreed or doubted the diagnosis of his two expert witnesses, which was identical with the defence’s line, and really believed that Tsafendas was fit to stand trial, he could have very easily appointed additional psychiatrists and psychologists to examine him. However, he did not do such thing and the reason must have been because he must have accepted his witnesses’ opinion.

Both David Bloomberg and Wilfrid Cooper were surprised by this as they believed that since the State’s experts had already agreed with the defence’s experts, there was no need

³²⁶¹ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

for this line of questioning. Bloomberg said about the incident: “One presumed that the Attorney-General knew what evidence his psychologist and psychiatrist would be giving. If that was the case, why did he challenge, in cross-examination, the evidence of the defence witnesses, when he knew that his own witnesses agreed with them, and allow Dr Harold Cooper, in particular, to be tested so vigorously and sceptically by the judge?”³²⁶² Gavin Cooper, son of Wilfrid Cooper, also wrote about his father’s surprise: “... they were left puzzled as to why, if the State had known what their experts were going to say when they took the stand, the Attorney-General had cross-examined Dr. Cooper so aggressively on the first day of the inquiry to try to prove that Tsafendas was able to stand trial. Was the State as surprised as the defence with the testimony of their key witnesses?”³²⁶³

The question here is whether there was any possibility that the State did not know what evidence its two main witnesses were going to give? If the State was aware, which is almost certain, why did the Attorney-General behave as he did during the summary trial? If the State did not know, then it would explain such behaviour, but is it really possible that the State’s two main and only expert witnesses had not informed the Attorney-General about the evidence they were going to give? That is impossible, according to Advocate George Bizos and Professor John Dugard.³²⁶⁴ Then, we are back to the previous question; why all this then? The issue will be discussed further along with the role of the Attorney-General.

³²⁶² Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 98.

³²⁶³ Cooper, *Under Devil’s Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 123.

³²⁶⁴ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

The Attorney-General

His Concluding Statement to the Court

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S CONCLUDING STATEMENT TO THE COURT

After Professor van Wyk's testimony, to general surprise, the Attorney-General announced that he had no further questions and that the case for the prosecution was concluded.

FOR THE STATE

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: A request was made on behalf of the defence that the Court in terms of Article 28 (2) of Act 38 of 1916 that the accused is mentally ill and that in addition the Court must insist that he, depending on the availability of the State President, be placed in an institution. The Court has heard the evidence about this, and the Court noted the overwhelming nature of the expert witnesses. Even the witnesses for the State recommended without any doubt that the mental state of the accused was such that he falls with the ambit of Article 28 of the Act. It is necessary for the Court, in the light of all this evidence, that they give the required order and judgement if it agrees that the evidence justifies it.

But I wish to make a submission: Should the Court make such a judgement in terms of Article 28 (2), then I ask that you rule that the accused should not be kept in an institution, but that he should be kept in a prison.

JUDGE BEYERS: You don't have to address this to me. Apparently it should be a prison. I think that as I have noticed that in the Pratt case, prison is indicated. Should I rule that he should be detained at Caledon Square until the State President has made his ruling, or what do you want?

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I do not think it is necessary.

JUDGE BEYERS: The Afrikaans text is still in the Netherlands (Dutch) language and I find the English is easier: "A gaol or institution." I am not now sure whether it is necessary for the Court to determine the first "gaol." Afterwards, obviously, it will be the State President who is to rule on what is to happen with the man and where he will go.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Under Article 30 the Minister has certain powers.

JUDGE BEYERS: I think it will be sufficient if I say "a gaol."

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: That is my submission.³²⁶⁵

THE SEQUEL

Judge Beyers then adjourned the hearing until 10.45 a.m., pending a decision on whether he would give judgment then or announce it later.³²⁶⁶

³²⁶⁵ Professor Adolf Johannes van Wyk's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³²⁶⁶ Bloomberg, *My Times: The Memoirs of David Bloomberg*, p. 81-82; Cooper, *Under Devil's Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 123.

THE VERDICT

THE STATE VERSUS DEMITRIO TSAFENDAS³²⁶⁷

Judge Beyers: The Court is clear in its mind as to what its order should be in this case, and under the circumstance I can see no justification for prolonging the proceedings. If I had taken time to consider this judgment it would probably have gained something in elegance of language, but in substance the case is clear, and I think it is incumbent upon me to give judgment now, which I propose doing.

The case before the Court is one in which a man called Demitrio Tsafendas is charged with the crime of murder. He stands arraigned before this Court upon an indictment which charges that upon the 6th September, 1966, and at Cape Town, in the district of The Cape, he did wrongfully, unlawfully and maliciously kill and murder Dr. The Honourable Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa.

This Court is no less conscious of the momentous background to this case than is anyone less in this country. Once, however, a case is brought in a court of law these considerations of the immensity of the crime and the effects it has upon the people of this country really disappear. Once, as I have said, a case of this nature comes into a court of law, the law takes command, and considerations other than legal ones are not and should not be allowed to come into the picture at all. The elements of the crime of murder and the legal processes employed in trying such a crime remain the same and in no wise differ whether the victim of the alleged crime is the Prime Minister of the country or the lowest of the low. Murder is murder, and its elements remain unchanged. To allow anything else to cloud this approach would be to supplant law and order by anarchy and chaos. It would mean that one dethrones responsibility and replaces it with primitive emotion. That I do not understand to be my function and that is something to which, happily, I do not believe that this country would wish me to lend myself.

Because of the deep issues underlying this case, which, as I have already said, are for the purposes of the law really irrelevant but which obviously obtrude themselves and cannot be ignored, I in approaching this case thought fit to appoint senior counsel, with junior

³²⁶⁷ Judge Beyers' verdict on Tsafendas's summary trial, 20 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

counsel to assist him, with attorneys to assist him, to represent the accused. This is a civilized, and, if I may proudly say, a highly civilized country, and when a man is charged on a capital charge this country sees to it that, at the expense of the State, he is represented. Having regard to the emotional stresses that underlay this particular case, I thought fit to see that in this case he be represented as well as I was able to provide for. My first duty, I think, is to express to senior and junior counsel and their attorneys the deep appreciation of this Court for the work they have done. To them it has meant - and I think it should be understood — that without any meaningful remuneration they took upon themselves the unenviable and unpopular task of defending this man. Not for a moment did they demur to make the sacrifice of time, and the considerable financial sacrifice that goes with it. I think I need say no more than that by their conduct they have graced the profession to which they belong and that they have acted in accordance with the highest traditions of the legal profession of this country.

I - and again because of the nature of this case - introduced what is probably, as far as I know, an innovation in this country, in that I appointed as one of my assessors, to assist me as psychiatrist. I do not know if that has been done before. It was certainly of great assistance to the Court, and I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Henning and my gratitude to my other assessor, Mr. Baker.

I can now go on with the case.

Before the Court is an enquiry. It is a different kind of procedure from the ordinary. It is a procedure in which, as I see it, there is neither plaintiff nor defendant, there is neither prosecutor nor defending counsel. It is an enquiry which if necessary has to be conducted *mero motu* by the Court itself. It is an enquiry which rests upon the simple civilized human principle that a court of law does not try a madman. That is the simple proposition which underlies the enquiry upon which I am presently embarked. I shall refer in a moment to the 1916 Act, the Mental Disorders Act. But, of course, the enquiry upon which I am embarked, does not flow from the Mental Disorders Act. The principle is centuries old, that madmen are not tried, and the enquiry at the moment is: is the man before me a man who can be tried by a court of law? Irrespective entirely of what his mental condition was, what animus he was capable of at the time when he committed the crime. One can have cases in which a person could be wholly sane and commits a crime, but after the commission of the crime - let me assume for a moment that after the commission of a crime a man has a serious motor accident, and if, because of that motor accident, he sustains brain damage which means that his mind becomes disordered, then that man cannot be tried in a court of law, whether he was

completely sane at the time he committed the crime or was not sane at the time he committed the crime. As I understand the law, the crime with which this man is charged is also entirely irrelevant. The enquiry, while definitely it would have been loaded less with emotional stresses, would have been exactly the same if it was a person tried for any other crime, if it was a person tried for theft, or for a parking offence. It is a preliminary enquiry which precedes all further proceedings in a court of law, and that is: is the person before the court a man sane enough to be tried by a court of law? That is how I understand it. And that is why I have said that at the moment there is before me no prosecutor and no defending counsel, but merely persons who are trying to help the Court to arrive at a conclusion on this enquiry.

The enquiry has been codified for this country. As I have stated, it is ancient law, but it has been codified in Section 28 of the Mental Disorders Act of 1916 I referred to that section, but I will refer only to the portiere of that section which are relevant to the present enquiry. The relevant portions of this section read as follows: "If, on the arraignment of any person charged with a criminal offence, it appears to the judge presiding at the trial that such person is mentally disordered, the question of such a person's mental condition shall be enquired into by such Court."

Then sub-section 2 proceeds: "If such Court finds, after hearing evidence, which shall include medical evidence, that such person is mentally disordered, the presiding judge shall record that finding and issue an order committing such person to a gaol pending the signification of the Governor-General's decision." (This has subsequently been amended to read: "the decision of the State-President.")

It will be seen from the wording of this section that the Court has no discretion in these matters, that it is to embark upon this enquiry, and that it is forced to come to a conclusion. I also am of the opinion that in law this enquiry rests upon no onus on either side, because the section goes on to say that if the Court is in any doubt - it does not say that the doubt will be to the benefit of the accused or it will be against the accused - the Court must resolve those doubts by committing the person to a proper institution for proper investigation, and when that is over the Court has just got to answer the question one way or another.

In this case I don't believe any good purpose will be served by the further remittal to an institution of any kind, and the Court is by law, of which it is but a servant, conjoined to give a finding.

The enquiry presently before this Court is exactly the same as the enquiry which came

before the Court in the Transvaal, presided over by my very distinguished learned brother Rumpff J.P., as he then was, in the case of *Rex vs. Pratt* (1960(4) S.A.L.R., 743). There the exact same enquiry had to be conducted upon a man who had shot this same victim - fortunately for us, fortunately for this country, unsuccessfully, and we had the benefit of the leadership of the late Prime Minister for what might prove to be vital years thereafter. In this case - I am referring to the bottom of page 746 - the learned Judge says: "It is clear that whatever anomalies may flow from the law as it stands the legislature has decided that epilepsy in certain circumstances is a disease of the mind and that if an epileptic is a danger to himself or others or is incapable of managing himself or his affairs, he should not be tried. He must be regarded as mentally disordered or defective in terms of the Act. It is not for me to disagree with the legislature. That being the case, it is necessary to consider whether on the evidence the accused is an epileptic and a danger to himself or others."

His Lordship then, having considered all the evidence, comes to the conclusion that the accused in that case, Pratt, was an epileptic, and he gave the order which Section 28 conjoins. I am embarking upon exactly the same enquiry, with this exception only: that the man presently before me, presently arraigned before me, is said to be a schizophrenic and not an epileptic. That is the only difference.

It is not disputed by anyone that schizophrenia is a mental disorder, that it is a mental disorder such as envisaged in the Mental Disorders Act, and that, if of a sufficient degree to make the person suffering from that disorder a danger to himself or to others, or to make it impossible for him to properly look after himself or his affairs, then he is a mentally disordered person in terms of the Act.

As I have stressed, the enquiry is not into what was Tsafendas mental state on the 6th September, 1966, but what it is today. Today we know that he is certainly a danger to other people, and probably also to himself. The only enquiry before the Court therefore is - and it is the only enquiry that is left - is the Court satisfied that he is a schizophrenic.

In the course of this case reference was made to this man's prior history. Really the events therein referred to are not evidence in this Court. Application was made by Mr. Cooper for evidence to be taken overseas so that these matters covered in his history could in fact and indeed become evidence in a court of law, and had the evidence not been as clear as it is I would have had to deal with that application.

I want to make very brief reference to that history. Everybody seems to have accepted

it, and although I think the truth of every statement need not be in it, I think one cannot approach this case without realising that this man has a long history of mental disorder. I merely touch on one or two of the experiences which are recorded here.

It is now 1966. As early as 1935 there is on record that this man was already preoccupied with this extraordinary, bizarre tapeworm delusion of his. That is thirty years ago. He has been in mental hospitals. I find here, glancing through it, that in 1943 he was detained in the Psychopathic Hospital of Boston. He was then transferred to the Metropolitan State Hospital. In 1944 I find him in the United States General Army Hospital in England. Again in 1944 I find he is diagnosed as suffering from psychosis and he is detained in the Roper Hospital. There is then a special board of enquiry instituted in the Roper Hospital, and as a result of that enquiry this man is declared, in 1944, as insane. In the same year he tries to get back into the United States and he is detained in the medical hospital - the other side of it. In 1946 he is detained in the Boston Psychopathic. That year again he is certified insane in the Grafton State Hospital in the United States. In that same year, in 1946, after a United States Department of Justice hearing at North Grafton State Hospital, the man before me is diagnosed as a schizophrenic, hebephrenic type, with deterioration and prognosis poor. He eventually, in 1949, gets to Portugal. There he is detained in a state hospital. He is given shock treatment. He then gets to Germany in 1954, and there he is detained in the Ochsenzoll Hospital and is again given shock treatment. He gets back to London and there he is at St. Pancras Hospital, London, definitely once more, in 1959, diagnosed as paranoid schizophrenic. He is then detained in the Whitecroft Hospital in the Isle of Wight with a diagnosis of delusional psychosis. That is the history of this individual before he comes here.

In 1963, to our extreme misfortune, this man returns to South Africa. He is in and out of jobs, leading an unsatisfactory life. I will only refer to one other very important matter: in June, 1966, he comes before the District Surgeon of Cape Town, Dr. Kossew, applying for a disability pension. District surgeons are busy people, as was stated in evidence. They are not psychiatric experts, and have never pretended to be, and I don't suppose that district surgeons are chosen for the ease with which they give away State pensions. Although the District Surgeon saw this man only for a short time, only as one of many that passed through his hands, it is to his great credit that in the short time he had at his disposal he could see through this man and diagnosed him as schizophrenic. Perhaps I should also mention, briefly, that the ordinary people, the ordinary everyday people with whom he came into contact did not take long before they could see that this man was mentally affected. One of the strongest pieces of

evidence in this case is that of Mr. Smorenberg, a down-to-earth foreman. I shall not forget that when he was asked: 'What did you think of this man?' his answer was: 'I don't like to call any man mad, but he is definitely barmy.' It was obvious to Daniels and his wife. Daniels said that this man is mad. It was obvious to O'Ryan and his wife. It was obvious to Mr. Johnston that this was a queer, strange man.

Of course thoughts must arise, have arisen and must continue to arise, as how it could have been possible that a man like this, a man with this history, a man so obviously deranged, could find his way into an assembly where the leaders of our people are busy in Parliament. Those are questions that do not concern this Court. We have no concern with it, but it is almost unavoidable that the question arises in one's mind.

I have had before me a number of eminent psychiatrists. May I be allowed, in parenthesis, to say that I have been informed that each of the medical men in this case has given his services, to assist this Court, free, they have given their time free, and I can only say that it once again shows that this country, and its people, is something of which one can be proud. I am grateful to you gentlemen, I am grateful for the sacrifice. I am not surprised: I expected no less. The Court thanks you.

Now before me came a whole host, if I may call it that, of psychiatrists. The first one was Dr. Cooper. A court of law does not lightly sit back and allow a man who has committed a grievous crime to get away on a plea or an enquiry of this nature. Dr. Cooper led the van, and at that stage it was obvious that this Court was prepared to resist, as far as it could, that this man was not responsible for his actions, and, if Dr. Cooper got it, that is what the first tank over must expect. It became clear, however, as psychiatrist followed psychiatrist, that there can be no doubt whatever in this case that the man before me is a schizophrenic; that he is a lunatic - in more direct terms - or, as Roman Law would have had it, that I had before me a furiosus. A furiosus is something which I cannot try. I can as little try a man who has not got at least the makings of a rational mind as I could try a dog or an inert implement. A man who is mentally disordered can perform no legal act. He couldn't possibly plead. Pleading in a Court of law is an act in law which has results. The acts of a mentally disordered person have no consequences in law.

I have before me, on the evidence, clearly a man with a diseased mind, a mind subject to delusion, a mind which is so trammelled, if not guided, by irrational forces, that obviously I cannot even begin to find whether he is guilty or not guilty of a crime at law. The process

cannot even start, you cannot get to the provisions of the Criminal Law. You cannot get to Section 164, or any other provision of the Criminal Law until you have decided that the man presently before you has a sufficiently rational mind that he is capable of being tried. So that I don't believe it is necessary for me to go into any other of the provisions of the Criminal Law. I am satisfied, and indeed, I could not other than be satisfied, on the pre-history of this man, on the evidence of the psychiatrists, one after the other (I don't think that any purpose will be served in mentioning them by name) who have agreed that here we have, not a criminal, but a sick person; mentally sick, mentally disturbed, mentally irresponsible.

In this enquiry on which I was embarked it was the duty of the State, no less than of the Defence, to assist the Court, and I am grateful also for the evidence of Mr. Erasmus and the evidence of Professor van Wyk. They have made my task an easy one because, appearing at the behest of the State, they have also said that the man before me is certifiable and that he should be sent to an institution. So that really, I have no option in the matter. There is really nothing for me more left to decide, and I and my two learned assessors find ourselves in the position where we cannot otherwise than, in terms of Section 28 (to which I have already made reference) say that the person presently before us is found by us to be mentally disordered.

That is really the end of it all, but I think it would not be amiss if I said a few words more about this whole matter, and for reasons of my own I choose to say them in Afrikaans. The application that was submitted to me has now been resolved and the order of the court should be made accordingly.

The case of the State versus Demitri Tsafendas, for the time being at any rate – and in all probability for all times – has come to an end. As I've said previously, as far as this court is concerned, this is a murder case and nothing more. We deal with murder cases on a daily basis and it is, with regard to the legal aspects of this case, just another murder case. And because it is a murder case and a case in a Supreme Court, this Court would not fulfil its duty, and would not be worthy of the trust put in it, if it would act differently from the provisions in the law that this Court, like any other citizen of this country are obliged to obey.

In fact, if this Court were to act differently than in accordance with the strict provisions of the judicial process it would, in my opinion, not be worthy of the name of Supreme Court. If it, in contradiction to the admonishments and the provisions of the law, sentence a person to death who was on trial, then this court would be guilty of the crime of

murder. This is what this Court would do if it deviates from the law and sentence someone to death.

We and our forefathers in this country are orderly and law-abiding citizens. We are an orderly people. I understand fully that people in this country have deep feelings regarding this case. I fully understand when people say: "Why? Can it be true that an insignificant human being could have done what he did?" I know that the first reaction of every community throughout the centuries have always been a sense of revenge and retribution. I share that feeling with the rest of the country.

It is recognized, and it's an opinion that I strongly share, that one element of a judgement in a criminal case is to give organized expression to the sense of retribution and revenge by the community and I know that if the Law does not do it, the community tends to eventually do it themselves. I am fully aware that when people trust that retribution will take place in an organized way, you won't get violence and it's one of the reasons why we, in this country of ours, never experienced "lynch law."

I am fully aware of all the undercurrents but one should also consider understanding these matters to a greater extent. By paying with his life, that person can do nothing for us. Even if he is executed or not, it would make no difference to our loss. But what would have had a huge impact was if he, through his actions, was able to get a Supreme Court to disregard the law of this country, then he would indeed have caused a greater harm to our survival as a nation than he has already succeeded in so far. Then he would, by sacrificing his useless life, shake the foundations of our nation's institutions, and then we would give an importance to this creature that he does not deserve. He would, if we had tolerated such a thing, caused us much more harm than what he has already succeeded in doing. In fact, people come and people go, but if this people, this nation, loose its trust in the judicial institutions and in its judicial bench then you would indeed have a humiliation and a shame that is irreparable and would rest like a blot on this country.

One of the assessors made the observation that a leader of the people such as the deceased listed in this indictment, if he understood the situation, without a doubt would not have wanted it otherwise. Of that I have absolutely no doubt. We must continue in the deep realization that, by granting this man a defence, that by providing him with the best legal and medical assistance, through the instruction I'm obliged to make, the honour and glory and the good name of our country, to act correctly remains unblemished and stay the foundation on

which we build an orderly community, unshaken and unharmed.

I am also of the opinion after considering the matter – although I can understand that it may immediately generate a certain degree of dissatisfaction and shock in certain people – I'm certain that after due consideration by all right-minded people in the country they will realize that the matter could not be dealt with differently, that it is not humane, that it is not Christian, to condemn the mentally ill; that the man who sits there is a sick person, deeply sick in spirit; that when the law says he is not responsible for his actions, then it's not only legally true but also humanly true. You cannot continue to have feelings of revenge in respect of a sick person and on the basis of the evidence presented to this court, the only conclusion that I can come to is that the accused is deeply and immensely disturbed, and is deeply and extremely ill, and that his actions does not arise from a rational state of mind, which is the first requirement before anyone can be punished, or is guilty of any crime. It is therefore my duty to recommend that the person, Dimitri Tsafendas, be taken from here to a prison and that he is detained there, pending the determination of the State President of this country.

COMMENTS ON JUDGE BEYERS' VERDICT

When Judge Beyers appointed Wilfrid Cooper as Tsafendas's advocate, he warned him that his client would "swing" unless he was found to be insane.³²⁶⁸ Tsafendas was duly found insane and escaped the gallows. It is necessary to stress, however, that Judge Beyers based his verdict on the evidence presented to him and was almost certainly unaware of evidence gathered by the South African police.

At the same time, it is important to mention that in David Pratt's case, Judge Frans Rumpff, who presided, heard the case for the defence, including testimonies by the psychiatrists, then sent the accused for fourteen days of psychiatric evaluation at the Weskoppies hospital for mentally disturbed persons.³²⁶⁹ There, Pratt was observed daily during this period by Dr. Lamont, who was in charge of evaluating Pratt's mental state.³²⁷⁰ Judge Beyers did not find it necessary to send Tsafendas for similar observation, even though Dr. Cooper and Prof. van Wyk spent only about six hours each with him while each of the other psychiatrists spent about four and a half hours. Nor did Judge Beyers appear concerned

³²⁶⁸ Wilfrid Cooper in *A Question of Madness*.

³²⁶⁹ Maisels, *A Life at Law: The Memoirs of I.A. Maisels*, QC, p. 105.

³²⁷⁰ Prof. Lamont's psychiatric report on David Beresford Pratt in *Regina vs. David Beresford Pratt*, 26 September 1960. *The State versus David Beresford Pratt*. 712-60. NASA; *The Cape Argus*, 'Judge Rules Pratt is Mentally Disordered', 26 September 1960: 2.

about the environment in which the examination took place. Pratt was observed in the clinical surroundings of a hospital, while Tsafendas was seen in custody in the Caledon Square police station. Professor Tuviah Zabow considers that this is an important issue and that Tsafendas should have been taken to a hospital for observation and proper examination.³²⁷¹

Another important difference was that Dr. Lamont interviewed six people who knew Pratt well, including relatives, friends and one of his employees.³²⁷² None of those who examined Tsafendas spoke to a single person who knew him. Judge Beyers nevertheless accepted their diagnoses, clearly believing that no further examinations were necessary. He also praised Dr. Kossew, who, although not a psychiatrist, had diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic after an examination that lasted “a little bit longer” than ten minutes. His conclusion apparently was that the evidence to hand was sufficient to make a judgment on Tsafendas.

Let us examine his verdict.

SOUTH AFRICA, “A HIGHLY CIVILIZED” COUNTRY

Judge Beyers characterised South Africa as a “highly civilized country.” While acknowledging that such a characterisation is entirely subjective, the author considers it to be a most debatable, if not wholly inaccurate, description of South Africa in 1966. Apartheid was in full force, 79% of the country’s citizens were governed by the 21%, deprived of basic rights and subjected to inferior education system, designed by Hendrik Verwoerd himself, to ensure that Blacks “knew their place” in a racist society and would never dare to dream of a better life, as the architect of apartheid himself had infamously declared:

“The Bantu must be guided to serve his community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his community, however, all doors are open. For that reason, it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its main aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from

³²⁷¹ Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 2 September 2016.

³²⁷² Prof. Lamont’s report about David Pratt: Accused reaction to information gleaned from documents, friends, relatives and employees in *Regina vs. David Beresford Pratt*, 26 September 1960. *The State versus David Beresford Pratt*. 712-60. NASA; *The Cape Argus*, ‘Judge Rules Pratt is Mentally Disordered’, 26 September 1960: 2.

his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze.”³²⁷³

This was a country where 79% of the population had no land rights, were forced to live in designated areas and were forbidden to enter “whites only” territory; a country where the White people, 21% of the population, owned 87% of the land, forcing the 79% who were not White onto the remaining 13%; a country which was effectively a police state, where the law allowed police to hold a person in custody for 180 days without access to a lawyer, where political opponents of the government were impassioned, exiled, tortured, persecuted and banned. Professor John Dugard has expressed “outrage and shame” about the South African legal system during apartheid,³²⁷⁴ characterising it as “abnormal.” He wrote:

“A legal system that excludes 70% of its population from the franchise, that excludes 70% of its population from owning land in 87% of the country, that arbitrarily deprives 8 million people of their nationality, that has forcibly relocated many millions of people on account of their race, that formally executes some 160 persons per year, that authorizes repression in the name of national security and that permits international aggression, [is] . . . a grossly abnormal one.”³²⁷⁵

Furthermore, a society that allowed the flogging of humans as a form of punishment could hardly be described as “civilized.” In 1965, just a year before Judge Beyers’s verdict, reliable figures showed that 64,905 strokes were inflicted on 15,756 persons.³²⁷⁶ In an era when more and more nations were turning away from capital punishment, 194 men were hanged in South Africa between 1963 and 1965, representing 47% of all the world’s executions. South Africa was the world’s “busiest hangman,” said Albie Sachs, anti-apartheid activist and former judge at the Constitutional Court of South Africa.³²⁷⁷ These and other anti-democratic aspects of South African society at the time are widely known. If such a society was Judge Beyers’ idea of a civilized country, it tells us a lot about his definition of civilization and arguably what kind of a person he was himself.

³²⁷³ Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, p. 260; Dubow, *Apartheid 1948–1994*, p. 55-56; Lipton, *Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa, 1910-1984*, p. 24; O’Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party 1948-1994*, p. 72; Schadeberg, *Nelson Mandela and the Rise of the ANC*, p. 81.

³²⁷⁴ Klug, “Review: Law Before and After Apartheid: Abel’s Sociolegal Analysis”, p. 660.

³²⁷⁵ Klug, “Review: Law Before and After Apartheid: Abel’s Sociolegal Analysis”, p. 659-660.

³²⁷⁶ Sachs, *The Violence of Apartheid*, p. 3-5.

³²⁷⁷ Sachs, *The Violence of Apartheid*, p. 1-3.

Judge Beyers' next sentence appeared intended to demonstrate the civilized nature of South African society: "(If) a man is charged on a capital charge, this country sees to it that, at the expense of the State, he is represented." This is true in that Tsafendas was indeed represented at the expense of the State. However, he had asked to be represented by Advocate George Bizos, well-known at the time for his involvement in two major political trials, the Rivonia and the Bram Fischer proceedings. He was also the son of Tsafendas's good friend, Antonis Bizos. Instead, the State appointed lawyers of its own choice in David Bloomberg, Wilfrid Cooper and Willie Burger. A truly civilized country would have complied with the accused's request and given him the lawyer of his choice. It is very possible though that Judge Beyers was not aware of Tsafendas's request for Bizos when he named these three lawyers. It cannot go unmentioned though that David Bloomberg was the son of Abe Bloomberg, who was a good friend of Judge Beyers³²⁷⁸ and who had publicly praised and defended Dr. Verwoerd's policies just a year earlier.³²⁷⁹

The "civilized" nature of South African society might be questioned in view of the treatment Tsafendas received after his summary trial. Officially recognised by the state as a schizophrenic in need of medical treatment, Tsafendas was entitled to accommodation in a psychiatric hospital and to treatment, as the law required, for those who are mentally ill. Instead, he was kept for twenty-three years in a cell on Death Row in a maximum security prison and he never received any medical treatment for his stated problem.

THE TAPEWORM

Judge Beyers goes on to state that Tsafendas had the tapeworm since 1935. However, he was simply repeating what he heard about the tapeworm during the summary trial and was not in position to know anything beyond that. It was indeed claimed that Tsafendas had the tapeworm since 1935, when according to Louisa O'Ryan, his step mother removed and destroyed six feet of the creature which Tsafendas had excreted. However, Tsafendas's step-mother denied to the Commission of Enquiry that such an incident ever took place and stated that she never heard her stepson say anything about a tapeworm. Tsafendas's whole family

³²⁷⁸ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

³²⁷⁹ *The New York Times*, 'David Bloomberg: Yes to South Africa', 23 May 1965: xi.

denied to the Commission that Tsafendas ever mentioned a tapeworm and maintained that he was “definitely not insane.”³²⁸⁰

However, Judge Beyers was not aware of this. He was also unaware that not one of the approximately two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission ever said they heard Tsafendas talking about a tapeworm and that included people who knew him in 1935 and after. Furthermore, Judge Beyers did not know that Tsafendas had told Patrick O’Ryan that he had made up the tapeworm story, nor that Wilfrid Cooper had asked O’Ryan and his wife Louisa to “talk up” the tapeworm and exaggerate some stories about Tsafendas in order to save his life.³²⁸¹

THE HOSPITALS

Judge Beyers then mentions the hospitals where Tsafendas was treated. He sets out all of his hospitalizations in the United States but does not mention the reasons for them, probably because he is unaware of them. As we have seen, Tsafendas, while in the USA, was hospitalized for two reasons: he was taken there by authorities while he was in custody or he admitted himself when he had no money and nowhere to stay. No reference is made to the fact that Tsafendas was hospitalised after showing signs of mental illness while in custody, something that would happen again and again. For example in 1943, he was arrested on charges of contravening US immigration laws.³²⁸² While in detention, he “showed symptoms of mental disorder” and was admitted to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, Massachusetts, from where he was transferred on April 23, 1943 to the Metropolitan State Hospital.³²⁸³ While there he was found to be faking mental illness,³²⁸⁴ something Judge Beyers was unaware of since it was not mentioned during the summary trial.

Of equal importance is that Beyers was ignorant of the opinion of the US Immigration Department about Tsafendas. The US Immigration authorities had dealt with him for five years and had his medical history and recorded that Tsafendas “is understood to have shown

³²⁸⁰ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

³²⁸¹ Patrick and Louisa O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness*; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³²⁸² Demitrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw, 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 2.

³²⁸³ ‘The history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds to the late Dr. Verwoerd’ drafted by Col. McIntyre, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Subject: Leer W.D. 10/10/4102 der Stafendas. NASA; Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

³²⁸⁴ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

under psychiatric treatment that he was unstable though not (not)³²⁸⁵ insane, but type of man who would easily be used as instrument of Communist or hostile organizations.”³²⁸⁶

The Judge then refers to Tsafendas's hospitalization in Portugal in 1949 and the fact that he was given shock treatment. What he does not mention, because he is unaware of it, is that Tsafendas was hospitalized after he showed signs of mental illness while in police detention,³²⁸⁷ and that on another occasion he was hospitalized after pretending to be mad so as not to serve in the Portuguese Army.³²⁸⁸ Finally, he refers to the hospitals in England and Germany, unaware that Tsafendas admitted himself to these hospitals.

DR. KOSSEW

Judge Beyers says that “district surgeons are busy people, as was stated in evidence. They are not psychiatric experts, and have never pretended to be, and I don't suppose that district surgeons are chosen for the ease with which they give away State pensions. Although the District Surgeon saw this man only for a short time, only as one of many that passed through his hands, it is to his great credit that in the short time he had at his disposal he could see through this man and diagnosed him as schizophrenic.” The Judge here praises Dr. Kossew, who diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic, although he was not a psychiatrist, examined him only for “a little bit longer” than ten minutes and stated that his aim was to determine Tsafendas's “physical condition” and not his mental state.

However, as we have seen, Dr. Kossew's testimony was extremely weak and was left unchallenged by the Attorney-General when it could so easily have been broken down. Judge Beyers is unaware of the fact that Tsafendas was examined ten times by nine different doctors, none of them a psychiatrist, over the last three years, none of whom noticed anything wrong with him or perceived any of the symptoms mentioned in court. On all of these occasions, Tsafendas wanted to be found sane and healthy and this is how he was found; with Dr. Kossew he wanted to be found insane in order to qualify for the disability grant he had applied for, and that is how he was found. Judge Beyers was not aware of any of this because

³²⁸⁵ This is exactly how it appears in the telegram. There is a second ‘not’ within brackets.

³²⁸⁶ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

³²⁸⁷ PIDE Report regarding Tsafendas, 5 May 1956. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³²⁸⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

the Attorney-General had failed to present any such evidence and Dr. Kossew's testimony, instead of being now exposed as weak, unreliable and false, was accepted and praised by the Judge.

"EVERYDAY PEOPLE" AND TSAFENDAS

Judge Beyers made the most inaccurate of his statements when he said that "ordinary everyday people with whom he came into contact did not take long before they could see that this man was mentally affected." Again, he is unaware that of the about two hundred people questioned by the police and the Commission only three commented negatively on Tsafendas's mental state: Caroline Barbeau who got the impression that Tsafendas "was not all there,"³²⁸⁹ Keith Martincich who thought that there "was something mentally wrong with him" because Tsafendas sometimes mumbled to himself,³²⁹⁰ and James Johnston, who also testified in the summary trial, who considered Tsafendas to be "slightly mentally unbalanced."³²⁹¹

We have examined these statements and the reasons for their opinions so it will not be discussed here again. The rest of the witnesses had stated clearly that Tsafendas appeared perfectly sane and they never noticed anything wrong with him including the symptoms mentioned in court. Once again, the Judge was not aware of these two hundred statements the police and the Commission had taken and took under consideration only what it was presented to him.

OWEN SMORENBERG

Judge Beyers was noted in the legal community for having a photographic memory and not keeping notes during trial proceedings. However, in at least one case, he mis-remembered the evidence given at the summary trial. He characterised Smorenberg as a down-to-earth foreman and said, "I shall not forget that when he was asked: 'What did you think of this man?' his answer was: 'I don't like to call any man mad, but he is definitely barmy.'"

³²⁸⁹ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³²⁹⁰ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³²⁹¹ James Johnston statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

However, Smorenberg did not say that. What he said was, "Well, I wouldn't say he is mad, but he seems a little bit barmy."³²⁹²

The Judge also characterised Smorenberg's testimony as "the strongest piece of evidence." As we have seen, Smorenberg's testimony was well off the mark; none of the aforementioned two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission had said anything that bore the slightest resemblance to Smorenberg's testimony, while the vast majority of them contradicted his claims. The Attorney-General could easily have broken down Smorenberg's testimony using the evidence gathered by the police, but he did not do so, leaving Judge Beyers to take the remarks seriously.

THE O'RYANS, JOHNSTON AND THE DANIELS

Judge Beyers' mistaken recollection of Smorenberg's words was not his only inaccuracy. He also said that "it was obvious to Daniels and his wife. Daniels said that this man is mad. It was obvious to O'Ryan and his wife. It was obvious to Mr. Johnston that this was a queer, strange man." In fact, while Patrick O'Ryan might have testified to the lunacy of the tapeworm, he did not state that Tsafendas was mentally affected. On the contrary, he said, "I never actually doubted his mental state, since to me he had a mind that the majority of people have."³²⁹³ The court also heard O'Ryan's statement to the police where he said that Tsafendas "was not spiritually or mentally disturbed ... I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind."³²⁹⁴ This the Judge seems to have overlooked.

Judge Beyers said it was obvious to Johnston that Tsafendas appeared to be a strange man. The Judge is unaware that Johnston had spoken to Tsafendas for only twenty minutes in his life and that he also said, "I did think Tsafendas to be slightly unbalanced and that he seemed to have a mysterious background, but otherwise he appeared to be all right."³²⁹⁵

Peter Daniels did indeed characterise Tsafendas as "mad," but this was due to things Tsafendas did which he perceived as mad. However, as we have seen, none of the things mentioned by Daniels and his wife would be considered the actions of a mad man by most

³²⁹² Owen Smorenberg's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³²⁹³ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³²⁹⁴ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA

³²⁹⁵ James Johnston's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

people. After all, it was Peter Daniels who thought that Tsafendas was “mentally deranged” because he “tried to cool the fowls down” with a hosepipe. Judge Beyers himself retorted that this was the right thing to do in hot weather and Tsafendas’s act was certainly not that of someone who was mentally deranged.

Although all the other incidents described by the Daniels couple were of a similar type, the Judge nevertheless took their testimony seriously. This was mostly down to the Attorney-General’s failure successfully to challenge their testimonies and expose the lies, although substantial police evidence was available. Mr. and Mrs. Daniels portrayed Tsafendas as a tramp for whom they felt sorry and who foisted himself upon them, while hiding the fact that Helen Daniels asked to meet him so he could marry her, even claiming that it was Tsafendas who had taken the initiative with regard to Helen.

THE VERDICT

Judge Beyers’ conclusion that Tsafendas was unfit to stand trial and mentally disordered as defined in the Mental Disorders Act was based strictly on the evidence presented before him. However, to commit him to a prison, pending the decision of the State President, instead of to a psychiatric hospital where he was entitled to receive treatment as a certifiable schizophrenic, was a direct contradiction of his claim that South Africa was a “highly civilized county.” David Pratt, in a similar situation was detained in a hospital.

Dr. Sakinofsky had suggested Tsafendas be detained in an asylum,³²⁹⁶ but Judge Beyers did not refer to this statement in his verdict. It is possible the Judge was influenced by Dr. MacGregor’s comment, “I don’t think any ordinary asylum would hold this man for any length of time,”³²⁹⁷ although that remark itself does not bear scrutiny. Certainly, Tsafendas had left or “escaped” from a psychiatric hospital, but then he was a patient not a prisoner who had murdered someone. The apartheid authorities certainly had the means to keep Tsafendas locked in a psychiatric hospital. The Fort, at Bloemfontein, was a maximum security mental institution, and if it was thought special facilities were needed for an especially dangerous man, these could easily have been created in a secure hospital environment.

³²⁹⁶ Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³²⁹⁷ Dr. James William MacGregor’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

Furthermore, although not related to the verdict but relevant to the “highly civilized country” comment, it is worth noting that although he was declared to be a schizophrenic, Tsafendas received no treatment whatsoever while he was in prison, at least for the first twenty-plus years. Hardly the behaviour of a highly civilized country.

THE CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ACT OF 1944

When the summary trial ended, Tsafendas's defence team spelled out to him the 1944 Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act, which ruled that since mental illnesses might prove temporary, the charge in cases such as his could never be abandoned or withdrawn. This meant that Tsafendas could be tried again if his mental state was deemed restored.³²⁹⁸ Tsafendas got the point; he had to remain insane at least for as long as apartheid existed.³²⁹⁹

³²⁹⁸ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘No Trial for David Pratt’, 27 September 1960: 1; *The Cape Argus*, ‘Pratt Will Not Stand Trial: Mentally Disordered’, 26 September 1960: 1; *The New York Times*, ‘Assailant of Dr. Verwoerd Found Mentally Unfit’, 27 September 1960; *The Star*, ‘Pratt is Unfit to Plead’, 1 October 1960: 1.

³²⁹⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

THE ROLE OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL IN THE SUMMARY TRIAL

Officially, the Attorney-General believed that Tsafendas was not a schizophrenic and thus was fit to stand trial, and proving that contention appeared to be his main objective during the summary trial. It was also what he told David Bloomberg and Wilfrid Cooper on October 6, when Tsafendas was remanded for the trial proceedings. To support his stance he gave the defence team Professor van Wyk's medical report on Tsafendas which made no mention of schizophrenia and contended that Tsafendas was fit to be tried. However, the Attorney-General's conduct during the summary trial was puzzling, especially the fact that both of his own expert witnesses testified that in examinations conducted before October 6 they found Tsafendas to be schizophrenic and unfit to stand trial.

Professor van Wyk, the State's principal expert witness who was appointed by the Attorney-General himself, said that initially, after two examinations, he believed Tsafendas was fit to stand trial. However, after examining him again on October 4, he changed his mind and concluded he was schizophrenic. He confirmed this opinion during his next two examinations on October 13 and 14. In the meantime, Mr. Erasmus, a clinical psychologist, the other State witness appointed by the Attorney-General, had diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic from September 29, according to his testimony to the court.

Therefore, the diagnoses of both of the States' witnesses agreed with the defence's line. In that case, the question is why the Attorney-General appeared to question the defence's medical witnesses so strongly while trying to prove Tsafendas was fit to stand trial. As David Bloomberg and Wilfrid Cooper rightly wondered, why did he allow Judge Beyers to question all their witnesses, especially Dr. Cooper, so vigorously?

Let us first examine the diagnoses of the State's two expert witnesses and their relations with the Attorney-General. The first question is whether van den Berg was aware of their diagnoses. According to Advocate George Bizos and Professor John Dugard it is impossible to believe that his witnesses did not inform him of their findings. Thus the Attorney-General had two options:

- a. He did not agree with their diagnoses.
- b. He agreed with their diagnoses.

Let's examine both scenarios:

A. HE DID NOT AGREE WITH THEIR DIAGNOSES

If the Attorney-General did not agree with his expert witnesses' diagnoses that would explain his what appeared to be hostile questioning and the fact that he remained mute while Judge Beyers adopted a similar approach. However, it does not explain why he did not produce evidence to support his assertion that Tsafendas was fit to stand trial, as well as his line of questioning at times.

First and perhaps mostly importantly, if the Attorney-General had doubts about his two experts or lacked confidence in them, he could have appointed more psychiatrists and psychologists to examine Tsafendas. Arguments as to limited time are not valid. Erasmus carried out his tests on September 28 and 29, thus the Attorney-General had three weeks to appoint another expert to examine Tsafendas. Professor van Wyk initially diagnosed Tsafendas as fit to stand trial, but on October 4 formed the opinion he was schizophrenic, giving the Attorney-General two weeks to appoint a second psychiatrist.

Furthermore, the Attorney-General could easily have found medical and non-medical witnesses to support his case. About one hundred and fifty people were questioned by the police and not a single one of them backed the defence's line. On the contrary, several could have challenged the defence, having described Tsafendas variously as a dangerous Communist, an opponent of apartheid and colonialism, and someone who considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant and a dictator. Witnesses had also testified that Tsafendas characterised a possible assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as "justifiable." None of those who made these statements was called, although this might simply have been because the police did not make these testimonies available to van den Berg. Another possibility is that he was given witness statements which included nothing of importance. However, the Attorney-General must have known that the police would have questioned Tsafendas. Did he not ask to see these statements? Did he not think of asking what Tsafendas told the police during the forty-days he was in their custody? He could not have believed the accused man did not talk to the police at all during this period.

The Attorney-General seems to have knowledge of Tsafendas's movements prior to the assassination and of its planning. Such information could have come only from Tsafendas himself. Since Tsafendas had told the police about his movements and his planning in both of

his statements, the fact that the Attorney-General was aware of these matters suggests that he was given Tsafendas's statements. However, if this was the case, he did not use the more important information in the statements which concern Tsafendas's motives. Tsafendas had given clear and logical reasons for killing Dr. Verwoerd: that he was "disgusted with his policies," considered Dr. Verwoerd not to be the real representative of ALL South African people and he hoped that by killing him a "change of policy would take place."³³⁰⁰ It cannot also be excluded that the Attorney-General was not in possession of the full statements given by Tsafendas, but had been given only chosen extracts.

The Attorney-General appeared to try his best to prove that Tsafendas was politically motivated but he did not use any of the statements Tsafendas gave to the police, nor any of the evidence the police gathered regarding his political activities especially those which led to his arrests by the Portuguese, nor did he use any of the many statements by people who characterised Tsafendas as a Communist and anti-apartheid. Instead, he used the report by Dr. Sakinofsky which referred to "delusional" ideas, such as the Cape-Cairo Union, and pronounced Tsafendas to be a schizophrenic. The use of Dr. Sakinofsky's report was an extremely clumsy way of trying to prove that Tsafendas's motive was political. The report referred to "confused and delusional" ideas held by Tsafendas and, more importantly, diagnosed Tsafendas as a schizophrenic. Who would ever try to prove a man is sane by using a report which argues that he is a schizophrenic? This was like trying to put out a fire with gasoline.

The Grafton State Hospital report, which was in the possession of the police since September 16,³³⁰¹ stated that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in the 1940s.³³⁰² And six witnesses testified to the police on October 12 that Tsafendas had pretended to be mad to avoid service in the Portuguese Army.³³⁰³ The author is not in position to know whether the Attorney-General was in possession of this evidence, but certainly it was not used to advance his case. The Attorney-General was also aware that Tsafendas had "simulated abnormality" before but did not think of raising the issue with any of those who examined Tsafendas. It

³³⁰⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³³⁰¹ Letter of the USA Embassy in Cape Town to the South African Security Branch, 3 October 1966. Correctional Service. Subject: Demitrio Tsafendas. File: 80/0043 A123 Vol. 1. NASA.

³³⁰² Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

³³⁰³ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

was only brought up by the Attorney-General's assistant with Dr. MacGregor, the last of the defence witnesses, and even then, it was quickly brushed away.

Even if the Attorney-General was not given all the evidence by the police, he must have considered Tsafendas's colleagues at Parliament as witnesses who could testify to his work and his mental state up to the assassination. This would have supported the assertion he made to Dr. Cooper and Dr. MacGregor that Tsafendas's work was satisfactory. However, he produced no evidence to support his claim and was left looking embarrassed when the defence appeared to prove that Tsafendas's work was not satisfactory. Not even at that point did he produce anything to support his argument, leaving the defence's witness unchallenged.

If the Attorney-General did not agree with his expert witnesses' diagnoses, that would explain his line of questioning, but it does not explain his failure to produce any substantial evidence to support his opinion and it also does not explain why he did not appoint additional psychiatrists to examine Tsafendas. It would also not explain his bizarre attempt to use Dr. Sakinofsky's report to prove that Tsafendas was politically motivated. The fact is the Attorney-General did not use any evidence to support the argument that Tsafendas was fit to stand trial, so why did he even attempt to prove such a thing, especially since his two own experts appeared to agree with the defence that the accused is schizophrenic and unfit to stand trial? He couldn't really have expected a successful challenge to the defence without any evidence.

B. HE DID NOT AGREE WITH THEIR DIAGNOSES

This would mean that he accepted Tsafendas was a schizophrenic and unfit to stand trial, which would certainly explain his failure to produce any evidence to challenge the defence. However, it does not explain his line of questioning and his apparent attempt to prove that Tsafendas was not a schizophrenic and that this was a political act. Furthermore, if he had accepted his witnesses' diagnosis, he should have prevented Judge Beyers from being so aggressive towards the defence witnesses, as David Bloomberg and Wilfrid Cooper correctly pointed out. Despite the fact that the State and the defence were in agreement, the Attorney-General allowed the trial to be turned into a showcase.

C. OTHER SCENARIOS

The question is: which of the above options was correct? Did the State accept the diagnoses of its own witnesses or did it not? Either way, there are questions left unanswered. However, there are three other scenarios involving the Attorney-General that would explain everything, including his attitude and actions during this inquiry:

- **The Attorney-General is incompetent.** He fails to evaluate correctly the importance of the evidence gathered by the police. His questioning is irrelevant, pointless or self-defeating. He fails to call evidence to support his case and challenge the defence. Incompetence would explain his behaviour during the summary trial. That, however, would probably make him the most incompetent Attorney-General ever.
- **The Attorney-General is not aware of the evidence gathered by the police.** The police gave him selective evidence and therefore he did not have the right information to challenge the defence. This option, along with the incompetence theory, would explain his line of questioning and the lack of evidence to challenge the defence and support his claim that Tsafendas was fit to stand trial.
- The Attorney-General appears to challenge the defence's line, seeking to prove that Tsafendas is fit to stand trial and that the assassination was a political act, but he is actually just pretending. That would explain everything that happened during the summary trial; it would explain his line of questioning, his failure to produce any evidence to challenge the defence and why he appeared to be questioning the defence witnesses while the State's two expert witnesses had already agreed with the defence.

OTHER ISSUES WITH THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S CONDUCT

Let us examine some aspects of the Attorney-General's strange behaviour:

TSAFENDAS'S MOTIVE

This is the area which most clearly suggests that the Attorney-General is merely pretending to challenge the defence case or possibly that he has not been given all the evidence. He heard each of the defence's psychiatrists state that Tsafendas was not politically motivated and that

he killed Dr. Verwoerd out of “frustration” and because of the tapeworm. However, Tsafendas had not said anything like that in his statements to the police; instead, he gave clear and logical political reasons for his act. These motives were never mentioned during the summary trial and certainly, for whatever reason, they were not used to challenge the defence. It is true that the Attorney-General had knowledge of things that were in Tsafendas's statements to the police, but this does not prove that he had access to the whole statements. People who knew Tsafendas for lengthy or for shorter periods told the police that they heard him say he considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant and a dictator, that he was a communist and anti-apartheid. None of their statements was led in evidence by the Attorney-General.

What points to scenario C as the likeliest reason for the Attorney-General's apparently bizarre conduct is his attempt to challenge Dr. Cooper's claim that the killing was not politically motivated by using Dr. Sakinofsky's report. Even if van den Berg was not in possession of Tsafendas's statements or any other evidence where his political ideology was mentioned, he could never have expected to challenge Dr. Cooper's testimony with a medical report whose diagnosis was schizophrenia. Furthermore, Tsafendas's alleged ideas set out in this report were plainly idiotic, and the Attorney-General could not have expected anyone to take them serious as political motives. Still, not one of the 150 people who were questioned by the police at the time said anything about Tsafendas that bore the slightest resemblance to the things mentioned in this report, and this should have been known the Attorney-General. He should have known that Tsafendas was a Communist and an opponent of apartheid, as several witnesses had testified. He was also well aware that Tsafendas was a former member of the SACP.

Even if the Attorney-General believed that these outlandish ideas at Dr. Sakinofsky's report constituted Tsafendas's motivation, did he actually consider them to be the beliefs of a sane man? Dr. Sakinofsky had diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic precisely because of these ideas. The Attorney-General may not have been given all the statements taken from people who knew Tsafendas, but he must have seen that not one witness mentioned such ideas. Fortunately for the Attorney-General, he was stopped by Judge Beyers before he continued further with Dr. Sakinofsky's report, and the damage he was doing to his own case was limited. However, just the next day Dr. Sakinofsky spoke at length about Tsafendas's alleged motive as given to him by Tsafendas himself, and presented them, clearly and convincingly, as “deluded” and “confused.”

The Attorney-General might have the excuse that he was not in possession of Tsafendas's statements to the police or any other evidence he could use to challenge the question of motive. However, as leading counsel for the State, he had no excuse for attempting to challenge Dr. Cooper with Dr. Sakinofsky's report. This was a move which, if not stopped by Judge Beyers, would have reinforced from the very first day of the summary trial the idea that Tsafendas was a schizophrenic without any political motive, thus supporting the defence and ruining the State's own case.

TSAFENDAS'S ABILITY TO WORK

The Attorney-General sought to challenge Dr. Cooper's opinion that Tsafendas could not hold down a job or work efficiently by stating that there was evidence that Tsafendas's work at Parliament was satisfactory. However, he not only failed to produce evidence to support his claim, he did open the issue of Tsafendas's efficiency at Parliament for discussion. The next day, defence witness Gerald Shaw, a Parliamentary correspondent, testified that Tsafendas's work was unsatisfactory, confirming Dr. Cooper's testimony and damaging the Attorney-General's claim. The Attorney-General did nothing to challenge Shaw and again produced no evidence to support his initial claim. Then, just a few hours after Shaw's testimony, he again raised the issue of Tsafendas's working ability when he cross-examined Dr. Zabow and once again, he failed to produce any supportive evidence.

By returning time after time to the question of Tsafendas's work, the Attorney-General managed to reinforce the defence's line that the accused was incapable of handling even menial jobs. What is extraordinary is that abundant evidence existed that would not just challenge such a claim, but would destroy it completely. Two simple examples: in 1961, Tsafendas worked for six months as a teacher of English at the best private language college in Istanbul. Even if the Attorney-General was not in possession of Tsafendas's statement about his time teaching in Istanbul or the fact that he used a reference from the college to get his job at Parliament, the South African media had reported this.³³⁰⁴

If the Attorney-General had moved to discover these facts, he could have posed a virtually unanswerable question to Dr. Cooper: "How is it that the man you say cannot hold down a simple job, actually worked for six months as an English teacher at a prestigious private college?" However, even if the Attorney-General was unaware of the teaching job, he

³³⁰⁴ *The Cape Times*, 'Tsafendas Taught Turks English', 8 September 1966; *Daily Dispatch*, 'Tsafendas Taught English in Turkey', 8 September 1966: 1.

certainly knew that Tsafendas had worked for six years at the Vulcan Iron Works and for two years at the Imperial Airways factory in Quilemane. More importantly, he was in possession of testimonies from the Vulcan Iron Works that Tsafendas had “performed his duties in a satisfactory manner.” Van den Berg made no mention of such important evidence, although he had included this information in his memorandum about Tsafendas on October 3.³³⁰⁵

Finally, no apparent effort was made by the Attorney-General to contact Tsafendas's colleagues in the House of Assembly as to his working abilities. Five of them had already testified to the police and to the Commission of Enquiry and none of them had said anything negative about Tsafendas, his work or his mental state, on the contrary he was characterised as a normal man who did his work just like any other messenger.

STATEMENTS OF DEFENCE WITNESSES WERE LEFT UNCHALLENGED WERE THEY COULD HAVE EASILY BEEN BROKEN DOWN

As we have seen, there was a plethora of evidence gathered by the police which could have been used to challenge statements by defence witnesses. These included absurd claims that Tsafendas was unsympathetic towards Coloureds, that he was a supporter of Dr. Verwoerd and apartheid, that he was unable to function on a reasonable level, that he forced his way into the Daniels's house and several others. Not one of these claims was challenged and though it is certainly possible that the police withheld evidence that would have been useful to the Attorney-General, they could not know before the trial what evidence a witness would give and therefore could not have removed statements that could have been used in the trial. They could have withheld evidence about Tsafendas's political activities and ideology, but not other statements that did not contain references to his political ideas.

A clear example of the above is the one concerning the marriage issue between Helen Daniels and Tsafendas. Tsafendas and Helen Daniels both testified that she had proposed to him that they should meet and get married.³³⁰⁶ Caroline Barbeau testified that Tsafendas wanted to be reclassified in order to marry Helen Daniels.³³⁰⁷ However, this was not mentioned during Peter Daniels's testimony. In that, he claimed that they allowed Tsafendas

³³⁰⁵ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkoperij. NASA.

³³⁰⁶ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File VDSO 17/64, NASA; Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³³⁰⁷ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

to stay in their home simply because he was a member of their Church and that Tsafendas appeared like someone who practically forced himself onto the family.

Tsafendas is portrayed in a negative way by both Peter and Merle Daniels and the Attorney-General does not ask them about Helen's marriage proposal to Tsafendas. Helen Daniels had testified that Tsafendas was recommended to her by fellow members of their sect. Helen was a highly respected preacher and naturally the other members of the sect would not have recommended Tsafendas if he was the type of person described by the Daniels. Helen Daniels herself, who knew Tsafendas better than her brother and sister-in-law, as she had lived under the same roof with him, had testified to the police that Tsafendas was not insane. Neither this nor anything else from her statement was used during the cross-examination when it could have shattered the Daniels's weak testimony.

Several witnesses testified that Tsafendas preferred Coloured people to Whites. For example, his flatmate Jacobus Bornman testified that Tsafendas "stood up a lot for the Coloureds" and Inspector Horacio Ferreira, of the Portuguese Security Police in Mozambique, testified that Tsafendas was "intensely anti-White."³³⁰⁸ However, Smorenberg's opinion and claim was left unchallenged and was attributed to Tsafendas's ambivalence. These and other claims could easily have been challenged but no move was made to examine them.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S LINE OF QUESTIONING

Apart from his cross-examinations of Dr. Cooper, Patrick O'Ryan and Dr. Sakinofsky, the Attorney-General did little to challenge defence witnesses and often when he did, his questions were pointless and seemed to go nowhere. Often they were just repeats of statements by the witnesses, as in "Did you say it was the 26th" or they were irrelevant or pointless, adding nothing to the State's aim. For instance, when the Attorney-General cross-examined Dr. Zabow, he asked if Tsafendas had given "a good account of himself." This was after Dr. Zabow had spoken at length about that very subject and had even read lengthy extracts from Tsafendas's statement to him to demonstrate that Tsafendas was not able to give a good account for himself. Judge Beyers had to intervene again, saying: "the witness has told us at length about the garbled, nonsensical, stupid, disjointed account which the accused did give him when he asked him the question. He has read out at length the account

³³⁰⁸ Col. van Wyk's report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

he gave him when he asked him: 'did you kill the Prime Minister, and why?' he read pages of the account."³³⁰⁹ Only then did van den Berg drop the question.

On occasions, his questioning was more harmful than beneficial to the State. One example was using Dr. Sakinofsky's medical report on Tsafendas to challenge Dr. Cooper. Another was the question of Tsafendas's efficiency as a Parliamentary messenger. A third was asking Patrick O'Ryan, a witness who had spoken positively about the accused, if he felt that Tsafendas was sponging on him. That was the sort of question that should have been asked by the defence counsel, not by the State which is supposedly challenging the emerging picture of Tsafendas as a hopeless case.

What is more, the Attorney General did nothing to challenge Peter Daniels's important testimony which sought to portray Tsafendas as someone who virtually forced his way into the Daniels's home and was chasing Peter Daniels's sister. Although both claims were untrue and could have been easily challenged by Helen Daniels's testimony to the police, this did not happen. Instead, the Attorney-General asked about statements Peter Daniels had already made, a point which the Court highlighted, or asked him irrelevant or unimportant questions such as how many suitcases Tsafendas had, whether he used his welding kit and if he received and wrote letters. Daniels twice said that Tsafendas arrived on August 28, 1965, but the Attorney-General still asked if it was July 10. Helen Daniels had testified to the police that Tsafendas arrived on August 28, 1965. Van den Berg did not suggest that August 28 might have been the wrong date, so why press it?

Finally, although at times the Attorney-General's cross-examination appeared to be fierce and insistent, as with Dr. Cooper and Dr. Sakinofsky, and to some extent, Patrick O'Ryan, in reality it failed to challenge any of the testimonies. It did not come close to exposing or destroying the evidence offered. What is surprising is that there was a massive amount of evidence gathered by the South African police that could have been used to challenge every single testimony, but this simply did not happen. Once again, however, this could be because the State was not in possession of all the evidence.

THE VERGOS ISSUE

³³⁰⁹ Dr. Abraham Aubrey Zabow's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

On October 12, the story of the day in South Africa was that Nikolas Vergos, the man who had fought with Tsafendas at Mandini and was a sought-after witness, was finally located. “KEY WITNESS FOUND” announced the front page of the *Daily Dispatch*,³³¹⁰ while *The Cape Times* bannered “IMPORTANT WITNESS TRACED.”³³¹¹ Justice J.T. van Wyk, chairman of the Commission of Enquiry into Dr. Verwoerd’s death, had appealed to the media earlier for help in locating Vergos, who was thought to have “vital information” regarding Tsafendas. Six hours later, Vergos walked into the office of the *Rand Daily Mail* in Johannesburg and was later questioned by the police and the Commission.³³¹²

Vergos, although characterised as a “key” and “important” witness who had “vital information” about Tsafendas, was not asked to testify at the summary trial. He gave a statement to the police and testified before the Commission, but he was not asked by either the defence or the State to appear at the summary trial. Why was such an important witness not required to appear?

Let us examine Vergos and his relationship with Tsafendas for a possible explanation. They both worked at Frasers and Chalmers in Mandini. There was an argument after Vergos refused to pay two African workers he had employed illegally. Tsafendas defended them and asked him to pay them and a fight began.³³¹³ Vergos then asked his superiors to fire Tsafendas because he was “a kaffir and a Communist.”³³¹⁴ He even described him as “the biggest Communist in the Republic of South Africa”³³¹⁵ and a “Communist bastard.”³³¹⁶ All these statements were in the possession of the South African police.

Clearly, Vergos would not have been a suitable witness for the defence, who were trying to portray Tsafendas as a man without any political ideas and who was even “unsympathetic towards the Coloureds,” but he would have been the perfect witness for the State if it really wanted to challenge the defence line. Vergos twice described him to his boss and to a security officer as a Communist and had even fought with him after Tsafendas

³³¹⁰ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd: Key Witness Found’, 12 October 1966: 1.

³³¹¹ *The Cape Times*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry: Important Witness Traced’, 12 October 1966: 1.

³³¹² *The Cape Times*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry: Important Witness Traced’, 12 October 1966: 1.

³³¹³ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

³³¹⁴ Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³³¹⁵ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³³¹⁶ Jan Johannes Albertus Fourie statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

defended the two Black South Africans. However, as we have already noted, the word “Communist” was never heard at the summary trial.

THE STATE-WITNESSES

As we know, the Attorney-General before the trial refused permission to the defence to speak to people on the State's witness list. The defence lawyers appealed to Judge Beyers who gave them permission to do so.³³¹⁷ Why did he do that, especially when he did not call even one of them to support his stated belief that Tsafendas was capable of standing trial? There were more than a hundred witnesses able to challenge the defence's line and its witnesses and support the Attorney-General's alleged claim, but not one was called.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S LIE

Let us now examine an incident that tells us much about the Attorney-General's integrity and reliability, but also about his role in the case. As already stated, the word “Communist” was never heard during the summary trial, although the police had a plethora of evidence that Tsafendas was a devoted and passionate Communist, had been a dues-paying member of the South African Communist Party at a time when it was legal, had fought with the Communists during the Greek Civil War and was suspected of distributing Communist propaganda while in Mozambique. What makes the actions of the Attorney-General in the summary trial strange and suspicious is the following incident.

On October 30, ten days after the end of the summary trial, *The Post* revealed on its front page that Tsafendas used to be a member of the South African Communist Party. A *Post* journalist had interviewed the Attorney-General and asked him if he was aware that Tsafendas was a former member of the South African Communist Party. At this point in time, it had not become known to the Press or to anyone else that Tsafendas was a former member of the Communist Party. Van den Berg's bare-faced reply to the journalist was: “This is news to me – I certainly had no knowledge of it until this very moment when you brought it to my notice.”³³¹⁸

³³¹⁷ Cooper, *Under Devil's Peak: The Life and Times of Wilfrid Cooper, An Advocate in the Age of Apartheid*, p. 106-7.

³³¹⁸ Gordon Winter, ‘Tsafendas: I Was A Communist’, *The Post*, 30 October 1966: 1.

It was an outright lie. On 3rd October, two weeks before the start of the summary trial and twenty-seven days before this interview, the Attorney-General had written a detailed memorandum regarding Tsafendas. In paragraph 3 of the memorandum he wrote: "In a statement to the South African Police on 19 September 1966, Demitrio Tsafendas admitted that he had joined the Communist Party shortly before World War II. He also attended their meetings and paid the fees but denied the he had any further association with the Communists after he left South Africa in 1942."³³¹⁹

Thus, even if the Attorney-General was not in possession of any other evidence gathered by the police as to Tsafendas's Communist beliefs or activities, he was certainly aware that he was a former member of the South African Communist Party; after all, that was why he included the information in his memorandum. However, then, when questioned by *The Post* journalist, he pretended that it was the first time he heard about it. Why would he lie? We cannot know for certain, but the likeliest explanation seems to be that if he had admitted knowledge of Tsafendas's membership, then the question everyone would have asked was, "How come this was not brought up in the summary trial?" Tsafendas was portrayed as man with very little interest in politics and confused political ideas. The next question then would have been, "was other important information suppressed?" No matter what the Attorney-General's reasons were, the fact is that he lied. This raises large questions about his integrity and creates further suspicion about his role during the proceedings.

It should be mentioned here that during apartheid it was not unusual for the State to lie or to fabricate evidence. By coincidence, while Tsafendas's summary trial was taking place, another major trial was also taking place in Johannesburg, the Theron Trial. Johannes Andrias Theron, a head warder at the Cinderella Prison, Boksburg, was accused of twelve charges under the Commissioner of Oaths Act and the prisons Act-including two of publishing information about prisons in a newspaper and two of inciting people to do so.³³²⁰ Theron had revealed to newspapers some of the atrocities and brutal torture that was used in his prison against prisoners in order to extract information; one of them being the use of electric shocks.³³²¹ The prosecutor of the case was the infamous Percy Yutar, who was characterised by Israel Maisels as "*plus royaliste que le roi* – more royalist than the king,"

³³¹⁹ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkopery. NASA.

³³²⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Amazing Liar Says Utar', 18 October 1966.

³³²¹ Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 168.

because of his blind support for apartheid.³³²² Yutar was also at the time Deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal. According to Benjamin Pogrund, the *Rand Daily Mail* journalist who covered the trial, Yutar's "unscrupulous alliance" with the police turned "day into night,"³³²³ so the defence team, which included Arthur Chaskalson and Joan Coaker, described the State case as being "riddled with perjury from top to bottom."³³²⁴

Finally, on 15 February 1970, Attorney-General van den Berg publicly stated that "State psychiatrists keep constant observation on Tsafendas. If they find he is fit to stand trial I will definitely arrest him immediately and charge him with murder."³³²⁵ However, according to Tsafendas's medical record, by that time he had only been seen twice or at most three times by a doctor. In his medical file in the SA archives, one can only find two reports regarding Tsafendas; one from 17 October 1967³³²⁶ and one from 14 January 1970.³³²⁷ The first, signed by Dr. Bothma, is entitled "Periodieke Rapport [Periodical Report] No. 1"; the second, signed by Dr. J. Harms, "Periodieke Rapport No. 3"; this suggests that there was probably another report in between these two that has now gone missing. Although it is not absolutely clear, these reports seem to refer to examinations that took place that specific day; they nowhere refer to Tsafendas receiving any treatment or being under "constant observation." Being examined twice or three times in three and half years of imprisonment could hardly be described as "constant observation", unless van den Berg's definition of "constant" is different to that of the average person.

³³²² Maisels, *A Life at Law: The Memoirs of I.A. Maisels, QC*, p. 319.

³³²³ Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 173-4.

³³²⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 October 1966: 4-5, 'Perjury in State case alleged'; For more details about the case see Pogrund, B. (2000) *War on Words: Memoirs of a South African Journalist*.

³³²⁵ *The Sunday Times* (London), 'Verwoerd Man May Be Tried', 15 February 1970: 6.

³³²⁶ Dimitrio Tsafendas Periodieke Rapport No. 1 Oor 'N Geestelik Gekrente of Gebrekkige Pasient, 17 October 1967. Dimitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

³³²⁷ Dimitrio Tsafendas Periodieke Rapport No. 3 Oor 'N Geestelik Gekrente of Gebrekkige Pasient, 14 January 1970. Dimitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

CONCLUSION ABOUT THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S ROLE

All of the above issues make the position of the Attorney-General look awkward, to say the least, especially because the police had in their possession ample evidence to break down the defence's line which was not used during the proceedings. However, his illogical behaviour can be explained perfectly if we accept that he was only pretending to challenge the defence, or that he was incompetent or that he was not in possession of all the evidence. It would explain:

- a. Why he appeared to question some witnesses rigorously, while his two own experts had come to the same conclusion as the defence.
- b. Why he used only certain extracts from Tsafendas's statements to the police, ignoring the most important ones, especially about motive.
- c. Why he attempted to challenge Dr. Cooper by using Dr. Sakinofsky's report, thus raising yet more "delusional and confused" ideas of Tsafendas.
- d. Why he attempted to challenge Dr. Cooper by claiming that Tsafendas's work at the Parliament was efficient. He did not produce any evidence and the next day a defence witnesses easily rebuffed his claim, stating the exact opposite. Nevertheless, he attempted to challenge Dr. Zabow by making the same claim.
- e. The fact that none of the evidence gathered by the police which could have challenged the defence was used.
- f. The Attorney-General's pointless, repetitive and irrelevant questioning of some of the witnesses. On occasions, not only did it offer nothing to the State's cause, it seriously harmed it, as with Dr. Sakinofsky's report, the claim about Tsafendas's work inefficiency and the "sponging" comment with O'Ryan. Add to these, asking Dr. Zabow if Tsafendas was able to give a good account of himself and the exchanges with Peter and Merle Daniels.

Of course, these scenarios are only suppositions, and a combination of incompetence and lack of evidence could also explain everything. That, however, would make van den Berg just about the most incompetent lawyer ever to hold down the post of Attorney-General. Professor John Dugard believes that the police may have withheld the evidence from the Attorney-General, but that it is also possible that van den Berg was pretending to challenge the defence. He notes that during apartheid the "prosecutors were never independent." He is

“quite sure” that van den Berg knew what he had to do in this case and it is possible that he “could have suppressed” the evidence.³³²⁸

Advocate George Bizos also believes that both scenarios are feasible; although he did not know van den Berg, he is not “the least surprised” at his conduct during the summary trial and believes that “it was to be expected” in a case like this. He stated that during apartheid, in “serious political cases”, often the “public prosecutor was the last wheel of the car [a Greek expression meaning the person of least importance]. But he also certainly knew that it was more preferable for the government for Tsafendas to be insane than a communist with political motives.”³³²⁹ Denis Goldberg also believes that both scenarios are very possible. He has no doubt that the Attorney General could very well have withheld the evidence and lied to the court. He mentioned as an example Percy Yutar, the public prosecutor in the Rivonia Trial: “He would actually make false statements; the prosecutor would make false statements deliberately.”³³³⁰ No matter what the reasons were, or the political climate at the time, the fact is that the police had abundant evidence to break down the defence case and none of it was used by the Attorney-General.

³³²⁸ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

³³²⁹ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

³³³⁰ Denis Goldberg in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

AFTERMATH

Tsafendas's summary trial did not dispense with all the concerns relating to Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. Minister of Justice Mr. P.C. Pelser said that the Government accepted the trial findings and urged the public to do likewise,³³³¹ while he also announced that a Commission of Enquiry would be appointed to "thoroughly investigate the effectiveness of the existing legal rules applicable to cases of this type."³³³²

On November 6, Judge van Wyk, who was still at work as the sole member of the Commission of Enquiry into Dr. Verwoerd's death, called for the establishment of registers listing people with dangerous mental disorders, as well as those known to be drug addicts or alcoholics. Van Wyk urged that a record be maintained of people who had been treated at mental hospitals and were potentially harmful. Their details should be contained in a confidential central register to which the Security Police would have access. A second register would be of "known alcoholics or people suffering from drug addiction or similar mental disorders." Van Wyk said such people could be banned from driving "and this could have an effect in cutting the rate of road accidents." The psychiatric profession was shocked by these proposals.³³³³

As for Tsafendas: shortly after the trial, he was taken to Robben Island. He was the only prisoner ever held there to be classified as "White." He remained there for four months before being moved to Pretoria Central Maximum Security Prison in February 1967.³³³⁴ An insight into the Government's true beliefs concerning the assassination and Tsafendas emerged on March 1967, just five months after the summary trial, when Dr. J. D. Vorster, brother Prime Minister Vorster, spoke to an anti-Communist symposium in the United States sponsored by the Church League of America. Vorster said, "Your President Kennedy and our Dr. Verwoerd were both killed by Communists."³³³⁵ The *Sunday Times* front-paged Vorster's statement with the headline "Premier's Brother Drops A Bombshell."³³³⁶ There was no mention of schizophrenia or of the hopeless, wandering, and friendless man without political interests who so dominated the trial. Vorster was clearly aware of Tsafendas's Communist

³³³¹ *Pretoria News*, 'Pelsers Asks Public to Accept Verdict,' 20 October 1966,

³³³² *The Cape Times*, 'Mad Killer Can Still Stand Trial If Cured', 21 October 1966: 1.

³³³³ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Judge Says: Register Dangerous Mental Cases', 6 November 1966: 17.

³³³⁴ Tsafendas's transfer order from Robben Island to Central Prison, Pretoria. 3 February 1967. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

³³³⁵ Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, p. 76; *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Premier's Brother Drops A Bombshell', 19 March 1967: 1.

³³³⁶ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Premier's Brother Drops A Bombshell', 19 March 1967: 1.

beliefs, and probably his activities, too, no doubt courtesy of his brother or his brother's close friend, General van den Bergh.

Tsafendas's file at the Prison Service, File: A5078, described him as "*A person of Colour, an extremely resourceful and cunning individual who is physically and mentally able to plan and execute escape.*"³³³⁷ These words hardly fit the Tsafendas described by the psychiatrists – someone unable to function on a reasonable level and unfit to stand trial. However, the description fits perfectly with the way Tsafendas was described by people who knew him well. Vorster's remark and Tsafendas's prison file suggest that the high authorities were well aware of the real Tsafendas as opposed to the caricature that was put on trial.

³³³⁷ Marais, *Die Era van Verwoerd*, p. 208.

SUMMARY TRIAL CONCLUSION

The most striking thing about the summary trial was not the distorted way in which Tsafendas was portrayed, but the fact that the Attorney-General did so little to challenge the profile when he could have broken it down very easily by using evidence gathered by the South African police. The vision of Tsafendas presented to the court was a travesty of the truth: a schizophrenic, incapable of looking after himself, unable to function on a reasonable level, a loner, withdrawn and without political interests. Not mentioned were the facts that he was a committed Communist, a former dues-paying member of the South African Communist Party and a street-level activist, that he was exiled from Mozambique for twelve years due to his Communist and anti-colonialist activities, and that he boldly displayed an intense life-long interest in political ideology. Instead, he was shown as a deluded and confused outsider who killed Dr. Verwoerd because of a tapeworm that supposedly lived inside him. The court accepted the defence's insanity plea and found Tsafendas unfit to stand trial. On the surface, the defence case appeared strong, but it could have been exposed by dutiful examination of witnesses and their statements and by other evidence gathered by the police.

THE DEFENCE WITNESSES

Naturally, the defence chose witnesses to support its line. This must have been a difficult task since no one of the two hundred people who were questioned by the police and the Commission of Enquiry could convincingly fulfil such a role. The defence's desperation to offer suitable testimony was obvious with the selection of witnesses like Johnston, Lieberman, Shaw and Cloete, who had minimal contact with Tsafendas. Individuals who had a passing acquaintance with Tsafendas, such as Shaw, or who had spoken to him for just twenty minutes in an entire lifetime, like Johnston, were chosen in preference to family and friends. However, those witnesses who did take the stand were chosen because each one could support something from the defence's line or the psychiatrists' diagnoses, which they did very well.

The O'Ryans spoke about the tapeworm, Smorenberg about Tsafendas being unable to hold down a job and being unsympathetic towards Coloureds, Johnston said he found him to be a strange man, the Daniels spoke about his supposed oddities. These were weak

testimonies, especially by those who scarcely knew him, but they were taken seriously and went largely unchallenged by the Attorney-General despite a plethora of contrary evidence gathered by the police.

WITNESSES NOT USED

Apart from Patrick and Louisa O’Ryan, none of the defence witnesses knew Tsafendas well; clearly and correctly the defence wanted only witnesses who would support the insanity plea. While it is understandable that the defence did not call witnesses who knew Tsafendas well, it is surprising that the State did not produce even one witness to support its claim that Tsafendas was fit to stand trial. Especially since there were many who could have done so. Indeed, the police and the Commission of Enquiry had interviewed about two hundred people who would have been useful witnesses for the prosecution.

Tsafendas’s efficiency as a Parliamentary messenger was discussed extensively, but none of his work colleagues was asked to testify, although five of them had already spoken formally to the police and testified to the Commission of Enquiry. All would have been excellent witnesses for the State as they flatly contradicted the defence’s claim that Tsafendas’s work in the Parliament was not good enough.

Nikolas Vergos, who was much sought after by the Commission of Enquiry and the South African police and who was characterised by the South African media as a “key witness,”³³³⁸ did not testify. Again, although he would not have been useful for the defence, he would have been extremely helpful to the State because he could have challenged the defence claim that Tsafendas was unsympathetic towards Coloured people and was bereft of political thought.

The *Eleni* crew could not appear in court since they were outside the country, but their statements were taken by the South African police in Venice on the 12th of October and should have been very useful to the State. Some of the seamen told police that Tsafendas was a Communist who had fought with the Communists in the Greek Civil War, and, more importantly, that he had characterised a possible assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as “justifiable” because he was a tyrant and a dictator. That Dr. Verwoerd’s death was being

³³³⁸ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd: Key Witness Found’, 12 October 1966: 1; *The Cape Times*, ‘Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry: Important Witness Traced’, 12 October 1966: 1.

discussed on the *Eleni* three days before the assassination was a major issue for the Commission of Enquiry, but it was never mentioned during the summary trial.

However, the most important of the missing potential witnesses were Tsafendas's family. All of them had stated that he was "definitely not insane" and none was aware of the tapeworm.³³³⁹

THE TAPEWORM

The main focus of the summary trial was the tapeworm. The court was told two different stories about its origins though this was not picked up by anyone. According to Dr. Cooper, Dr. Muller and Mr. van Zyl, Tsafendas had it since 1935 or 1936, while according to Louisa O'Ryan it was since he was a little boy. Tsafendas was seventeen and eighteen years old in 1935 and in 1936, no "little boy."

Furthermore and more importantly, according to Louisa O'Ryan, Tsafendas's step-mother removed six feet of a tapeworm, which he had excreted as a boy, and destroyed it, and since then, Tsafendas believed the rest of the worm was living inside him. However, when examined by the Commission of Enquiry, the step-mother flatly denied that any such incident ever took place and insisted that she had never heard anything about a tapeworm. She further maintained that Tsafendas was "definitely not insane." The other members of Tsafendas's family also denied that he told them anything about a tapeworm and all declared that he was "definitely not insane." For the rest of their lives, Marika and the family insisted that Tsafendas invented the tapeworm story and that none of the things he claimed in relation to it ever happened. The police and the Commission questioned two hundred witnesses at the time, including people who knew Tsafendas very well, some since childhood. Not one of them mentioned anything about the tapeworm.

The O'Ryans did testify in court about the tapeworm, but they admitted later that this was at the suggestion of Wilfrid Cooper to prevent Tsafendas being sentenced to death. Patrick O'Ryan was one of the 150 witnesses questioned by the police before the summary trial and he did not mention a tapeworm then. He had also told the police that Tsafendas was perfectly sane.

³³³⁹ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

All the psychiatrists who testified said Tsafendas told them that the tapeworm did not direct him to kill Dr. Verwoerd, although he told Dr. Cooper that the “tapeworm was right in the middle of it.” However, the psychiatrists concluded that since the tapeworm had virtually taken over Tsafendas’s life, it was responsible for the killing. Finally, very soon after the assassination, Tsafendas was examined by three doctors, one of them Dr. Kossew and another Dr. Sakinofsky, and both testified for the defence. Tsafendas did not mention the tapeworm to any of these three doctors.

THE PSYCHIATRISTS AND THE PSYCHOLOGISTS

Five psychiatrists and two psychologists examined Tsafendas on behalf of the defence and the State and found him to be schizophrenic. However, although this was a forensic case, none of the psychiatrists was a forensic psychiatrist. Dr. Sakinofsky even suggested during the proceedings that a forensic psychiatrist “should be called by the court,” but this did not happen. It is scarcely credible that in such an important criminal case, none of those who examined the accused was a forensic psychiatrist.

Furthermore, all the examinations of Tsafendas took place while he was in custody in Caledon Square police station. In David Pratt’s case, after the defence had led its evidence, including the medical evidence by the psychiatrists, the accused was sent to Weskoppies, an institution for mentally disturbed persons, for psychiatric evaluation for fourteen days.³³⁴⁰ Fourteen days of observation in a clinical institution for Pratt contrasted with four and a half hours which each of the psychiatrists spent with Tsafendas, in a police cell (except for Dr. Cooper and Prof. van Wyk, who spent around six hours with him). Apparently this was enough for Judge Beyers to decide it was not necessary to send Tsafendas for further evaluation at a mental hospital or being examined by a forensic psychiatrist too.

In addition, Prof. Lamont, apart from observing Pratt, interviewed five people who knew Pratt very well.³³⁴¹ By contrast, none of the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas spoke to anybody who knew him. What Tsafendas told the psychiatrists was the antithesis of what two hundred people had told the police and the Commission about his character and his political ideas, but the psychiatrists were not in position to know that. More importantly, what

³³⁴⁰ Maisels, *A Life at Law: The Memoirs of I.A. Maisels, QC*, p. 105; *The Cape Argus*, ‘Judge Rules Pratt is Mentally Disordered’, 26 September 1960: 2.

³³⁴¹ Prof. Lamont’s psychiatric report on David Beresford Pratt in *Regina vs. David Beresford Pratt*, 26 September 1960. *The State versus David Beresford Pratt*. 712-60. NASA; *The Cape Argus*, ‘Judge Rules Pratt is Mentally Disordered’, 26 September 1960: 2.

he told them flatly contradicted what he told the police when he was in custody, but these statements were not given to the psychiatrists and were never mentioned at the court. Several of the psychiatrists' claims were easy to challenge, but the Attorney-General failed to act.

It is also worth pointing out that after their initial inspection, for reasons unknown to the author, all the defence psychiatrists, except Dr. Sakinofsky, examined Tsafendas for a second time on October 4. Dr. Cooper, Dr. MacGregor and Dr. Zabow examined Tsafendas that day, each separately and for ninety minutes. In addition, Tsafendas was also examined that day by the State psychiatrist, Professor van Wyk. Thus, Tsafendas was seen in one day by four different psychiatrists on four different occasions, meaning that he spent six hours that day talking about the same things, and answering the same questions. It would seem more logical for each psychiatrist to have examined him on different days so they could observe his functioning at different times, but surprisingly this did not happen. The third and final examination by the defence psychiatrists took place on October 11; this time the psychiatrists were all together.

Were the psychiatrists to blame for misdiagnosing Tsafendas? Clearly not. Dr. MacGregor said he had to "accept what was given to him" and that he "had to take shortcuts" due to the limited time before the court sitting. It was the same for the other psychiatrists. They took for granted what Tsafendas told them and had no way of double-checking it. Some, like Dr. MacGregor, even accepted Tsafendas's medical history as it was told by the accused himself. The psychologist Reyner van Zyl told the author that he and some of the psychiatrists were given Tsafendas's medical history verbally and saw none of his medical records.

The psychiatrists were not given the statements Tsafendas made to the police while in custody nor any statement taken from people who knew him. Dr. Cooper was discouraged from probing into Tsafendas's background and his activities prior to the assassination. He was told that this was the job of the police and was given the impression by the police and the defence that this was a straightforward case of a schizophrenic. Van Zyl and some of the psychiatrists were given the same impression. The fact that none of the experts who examined Tsafendas sought collateral information about him from family and friends seems to confirm this.

None of them was aware that Tsafendas had faked mental illness at least twice in the past and that he was experienced with regard to hospitals. None of them was given some of

the records of Tsafendas's hospitalizations, such as the report from the Government Hospital in Beira where he was admitted after claiming to be Saint Peter. Had they accessed this document, they would have seen behavioural inconsistencies that were not normal for a true schizophrenic. None of them read the Grafton State Hospital report which stated that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in 1943. Furthermore, this report also contained several behavioural inconsistencies in contrast to the symptoms noted during the doctor's observations of Tsafendas while in custody.

Tsafendas's mental state apart, none of those who examined Tsafendas seemed concerned with his physical condition at the time. He was in police custody for twenty days before he was examined by the defence and all the examinations took place inside the police station where he was in custody. Although David Bloomberg found him twice with bruises and Tsafendas himself later described in detail how he was tortured while in custody, none of those who examined him makes any mention of his physical state, which could have affected his state of mind. It seems highly unlikely that the psychiatrists did not wonder about how Tsafendas was treated while in custody. Given the reputation of the South African police for brutality, they could hardly have expected him to be handled with kid gloves. It is curious that the doctors met with Tsafendas on several occasions yet appeared to remain ignorant of his physical conditions. They may not have known about the torture, unlikely as that seems, but they must have been aware of the conditions of his cell by his lawyers who had seen it. Without a bed, he was forced to sleep on the concrete floor. Yet none of the doctors seemed curious about Tsafendas's physical state or that he was in custody for twenty days before anyone examined him.

Furthermore, Tsafendas's treatment differed markedly from that of David Pratt after his defence lawyers claimed he was unfit to stand trial. Pratt was given an extended period of observation and investigation at Weskoppies Mental Hospital. After two weeks, a report was prepared by the head physician and Pratt was returned to court. He was then found insane and not fit to stand trial and he was committed to Bloemfontein Mental Hospital.³³⁴² Tsafendas, by contrast, was examined for periods of no more than four and half hours inside the police station where he had been detained since the assassination.

³³⁴² Prof. Lamont's psychiatric report on David Beresford Pratt in *Regina vs. David Beresford Pratt*, 26 September 1960. *The State versus David Beresford Pratt*. 712-60. NASA; Maisels, *A Life at Law: The Memoirs of I.A. Maisels, QC*, p. 102-107; *The Cape Argus*, 'Judge Rules Pratt is Mentally Disordered', 26 September 1960: 2.

Finally, Tsafendas had the impression that all the psychiatrists, especially those of the defence, were eager to find him to be schizophrenic. That is why he thought that it was very easy to convince them as they also did not push him as much as they probably could have. He thought that on some occasions, he could have been put in a difficult position because of clear inconsistencies in his stories, but the psychiatrists did not do that and just let it go.³³⁴³ Naturally, it was also not that difficult to convince them as all the information they got about him was from himself, and they had no means of confirming it.

THE DIAGNOSES

The psychiatrists and the psychologists presented Tsafendas as a hopeless loner, unsociable and withdrawn, a man without any serious political consciousness. However, the vast majority of the witnesses had described Tsafendas to the police and to the media as exactly the opposite. For example, Tsafendas was characterised by the medical experts as a “withdrawn and isolated individual.” Compare this with the testimony of Guenter Haafe, a doorman at the Frankfurt factory where Tsafendas worked in 1958:

“He was a jolly man, always smiling and friendly. He would almost always come into my locker (room) to say Hi. He was really one of the friendliest workers I have met, and trust me, in my twelve years as a doorman I have seen thousands and thousands of faces coming in and out. This man was courteous, they do not make them like that anymore.”³³⁴⁴

Horst Hartmann, Tsafendas's boss on the Frankfurt job, said Tsafendas was “well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous ... a very pleasant man. He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman.”³³⁴⁵ All of the psychiatrists' statements could have been challenged by using testimonies such as those of Haafe and Hartmann, but this did not happen.

Those who examined Tsafendas claimed that he was unable to function on a reasonable level, unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, unable to give a coherent account of himself, talked in a disjointed manner and suffered from thought

³³⁴³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

³³⁴⁴ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

³³⁴⁵ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

blocking. However, none of the two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission, or the seventy-one witnesses who were interviewed by the author, ever noticed any of these symptoms. On the contrary they described him as an intelligent man, perfectly able to carry on a conversation and with excellent reasoning powers. Is it possible a man to have all these symptoms as set out in the court and no-one ever notice? According to Professors Alban Burke, Phillip Resnick, Robert L. Sadoff and Tuviah Zabow, it is extremely unlikely, and very close to impossible.³³⁴⁶ Reyner van Zyl, who examined Tsafendas for the defence, told the author that it was “highly improbable,”³³⁴⁷ while Professor Phillip Resnick found it “extremely unlikely.”³³⁴⁸

Father Nikola Banovic told the author:

“Everything this doctor [Dr. Cooper] has been saying is inaccurate; it’s not true about Dimitri. He was nothing like this, it’s like he had either examined a different person or he was a bad doctor.”³³⁴⁹

Fotini Gavasiadis told the author:

“Everything you have been telling me [as to what Dr. Cooper and the other doctors said] is gibberish. Everything that they were saying is gibberish. Everything. I don’t know how they came to these conclusions and how they managed to get away with it. It’s absolutely gibberish. Dimitris must have had a lot of fun sitting [in the court] and listening to all this gibberish about him. I can imagine him [in the court] laughing inside him ... I am sure he must have had enjoyed it ... especially since he succeeded in fooling them and getting away with it.”³³⁵⁰

The psychiatrists based their diagnoses wholly on what Tsafendas told them without any third-party information, and apart from Dr. Sakinofsky, no-one attempted to get more information about him. Even Dr. Sakinofsky was able to get only very limited details about Tsafendas from some of his medical records and did not speak to anyone who had met him. All of the examinations took place in the police station at Caledon Square after Tsafendas had been held there incommunicado for twenty days. This was not considered worthy of comment, perhaps understandable since South Africa at the time was a virtual police state.

³³⁴⁶ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016; Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 17 December 2016; Professor Robert L. Sadoff in a personal interview with the author, 12 August 2015; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 10 October 2016.

³³⁴⁷ Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 17 April 2016.

³³⁴⁸ Professor Phillip Resnick in correspondence with the author, 7 May 2017.

³³⁴⁹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

³³⁵⁰ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 22 April 2016.

Leading forensic psychiatrist Professor John Macdonald said that “simulation is more frequent when a suspect faces the death sentence.” Tsafendas’s “symptoms” were seen in several cases where the accused faked mental illness. Professor Macdonald mentions the case of an accused man who asked his friends to testify in court in order to save his life, saying that he “gave the impression of being unstable, irrational and unsettled, that he would always lose interest in things he was doing, that he would begin a conversation and suddenly stop in the middle of it and start roaming, that he would sit and stare into space for long periods of time and pay no attention to those about him.”³³⁵¹

What is surprising is that the police and even the Commission were aware that Tsafendas was well read about psychiatry and mental illnesses. The police had found two medical books in his possession, one about insanity and psychiatry, the other concerning intestinal disorders.³³⁵² The Commission of Enquiry noted that Tsafendas was “quite knowledgeable about mental disorders — he also admitted to the Commission that he had read fairly extensively on the subject in order to determine what was wrong with him... and [the Commission] therefore adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him. It is clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act.”³³⁵³

In addition, the police found evidence that in at least two cases Tsafendas faked mental illness in order to from his predicaments. None of these facts was made available to those who examined Tsafendas, although they should have been. The doctors did not use any third-party information about Tsafendas in order to confirm or question what he was telling them, simply taking him at his word. As Tsafendas would later admit, he knew very well what to tell his examiners and how to behave with them.³³⁵⁴

It is inconceivable that a court in any democratic society today would accept psychiatrists’ diagnoses of an accused in a criminal case based on only three interviews, lasting a total of four and a half-hours, and lacking any third-party information. The medical experts concerned seem to have accepted what they were told, that it was a straightforward case and Tsafendas was a schizophrenic with a long mental history. More surprisingly, only

³³⁵¹ Macdonald, *Psychiatry and the Criminal: A Guide to Psychiatric Examinations for the Criminal Courts*, p. 61.

³³⁵² COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

³³⁵³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

³³⁵⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

two of those who examined Tsafendas had seen some of his medical records, while the others were told verbally of their content. Professor Alban Burke told the author that the diagnosis of schizophrenia “was based on very little evidence.”³³⁵⁵ Professors Alban Burke, Kirk Heilbrun, Robert L. Sadoff and Tuviah Zabow believe that the diagnoses of those who examined Tsafendas would not have been seen as credible in any modern, democratic court today.³³⁵⁶

TSAEFNDAS'S MEDICAL HISTORY

Although Tsafendas's medical history was fundamental to the defence case, references to his medical past were spotty and incomplete. A more careful examination would have shown that Tsafendas was not an authentic schizophrenic but a person who pretended to be one. In addition, a great many medical documents which could challenge or contradict the psychiatrists' judgments were not used.

Importantly, at least some of those who examined Tsafendas were told verbally that he had a long medical history of schizophrenia, but they never saw any records. They accepted the verbal assurance as a fact, without seeing inconsistencies in these reports which signalled clearly that Tsafendas could not have been a schizophrenic. The fact that he had faked mental illness at least twice was known to the South African police, but it was not conveyed to those who examined him and it was not mentioned during the summary trial. Tsafendas's medical report from Grafton State Hospital stated clearly that while in the United States in 1943 “he faked mental illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings (sinkings) of ships.”³³⁵⁷ The US State Department's report which accompanied Tsafendas's medical record from Grafton State Hospital stated clearly that the US Immigration authorities had found Tsafendas, after dealing with him for about five years, to be “unstable, but not insane.”³³⁵⁸ Again, this crucial statement was not referenced. Nor were the inconsistencies in his medical history, for example that he appeared not only to believe he had a tapeworm, but that he had other delusions, too: that he believed himself to be

³³⁵⁵ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016.

³³⁵⁶ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016; Professor Kirk Heilbrun in a personal interview with the author, 15 January 2017; Professor Robert L. Sadoff in a personal interview with the author, 12 August 2015; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016.

³³⁵⁷ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

³³⁵⁸ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

Saint Peter in 1964, that he could hear voices from the radiators, and that he believed people were being poisoned by food in the lodgings where he was staying, just two months before the assassination.

The fact that every time he was arrested he showed signs of mental illness, while otherwise he functioned perfectly well in life, was not picked up. Nor was the curious fact that the only times he entered hospital he had either been arrested or admitted himself. A fact that was overlooked by everyone is that none of the doctors who examined Tsafendas in previous years had found him to be as described by the doctors at the summary trial, and none of them had found him to be certifiable. If his condition had deteriorate since 1959 when he was last hospitalized about the tapeworm, someone must surely have noticed this, including the ten doctors who examined him between 1963 and 1966 or some of the two hundred or so witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission.

That he was examined ten times by nine doctors in South Africa over the last three years and found in every case to be mentally sane and physically healthy did not see the light of day at the summary trial. On the other hand, the diagnosis of schizophrenia by Dr. Kossew, a district surgeon who was not a psychiatrist was taken seriously. This despite the fact that the examination had taken only "a little bit longer" than ten minutes and focussed primarily on his physical condition. No-one pointed out that the reason Dr. Kossew examined Tsafendas was to adjudicate on Tsafendas's application for a disability grant, for which he needed to be found incapable of working.

Equally, no-one raised the issue the previous times when Tsafendas was examined by doctors and had to be found sane and healthy in order to get a permanent residency permit or a job he had applied for. It was evident that when Tsafendas needed to be found sane he was found sane and when he needed to be found insane, he was found as such. The medical records confirm Tsafendas's claim that he was capable of doing this, and that he was hospitalised only for two reasons – when he appeared to be mad (a pretence to get out of custody or to be free of torture) or because he had no money and/or place to stay.

It is also surprising that Tsafendas's medical records were not placed before the Court. Although Defence Counsel offered to submit them, Judge Beyers decided that was not necessary, and now these records cannot be found. It seems strange by any standards that medical records which played a crucial role in a case pivoting on the issue of insanity were not submitted as evidence and the Court only heard extracts read from their contents.

However, as we have seen, two of the records used by the defence team were manipulated by it to support the defence case. The other startling thing is that the State did not bother examining them.

OMISSIONS FROM THE SUMMARY TRIAL

In an effort to save his life, Tsafendas was presented as an anti-social person without friends or political convictions, a sponger and someone who was unable to function on a reasonable level. The defence did an excellent job in presenting its case with carefully selected witnesses, helped of course by what Tsafendas told the psychiatrists, as none of this would have been possible without his "participation."

However, there were several important facts about Tsafendas which were known to the South African police and would have been extremely useful for evidence but were not used. For example, that Tsafendas worked for some six months as a teacher of English at the most prestigious private language college in Istanbul, the Limasollu Naci. This fact was known to the police as Tsafendas had told them about it when he was interrogated, and the South African Press had also written of it. However, it was not mentioned during the inquiry and Tsafendas was presented as a man unable to do even the simplest of menial jobs.

TSAFENDAS'S MOTIVE

The greatest omission from the summary trial was Tsafendas's real motive for killing Dr. Verwoerd. Although the court heard much discussion of Tsafendas's possible motives for killing Dr. Verwoerd, what was never brought up was his avowal to the police that he murdered the Prime Minister because he was "disgusted with his racial policies," considered him a dictator and hoped "a change of policy would take place" by removing him. Several people said they heard Tsafendas characterise Dr. Verwoerd as "Hitler's best student," a tyrant and a dictator, but their statements were not produced. Tsafendas's declared willingness to do "anything that would get the South African regime out of power"³³⁵⁹ was also never mentioned.

Instead, Tsafendas appeared to have no idea why he killed Dr. Verwoerd and was unable to explain his reasons. What took centre stage was the tapeworm. Tsafendas insisted

³³⁵⁹ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

that the tapeworm did not ask him to kill Dr. Verwoerd and the psychiatrists admitted as much, but it was their conclusion that the tapeworm was ultimately responsible because it strongly influenced his life and thoughts. The Attorney-General could have overturned the psychiatrists' claims as to Tsafendas's motive simply by reading the statements he made to the police which were entirely compatible with what several witnesses had told the police and the Commission and quite incompatible with what was heard in the court. Needless to say, these statements were never heard. What the court did hear was a claim that Tsafendas actually liked Dr. Verwoerd.

TSAFENDAS'S POLITICAL IDEAS

The second greatest omission from the summary trial were Tsafendas's political beliefs and his past political activities. Although the evidence gathered by the police, including several witnesses who testified that he was well-versed in politics and was a political animal,³³⁶⁰ he was presented, astonishingly, as a man without any interest in politics. His political activities in England, Mozambique and South Africa are never mentioned and he is instead presented as a deluded simpleton who killed Dr. Verwoerd because of a tapeworm that lived inside him.

Several witnesses had told the police that Tsafendas was anti-apartheid, anti-colonialist and a Communist. Tsafendas himself had admitted this when he was interrogated. Two men, Vergos and Father Probst, had reported him to a security officer and to the South African police respectively, one year before the assassination, specifically as a dangerous Communist. It was also known to the police that he had become a member of the anti-apartheid movement in Britain and had been associated with the leading anti-apartheid activists David Gardener, Solly Sachs and the Canon John Collins. He participated in anti-apartheid and anti-fascist demonstrations and meetings in London and was willing to do "anything that would get the South African regime out of power." It was also known to the police that Tsafendas established a friendly relationship with Commander Thomas Fox-Pitt, the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in London and one of the leading figures in the modern anti-slavery movement.

More importantly, it was known to them that he was a former member of the South African Communist Party and that he had fought with the Communists during the Greek Civil

³³⁶⁰ For example Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

War. It was also known to the South African authorities that he was banned from Mozambique and lived in exile until 1963, when he received an amnesty from the Portuguese government. It was known that he was arrested at least twice in Mozambique, and was suspected another two times, for conducting Communist and anti-colonialist propaganda. None of this was mentioned.

THE KILLING

All the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas stated that he was unable to describe the killing and its planning. In fact, Tsafendas had described the planning and the act in detail to the police twice - on September 11 and then again on the 19th.³³⁶¹ The Attorney-General failed to challenge this, although he must have had Tsafendas's statements. Even thirty years later, Tsafendas was able to give a good account of the planning and the killing.³³⁶²

GENERAL APPEARANCE OF TSAFENDAS

Tsafendas was presented as a drifter who lived an aimless life, taking advantage of people, dirty, rude at times, unable to look after himself, a low-life. Abundant evidence existed from statements by people who knew Tsafendas, which flatly contradicted this characterisation and could easily have been used to destroy the distortion. Unmentioned were Tsafendas's political activities, his stints as a volunteer teacher of children in Istanbul and Mozambique,³³⁶³ the fact that he was extremely well read³³⁶⁴ and soft-spoken,³³⁶⁵ that he stood up for the Coloureds,³³⁶⁶ that, though himself poor, he gave money to down-and-

³³⁶¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³³⁶² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³³⁶³ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2014.

³³⁶⁴ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³³⁶⁵ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2014.

³³⁶⁶ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

outs,³³⁶⁷ that he had “excellent reasoning powers”³³⁶⁸ and that he was “able to reason in conversation.”³³⁶⁹

The Daniels's testimonies played an important role in the false portrayal of Tsafendas and though easy meat for the Attorney-General, he failed to engage with them. Both Daniels presented Tsafendas in a very negative way, perhaps on instructions from Wilfrid Cooper, as he had done with the O'Ryans. Their evidence painted the picture of a sponger who practically forced his way into their home and batted off the family. They indicated that they allowed him to stay out of charity and because he belonged to the same Christian sect.

What they did not say was that Helen Daniels, Peter Daniels's sister, had written first to Tsafendas asking to meet him and even proposing that he should marry her. She sent him five letters plus a photograph of herself. Tsafendas, like most normal men, agreed to meet her, but reserved any decision about marriage until they met face to face. The two family members were asked to testify since Helen, who knew Tsafendas much better, had already told the police that Tsafendas was perfectly sane. Obviously this ruled her out as a witness for the defence, but she could have been a very useful witness for the prosecution as her statement to the police contradicted what her brother and her sister-in-law testified. Omitted was also the fact that Tsafendas was recommended to Helen as a prospective spouse by fellow members of the sect. This is important since Helen Daniels was a preacher and a highly respected sect member. Her fellow Christians would hardly have urged her to see a person such as the one described by her brother and her sister-in-law.

EVIDENCE NOT USED

The South African police collected a massive amount of information about Tsafendas from a wide variety of sources, including people who knew him and documented reports from all over the world. These latter included reports from the Portuguese security police which were incomplete because “any information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique” was omitted.³³⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the totality of evidence showed Tsafendas as

³³⁶⁷ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend', 14 September 1966.

³³⁶⁸ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³³⁶⁹ Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³³⁷⁰ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

a completely different person from the one portrayed in court by the psychiatrists, both in personality and in political ideas.

The police knew perfectly well that Tsafendas considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator, an evil man, the brains behind apartheid, and Hitler's best student; they knew that he hoped that by killing him a change of policy would take place and that he wanted to do anything to get the apartheid regime out of power; they knew that he was against slavery and colonialism, that he was a committed Communist, a former paid-up member of the South African Communist Party who had fought with the Communists in the Greek Civil war, and that he was imprisoned by the Portuguese because of his political activities.

Despite all these things being known to the South African police, they were not used to challenge the defence. Instead, the State remained mute, tolerating the picture put forward by the defence of a schizophrenic who believed he harboured a life-controlling tapeworm, who was unsympathetic towards the Coloureds, and who assassinated the prime minister because he was "frustrated" by his life.

As stated before, the author is not in a position to know whether the Attorney-General turned a blind eye to the evidence, whether he was never given it or whether he was simply incompetent. According to Professor John Dugard and Advocate George Bizos, both scenarios are very feasible. It is possible that van den Berg suppressed the evidence since prosecutors during apartheid were never independent. It is also possible, however, that van den Berg was not given the evidence by the police as it would not have been the first or last time that this happened during apartheid. The police always did whatever was necessary to protect apartheid's interests.³³⁷¹ For example, Gordon Winter stated that General van den Bergh asked him to not reveal to the Commission of Enquiry that Tsafendas was a Communist and to downplay his political activities.³³⁷² After the Sharpeville massacre, the police went to the hospitals and removed the bodies of victims to hide the fact that the police had used the banned dum-dum bullets. Then the police conveniently "lost" evidence about the use of dum-dums and "misplaced" evidence as to the ammunition rounds issued. All in

³³⁷¹ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

³³⁷² Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness*.

all, an effective cover-up of the use of dum-dums.³³⁷³ Since the police were able to “misplace” evidence in 1960, they were surely capable of doing so again six years later.

Finally, the withholding and concealment by the authorities of evidence which contradicted apartheid's interests became legal three years after the assassination. Prime Minister John Vorster and General van den Bergh engineered legislation which allowed them legally to withhold and conceal any documents and evidence in the pursuit of apartheid's interests. In 1969, the General Law Amendment Bill (the so-called ‘BOSS’ law) was passed, whose notorious Clause 29 authorised the Prime Minister or his nominee (i.e. van den Bergh) to prohibit oral testimony or the production of any document before any court or statutory body should they believe the evidence or document would be “prejudicial to the interests of the state or public security.” In reality, this permitted the police and the security forces to conceal or ensure the unavailability of any document or evidence which might jeopardise their cause and made it possible for them to continue use the courts for the punishment of offenders but to disregard the courts for all other purposes.³³⁷⁴ Tsafendas's case exemplified such a situation, when statements and documents contradicting the evidence presented in the court were concealed.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL

The Attorney-General's attitude was somewhat bizarre and he damaged rather than helped his case with incompetent questioning. Examples of this were his attempt to use Dr. Sakinofsky's report to challenge Dr. Cooper that Tsafendas was politically motivated or his claim about the existence of evidence that showed that Tsafendas's work in the Parliament was satisfactory. Every single testimony could have been challenged and broken down quite easily by the State, although the Attorney-General failed to do so possibly for the reasons we examined previously.

It is also surprising that he failed to produce any evidence to support his claim that Tsafendas was fit to stand trial. What makes it even more surprising is that the South African police had gathered enough evidence not only to seriously challenge the insanity plea but to break it down. The evidence regarding Tsafendas's political activities and beliefs was overwhelming, although none of it was used.

³³⁷³ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 147-8; 154-6.

³³⁷⁴ International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 11; Sachs, *Justice in South Africa*, p. 256.

However, the most astonishing aspect of the Attorney-General's conduct of the case was that his two main witnesses had concluded two weeks before the summary trial started that Tsafendas was a schizophrenic and unfit to stand trial. In doing so, they agreed with the case for the defence. Despite his witnesses' conclusions, the Attorney-General gave the impression throughout the proceedings that he did not accept the defence's plea and that he was seeking to challenge it. Everyone, including the defence team, was stunned to hear the evidence given by the State's two expert witnesses. It was the Attorney-General who allowed what should have been a simple and straightforward case, since both sides were in agreement about the accused, to be turned into a show trial. Further evidence of the Attorney-General's duplicitous role in the proceedings came just ten days after the summary trial when he lied to *The Post* about his knowledge of Tsafendas once being a member of the South African Communist Party. He claimed that he had just found that out from the *Post* journalist when in fact he knew about it at least from the 3rd of October because he had mentioned in a memorandum about Tsafendas which he wrote that day.

THE DEFENCE TEAM

Judge Beyers rightly praised the lawyers who defended Tsafendas, as they had indeed "graced the profession." Their handling of the case was the opposite of the Attorney-General's. Evidence from psychiatrists and from people who had met Tsafendas, along with some medical records, made for a convincing case, even though things were not as they appeared to be. The picture could have been very different if the State had used the evidence gathered by the police to challenge Tsafendas's defence, but the fact is the State did not do so and the defence team deserved credit for the solid-looking case it presented. David Bloomberg told the author that at the end of the trial Tsafendas was "very grateful for everything that was being done for him. He kept on thanking us."³³⁷⁵

David Bloomberg in particular devoted a huge amount of energy to the case, succeeding, in a very limited time period, in finding suitable witnesses and evidence to support the defence's insanity plea. A gargantuan effort involved an international search for information from hospitals, government institutions and individuals long before the era of computerised communications technology and the invention of aids such as the internet. Wilfrid Cooper, too, with his highly intelligent and competent questioning of the witnesses, presented the defence's line with confidence and conviction. Cooper chose his words

³³⁷⁵ David Bloomberg in a personal interview, 6 April 2014.

carefully and intelligently when presenting the case, especially with regard to Tsafendas's medical records and the scientific witnesses. Bloomberg and Cooper, along with their colleague Willy Burger, put together what seemed to be an extremely strong and convincing line, which they presented to the court with professional aplomb and conviction.

TSAFENDAS

Tsafendas was not the first or last person to pretend to be mad in order to escape punishment. It happened down the centuries. In the Bible, there is a description in the First Book of Samuel of David's successful pretence of madness to avoid punishment by the King of Gath. In 1960, in South Africa, after the Sharpeville massacre, witnesses were advised to "play the fool" to avoid police abuse.³³⁷⁶ In Greece, it is common practice for men to fake mental illness in order to not serve their compulsory military service. In fiction, pretending to be crazy is a regular novelist's device. For example in *The Count of Monte Christo*, imprisoned Abbe Faria pretended to be mad so that his guards would not take him seriously while he worked on his escape. In Homer's *Trojan War*, Ulysses feigned insanity in order to escape going to the war. In *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, the main character, McMurphy, fakes mental illness in order to serve his sentence in a hospital rather than a prison.

There is little doubt that the defence would have failed to prove their case without Tsafendas's "cooperation." Although Tsafendas had given the police a perfectly logical political explanation for the killing, he changed his tune entirely with his defence team. The fact that he was not allowed to see his defence lawyers until twenty days after the assassination should be taken under consideration. As should the fact that he had specifically asked to be represented by Advocate George Bizos and his request was not accepted, although it is possible that it was never transmitted to the State by the police.

Why did Tsafendas talk to his defence team in exactly the opposite way he spoke to the police? What he told the police in his two statements was wholly compatible with the evidence gathered by the police and the Commission, including the two hundred statements taken from people who knew him, as well as statements made to the author by seventy-one people. What he told his defence team was completely incompatible with the above evidence. Tsafendas changed his tune because he could no longer take the pain and feared that an "undignified death" was waiting for him in the police station where he was held. He was not

³³⁷⁶ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 194.

afraid to die, he had told the police, but he was terrified of being hanged in his cell by a plastic wire around his neck, and appalled at the lack of dignity associated with such a death. The torture he had endured over three weeks, especially the electric shocks and the mock hangings, also convinced him to simulate madness as he had done with the Portuguese police. The possibility of spending the rest of his life in a hospital must have seemed infinitely preferable to being hanged in his cell.

THE JUDGE AND HIS VERDICT

Judge Beyers' comportment throughout the summary trial was perfectly in accordance with the circumstances. Naturally, he questioned all of the defence witnesses and tried to find out more about Tsafendas. His judgment, too, was based on the evidence presented before him and he probably had no way of knowing about the abundance of evidence collected by the police and the Commission which contradicted the defence's insanity plea. Although he seemed to manipulate, or not remember correctly, some of the evidence presented in court, as with the O'Ryans and Smorenberg, his verdict could not have been anything else based on the evidence before the court.

The judge's verdict was that Tsafendas was mentally disordered, as defined in the Mental Disorders Act, and therefore he should be detained in a prison pending a decision by the State President as to his future disposition. Sending him to a prison, instead of to a hospital, where officially he belonged since he had been diagnosed as mentally disordered, is not an act that would be expected of a "highly civilized" country, which was Judge Beyers' own description of South Africa. Even less "civilized" was the subsequent decision by the State President that Tsafendas, officially a schizophrenic, should be detained without medical treatment on Death Row in a maximum security institution, Pretoria Central Prison.

REACTION OF THOSE WHO KNEW TSAFENDAS

Anyone who knew Tsafendas well was stunned to read in the newspapers that he was schizophrenic and believed he had a tapeworm since he was a child. Not even one of the seventy-one people questioned by the author believed at the time, or now, that Tsafendas was schizophrenic and thought he had a tapeworm. All were convinced that he made the whole thing up so as not to be executed. Below are the reactions of some of these witnesses; those of others were noted earlier:

Father Nikola Banovic:

“The first thing I thought [when he heard about Tsafendas being diagnosed as schizophrenic] was, ‘Thank God. My prayers were heard!’ It was such, such a relief ... of course I immediately knew that he was faking it. All those here [in Istanbul] who knew him well thought the same. I was asked, though, by a few people who did not really know him but had a casual acquaintance with him, whether he was mad; I told them, ‘no, he is pretending so as not to be executed.’”³³⁷⁷

No one from Patrick O’Ryan’s family believed what was heard in the court: they were all certain that Tsafendas was pretending in order to escape the death penalty.³³⁷⁸ Allan O’Ryan told the author:

“There was no doubt. There was no doubt that the story about the earthworm and all the other things that went with it – the incoherent speeches that... well, everything that the psychiatrists brought up, I interpreted that as a way of protecting him from the death sentence. In retrospect, I would say that it was a man of intelligence who had a mission. I think Tsafendas had... in his mind, he was trying to confuse these people and the give impression that he was crazy. In order to protect himself. And then they felt for it.”³³⁷⁹

³³⁷⁷ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

³³⁷⁸ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Stanley O’Ryan in a personal interview with the author, 9 April 2015.

³³⁷⁹ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

Father Michalis Constandinou:

“I was definitely surprised, but it was a pleasant surprise. I thought it was a miracle! No, no, of course I never believed he was really a schizophrenic; not even for a moment; I knew he had pretended to be crazy to save himself. All of us who knew him discussed this; we all knew he was faking it.”³³⁸⁰

Fotini Gavasiadis:

“I was shocked. We were all shocked. We all knew that he had made it up [pretending to be mad]. There was never any discussion about it [whether he was really a schizophrenic]; we never talked about the issue because we knew him; we knew he was perfectly sane. For me the more surprising thing was not that he pretended to be mad, but that nothing was said about his political ideas and his activism; we all expected to hear a manifesto from him. We all [those who knew him] knew he was pretending.”³³⁸¹

Irene Michaletos:

“Bless him; of course I did not believe he had suddenly gone mad. I knew, we all knew, he was pretending. I am certain that everyone who knew Dimitri back then knew that he was pretending. Even people who did not know him, and had only heard of him or had just spoken to him once, would come and say to me: ‘he is pretending, right?’ I never met anyone who knew Dimitri and believed that he was crazy.”³³⁸²

The *Eleni* sailors all had the same reaction. Emanuil Mastromanolis said, “We all looked at each other [when they heard the news]. We all said the same thing ... yes, that he was making it up so as not to be hanged.”³³⁸³

END NOTE

The doctors described in the trial a Tsafendas that had not the slightest resemblance to the person that some two hundred and fifty witnesses described to the police, the Commission and the author. It seems extremely unlikely that none of the people who knew Tsafendas, some extremely well, ever noticed that he was unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes or that he spoke in a disjointed manner. They must have been naive or very unobservant, unless the symptoms were simply not there; because Tsafendas made them up

³³⁸⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

³³⁸¹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³³⁸² Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

³³⁸³ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

when talking to the doctors.

It is impossible to believe that a judge in a serious criminal case today would accept the diagnoses of five psychiatrists based wholly on what they were told by the person they were examining without any additional information to verify what they were told. However, that is what happened fifty years ago in apartheid South Africa. Was Tsafendas capable of convincing the psychiatrists that he was a schizophrenic? That he had done so in the past with the tapeworm story and the Saint Peter act suggests that he was. He also told three priests later that it was not difficult because both State and defence wanted to find him insane. He was pushing at an open door. Judge Jacques Theodore van Wyk of the Commission of Enquiry said in his final report that Tsafendas was “quite knowledgeable about mental disorders—he also admitted to the Commission that he had read fairly extensively on the subject in order to determine what was wrong with him—and therefore [the Commission] adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him. It is clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act.”³³⁸⁴

Although Judge van Wyk was able to acknowledge this, no-one seemed to take it into consideration during the summary trial. Furthermore, the State must have been aware, as were the police and the Commission, that Tsafendas had faked mental illness before, but this, too, was never mentioned. Finally, Advocate George Bizos believes that with the evidence at their disposal, “the police and the authorities of the time could have very easily built up a case [against Tsafendas], but they withheld it in order to find him insane.” He also found the evidence showing Tsafendas to be politically motivated and not insane to be “overwhelming and unquestionable.”³³⁸⁵ Advocate Bizos also told the author that:

“The police at the time would have never allowed it to become known that Tsafendas was a politically minded person who had killed Verwoerd for political reasons [the hope that apartheid would collapse without him]; if this had happened, Tsafendas would have instantly become a hero of the anti-apartheid movement. Then a trial of politically minded person like Tsafendas, just like the Rivonia, would have put apartheid in the dock... it would have also been hugely embarrassing for the police to admit that a dedicated Communist with such a long history of political activism had managed to penetrate what was alleged to be a top security system... Communism was at the time the monster in South Africa, the number-one enemy, and the killing of Verwoerd by a Communist would have been a major blow to the

³³⁸⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

³³⁸⁵ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

prestige of the regime, but also a big victory for Communism. Verwoerd at the time was adored and accepted by most Whites in this country and the thought that someone had killed him because he disagreed with his policies would have shattered such an image.”³³⁸⁶

Professor John Dugard said about the Tsafendas case:

“Many South Africans suspected that there was a political cover-up in the Tsafendas case. The apartheid regime had two reasons for portraying Tsafendas to be insane. First, the regime wished to suggest that no-one in his right mind could kill such a wonderful leader as Hendrik Verwoerd. Secondly, there was the security aspect. The security apparatus, led by the Minister of Justice and Police, John Vorster, wished to avoid accountability for allowing a political revolutionary to be employed in a position close to the Prime Minister. So it was that the media and the legal proceedings were manipulated to present Tsafendas as a mentally deranged person dictated to by a tapeworm. This research confirms that there was a cover-up. It shows convincingly that Tsafendas was a political revolutionary, whose assassination of Dr. Verwoerd was motivated by a hatred of Dr. Verwoerd and all he stood for. He was not an insane killer but a political assassin determined to rid South Africa of the architect of apartheid.”³³⁸⁷

Renowned historian and anti-apartheid activist Luli Callinicos believes that the apartheid regime would never have revealed that Tsafendas was a committed Communist with a long history of political activism. She also gave the author another reason as to why the State would have wanted to portray Tsafendas as a madman:

“At the time things were hotting-up. The ANC and the PAC were banned, they had gone into exile, and they had also of course announced the armed struggle. They were actually scores of, in fact hundreds, going into exile to train for armed struggle. I think it was a serious threat if it was announced that a member of the Communist Party and of course a man of Colour [had assassinated Dr. Verwoerd]. [The apartheid authorities feared that] this might actually stimulate and mobilise more Blacks to raise up. That was something that was a very real possibility. So it had well suited them to define him as a crazed individual. It was a far better strategy than to find that he had tried to promote a revolution. That's why he was permanently silenced.”³³⁸⁸

³³⁸⁶ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

³³⁸⁷ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 8 September 2016.

³³⁸⁸ Luli Calinicos in a personal interview, 6 April 2015.

Denis Goldberg told the author that he was not in the least surprised when he heard that Tsafendas had been declared to be insane, and “always had doubts” about the verdict. He thought that it was natural for the Apartheid State to do such a thing so they could claim that “only an insane person would kill this brilliant prime minister.” “They would have never admitted that a Communist did it,” Goldberg told the author. Goldberg also believes that it would have been “very embarrassing” for the authorities and the police if it had become known that Tsafendas was a former member of the South African Communist Party and a committed Communist with a long history of political activism. “They had made a decision, they’re not going to have a proper trial, they want Tsafendas declared insane and unfit to stand and that was their decision. So, we lock him away until the Government says it’s okay to release him or never and the answer was never, until he died.”³³⁸⁹

³³⁸⁹ Denis Goldberg in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

CHAPTER 6

THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DEATH OF THE LATE DR. THE HONOURABLE HENDRIK FRENSCH VERWOERD³³⁹⁰

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the Commission of Enquiry (COE) which was appointed to investigate the circumstances of the death of Dr. Verwoerd and its “findings,” but more importantly with what it concealed. The Commission is examined here on the basis of the information it had at its disposal and not on further evidence collected by the author. Nevertheless, the Commission’s Report is materially very different from the evidence that was available to it and this is mostly due to the frequent omission of important information. Before we proceed further with this chapter, we should first examine the entity known as a Commission of Inquiry and its role during apartheid.

³³⁹⁰ Hereafter cited as Commission or COE or van Wyk Commission.

COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY

A Commission of Inquiry (COI) can play an important role in determining who is accountable in a crisis, and in creating new policies to avoid a similar situation in the future. In theory, a COI can be a challenge to serving politicians. In practice, they appear to propose change, while really upholding the status quo. By exploring how and why COI are appointed, we can learn about where and how politics, accountability and policy learning collide. Multiple studies demonstrate that when governments decide to appoint a COI, they are motivated less by a genuine desire to make people accountable and learn from past mistakes, and more by the need to avert blame, give a good impression to the media, and bolster their popularity.³³⁹¹

WHAT IS A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

A COI can be defined as:

- An ad hoc institution put together for a specific task that ceases to exist when it has been carried out;
- Which is, at least officially, not part of the government or other executive body;
- Brought into existence by the government or a government minister;
- At their discretion;
- With the principal purpose of carrying out an investigation;
- Of events that have taken place in the past.³³⁹²

THE PURPOSE OF A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

A COI is assembled following a crisis to figure out what went wrong, who is responsible for decisions and actions taken, and how policy can be changed in response.³³⁹³ By definition, they explore the unusual – crises and events that do not usually occur and that cannot be managed via ordinary regulation and governance. In this way, institutions of sovereign power

³³⁹¹ Renan Sulitzeanu-Kenan, "Reflection in the Shadow of Blame: When Do Politicians Appoint Commissions of Inquiry?" *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, Issue 3, (July 2010), p. 613.

³³⁹² Sulitzeanu-Kenan, "Reflection in the Shadow of Blame: When Do Politicians Appoint Commissions of Inquiry?", p. 615.

³³⁹³ Gregory J. Inwood and Carolyn M. Johns, "Why Study Commissions of Inquiry?" In Gregory J. Inwood and Carolyn M. Johns (eds.), *Commissions of Inquiry and Policy Change: A Comparative Analysis*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 3-7

can “pose questions to themselves about the scope, limits and aims of governance.”³³⁹⁴ Commissions of Inquiry are portrayed as providing an “impartial assessment” and as independent of biased, partial governments.³³⁹⁵ When they explore situations with the potential for civil or criminal liability, procedures need to resemble ordinary legal procedures to give the impression of fairness, and so that the public will ultimately accept its findings as legitimate. Inevitably, Commissions of Inquiry are political tools, used for political ends,³³⁹⁶ as their determinations are relevant to governance and policy-making, and reduce public outrage and media interest by instigating a slow-moving process of the gradual emergence of data intended to avoid apportioning blame to the authorities,³³⁹⁷ that can delay meaningful change.³³⁹⁸

CHARACTERISTICS OF A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

A COI is composed of a Commissioner, its staff and its researchers. These bodies interact with the public and the media. In theory the Commissioner is impartial. Appointees are presented as non-partisan,³³⁹⁹ and are often charismatic, influential individuals who often lend their names to the COI.³⁴⁰⁰ Staff are sourced from elite groups in government, academia, and the private sector, unlikely to operate outside the existing order.³⁴⁰¹

DISCOURSE OF COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY

Commissions of Inquiry have historically been used in a wide range of settings to nullify the rights of indigenous and ethnic minority peoples by giving the superficial impression of fairness and open-mindedness, and whitewashing often horrific state actions. Rather than

³³⁹⁴ Adam Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), p. 132-138.

³³⁹⁵ Inwood and Johns, “Why Study Commissions of Inquiry?”, p. 10-17.

³³⁹⁶ Michael Bishop, “An Accidental Good: The Role of Commissions of Inquiry in South African Democracy.” (*New York Law School. Law Review. Twenty Years of South African Constitutionalism. Friday, November 14, 2014*), p. 19-23.

³³⁹⁷ Sulitzeanu-Kenan, “Reflection in the Shadow of Blame: When Do Politicians Appoint Commissions of Inquiry?”, p. 613-618.

³³⁹⁸ Inwood and Johns, “Why Study Commissions of Inquiry?”, p. 17; Carolyn M. Johns and Gregory J. Inwood, “Theories of Policy Change and a Four-Part Theoretical Framework for Comparative Analysis.” In Gregory J. Inwood and Carolyn M. Johns, (eds.), *Commissions of Inquiry and Policy Change: A Comparative Analysis*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 46-48.

³³⁹⁹ Inwood and Johns, “Why Study Commissions of Inquiry?”, p. 10-11; Johns and Inwood, “Theories of Policy Change and a Four-Part Theoretical Framework for Comparative Analysis”, p. 35-36.

³⁴⁰⁰ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 138.

³⁴⁰¹ Bishop, “An Accidental Good: The Role of Commissions of Inquiry in South African Democracy”, p. 22.

challenging colonial structures, they tend to be governed by them. Thus, Commissions of Inquiry rarely pose any meaningful challenge to the status quo. While they often record large quantities of data regarding people who were mistreated or killed, they rarely lead to prosecutions. Thus, colonial governments were granted a mechanism whereby they could declare sorrow and regret for state actions, while doing nothing to prevent recurrence. Many Commissions of Inquiry were carried out in colonial settings, especially as independence movements got underway, including Trinidad, Ireland, Barbados, Rhodesia, Sierra Leone, and India. Invariably, they concluded that the government should tweak policies to avoid future “tragedies”, rather than identifying a problem with colonialism per se. They deferred the self-representation of “native” people with the idea that “native” peoples were simply unable to represent themselves at all.³⁴⁰²

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Commissions of Inquiry are rooted in pre-revolutionary England, when they emerged as a way in which rulers could figure out why their policies were not working as they wanted them to.³⁴⁰³ They have even been traced to 1085, and William I's mandate to create the huge survey of England known as the Domesday Book.³⁴⁰⁴ By the early nineteenth century, Commissions of Inquiry were ways in which authorities could explore how they governed, why they governed as they did, what the outcomes were, and how to achieve a more favourable outcome,³⁴⁰⁵ and had become one of the tools of Britain's colonial empire.³⁴⁰⁶

During the modern colonial period, colonised populations (as in the colonies of Britain, France, etc.) were considered essentially as resources or units of labour. Thus, when colonised peoples rebelled, their actions were not seen as a demand for autonomy, but as a hindrance to productivity.³⁴⁰⁷ This was typically the case even when Commissions of Inquiry genuinely attempted to understand natives' viewpoints.³⁴⁰⁸ The often brutal efforts of colonial

³⁴⁰² Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 148-150.

³⁴⁰³ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 11-12.

³⁴⁰⁴ Inwood and Johns, “Why Study Commissions of Inquiry?”, p. 5.

³⁴⁰⁵ Hugh McDowall Clokie and J. William Robinson, *Royal Commissions of Inquiry: The Significance of Investigations in British Politics*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), p. 54-79.

³⁴⁰⁶ Inwood and Johns, “Why Study Commissions of Inquiry?”, p. 5-10.

³⁴⁰⁷ Alain Badiou, *The Rebirth of History: Times of Riots and Uprisings*, (New York: Verso Books, 2012), p. 38-41.

³⁴⁰⁸ Rande Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power: Victorian Empire and the Rule of Law*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 91.

administrations to suppress unrest were seen as necessary, if regrettable. "Experts" typically came from the same elite whose transgression (often heavy-handed governance or policing) was being investigated, while their work was presented as benefiting all of society.³⁴⁰⁹

³⁴⁰⁹ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 138; Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 141.

Of course, Commissions of Inquiry have not been developed purely in the colonial context. Other examples include the Warren Commission following the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963, the Widgery and Saville Inquiries into the Bloody Sunday massacre in Northern Ireland in 1972, the Scott Inquiry into British arms sales to Iraq, and the 9/11 COI following the terrorist attacks on New York in 2001.³⁴¹⁰

COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY IN SOUTH AFRICA

From the colonial period, throughout the apartheid era, and into the democratic era, Commissions of Inquiry have played a role in South Africa in being “used to fight political battles between parties, hide government embarrassment, and take the pressure off beleaguered state institutions.”³⁴¹¹ Commissions of Inquiry can be delayed by third parties, including those being investigated, who wish to delay conclusions and adverse findings. Frequently, the terms of reference can be framed so that the desired findings are essentially a foregone conclusion. The primary audience is the government, and how the government will react is always brought to bear on how a COI is carried out, and how extensive its findings will be.³⁴¹² The outcome is heavily influenced by who can take part. Participation often calls for legal representation, which is difficult for the average citizen to access. When participants cannot take part on an equal footing, it is likely that the COI will fail to uncover the truth, while also being anti-democratic, and consistently using language that posits atrocities as “tragedies.”

Throughout the apartheid era, South Africa engaged in COI, typically on the topic of race relations,³⁴¹³ often with a focus on state violence. While Commissions of Inquiry took evidence from a wide range of witnesses, this was invariably viewed from the authorities’ perspective, as White “experts” spoke on behalf of the “natives.”³⁴¹⁴ While they often investigated matters of huge importance to Blacks, their voices were often replaced by those

³⁴¹⁰ Sulitzeanu-Kenan, “Reflection in the Shadow of Blame: When Do Politicians Appoint Commissions of Inquiry?”, p. 613.

³⁴¹¹ Bishop, “An Accidental Good: The Role of Commissions of Inquiry in South African Democracy”, p. 2, 19.

³⁴¹² Bishop, “An Accidental Good: The Role of Commissions of Inquiry in South African Democracy”, p. 21-22.

³⁴¹³ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, p. 142.

³⁴¹⁴ Adam Ashforth, “Reckoning Schemes of Legitimation: On Commissions of Inquiry as Power/Knowledge Forms.” *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Volume 3, Issue 1, (March 1990), p. 1-4.

of the “experts.” “Native” people were listened to only in the context of the desire to “restore law, coherence, and order to colonial rule,”³⁴¹⁵ never truly threatening the status quo.³⁴¹⁶

The Sauer COI in 1949 recommended complete apartheid and the 1960 COI into the European Occupancy of the Rural Areas recommended that Blacks be placed in “native reserves,” leading to forced removals.³⁴¹⁷ Commissions of Inquiry thus helped to determine how governments formed and enacted policies. Issues were typically represented as “problems” to be remedied with firm state action. Various laws were passed indemnifying the police and security forces from legal action. Thus, indemnity and Commissions of Inquiry need to be considered as two parts of the same whole. If it was found that the authorities, or bodies acting on their behalf, had erred, there were rarely any repercussions. Often, Commissions of Inquiry functioned to justify what was essentially martial law after the fact; many were exempted from prosecution for their involvement in atrocities such as the Sharpeville massacre,³⁴¹⁸ and by 1960 South Africa’s Statute Book was filled with laws indemnifying a wide range of public officials from prosecution.³⁴¹⁹

Commissions of Inquiry under apartheid quickly became closely associated with scandals arising from state violence, and efforts to restore the public’s confidence,³⁴²⁰ which retained the constitutional right to appoint Commissions of Inquiry to look into the president as well as provincial premiers.³⁴²¹ Often, atrocities were reconfigured, emerging as unpreventable “tragedies.” For example, the government slaughter of the Bondelzwart people in 1921 was presented as a tragic, but inevitable, outcome of their “simplicity.”³⁴²² Furthermore, as we have already seen, the Commission of Inquiry into the Disturbances in Eastern Pondoland absolved the police of any blame for the killing of eleven unarmed protestors. Instead, its report accused the ANC of being the moral instigator of the massacre.

³⁴¹⁵ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 142-143.

³⁴¹⁶ Johns and Inwood, “Theories of Policy Change and a Four-Part Theoretical Framework for Comparative Analysis”, p. 25; Gregory J. Inwood and Carolyn M. Johns, “Commissions of Inquiry and Policy Change: A Comparative Analysis.” In Gregory J. Inwood and Carolyn M. Johns (eds.), *Commissions of Inquiry and Policy Change: A Comparative Analysis*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 285.

³⁴¹⁷ Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 31-32, 48-49.

³⁴¹⁸ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 25.

³⁴¹⁹ H.R. Hahlo and Ellison Kahn, *The Union of South Africa: The Development of its Laws and Constitution*, (London: Stevens & Sons, Ltd., 1960), p. 147n61.

³⁴²⁰ Bishop, “An Accidental Good: The Role of Commissions of Inquiry in South African Democracy”, p. 7.

³⁴²¹ Constitution s 127(2)(e).

³⁴²² Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 133.

The eleven dead, it said, “were the victims of the insidious propaganda of the African National Congress and associated organizations.”³⁴²³

According to Adam Sitze, Associate Professor of Law at Amherst College, commissions under apartheid generally failed in their stated aim to open contentious events to scrutiny and public debate, serving rather to disguise or conceal state crime and its methods. They were an integral part of apartheid’s repressive and propaganda machine and very often hid more than they revealed. A typical example, he wrote, was the Sharpeville Enquiry which transformed itself from a fact-finding device into a “whitewashing machine.”³⁴²⁴ He added:

“As would become painfully evident in apartheid South Africa, the more that Commissions of Inquiry would be created to investigate state massacres, the less they would produce public debate and discussion (...), and the more they would reduce public debate, by obfuscating or even concealing altogether the ways and means of state crime. Here [referring to the Sharpeville COI], the COI was not a fact-finding device; it was a ‘white washing’ machine.”³⁴²⁵

Professor John Dugard told the author about the Commissions of Inquiry during apartheid:

“One of the most disgraceful things about South Africa during this period was the way in which judicial commissions were manipulated, and also the way in which inquest inquiries were conducted and the magistrates just ignored the evidence. And it was quite clear that the Sharpeville Enquiry and the Langa Inquiry, that the... I can’t remember who the Langa Inquiry judge was... but they were both conducted by judges who were political appointments. And they knew how to make a finding that would help the government. That was very clear.”³⁴²⁶

The COI into the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 speculated that the shootings might have contributed to a minimising the loss of life and whitewashed the role played in the massacre by the police and state,³⁴²⁷ determining that it was a “tragedy” to which both the

³⁴²³ Badat, *The Forgotten People: Banishment Under Apartheid*, p. 117; Wylie, “The Shock of the New: Ngquza Hill 1960”, p. 197-201, 206.

³⁴²⁴ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 157, 311.

³⁴²⁵ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 157.

³⁴²⁶ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

³⁴²⁷ Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 328.

victims and their killers had contributed.³⁴²⁸ The Sharpeville COI created a template for further Commissions of Inquiry. The 1976, so-called Cillie COI which investigated the Soweto uprising, was carried out primarily from the police's perspective. According to Professor Sitze, it was a "sham and a charade,"³⁴²⁹ that failed to account for missing bodies and attempted to shift blame from the police to their victims and their parents.³⁴³⁰ According to Benjamin Pogrud, it was "... an effort to blame anyone except from the government."³⁴³¹ In 1986, following violence in Langa after a local funeral,³⁴³² the investigating judge, Kannemeyer, omitted evidence that he considered "background information," but which included vital data about living conditions and police conduct in the townships in a clear attempt to whitewash the police.³⁴³³

Commissions of Inquiry did not disappear when apartheid ended. Although often the objects of controversy and conducted at great expense, they became a regular aspect of the political scene³⁴³⁴ (in 2014 no fewer than six were running at the same time³⁴³⁵). Most notable was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission established in 1996 which investigated abuses carried out during apartheid by both the state and its opponents.³⁴³⁶ The aim was to ensure that South Africa moved from a racist regime to democratic governance without recourse to revenge and violence.

EXAMPLES OF COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY DURING APARTHEID

³⁴²⁸ Bishop, "An Accidental Good: The Role of Commissions of Inquiry in South African Democracy", p. 24-25.

³⁴²⁹ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 182.

³⁴³⁰ Helena Pohlandt-McCormick, "I Saw a Nightmare ...: Violence and the Construction of Memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976)." *History and Theory*, Vol. 39, No. 4, Theme Issue 39: "Not Telling": Secrecy, Lies, and History (Dec., 2000), p. 30-34.

³⁴³¹ Pogrud, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 276.

³⁴³² Forty-seven Black South Africans were shot dead by the police, of whom thirty-five had been shot from behind (Laurel Baldwin-Ragaven, Jeanelle de Gruchy & Leslie London, *An Ambulance of the Wrong Colour: Health Professionals, Human Rights and Ethics in South Africa*, (Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press, 1999), p. 57).

³⁴³³ Nicholas Haysom, "The Langa Shootings and the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry." *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 3, (Aug., 1986), p. 494.

³⁴³⁴ Bishop, "An Accidental Good: The Role of Commissions of Inquiry in South African Democracy", p. 3. For more about the role of the Inquiries in the democratic South Africa see Michael Bishop. (2014) *An Accidental Good: The Role of the Commissions of Inquiry in South African Democracy*.

³⁴³⁵ Bishop, "An Accidental Good: The Role of Commissions of Inquiry in South African Democracy", p. 1-3

³⁴³⁶ John Dugard, "Reconciliation and Justice: The South African Experience." *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 8, Issue 2 (1998), p. 293; John Dugard, "Is the Truth and Reconciliation Process Compatible with International Law? An Unanswered Question." *South African Journal on Human Rights*, Vol. 13, Issue 2 (1997), p. 260.

To understand better how Commissions of Inquiry operated during apartheid, we will briefly examine some typical examples. All of them, especially the inquiry into the Sharpeville massacre, have parallels and similarities with the Dr. Verwoerd Commission of Enquiry in terms of police methods, attitude towards witnesses, evidence, findings and concealment of evidence and facts.

THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO THE OCCURRENCES AT SHARPEVILLE (AND OTHER PLACES) ON THE 21ST OF MARCH 1960

On 24 March, 1960, just three days after the Sharpeville Massacre,³⁴³⁷ Dr. Verwoerd moved quickly to announce that a one-man Commission of Enquiry would be appointed to investigate the incident.³⁴³⁸ The person chosen to investigate was Judge P.J. Wessels.³⁴³⁹ The then police-captain H.J. van den Bergh was appointed as Police Chief Investigator,³⁴⁴⁰ tasked with determining who fired the first shots and who shouted “shoot.”³⁴⁴¹ In the aftermath of the shooting, van den Bergh was detailed to Baragwanath hospital. There he directed a team of Black and White policemen to drag from their beds patients who had been shot at Sharpeville, handcuff them and transport them to Boksburg Prison. There they were stripped naked, sprayed with water and ordered to dress again in their blood-stained clothes which they were ordered to wear unchanged for months. They were told it was punishment for their “agitation.”³⁴⁴²

There was a great need to convince the world that it was business as usual, and that South Africa was still a good place in which to invest. Of course, Dr. Verwoerd's government would have to hope that external observers would not notice, or would not care about, the extent to which the government controlled the judicial system.³⁴⁴³ Dr. Verwoerd met with his Minister of Justice, then Frans C. Erasmus,³⁴⁴⁴ and other senior officials, in an emergency meeting to decide what to do in both the short- and the long-term. Within an hour it had been

³⁴³⁷ For more about the incident see Chapter 1.

³⁴³⁸ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Official Inquiry into the Riots’, 24 March 1960: 1.

³⁴³⁹ Reeves, *Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa*, p. 81.

³⁴⁴⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Sharpeville Magistrate’, 22 July 1960.

³⁴⁴¹ Report of the Sharpeville Commission, p. 154; Roux, *Time Longer than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*, p. 408.

³⁴⁴² Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 194-195.

³⁴⁴³ Robert Coniglio, “Methods of Judicial Decision-Making and the Rule of Law: The Case of Apartheid South Africa”, *Boston University International Law Journal*. Vol. 30, (2012), pp. 499-500.

³⁴⁴⁴ (1896-1967) Minister of Justice from 1959 to August 1961; he also served as Minister of Defence from 1948 to 1959 and as South Africa's Ambassador to Italy after his term as Minister of Justice (C.J. Beyers and J.L. Basson (eds.), *Dictionary of South African Biography*, Vol 5, (Pretoria: Human Resources Research Council, 1987, p. 246-248.

decided that a Commission of Enquiry would be held. It was clearly vital that the state be seen to be in full control of the situation and its aftermath – both in order to inhibit the wave of panic now sweeping the country and to head off any sympathy demonstrations and protests that could reasonably be expected in the wake of public reaction.³⁴⁴⁵

The government had to tread carefully. If the Commission was chosen to produce a report that completely absolved the authorities, it would be an obvious whitewash and attract foreign criticism while reducing Dr. Verwoerd's government's credibility in the eyes of potential trading partners. On the other hand, if it led to a harsh criticism of the authorities, the government would look bad when Dr. Verwoerd was trying to present apartheid as a humane, fair and just way to administer a racially diverse nation.³⁴⁴⁶

Dr. Verwoerd and his government tried desperately, as usual, to turn black into white, and to convince the world that the apartheid policies did not cause the massacre. He maintained that the demonstration had nothing to do with opposition to apartheid but was the result of a Communist conspiracy. It was the Communists and not the police — and most certainly not the government — who bore responsibility for the deaths, he declared. He even claimed that the demonstrators had shot first, although no weapons were found among them.³⁴⁴⁷ The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Eric Louw, known as “South Africa's Goebbels” because of his pro-Nazi propaganda and resemblance to the German Nazi,³⁴⁴⁸ claimed that “40,000” Africans had protested, and asserted that if the police had not shot they would have been murdered.³⁴⁴⁹ He was echoing remarks made by a sergeant involved in the massacre immediately afterwards: “We were only a handful against very many. If the men had reached us, I am sure they would have wiped us out.”³⁴⁵⁰

In London, the High Commissioner, van Rhyen, stated that a hostile crowd of about 20,000 had attacked the police with firearms, forcing the police to shoot them in self-defence.³⁴⁵¹ At the UN, South Africa's delegate, B.G. Fourie, gave his government's official version of what happened, which blamed “Bantu extremists,” as follows:

³⁴⁴⁵ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 186-187

³⁴⁴⁶ Martin, *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire*, p. 13.

³⁴⁴⁷ Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 281; Loveland, *By Due Process of Law? Racial Discrimination and the Right to Vote in South Africa 1855-1960*, p. 383; *TIME*, ‘South Africa: The Sharpeville massacre’, 4 April 1960: 19; *The Illustrated London News*, ‘South Africa: The Issues Appraised’, 9 April 1960: 590.

³⁴⁴⁸ Pogrund, *How Can Man Die Better ... Sobukwe and Apartheid*, p. 157

³⁴⁴⁹ *The Cape Times*, ‘No More Sharpeville Says Louw’, 12 April 1960: 1.

³⁴⁵⁰ *The Cape Times*, ‘Sharpeville Sergeant On Surging Mob’, 13 April 1960.

³⁴⁵¹ Reeves, *Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa*, p. 81.

“A splinter organisation of extremists had started some time ago to organise a mass demonstration to protest against the carrying of reference books ... At Sharpeville some agitators immediately adopted a threatening attitude towards the police. Attempts were made to arrest some of the violators — but the crowd became more belligerent and the police were attacked with a variety of weapons: pangas, axes, iron bars, sticks, knives and firearms. Indeed shots were fired at the police before the police returned fire in order to defend their own lives and also to forestall what might have led to even greater and more tragic bloodshed... No government can allow hundreds of thousands of its citizens to be intimidated by extremists, as the Bantu in South Africa often are: to be threatened with the most dire consequences, if they proceed with their daily occupations and disobey the instructions of this militant group referred to.”³⁴⁵²

Thus, at this point, most of the outside world seemed to have accepted the official South African version of events as accurate.³⁴⁵³ Not everyone, though: the *London Times*, for example, called Dr. Verwoerd “a liar” and his policy “manifestly bankrupt.”³⁴⁵⁴

The official version was also flatly contradicted by observers such as *Rand Daily Mail* reporter Benjamin Pogrund, who saw everything first hand,³⁴⁵⁵ and by Bishop Ambrose Reeves, whose detailed rebuttal resulted in his eventual deportation. A statement by Bishop Reeves said there was no evidence that shots were fired by the protestors, nor that they attempted to charge the police, nor that weapons had been left behind as they fled. The bishop said the police shot into the backs of the fleeing crowd long after there were any signs of impending violence. The action was “punitive” and the force used excessive, he said.³⁴⁵⁶ The bishop’s challenge to the official version of Sharpeville resulted in his being declared a threat to national security. Fearing that he would be arrested and “silenced,” he fled to the British Protectorate of Swaziland in South Africa,³⁴⁵⁷ from where he sent sworn statements by eighteen Africans injured in Sharpeville to New York lawyer Allard Lowenstein. The statements affirmed that victims were shot in the back while running away from the police station. Their depositions were distributed to delegates at the UN.³⁴⁵⁸

³⁴⁵² *The Guardian*, ‘Sharpeville- The Official Version: Mr. Fourie Blames Bantu Trouble-makers’, 9 April 1960: 7.

³⁴⁵³ Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 10.

³⁴⁵⁴ de Villiers, *South Africa: A Skunk Among Nations*, p. 67.

³⁴⁵⁵ Knight, ‘The Daily Courage’, *TIME*, 12 June 2000.

³⁴⁵⁶ *The Canberra Times*, ‘Sharpeville Shooting “Punitive,” Bishop Tells Inquiry’, 15 June 1960: 7.

³⁴⁵⁷ *The Canberra Times* ‘Bishop Will Speak Elsewhere’, , 6 April 1960: 1.

³⁴⁵⁸ *The Star*, ‘Sharpeville Reports Going to UNO’, 11 April 1960; *The Times* (London), ‘Bishop Sends Documents on Sharpeville’, 11 April 1960: 10.

After receiving government assurances as to his safety, Bishop Reeves returned to South Africa and submitted to the Wessels Commission a memorandum that was severely critical of the police actions at Sharpeville. Weeks later, he was picked up, bundled onto an airplane and deported to Britain.³⁴⁵⁹ His expulsion was denounced by the British media as “a clumsy attempt to silence him.”³⁴⁶⁰ The result, however, was a book, *Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa*, in which Bishop Reeves set out in detail the events of the massacre. In South Africa, his account was condemned as “conspicuously prejudiced,” “irrelevant” and full of “blatant lies and fabrications.”³⁴⁶¹ It was not until the Truth and Reconciliation Commission met three decades later that *Shooting at Sharpeville* received the recognition it deserved as an historic document detailing one of apartheid’s most vicious crimes.

Far from evincing discomfort over the massacre, the government promised similar armed responses in the future. On the day that the Sharpeville Enquiry began, Foreign Minister Eric Law stated: “If 20.000 Africans were again threatening 130 policemen, as at Sharpeville, the police in maintenance of law and order, and in their own defence would be obliged to fire. We are now alerted, and this sort of thing will not happen again. In Cato Manor this year, nine policemen were hacked to pieces by Africans. There was not much fuss in overseas newspapers about that. You can’t handle gangsters with kid gloves. If it is necessary to use strong arm methods to deal with gangsterism, we are not different from any Government in the world.”³⁴⁶²

The Wessels Commission of Enquiry began on Monday, 11 April, twenty-one days after Sharpeville and two days after David Pratt’s assault on Dr. Verwoerd. In the courtroom at Vereeniging, there were more policemen and journalists than witnesses, and of the 20,000 Africans at Sharpeville when the police opened fire, only fifteen were willing to give evidence. Harold Hanson, the lawyer representing many of the victims, made a bold attempt to have the hearing postponed, citing restrictions on his actions under the then current state of emergency, the unavailability of some witnesses and the fear of others to testify to the truth. Hanson said, “I am not certain how far I will be able to go with what I consider the proper

³⁴⁵⁹ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Reeves Expulsion Clearly Illegal’, 14 September 1960: 1; *Daily Representative*, ‘Reeves Deported in Secrecy’, 12 September 1960: 1; *TIME*, ‘South Africa: Out Goes The Bishopp’, 26 September 1960; *The Star*, ‘Bishop Reeves Deported in Great Secrecy’, 12 September 1960: 1.

³⁴⁶⁰ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Deportation A Clumsy Way To Silence Reeves Says British Press’, 13 September 1960: 2.

³⁴⁶¹ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 192-193.

³⁴⁶² *Daily Mirror*, ‘News Girl is Seized’, 12 April 1960: 5

cross-examination of witnesses, having regard to the present state of emergency.”³⁴⁶³

Further, he said, some witnesses with material evidence were incommunicado, some of the injured were detained after being discharged from hospital and others were frightened to come forward. “And if they come forward, will they speak without fear or favour?” Hanson asked.³⁴⁶⁴ Urging a postponement at least until the state of emergency had ended, Hanson also cited the absence of scores of his witnesses. He told the Commission, “You are without the evidence of 180 persons. The 180 are the wounded. They are in hospital, all accused or suspected in a case of public violence...”³⁴⁶⁵

What you have to bear in mind at this state, Mr. Commissioner, is whether you will have the evidence on both sides of the scale before you. The body of evidence might be given until the present conditions had subsided. The people who had been injured or bereaved should be able to give evidence freely and unafraid.”³⁴⁶⁶ Finally, Hanson said the evidence of some witnesses would be that the Sharpeville shooting was unprovoked, that the crowd was not hostile, and that if the shooting was necessary, the police acted beyond what was necessary. Such evidence, Hanson said, could well be regarded as inciting members of the public against the authorities. Hanson’s application was opposed by Mr. P. S. Claassen, Q.C., Attorney-General of the Orange Free State, who argued that Hanson was imagining “possible difficulties” and suggested that witnesses could be protected by prohibiting publication of certain evidence or by holding some parts of the inquiry in camera. Claassen also told the Commission that he would call evidence that the police opened fire “after shots had been fired at them and they had been threatened.” It was in the public interest that the inquiry should proceed as a matter of urgency, he said.³⁴⁶⁷

Not unexpectedly, Judge Wessels refused Hanson’s application and the inquiry went ahead without the evidence of Hanson’s many missing witnesses.³⁴⁶⁸ The judge said he

³⁴⁶³ *Daily Mirror*, ‘The Missing Witnesses’, 12 April 1960: 5; *The Cape Argus*, ‘Sharpeville Inquiry: Request for Delay’, 11 April 1960: 1; *The Cape Argus*, ‘Inquiry into Sharpeville Disturbance’, 11 April 1960: 2; *The Guardian*, ‘Sharpeville Inquiry Opens’, 12 April 1960: 9; *The Star*, ‘Judge Asked to Postpone Inquiry’, 11 April 1960; *The Star*, ‘Official Inquiry Starts: Policemen Describe Sharpeville Events’, 12 April 1960: 1.

³⁴⁶⁴ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Inquiry into Sharpeville Disturbance’, 11 April 1960: 2; *The Guardian*, ‘Sharpeville Inquiry Opens’, 12 April 1960: 9; *The Star*, ‘Judge Asked to Postpone Inquiry’, 11 April 1960.

³⁴⁶⁵ *Daily Mirror*, ‘The Missing Witnesses’, 12 April 1960: 5; *Daily Express*, ‘Satisfactory’, 12 April 1960: 1; *The Cape Argus*, ‘Sharpeville Inquiry: Request for Delay’, 11 April 1960: 1; *The Star*, ‘Judge Asked to Postpone Inquiry’, 11 April 1960.

³⁴⁶⁶ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Inquiry into Sharpeville Disturbance’, 11 April 1960: 2.

³⁴⁶⁷ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Inquiry into Sharpeville Disturbance’, 11 April 1960: 2; *The Guardian*, ‘Sharpeville Inquiry Opens’, 12 April 1960: 9; *The Star*, ‘Judge Asked to Postpone Inquiry’, 11 April 1960.

³⁴⁶⁸ *Pretoria News*, ‘Sharpeville Inquiry to Go On’, 12 April 1960: 1; *The Star*, ‘Inquiry Must Proceed Judge Rules ‘After Anxious Thought’’, 12 April 1960: 1.

decided “after anxious thought” to let the inquiry proceed because he believed, as Claassen had also suggested, that this was in the best interests of the public. He said that because the Inquiry concerned events that led to the state of emergency, “the Commission’s report may consequently have a direct bearing upon the circumstances in which the state of emergency was proclaimed.” Regarding Hanson’s witnesses, he said, “Every power at my disposal will be used to ensure that intended witnesses will be able to come forward freely.” However, he added that he would not be “able to provide absolute security” for them. It was up to the witnesses whether they wanted to come forward, he said, acknowledging that it would take “people of some courage” to do so.³⁴⁶⁹ That the Commission chairman himself raised the point of the witnesses’ safety and warned that he could not guarantee it, must surely have made many potential witnesses even more reluctant to come forward.

An early police witness, Sergeant J.L. Grobler, set out the evidence template which the police witnesses followed. Grobler, who was the officer in charge of Sharpeville police station, said, “Stones were being thrown by the crowd; there were about 15,000 natives, armed with kerries and irons, and 100 to 150 policemen. No tear-gas was used, the wind was in the wrong direction; there was nothing else they (the (police) could do but fire. We were a handful against so many. If the mob had reached us, I am certain they would have wiped us out.”³⁴⁷⁰ The remaining police witnesses said much the same.

Despite the preponderance of evidence along these lines, the case put before the Commission did not support the government’s version of events as described orally by the police and in van Rhyn’s and Fourie’s statements. The police had fired seven hundred rounds into the crowd, while showing no greater proof of weapons than a small assortment of sticks and umbrellas. Many official documents had been destroyed by the police after the massacre, and the official documents often did not identify the Black policemen who had been there properly, referring to them only by their first names. This “removal” of the Black policemen from the record gave the impression that there had been far fewer police than there actually were, suggesting that just 130 officers were surrounded by a vast mob. In fact, there were at least 160 White officers with firearms, and 130 Black officers with “knobkerries” (a sort of truncheon) and other weapons, and armoured vehicles and a large body of armed police in the general area.³⁴⁷¹

³⁴⁶⁹ *The Star*, ‘Inquiry Must Proceed Judge Rules ‘After Anxious Thought’’, 12 April 1960: 1.

³⁴⁷⁰ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Nothing Else To Do But Fire’, 13 April 1960: 1; *The Star*, ‘Official Inquiry Starts: Policemen Describe Sharpeville Events’, 12 April 1960: 1.

³⁴⁷¹ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 97-98.

Much of the evidence that came before the Commission was weak, and there were many gaps in the record. The Commission never fully investigated the shooting and tended to avoid exploring many of the “important technical and brutal aspects of the killings,” such as the type of ammunition used and how the Black policemen acted. The pressure on the investigators to produce a report within a short period was unhelpful in this regard.³⁴⁷²

Black protestors were very reluctant to testify. Some were still in police custody and feared police violence, and all were subject to intimidation. They were also under pressure from the PAC to follow its “party line” that the police had committed premeditated murder rather than slaughtering the protestors in a chaotic scene that owed much to poor leadership and heightened fears.³⁴⁷³ Moreover, Judge Wessels tended to favour police testimony over that of victims or witnesses. He described a police officer, Captain Cawood, as making a “favourable impression” and possessing qualities including “reflection, initiative and humanity,”³⁴⁷⁴ and took at face value Cawood’s testimony about having shot dead the African leader of a group of protestors who had been throwing stones at him and then “stormed” him.³⁴⁷⁵ At the same time, he was dismissive and suspicious of the African witnesses, such as Sidwell Kasa,³⁴⁷⁶ asserting that the crowd had had “ample opportunity to disperse” before the police resorted to violence.³⁴⁷⁷

In general, Wessels had a poor view of the PAC. He quoted the chairman of the local branch as saying, “there is no freedom without bloodshed” and stated that while it did not appear that the PAC had had the explicit plan to engage in violence, they had at least been prepared for the possibility. In this way, he emphasised any association between the PAC and violence. The report deals at length with violence and the intimidation supposedly used by the PAC in order to force people to participate in the demonstration, criticising the organization’s supposed violence more than the police’s actual violence.³⁴⁷⁸

A chaotic picture emerged, in which it was shown that not all the police had fired, and that those who had were mostly in subordinate positions. Police who fired claimed that they had heard shots from the crowd, that the crowd was “rushing the fence” that separated them from the police station, that they were throwing stones, and that a mob was rushing through

³⁴⁷² Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 192.

³⁴⁷³ Martin, *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire*, p. 17.

³⁴⁷⁴ *Report of the Sharpeville Commission*, p. 28.

³⁴⁷⁵ *Report of the Sharpeville Commission*, p. 33.

³⁴⁷⁶ Kasa was later imprisoned for three years and subsequently banished (Lodge, “Sharpeville and Memory”, p. 21-22).

³⁴⁷⁷ *Report of the Sharpeville Commission*, p. 31.

³⁴⁷⁸ *Report of the Sharpeville Commission*, p. 20.

the gate of the precinct. None of this was supported by Africans' evidence, or by photographic or forensic evidence,³⁴⁷⁹ although it is likely that many of the police sincerely believed that the crowd had been heavily armed.³⁴⁸⁰ The testimony of Africans and police was often contradictory; African witnesses described a festive scene greeting the arrival of the armoured Saracen vehicles, while police described a crowd that was "grim, savage and ruthless."³⁴⁸¹

A White constable who lived in a nearby suburb said that if the officers had not acted "the Blacks would have killed us – and then gone on to slaughter our women and children."³⁴⁸² It seems that not all the police questioned realised the gravity of the situation. Asked by the Commission if he had "learned any useful lessons," the officer in charge, Lieutenant Colonel Pienaar, replied "well, we may get better equipment," and that "the Native mentality does not allow them to gather for a peaceful demonstration. For them, to gather means violence."³⁴⁸³

The Commission was told that 496 rounds were fired in total, and that an "inflammable" crowd had threatened to kill the policemen.³⁴⁸⁴ Police authorities insisted that there was no evidence of the use of anything other than "normal" bullets. To conceal their use, the police had told the medical staff, who had seen the injuries, that it would not be in the national interest for them to make "exaggerated" disclosures.³⁴⁸⁵ When the injured victims started to arrive at hospitals for treatment police officers were already in place to inspect those who were dead and remove bodies that had been very badly damaged by explosive 'dum-dum' bullets. An estimated twenty-four dead bodies were spirited away and buried in secret so that no post-mortems could be carried out on them. The Commission sided with the police, anyway, agreeing that no "dum-dums" were used and declaring that the dead were all killed by ordinary bullets.³⁴⁸⁶

As far as the Commission was concerned, the evidence that the crowd showed "no real hostility... could not be accepted." This was despite testimony from Colonel Spengler that he did not think the crowd likely to attack the police station. Wessels maintained that though the crowd "could not be regarded as an armed one" the situation was indeed

³⁴⁷⁹ Reeves, *Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa*, p. 81-88.

³⁴⁸⁰ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 99.

³⁴⁸¹ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 90.

³⁴⁸² Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 122.

³⁴⁸³ Reeves, *Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa*, p. 93-95.

³⁴⁸⁴ *The Cape Times*, '476 Shots by Policemen at Sharpeville', 21 April 1960: 1.

³⁴⁸⁵ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 149.

³⁴⁸⁶ *Report of the Sharpeville Commission*, p. 128, par. 209.

“inflammable” because of the “size and the mood of the gathering.” He said that the police’s shooting was at least partly prompted by the shots they heard from the crowd “and a sudden flooding of the Bantu” across the boundary of the station compound and that it might have prevented even greater bloodshed.³⁴⁸⁷

According to Bishop Reeves “much of the police evidence about the crowd can only be described as untruthful” and completely inconsistent with the press photographs. Moreover, the police’s evidence was completely contradicted:

- By the absence of defensive preparations by the police against the attack.
- By the fact that there was no attack on the police before the arrival of the Saracens.
- Because a considerable part of the crowd was only at the Police Station by reason of intimidation.
- By the experience of at least three White men who passed among or through the crowd at one o’clock or shortly after one o’clock, namely Berry – the *Drum* photographer, Hoek – the *Rand Daily Mail* photographer, and Labuschange, the superintendent of the Sharpeville Township.³⁴⁸⁸

Ultimately, the Commission’s 218-page Report failed to lay down a definitive judgment and simply related events as unfolded by “evidence” before it.³⁴⁸⁹ Judge Wessels “concluded” that he could not find anyone culpable nor whether or not the shooting was justified,³⁴⁹⁰ but merely presented the evidence that had been given to it.³⁴⁹¹ It reported that although there had been no organised attempt to attack the police, the police had sincerely believed that their lives were in danger, and had shot in good faith:³⁴⁹² “... the Commission, to its very end, avoided, circumvented, or lightly touched upon many of the important technical and brutal aspects of the killings – such as the type of ammunition used by the SAPS and the actions of the black police whom the SAP, in their official history of the events of the sixties, admit “occasionally acted without self-restraint and in an undisciplined manner.”³⁴⁹³

Wessels tended to agree with the police’s contention that they had been facing a hostile crowd, insisting that there was “no doubt” that the night before had featured “violence

³⁴⁸⁷ Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 329.

³⁴⁸⁸ Reeves, *Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa*, p. 82-84.

³⁴⁸⁹ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘No Findings on Sharpeville,’ 24 January 1961: 1.

³⁴⁹⁰ Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 328.

³⁴⁹¹ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Sharpeville: No Findings on Responsibility’, 23 January 1961: 1.

³⁴⁹² *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Sharpeville, Langa Report Findings’, 24 January 1961: 1.

³⁴⁹³ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 192.

and threats of violence” from the PAC, aimed at the residents of Sharpeville. Most of the residents who provided evidence had been coached by the state’s lawyers, and stated that they had had no knowledge of the PAC’s involvement and had gone to the protest out of curiosity or because they had been intimidated. Wessels agreed that the shooting had been prompted at least partly by shots from the crowd and by a sudden charge of Black protestors towards them.³⁴⁹⁴

Although Judge Wessels included some very mild criticism of the police and how they were deployed by Lieutenant Corporal Pienaar, he agreed with their claim that they had no option but to respond with violence;³⁴⁹⁵ he had no problem with the police characterisation of the protestors as a “frenzied mob.”³⁴⁹⁶ He included lengthy testimony from the police, but only perfunctory evidence from witnesses, many of whom were in police custody and had been coached under intimidation to provide monosyllabic answers to questions that bolstered the state’s position. Wessels repeated the dehumanising terms the police used to refer to the Black protestors, referring to them as a “throng,” and as “prancing about,” “massed together,” and “frenzied.”

The judge also overlooked and concealed clear lies. For example, the police had denied carrying skamboks (a type of whip) although the few photographs of the massacre, by Ian Berry,³⁴⁹⁷ the photographer for *Drum* magazine, clearly show that they were. Berry’s photographs also showed that the higher estimates for the crowd, as favoured by the police, were unlikely to be accurate, but Wessels accepted these estimates despite the photographic evidence.³⁴⁹⁸ The police also denied that any shots had been made from their Saracen tanks. This position was taken to support the notion that the police had been unable to assess the real level of danger from a vantage point at ground level and had made the best possible decision in light of what they knew. This evidence was demonstrated as false by photographs that showed that the police had shot at the crowd from their armoured carriers.³⁴⁹⁹ The police claimed that they had helped wounded victims after the massacre. By this point, British cameramen were actually filming the events before them, and the footage shows that the

³⁴⁹⁴ Lodge, “Sharpeville and Memory”, p. 329.

³⁴⁹⁵ Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 328.

³⁴⁹⁶ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 179-180.

³⁴⁹⁷ (1934-) A British photojournalist and the only photographer to document the massacre at Sharpeville. According to Professor Tom Lodge (*Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 229), his contribution was critical in amplifying Sharpeville’s impact, as his pictures were crucial in turning opposition to apartheid into an international public cause.

³⁴⁹⁸ Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 328-329.

³⁴⁹⁹ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 197.

police did essentially nothing to assist the wounded, while photographs show a police officer using a spade to shovel up brain tissue.³⁵⁰⁰

Professor Phillip Frankel describes the report that ensued from the Commission as being “so densely unintelligible, so ridden with double-talk, qualifications, and refutable logic as to defy both legal reasoning and ordinary comprehension,” and points out the vast amount of forensic evidence that was available to him during his archival research in 1999, but which was apparently “either unknown or unavailable to the Commission.”³⁵⁰¹ Quite simply, the whole point of the Commission was to create the impression that the state was investigating the massacre, while actually whitewashing the record. The police operated within a system in which they “had” to be found in the right or to have acted only under severe provocation. The general state of fear among the wider white population meant that the police could “confidently walk into the white legal system virtually assured of little more than a sharp slap on the wrist,”³⁵⁰² because there was no will in government or among most Whites to curtail their brutal activities.

The evidence included that more than 700 shots had been made into the crowd and that more than half of those shots were made by eleven policemen.³⁵⁰³ Although Judge Wessels found that the massacre was essentially an avoidable tragedy, the medical evidence showed that 70% of the 69 killed and 186 injured were shot from the back, and just 15% (at most) of the injuries had been inflicted on the front, while only three policemen had been injured by stone-throwing, and that very slightly.³⁵⁰⁴ If the crowd had been rushing towards the police, most injuries would have been to the front of victims' bodies. Even the Commission had to confirm that no more than 30% of the victims had been shot while facing towards the direction from which the bullets had been travelling.³⁵⁰⁵

Intimidation by the police was very effective in limiting testimony to the Wessels Commission. Black witnesses reported intimidating behaviour, having to share the “non-white” bathrooms with Black policemen who had been involved in the massacre, and being questioned very aggressively in Afrikaans, which many did not speak fluently. One witness, Petrus Mokoena, reported being advised by his friends to “play the fool” and give his evidence in a way that suggested that he was unintelligent. By playing into widespread

³⁵⁰⁰ Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 107.

³⁵⁰¹ Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 329.

³⁵⁰² Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 13-14.

³⁵⁰³ *The New York Times*, ‘Sharpeville Inquiry Inconclusive’, 24 January 1961: 6.

³⁵⁰⁴ Pogrand, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 83.

³⁵⁰⁵ *Report of the Sharpeville Commission*, p. 272.

assumptions about Blacks' inferior intelligence, it was easier for witnesses to survive the gruelling experience without police abuse.³⁵⁰⁶

This message was not lost on Black and Coloureds in South Africa, who knew that often the easiest way to escape a brutal punishment was to play into the prevailing prejudice of Blacks as stupid. Years later, members of the police force who had been involved at the time recalled that they had not even had to use torture to make their point; all they had to do was circulate rumours among bereaved families and friends that anyone who testified was likely to be placed in custody as a "precautionary measure" and that anyone found to have "lied" to the inquiry would be locked up.³⁵⁰⁷

Likewise, cover-ups and intimidation reduced the Commission's access to information,³⁵⁰⁸ while the police felt completely free to lie, knowing they would never be punished. While practically every police witness stated that there had been no order to shoot, nobody admitted to being among the first, and while many of the victims near the fence had heard the order to shoot, all of the police insisted that they had heard no such thing. Moreover, even though the victims' lawyers called on the testimony of many experts, the police had had ample opportunity to tamper with the evidence in the field immediately after the killings, allowing them "hegemony over what was concealed and what was discovered."³⁵⁰⁹

A Detective-Sergeant Fourie, whose job it was to collect forensic information, remembered years later that he had been told to leave the site by the security police and that it was much more important to find subversives and get them to confess than to focus on "scientific krap."³⁵¹⁰ Captain Coetzee testified that he was sure that none of his men fired any shots. It was later proved that two constables under his command did shoot, but the Judge did not believe that Captain Coetzee "wilfully misled the Commission" and thought that he was simply unaware of this fact.³⁵¹¹

The Commission's Report, tabled in Parliament on January 23, 1961, came to no conclusions, declared no winners or losers, no guilty or innocent, no liars or witnesses to the truth, and certainly did not find the police responsible for what it termed the "tragedy" at

³⁵⁰⁶ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 194.

³⁵⁰⁷ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 194.

³⁵⁰⁸ Martin, *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire*, p. 15.

³⁵⁰⁹ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 197.

³⁵¹⁰ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 197.

³⁵¹¹ *Report of the Sharpeville Commission*, p. 169-170.

Sharpeville. It simply related events as unfolded in evidence before the Commission, in line with Wessels' opinion that "it is not the duty of the Commission to report on the responsibility of people for their actions and omissions... the task of the Commission is simply to inform your Excellency of the incidents referred to in your terms of reference."³⁵¹² One who won praise from Judge Wessels for his hard work on the inquiry was the then Captain van den Bergh, the investigator who failed to discover who fired the first shots, who had shouted "shoot" and who covered up the illegal use of dum-dum bullets.³⁵¹³

That the judge was not able to issue a report completely whitewashing the police can in large part be attributed to the swift response to the shooting by Bishop Ambrose Reeves who immediately afterwards arranged for lawyers to rush to the hospitals where the wounded were being kept under guard and to take their statements.³⁵¹⁴ Wessels' report recapitulated the police evidence in detail. Black witnesses, whose testimony was relatively scarce, were referred to only occasionally and without detail. White evidence tended to corroborate the police, especially in the case of those who were in detention when they appeared before the Commission, often as witnesses coached and prepared by the police's lawyers.³⁵¹⁵

Judge Wessels suggested that the long duration of the shooting had been the result of different officers beginning to shoot at different times.³⁵¹⁶ The use of "dum-dum" bullets, which caused horrifying exit wounds, was not addressed and, as stated above, the Commission lacked the testimony of many Black witnesses, while police lied, hid and fabricated evidence.³⁵¹⁷ Major van Zyl and Colonel Pienaar lied when they told the Commission that no dum-dums had been used, but their word was accepted.³⁵¹⁸ In addition, the police had removed bodies with evidence of dum-dum attacks, had lifted dum-dums from the field, and had removed surviving dum-dum victims from hospitals.³⁵¹⁹ Local tradition maintained (although it remains unproven) that many corpses displaying evidence of dum-dums were dumped in the local dam.³⁵²⁰ The police conveniently had "lost" evidence about use of dum-dums, "misplaced" evidence on the ammunition rounds issued, used and not used.

³⁵¹² *Daily Dispatch*, 'No Findings on Sharpeville,' 24 January 1961: 1; *The Cape Argus*, 'Sharpeville: No Findings on Responsibility', 23 January 1961: 1; *The New York Times*, 'Sharpeville Inquiry Inconclusive', 24 January 1961: 6.

³⁵¹³ *Report of the Sharpeville Commission*, p. 10, 154.

³⁵¹⁴ Pogrand, *How Can Man Die Better ... Sobukwe and Apartheid*, p. 136.

³⁵¹⁵ Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 328.

³⁵¹⁶ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 192.

³⁵¹⁷ Martin, *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire*, p. 13.

³⁵¹⁸ *The Star*, 'Sharpeville Inquiry: Get Evidence of Some Detainees, Says Judge', 13 April 1960: 1.

³⁵¹⁹ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 147-148, 154-156; Martin, *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire*, p. 14.

³⁵²⁰ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 148.

No experts on dum-dums were called. All in all, cover-up of the use of dum-dums was quite effective.³⁵²¹

Ultimately, the Commission's report served to bolster the idea that while the events at Sharpeville were tragic, they did not result from government policy but from an unfortunate lapse in discipline.³⁵²² Wessels used the term "tragic occurrences," with the clear implication that nobody was really to blame; he even suggested that perhaps the police's actions had resulted in fewer deaths than might otherwise have been the case.³⁵²³ There was no recognition of the fact that the police were the product of a society steeped in racial injustice and hatred.³⁵²⁴ The whitewash created by the Commission resulted in a concerted effort to silence anyone trying to tell the truth.

As for Judge Wessels, in 1961, after the retirement of Mr. Justice Broome as Judge President of Natal, he was seriously considered by Dr. Verwoerd's Cabinet for the vacant post, although he was only sixth in terms of seniority and had joined the Natal bench just a year earlier.³⁵²⁵ Eventually, the Cabinet appointed Judge Alexander Milne to the position instead.³⁵²⁶

How seriously can we take the findings of the Commission? According to Professor of Law Adam Sitze, "the Commission of Inquiry was not a fact-finding device; it was a "whitewashing" machine" that it had been set up to present the government in the kindest light possible while attempting to give the impression of even-handedness."³⁵²⁷ The Commission remained vague on most points and reached a "balanced" conclusion that found fault both with individual policemen and with the protestors. Afterwards, in the Senate, GJ Suttor stated that the report left him "no better off than he was" and that "The judge does not say that the police were right or that the police were wrong. He does not say the natives asked for it or they did not ask for it."³⁵²⁸

³⁵²¹ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 147-148, 154-156.

³⁵²² Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p.: 180-181.

³⁵²³ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 180.

³⁵²⁴ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 169-172.

³⁵²⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Sharpeville Judge is Tipped for Natal Post', 19 January 1961: 9.

³⁵²⁶ South African Law Journal, "In Memoriam: Mr Justice Alexander John Milne." *South African Law Journal*, Vol. 111, No. 2, (May 1994), p. 378.

³⁵²⁷ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 157.

³⁵²⁸ Republic of South Africa, Debates of the Senate, (15 June 1961), col. 5342.

In general, the report had a “paralyzing” effect on readers and the Commission’s findings, characterised a “mixed blessing”,³⁵²⁹ and even contributed to a conspiracy theory that the PAC had actually *intended* to provoke the police to commit a massacre for propaganda purposes.³⁵³⁰ Sitze pointed out that the Wessels Commission was specifically designed to quell investor concern in apartheid police tactics.³⁵³¹

The “balanced” findings of the Wessels Commission could not be considered a faithful or loyal account of the events of Sharpeville as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission proved. The Commission’s failure to properly address the massacre contributed to both the whitewashing of the appalling attitudes and lack of preparedness that led to it, while creating the narrative that the government had deliberately conspired to kill a large number of people so as to teach the Blacks a lesson.³⁵³² It was broadly successful in terms of silencing discussion, and a more complete picture of events would emerge only a full generation later as part of the work that was carried out by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Until that time, the “official” version created by the Wessels Commission was generally accepted, at least by Whites.

In 1985, Henry R. Pike, in *History of Communism in South Africa*, described the massacre as the result of mass hysteria among the inhabitants of Sharpeville, the result of the efforts of “professional agitators” and the victims as armed with “sticks, clubs, bottles, knives, iron pipes, assegais, pangas, needle swords and other weapons.” A similar account was published in *The Police Station*, a memoir by JPJ Coetzer, a senior official in the Department of Justice.³⁵³³ Without the Wessels Commission, such appalling untruths would not have been allowed to hold such weight.

According to Professor Frankel:

“A pliant (or partially pliant) commission which confirmed the vicious intent of the Sharpeville mob and presented police responses as a natural, if over-reactive, case of self-defence could connect very positively with the prevailing persecution mentality among white South Africans in the aftermath of the massacre — including many who would not, other than in these exceptional circumstances, lend their support to the Nationalist government ...

³⁵²⁹ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 180.

³⁵³⁰ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 179.

³⁵³¹ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 187.

³⁵³² Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 119.

³⁵³³ Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 330.

Ultimately, a sympathetic commission — indeed any commission— was essential to smoothing the panic and fears of a vast array of international interests with stakes in a post-Sharpeville South Africa... The bland outcome of the Commission of Inquiry contributed to the culture of impunity that gained strength, exemplified by the ongoing desecration of the cemetery in Sharpeville by white supremacists and their collaborators among the police.”³⁵³⁴

It now seems more than clear that the primary function of the Commission of Inquiry was to give the world the impression that justice was served in South Africa. For a whole generation many commentators discussed the horrifying events as if they were indeed the no-fault tragedy the Commission claimed. Sadly, this is par for the course for investigations carried out while a conflict is still ongoing. Globally, it is typical for such investigations to come up with findings that are partisan, at best, and often outright propaganda.³⁵³⁵

The TRC held hearings in the area in 1996, beginning with a series of testimonies about the Sharpeville Massacre. This was when the full truth (or as full a truth as can be obtained so many years after the event) began to emerge.³⁵³⁶ The evidence presented to the TRC clearly showed that the police had actually deliberately fired on an unarmed crowd after failing to give them adequate warning to leave, and that excessive force was used, resulting in the large number of deaths among protestors mostly unaligned with any political pressure group, but simply opposed to the pass laws.

The TRC also found that many of the wounded were subsequently treated like criminals, placed under police guard in hospital and “released” into prison where many were detained for a long time before appearing in court and having the charges withdrawn – facts that did not make it into the commission’s report. Ultimately:

“The commission finds the former state and the minister of police directly responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations in that excessive force was unnecessarily used to stop a gathering of unarmed people. Police failed to give an order to disperse and/or adequate time to disperse, relied on live ammunition rather than alternative methods of crowd dispersal and fired in a sustained manner into the back of the crowd, resulting in the death of 69 people and the injury of more than 300.”³⁵³⁷

³⁵³⁴ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 13, 152.

³⁵³⁵ Colm Campbell, “Beyond Radicalisation: Toward An Integrated Strategy.” In Ana María Salinas de Frias, Katja LH Samuel and Nigel D. White (eds.), *Counter-Terrorism: International Law and Practice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 262.

³⁵³⁶ Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, p. 338.

³⁵³⁷ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Three*, p. 537.

The findings of the TRC were utterly contradictory of the Wessels Commission, essentially overruling everything the earlier document had stated. Jeremy Pogrund, the *Rand Daily Mail* journalist who had seen the massacre at first hand, stated that while there were many accusations of police torture and brutality, they were invariably protected by the National Party from all charges. The Sharpeville Massacre was in a way the inevitable result of this degree of impunity, brutality having become standard practice.³⁵³⁸

The experience of the Commission of Enquiry after Sharpeville makes it abundantly clear that any results emanating from such state bodies were not to be taken seriously. Its work makes no sense until we examine it in the context of apartheid South Africa, and consider the many constraints it was under.³⁵³⁹ As in the case of the Commission that investigated the Broederbond, the Soweto uprising, the shootings at Langa (see below) and many other incidents, the real agenda was *never* to find out the truth, but to produce a series of outcomes showing the government in the best light possible while besmirching its detractors, and allowing its reign of terror to continue, while not dissuading actual or would-be investors in the South African economy. According to Benjamin Pogrund, the *Rand Daily Mail* journalist who witnessed the massacre, every time there were accusations of brutality and torture, the Nationalists protected their police from all charges of wrongdoing, steadily, brutality came to be accepted as the standard *modus operandi*.³⁵⁴⁰

³⁵³⁸ Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 87.

³⁵³⁹ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 193.

³⁵⁴⁰ Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 87.

The Sharpeville experience is a prime example of how the various elements of the apartheid machine could come together and present a lie as truth and make people believe it. Government officials such as van Rhyen and Fourie, along with the police and the Commission, played significant roles in misrepresenting the horror of Sharpeville. The same three institutions performed precisely the same functions with Soweto in 1976 and the Langa shootings in 1984.

The Sharpeville Commission of Enquiry was not a fact-finding device but a “whitewashing” machine and it would have certainly been even more favourable towards the police if it was not for Bishop Reeves’s brave stance.³⁵⁴¹ Some of the police methods used during the Sharpeville Enquiry, for example the misplacing and concealing of evidence, will also be used by the police in the van Wyk Commission. Judge van Wyk himself would also adopt a similar attitude with that of Judge Wessels with the witnesses, the evidence and his portrayal of events and Tsafendas’s character.

The findings of the two Commissions are identical in absolving the police of blame, misrepresenting the cases and the truth and producing results the government wanted, but they also shared another important common factor: H.J. van den Bergh. As a police captain in 1960, he was the Police Chief Investigator for the Sharpeville Commission, and in 1966, by then a General, he was in charge of the Tsafendas investigation which came before the van Wyk Commission. Finally, the Sharpeville Commission not only whitewashed the police, but created a template for further investigations. For instance, following the uprisings in Soweto in 1976, the so-called Cillié Commission was appointed to investigate the incidents, while the Kannemayer Commission took place following similar events in Langa in 1984.

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RIOTS AT SOWETO AND ELSHEWHERE³⁵⁴²

The Soweto (South Western Townships) uprising was in reality a series of protests by students which began on the morning of 16 June 1976 but continued sporadically until early 1978, involving thousands of young people and resulting in hundreds of deaths. The spark was the imposition of Afrikaans, widely resented as the language of apartheid, to be the medium of instruction in schools, although it was known to few teachers and fewer students. On that mid-June morning, classes from numerous high schools in Soweto Township took to

³⁵⁴¹ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 157.

³⁵⁴² For a very detailed account of the accuracy and charade of this Commission, see Pohlandt McCormick, H. (2000) *“I Saw a Nightmare ...”: Violence and the Construction of Memory*.

the streets, growing to an estimated 20,000 individuals. Police met them with fierce armed brutality, but the protests spread beyond Soweto to other townships and neighbourhoods, resulting in hundreds of school closures.³⁵⁴³

Throughout the many months of demonstrations, students chanted slogans against Vorster's government, two of which were dedicated to Tsafendas, already a prisoner for ten years. One chorus asked, *Where are you now that we need you, Dimitri Tsafendas?* It was an adaptation of the anti-Nixon chant during Watergate, *Where are you now that we need you, Harvey Oswald?*³⁵⁴⁴ The other slogan was *Tsafendas Inyanga Yezizwe* (Tsafendas healer of the nation).³⁵⁴⁵

The heavy-handed police response led to ever larger and more violent riots and numerous student deaths. The initial government claim was that "only twenty-three students" were killed by police, but the true figure was between 600 and 700.³⁵⁴⁶ John Kane-Berman, Chief Executive of South African Institute of Race Relations, arrived at a death toll of 661, based on figures compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). Twenty-three people were said to have died in Port Elizabeth, 153 in the Western Cape, and 442 in the Transvaal, of which Soweto accounted for between 350 and 400. There were also 43 other deaths due to unknown circumstances.³⁵⁴⁷ Eighty-nine of the dead in the West Rand Area were under twenty years old, twelve below age eleven.³⁵⁴⁸ Many of the victims were children and adolescents, while at least 1,000 were injured. Only a handful of victims were White.³⁵⁴⁹

Shooting and killing schoolchildren caused international outrage and the Vorster government scrambled to cover its tracks. First, it sought to disparage the victims, hiding their ages and identities, disposing of bodies, belittling their actions and claiming deaths were

³⁵⁴³ John Kane-Berman, *Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction*, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1978).

³⁵⁴⁴ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

³⁵⁴⁵ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Alexander Moumbaris, 'Dimitri Tsafendas. Remembering A Revolutionary', *The Talking Drum*. Retrieved from: <https://archive.is/pYjSu#selection-205.0-205.110>.

³⁵⁴⁶ Brink et al., *Soweto, 16 June 1976: It All Started With A Dog*, p. 9; Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa: South Africa in Perspective*, p. 143; Kane-Berman, *Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction*, p. 27-28; Pohlandt-McCormick, "I Saw a Nightmare ...: Violence and the Construction of Memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976)", p. 25-28.

³⁵⁴⁷ Kane-Berman, *Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction*.

³⁵⁴⁸ Pohlandt-McCormick, "I Saw a Nightmare ...: Violence and the Construction of Memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976)", p. 26.

³⁵⁴⁹ *TIME*, 'The Soweto Uprising: A Soul-Cry of Rage', 28 June 1976: 12.

fewer than they were. Officials spread misinformation as to the intentions of the protestors and gagged witnesses and any voices raised in their support.³⁵⁵⁰

Second, Vorster did exactly what Dr. Verwoerd did after Sharpeville, he appointed an investigating commission. Justice Petrus Cillie³⁵⁵¹ was named chairman of the *Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from the 16th of June 1976 to the 28th of February 1977*. Leading evidence at the Inquiry to “investigate the incident,”³⁵⁵² was Percy Yutar, supporter of apartheid and the government, and the prosecuting lawyer in the Rivonia Trial. This permitted the government to invent a version of the uprising which suited its purposes and have it published as an official Report. The way it dealt with allegations of police misconduct such as removing bodies, became the template for apartheid's methods of rewriting the truth and thus the historical memory at Commissions of Inquiry.³⁵⁵³

The challenge facing the Cillie Commission was considerable: effectively it had to demonstrate that the authorities were justified in killing schoolchildren.³⁵⁵⁴ Benjamin Pogrand attended all of the Commission's hearings and openly criticised the Commission in the *Rand Daily Mail*: “while commissions can serve an invaluable purpose, there is need to guard against assassination of character and a great responsibility rests on those conducting the inquiry to protect uninvolved innocent people. This kind of erosion, we believe, has been manifesting itself this week in the Cillie Commission. A number of people have been named by witnesses, sometimes in relation to specific events of last year, and at other times seemingly in a more passing way.

The witnesses concerned are current Terrorism Act detainees, freed only temporarily and in a formal sense from their incommunicado detention where they are wholly at the mercy of their captors. As their names are concealed by order of the commission, it is difficult to evaluate their testimony and anyone who considers himself injured certainly faces obstacles in seeking redress. The problem is aggravated because of the absence of normal

³⁵⁵⁰ Pohlandt-McCormick, “I Saw a Nightmare ...: Violence and the Construction of Memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976)”, p. 25-29.

³⁵⁵¹ Justice Piet Cillie, a supporter of the apartheid government, was at the time Judge President of the Transvaal and had also served as Judge in the Prisons Trial. According to Lord Joel Joffe, Cillie “was elevated to the bench at a time when he had very limited legal experience, having by-passed the normal routine of long experience as an advocate and senior counsel” (Joel Joffe, *The State vs. Nelson Mandela: The Trial that Changed South Africa*, (London: Oneworld, 2009), p. 142). Of course such a “by-passing” was standard practice under apartheid for loyal supporters of the regime.

³⁵⁵² Pogrand, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 276; *TIME*, ‘The Soweto Uprising: A Soul-Cry of Rage’, 28 June 1976: 12.

³⁵⁵³ Pohlandt-McCormick, “I Saw a Nightmare ...: Violence and the Construction of Memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976)”, p. 29.

³⁵⁵⁴ Pohlandt-McCormick, “I Saw a Nightmare ...: Violence and the Construction of Memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976)”, p. 25-29.

court safeguards where evidence can be challenged by defence counsel. Thus the way could be opened to character assassination. That, of course, cannot be the commission's intention. But the situation must cause disquiet."³⁵⁵⁵ Pogrund later wrote that "at best, it was an inquiry into the obvious, and at worst an effort to find someone to blame – anyone except the government."³⁵⁵⁶

Throughout the Soweto uprising and in the years after 1976, the government portrayed the students as a bunch of out-of-control extremists whose opposition to the Afrikaans language policy was short-sighted and irrational. This was the formula to which the Cillie Commission loyally adhered, reiterating the State's case that the police were blameless because it was the students who, for no good reason, attacked white people, government property and the forces of law and order.³⁵⁵⁷

The Commission did acknowledge that the country's Blacks may have had a reason for their anger. "Virtually all legislation regarding relations between races is separationist and seen by Blacks and Coloureds as unjust and discriminatory," the report said, adding that some blame attached to ordinary Whites as much as officials. "The manner in which so many whites treat blacks is of great importance," it said. "The objections do not end with the actions of officials or the police. Dissatisfaction is also caused by the action of ordinary citizens in everyday situations." The Commission emphasized the importance of communication between Blacks "and those whites concerned with the black wellbeing." The Commission listed the number of deaths as 575.³⁵⁵⁸

However, insofar as events on the ground were concerned, the Commission generally followed the police's point of view, demonstrating an evident bias. Systematically, the Commission misrepresented victims' ages, suppressed evidence, suggested that children had been engaged in violence that made it necessary to shoot them, and presented a false version of events. Stone-throwing children were represented as a serious threat to police officers' lives, making their deaths the result of a reasonable show of force in response. In fact, many had been shot in the back as they fled.³⁵⁵⁹ Forensic evidence was twisted to present a distorted interpretation of how victims had been killed, suggesting that they had been bending

³⁵⁵⁵ Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 276-277.

³⁵⁵⁶ Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 276.

³⁵⁵⁷ Noor Nieftagodien, *The Soweto Uprising*, (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2014), p. 20-21, 81.

³⁵⁵⁸ *The New York Times*, 'South African Judge Says Racial Justices Caused Soweto Riots', 1 March 1980: 3.

³⁵⁵⁹ Pohlandt-McCormick, "I Saw a Nightmare ...: Violence and the Construction of Memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976)", p. 29-34.

over to pick up stones to throw when the evidence suggested that they were shot in the back.³⁵⁶⁰

The Commission highlighted anything that might portray victims in a negative light (as the Sharpeville Commission did and as the van Wyk Commission would do extensively with Tsafendas). It stressed that some had been drinking (after doing blood alcohol tests on corpses), and claimed that traces of paint on bodies suggested that paint was used as an incendiary device. It manipulated evidence and intimidated witnesses, interrogated the parents of child victims, even obstructed some parents from locating their children's bodies. It strove to prove that the policemen's lives were endangered by the stones thrown by students and that it was only then that the police opened fire. This was a deliberate attempt to obscure the fact that the use of deadly force against students lacking deadly weapons was wholly inappropriate. Oral testimonies collected from many participants demonstrated how the police lied, but these were omitted by the Commission. These descriptions of the events of 16 June and publications based on them demonstrate vividly how the authorities subverted the truth and the Commission turned a blind eye to the fact.³⁵⁶¹

Ultimately, it was abundantly clear that the official explanation for the protests/riots, as "uncovered" by the Commission, was simply "an attempt by the apartheid state to exonerate itself of responsibility for its ill-conceived policies and the murderous intent of its security forces,"³⁵⁶² a "sham and a charade,"³⁵⁶³ and "another inquiry into the obvious, and at worst an effort to blame anyone except from the government."³⁵⁶⁴ The official narrative may have been accepted by ardent apartheid supporters but few among the general public gave it any credence.³⁵⁶⁵

³⁵⁶⁰ Pohlandt-McCormick, "I Saw a Nightmare ...: Violence and the Construction of Memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976)", p. 30.

³⁵⁶¹ Nieftagodien, *The Soweto Uprising*, p. 82.

³⁵⁶² Gary Baines, "The Master Narrative of South Africa's Liberation Struggle: Remembering and Forgetting June 16, 1976." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (2007), p. 284.

³⁵⁶³ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 182.

³⁵⁶⁴ Pogrund, *War of Words: Memoir of a South African Journalist*, p. 276.

³⁵⁶⁵ Nieftagodien, *The Soweto Uprising*, p. 21.

One of the ironies of Soweto was the introduction of legislation to protect the police from any repercussions resulting from their actions in similar situations. In January 1977, Justice Minister James Krueger placed before Parliament an Indemnity Bill under which the State and its servants were indemnified against civil and criminal prosecutions of any kind for acts committed “in good faith with the intent of suppressing or terminating internal disorder.” Krueger told the Parliament, “Those who gave rise to the unrest, and had a part in it, and in the process were injured or suffered damages, cannot expect to load the police with defending unfounded claims.” The Bill became law in August 1977.³⁵⁶⁶ Retrospectively, the violence in Soweto in 1976 was claimed as an important turning point in the anti-apartheid movement.³⁵⁶⁷

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY ON THE LANGA SHOOTINGS³⁵⁶⁸

In 1984, violence broke out in impoverished black townships in the East Cape and Witwatersrand. It was met with strong police action, leading to a number of deaths, all of which occurred in the context of police harassment and assaults against both activists and ordinary black families. Considering funerals of victims to be important flashpoints for further violence, the government ordered that such proprieties should take place on workdays to minimise attendance.

When it became apparent that workers intended to leave work en masse to go to funerals, they were prohibited. When protestors in the township of Langa held a march in protest, they were confronted by the police, who opened fire. Twenty protestors were killed, and forty-three were injured. The Minister of Law and Order promptly claimed that the police had feared that their lives were in imminent danger. To international outrage, the government decided to appoint a Commission of Enquiry under Justice Kannemeyer.³⁵⁶⁹

As the Commission went to work, it quickly became apparent that the police were not prepared for crowd management and had been equipped only with weapons of lethal force.

³⁵⁶⁶ Amnesty International, *Political Imprisonment in South Africa*, (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1978), p. 102.

³⁵⁶⁷ Pohlandt-McCormick, “I Saw a Nightmare ...: Violence and the Construction of Memory (Soweto, June 16, 1976)”, p. 25-28.

³⁵⁶⁸ All the information regarding this Commission has been taken from Nicholas Haysom's 1986 journal article *The Langa Shootings and the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry*. Haysom is at the time of writing the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative and head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, and in the past has held high-level positions with both the United Nations and the Government of the Republic of South Africa in the post-apartheid period.

³⁵⁶⁹ Haysom, “The Langa Shootings and the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry”, p. 494-501.

Survivors testified that they had been taunted by the police and that victims, including a fifteen-year-old boy, had been shot without provocation. The Commission stated that “one can only conclude that this failure to equip the police patrols was the result of a policy deliberately adopted.” It went on to state that “at what level this decision was taken, and who was responsible cannot be determined from the evidence heard by the Commission.” What it did not do was seek to discover who took the fateful decision, although the Commission had the power necessary to call for such evidence.³⁵⁷⁰

Justice Kannemeyer announced that he would not hear “background evidence” about conditions in the black townships, even though it included allegations of rape and other violent behaviour on the part of the authorities, and how the police reacted to violence in the townships. This decision meant that crucial information about black living conditions was disregarded and the Commission relied solely on the police to provide evidence on this important aspect of the flare-up. Thus allegations about police misbehaviour went unheard and were omitted from the Report while the Commission listened to police witnesses describing incidents of violence and property damage in the Uitenhage area.³⁵⁷¹

One of the more sensational aspects of the Langa shootings was the claim by eye-witnesses that the police had placed stones among the bodies of those who had fallen in the shooting. Justice Kannemeyer, apparently unable to believe that the police could fabricate evidence, accepted their denials on this point. He argued, without supporting evidence, that the locals would have picked up the stones when they were confronted.³⁵⁷²

Finally, the Report criticised the decision to ban funerals, but did not find anyone responsible for the massacre. In general, the Commission tended to accept police testimony, including their contention (unsupported by the evidence) that stones had been thrown at them, causing them to fear for their lives and even concluding that some of the evidence given by the police was so “bizarre” that it must be true, as nobody would have made it up.³⁵⁷³

³⁵⁷⁰ Haysom, “The Langa Shootings and the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry”, p. 500-503.

³⁵⁷¹ Haysom, “The Langa Shootings and the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry”, p. 494-497

³⁵⁷² Haysom, “The Langa Shootings and the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry”, p. 506.

³⁵⁷³ Haysom, “The Langa Shootings and the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry”, p. 505.

Nicholas Haysom described Kannemeyer's approach to evidence as *ad hoc* and in places "extremely unsatisfactory." He argued that the Commissioner found against the police only when this could not be avoided and that when required to choose between two versions of an incident, "he seemed to lack the courage to find against the police." He said Kannemeyer seemed subconsciously to bring his own perception to what happened and how the police and the township residents acted.³⁵⁷⁴

The Sharpeville, Langa and Soweto Commissions concealed more than they uncovered.³⁵⁷⁵ They were aspects of a judicial system that was, "the world's most elaborate legal structure for the repression of political resistance of all kinds."³⁵⁷⁶ None of these Commissions could disguise what happened in Langa in 1984, or retrospectively Sharpeville in 1960 or Soweto in 1976. What they did was provide a convenient forum in which events could be presented in a way that was convenient to the government. This was the case not only for the three Commissions mentioned above but for quite a few set up during the apartheid years. It could be argued that the state compounded the physical violence originally directed at the victims by distorting and hiding evidence and misrepresenting incidents before the Commissions in an attempt to clear the government and police of blame. As we will see, the treatment of evidence at the Commission into Dr. Verwoerd's death was perhaps the worst of all.

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE BROEDERBOND

In 1958, when Dr. Verwoerd became Prime Minister, the Broederbond acquired new, extensive powers as he granted it "co-responsibility with the party to prepare the electorate" for nationalist policies.³⁵⁷⁷ Dr. Verwoerd's government sought candidates for top government posts and through the secretive organisation the men running the army, government departments and important state-owned bodies such as the railways, many were Broederbond appointees.³⁵⁷⁸

³⁵⁷⁴ Haysom, "The Langa Shootings and the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry", p. 503-509.

³⁵⁷⁵ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 311.

³⁵⁷⁶ Austin T. Turk, *Political Criminality: The Defiance and Defence of Authority*. Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1982), p. 146.

³⁵⁷⁷ Asmal et al., *Reconciliation Through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governance*, p. 153-154.

³⁵⁷⁸ Morris, *Every Step of the Way. The Journey to Freedom in South Africa*, p. 160.

A. Hertzog and N. Diederichs became members of his cabinet and they were both former Broederbond colleagues who had served on the organisation's Executive Council.³⁵⁷⁹ In 1959, Dr. Verwoerd appointed Piet Meyer,³⁵⁸⁰ a close friend, as chairman of the South African Broadcasting Corporation.³⁵⁸¹ Meyer was a fanatical Nazi and a member of the Broederbond and later became head of that organisation.³⁵⁸² In 1964, the General Secretary of the Broederbond, Piet Koornhof, was also elected to government in a move that was seen as reflecting widespread acceptance of the Broederbond in government and of its hold over South African political life in general.³⁵⁸³

Before long, some members of parliament queried if the Broederbond was intimately involved in affairs of the state (no doubt knowing very well that this was the case) and Dr. Verwoerd was asked about his membership status. The United Party had identified the Broederbond as a potential weak point for the National Party and would not cease to demand an investigation in the hope that it would weaken them and strengthen the opposition.³⁵⁸⁴ At the same time, a growing number of churchmen were also expressing reservations of the Broederbond.³⁵⁸⁵

Feeling under political pressure, and perhaps horrified by Beyers Naudé's "treachery" (Naudé was the son of Jozua François Naudé, one of the founders of the Broederbond and its first chairman),³⁵⁸⁶ Dr. Verwoerd announced the appointment of a one-man Commission to inquire into the secret activities of the Broederbond, the Freemasons and the Sons of England. The inquiry, which was to be carried out by Justice D.H. Botha³⁵⁸⁷ of the Appellate Division, would be carried out secretly and would investigate if any of the above-named societies were guilty of:

Any form of subversion, treason or intrigue, directed at obtaining for itself domination of or unlawful influence over the people or the state, or any of its organs such as the central government, the provincial authorities or the administration of justice;

³⁵⁷⁹ *The New York Times*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Gets Wider Support', 27 November 1964: 11.

³⁵⁸⁰ See Chapter 1 for more about Piet Meyer.

³⁵⁸¹ Booth, *The Race Game. Sport and Politics in South Africa*, p. 38.

³⁵⁸² Grundy, *Confrontation and Accommodation in Southern Africa: The Limits of Independence*, p. 4.

³⁵⁸³ *The New York Times*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Gets Wider Support', 27 November 1964: 11.

³⁵⁸⁴ Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 321.

³⁵⁸⁵ *The New York Times*, 'Ministers Oppose Secret Group', 30 April 1963: 10.

³⁵⁸⁶ Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa: South Africa in Perspective*, p. 89; Soggot, 'The Rev. Beyers Naudé', *The Guardian*, 8 September 2004.

³⁵⁸⁷ The judge was not member of any secret organization (Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 326).

Anything which might weaken the determination and will of the people of South Africa in the fight for their survival;

The acquisition of funds from hostile sources, of the use of its own funds, for the financing of subversive action against the Authority of the State, or of any threats to the security, peace and order of the people; or for the overthrow of the government by impermissible and undemocratic methods;

Nepotism or interference in appointments and promotions in the public service, the Defence Force, the police in such a way that people were appointed or promoted for reason other than merit;

Attempts to subvert the relations between the English and Afrikaans-speaking people with the object of bringing about strife and national discord, and undermining national unity;

Improper or objectionable activities which harmed, prejudiced or undermined the rights, liberties or interests of persons or groups;

Subversion in any form of the morals, customs and way of life of the people of South Africa by circumventing or transgressing the country's laws, or by any other means;

Become a serious danger to the peace and order in the body politic by exerting influence in an impermissible manner in the economic and cultural spheres;

Attempts to dominate the Prime Minister, Ministers, Administrators or any other persons in authority in an effort to use him or them in service of an organization such a manner that, as far as the performance of his or their official duties was concerned, loyalty was in the first place shown to other organization and not to the state.³⁵⁸⁸

There were some objections from the opposition and from elements in the press about the fact that the Commission would carry out its work in secret. The *Rand Daily Mail* queried Dr. Verwoerd's assertion that no crime had been committed when one of the main points of the inquiry was to consider the use of funds obtained from "hostile sources" and "subversive activities."³⁵⁸⁹ On June 19, 1964, the well-known apartheid critic Stanley Uys pointed out in the *Sunday Times* that the Commission had been set up by Dr. Verwoerd to investigate the

³⁵⁸⁸ Serfontein, *Brotherhood of Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond*, p. 87; Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 321.

³⁵⁸⁹ Serfontein, *Brotherhood of Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond*, p. 94.

potential criminal acts of an organisation of which he himself was a member and that this was a very clear conflict of interest.³⁵⁹⁰

When the Inquiry was first mooted, Dr. Verwoerd had had to deal with complaints from the Broederbond, as there were many things they did not want brought to light. Prior to the Commission, Dr. Verwoerd had guaranteed to Broederbonder Meyer that the Commission would not look into anything that might cause the organisation problems, after which Meyer reassured the Broederbond that they could trust Dr. Verwoerd.³⁵⁹¹ They were indeed reassured. Dr. Verwoerd was greatly indebted to the Broederbond for the work that they had done towards passing the referendum that saw South Africa become a republic (discussed below) and he knew it.³⁵⁹²

The Broederbond reacted bullishly, stating that they welcomed the investigation and were prepared and delighted to give evidence. They stated their pleasure that two other organisations were also going to be investigated.³⁵⁹³ The Broederbond cooperated and made all its information completely available. Judge Botha was given full access to the organization's minutes, newsletters, study material, etc., where these were relevant, as well as its membership lists.³⁵⁹⁴

However, in a circular to its members, the Broederbond told them that the investigation resulted from an attempt by their enemies to take away the power of the Afrikaner people. Members were instructed that they should not reveal their names to the Commission without permission from their leaders, and that the leaders would do likewise. They were also told to have faith in Dr. Verwoerd, with the assertion that he would never do anything to damage the organisation; certainly a barely-encoded message that Dr. Verwoerd would ensure that nothing unflattering came to light. Dr. Verwoerd knew that the investigation had to go well, from the Broederbond's point of view. He owed them an enormous debt in the role that they had played in persuading their members to vote for a republic, and in securing him a successful political career.³⁵⁹⁵

The Commissioner simply did not look at a great deal of the material that was relevant to the project, including speeches that stirred up sentiment against English-speaking

³⁵⁹⁰ Serfontein, *Brotherhood of Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond*, p. 95.

³⁵⁹¹ Serfontein, *Brotherhood of Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond*, p. 96-97.

³⁵⁹² Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 323.

³⁵⁹³ Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 321-322.

³⁵⁹⁴ Pelzer, *Die Afrikaner-Broederbond: Eerste 50 Jaar*, p. 87-88.

³⁵⁹⁵ Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 321-324.

South Africans, and it chose never to explore the comments made by Hertzog in 1935 that condemned the Broederbond's machinations and how it had infiltrated the education system; a significant blind spot. Unsurprisingly, on March 1965, the commission reported that the Broederbond and the other two organizations were innocent of any of the above accusations,³⁵⁹⁶ despite the fact that the tentacles of the Broederbond stretched into every aspect of the state apparatus.³⁵⁹⁷

The fact that Dr. Verwoerd had elevated many Broederbonders to government positions was ignored. Judge Botha reported that he could reveal little of what he had learned because he had been given all the information in confidence and the public was supposed to simply accept this. Moreover, the investigation was carried out in secret (the first such case in the history of South Africa), and was allowed to present unsubstantiated findings. Moreover, Dr. Verwoerd had ensured that the remit of the investigation did not include a clause that had been mooted originally, to cover groups "which may interfere in politics secretly." Had this inclusion been left in, it would have been very difficult for the investigation not to rule against the Broederbond.³⁵⁹⁸

The judge presented his conclusion that the Broederbond was certainly innocent of any of the "irregular" activities of which it had been accused. More than that, his conclusion even commented very positively on much of its work,³⁵⁹⁹ claiming among other things that "through its resistance to communism and other ideologies inimical to the nation, the Bond has already done much to steel the will of the people to fight for its survival with all the means at its disposal."³⁶⁰⁰

Furthermore, paragraph 41 of his report states:

"I believe that it is unnecessary for the purposes of this report to outline here the achievements of the Bond, as it is clear from the documents submitted. The Bond itself does not boast in it. It is sufficient, I think, to state that the achievement of the Bond, in the relatively short span of its existence, is impressive, especially in certain areas, such as bringing together or uniting Afrikaners, the Afrikaans language, culture and traditions, the Afrikaners' part in the national economy and the business world, and the promotion of good

³⁵⁹⁶ Ngcokavane, *Demons of Apartheid: A Moral and Ethical Analysis of the NGK, NP and Broederbond's Justification of Apartheid*, p. 122.

³⁵⁹⁷ Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 331.

³⁵⁹⁸ Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 331.

³⁵⁹⁹ Pelzer, *Die Afrikaner-Broederbond: Eerste 50 Jaar*, p. 89.

³⁶⁰⁰ *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Secret Organization*, 1965: p. 7.

relations between whites and the non-white groups in South Africa. A well-founded dynamic organization like the Bond, who in its 14 study groups or task forces has the finest experts in various fields, in a favourable environment, could hardly have been expected otherwise."³⁶⁰¹

After the findings were presented, Judge Botha thanked JPJ Coetzer, who had led the evidence before the Commission, and CM Van Niekerk, the secretary of the Commission, for all the hard work they had done towards completing the inquiry. Some years later, the two men would go to serve as, respectively, Secretary and Undersecretary of Justice, and as members of the Broederbond.³⁶⁰²

The Commission had given Dr. Verwoerd the result he needed, because the bottom line was that it was there to serve the government, and not the people, even if that meant misrepresenting reality. Only three years later, in 1968, Piet Meyer, Chairman of the Broadcasting Corporation, personally appointed to this position by his close personal friend Hendrik Verwoerd, and vice chairman of the Broederbond's Executive Council, confirmed that the organisation had been intimately involved with the government under Dr. Verwoerd, stating: "... because of our active participation in the realization of our republican ideal, the Afrikaner Broederbond aligned itself closer in practice with the national organising of the political struggle ..."³⁶⁰³

The Commission, ignoring all the evidence (in particular the fact that Dr. Verwoerd had given government positions to many Broederbonders), provided the result the government wanted, and a template for future Commissions of Inquiry under the corrupt apartheid government.³⁶⁰⁴ In general, after the Commission of Inquiry, the Broederbond continued to grow and spread its influence, now secure in its knowledge that the National Party would never try to interfere. Why would it, when so many of its members were also Broederbonders? While the Broederbond's power to impact on decision-making at governmental level is well-known, its influence at grass-roots level, in communities, schools, agricultural bodies and local chapters of the National Party, was also considerable,³⁶⁰⁵ and membership of the organisation grew enormously during Dr. Verwoerd's reigns as Minister for Native Affairs and Prime Minister.³⁶⁰⁶

³⁶⁰¹ *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Secret Organisations*, 1965: p. 5.

³⁶⁰² Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 332.

³⁶⁰³ Serfontein, *Brotherhood of Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond*, p. 87.

³⁶⁰⁴ Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 324.

³⁶⁰⁵ Serfontein, *Brotherhood of Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond*, p. 188.

³⁶⁰⁶ G.H. Pirie, C.M. Rogerson and C.S.O. Beavon, "Covert Power in South Africa: The Geography of the Afrikaner Broederbond." *Area*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1980), p. 99.

After Dr. Verwoerd's death his successor, Balthazar Johannes Vorster, would transform the organisation into a tool of the National Party.³⁶⁰⁷ Essentially, the Commission of Inquiry provided Dr. Verwoerd with an "invaluable smokescreen" behind which the government and the Broederbond could operate as before, immersed in "political intrigue and manipulation."³⁶⁰⁸

THE BOSS INQUIRY AND THE "INFORMATION SCANDAL"

In 1971, faced with pressure from the Press, the public and some eminent judges about the BOSS activities and extensive powers, Vorster appointed, as usual, a one-man Commission to inquire into all aspects of state security. The Commission was called *Commission of Inquiry into Matters relating to the Security of the State*, and the Judge who was appointed was Justice H. J. Potgieter.³⁶⁰⁹ Vorster said about it "I do this because it is of vital importance that the Republic should have the best machinery at its disposal to guarantee its security, and secondly to give all persons who have recently expressed misgivings or have launched attacks on BOSS and the legislation concerned the opportunity to lay their points of view and objections before the Commission."³⁶¹⁰

The first part of the Commission's brief was belated and largely superfluous while the second was clearly a concession to the critics. In the event, the Potgieter Commission proved, like many such commissions, to have been merely a device for deflecting protest. Once it was appointed, the noisy objections tailed off, leaving General van den Bergh and BOSS free to carry on with their appointed tasks. In the end, the Potgieter Report found BOSS innocent of any illegalities and recommended that phone tapping and mail interception be authorised by legislation.³⁶¹¹ Naturally, General van den Bergh was delighted with the Report, which he characterised as "excellent." He was particularly pleased because, as he said, it "recommends that I do much more than I am doing at the present time." On the other hand, the *Rand Daily Mail* commented about the decision "It seems ironic that a Commission which was appointed to allay public anxieties that the powers of BOSS were too sweeping should in the end recommend that those powers be extended."³⁶¹²

³⁶⁰⁷ Callinicos, *South Africa: Between Reform and Revolution*, p. 30.

³⁶⁰⁸ Wilkins and Strydom, *Broederbond: The Super-Afrikaners*, p. 333.

³⁶⁰⁹ International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 6, 12.

³⁶¹⁰ International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 12-13.

³⁶¹¹ International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 13-20.

³⁶¹² International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 22.

Despite the supine record of the Commissions examined above, not all such bodies and not all judges were servile supporters of apartheid, and one in particular, Judge Anton Mostert, risked his career in the cause of truth. In 1978, just seven years after the BOSS Inquiry whitewash, Judge Mostert, the sole member of a Commission of Inquiry into exchange control regulations, discovered evidence of widespread government corruption at the Ministry of Information. It became known as the "Information Scandal,"³⁶¹³ or more commonly "Muldergate," after Information Minister Cornelius Mulder. Sensationally, Prime Minister John Vorster and General van den Bergh were named as being involved. What was not known was that two years earlier, in 1976, Vorster and van den Bergh ordered the destruction of all "unnecessary documentation" that would have disclose their involvement.³⁶¹⁴

Then, in 1977, these two, with the co-operation of Mulder, pressured L.S. Reynders, who was investigating the Department of Information, to produce a document declaring them innocent of any involvement in unconstitutional or illegal activities. Investigator Reynders' findings duly offered Vorster, van den Bergh and Mulder the whitewash they wanted.³⁶¹⁵ Despite the fact that the newly elected Prime Minister, P.W. Botha tried to stop him, Judge Mostert proceeded with his inquiries and discovered the evidence. He said, "I have endeavoured to discover what particular interest of the state is furthered by suppression, albeit temporary, rather than disclosure of the evidence. I have been able to find none."³⁶¹⁶

Judge Mostert then disclosed the evidence, despite intense government pressure, at a Press conference. He said that Mulder's Information Ministry, seeking ways of influencing public opinion in favour of apartheid, collaborated closely and covertly throughout the 1970s with van den Bergh's BOSS, presumably with Vorster's knowledge and agreement.³⁶¹⁷ For making his disclosures public, Judge Mostert was dismissed and his Commission of Inquiry was disbanded.³⁶¹⁸

³⁶¹³ For more about the scandal see: Rees, M., Day, C. (1980) *Muldergate: The story of the info-scandal.*; Rickard, C. (2012) *Thank You, Judge Mostert!*

³⁶¹⁴ Sanders, *South Africa and the International Media, 1972-1979: A Struggle for Representation*, p. 62.

³⁶¹⁵ Pollack, *Up Against Apartheid. The Role and the Plight of Press in South Africa*, p. 31.

³⁶¹⁶ Smith, *Anatomy of Apartheid*, p. 43.

³⁶¹⁷ Burns, 'Pretoria Scandal Testimony Reveals Talk of Murder', *The New York Times*, 18 May 1980: 3;

Hachten and Giffard, *The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa*, p. 243-244.

³⁶¹⁸ *The Globe and Mail*, 'Secret life of Pretoria', 6 April 1979: 6.

As a result of the scandal, the Erasmus Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate the irregularities in the Department of Information. In June 1979, the Erasmus Commission issued three reports which implicated Vorster and Mulder in misleading Parliament about secret funding of *The Citizen* newspaper. It laid responsibility for extensive financial irregularities on Mulder and van den Bergh.³⁶¹⁹ When L.S. Reynders was questioned by the Erasmus Commission, he said he had produced his “whitewash” under fierce pressure from van den Bergh. He said he feared that if he had opposed him, the general would “pulverize” him because “few people in this land realise what power van den Bergh possesses.”³⁶²⁰ Subsequently, van den Bergh was forced to resign and retire.³⁶²¹

CONCLUSION ABOUT THE ROLE OF COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY DURING APARTHEID

As we have seen, the aforementioned Commissions and many more during apartheid were mere whitewashing machines whereby the government and police could avoid responsibility for their illegal or extrajudicial actions and secure results which the State desired. They were part of a judicial system that has been described as “the world’s most elaborate legal structure for the repression of political resistance of all kinds.”³⁶²² The Sharpeville, Soweto and Langa investigations in particular demonstrate how right Professor John Dugard was when he spoke of the way judicial commissions “were manipulated, and also the way in which inquest inquiries were conducted and the magistrates just ignored the evidence.”³⁶²³ This was how the apartheid machine worked, hiding the truth from the world and presenting an account of history which suited its self-image. In essence, these so-called investigations hid more than they exposed.³⁶²⁴

History has now consigned the above Commissions, Erasmus apart, to the dustbin. It is notable, however, that the Verwoerd Enquiry has never been seriously examined or questioned. Given the apartheid regime’s dismal record for truth-telling, state institutions’ unflinching instinct for secrecy and knowledge of the tokenist inquiries of the past, one would expect a questioning and sceptical approach to the Verwoerd Enquiry. Crucially, is the

³⁶¹⁹ Leonard, *South Africa at War: White Power and the Crisis in Southern Africa*, p. 163.

³⁶²⁰ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Irregularities in the Former Department of Information*, chap. 11, par. 385.

³⁶²¹ Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*, p. 64, 77, 161.

³⁶²² Turk, *Political Criminality: The Defiance and Defence of Authority*, p. 146.

³⁶²³ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

³⁶²⁴ Sitze, *The Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, p. 311.

Commission's portrayal of Tsafendas a truthful one and how accurate is its account of events surrounding Dr. Verwoerd's assassination? Strangely, scholars and writers who are researching the relevant period and the assassination seem generally to accept the van Wyk Report without question.

However, as we will shortly see, the Dr. Verwoerd Commission was no more objective or honest than any of the inquiries mentioned above. Indeed, it is arguably worse than its predecessors in that it concealed important facts about Tsafendas so as to maintain the fiction that he was a mad outcast without any serious political interest who killed Dr. Verwoerd because of a tapeworm. It went further than this, doing everything possible to belittle him in the eyes of the public so that no-one could think that Tsafendas was capable of committing a political crime.

INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO DR. VERWOERD'S DEATH

On September 14, 1966, eight days after the killing, South Africa's new Prime Minister, John Vorster, announced in Parliament that a judicial investigation, a one-man Commission of Enquiry, would be launched immediately "into all aspects of the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd." The process would be led by Justice Jacques Theodore van Wyk, South Africa's representative at the World Court in The Hague. Vorster urged anyone with information about the matter, however trivial, to come forward and lay it before the Commission.³⁶²⁵

Back in Parliament eight days later, Vorster officially proclaimed the formation of a *Commission of Enquiry into the Circumstances of the Death of the Late Dr. The Honourable Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd*.³⁶²⁶ He affirmed that Judge van Wyk, who was present in the Distinguished Visitor's Gallery for the occasion, would be the chairman and sole member of the Commission.³⁶²⁷ Since the Commission would be a judicial one, it would come under the authority of the Minister of Justice, Mr P.C. Pelser.³⁶²⁸

BACKGROUND ON JUDGE JACQUES THEODORE VAN WYK (1913-1975)

³⁶²⁵ *The Cape Argus*, 'Judge Will Probe Dr. V's Death', 14 September 1966: 1; *Daily Dispatch*, 'Premier's Killing Full Inquiry', 15 September 1966: 1.

³⁶²⁶ Government Notice, No. 1435, 23 September 1966.

³⁶²⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Killing Inquiry To Be Secret', 22 September 1966.

³⁶²⁸ *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 'Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry in Camera', 22 September 1966.

As we have seen, when the National Party came to power in 1948, a minority of judges were members of the Party. Most, however, were relatively independent, and many supported the old United Party. The new government decided to appoint judges who would support its goals, creating a legal system that was decidedly biased in favour of Afrikaners' interests and the apartheid state. One of them was Jacques Theodore van Wyk.³⁶²⁹

Jacques Theodore van Wyk, a native of Vanrhynsdorp, Western Cape, was an enthusiastic nationalist and supporter of apartheid.³⁶³⁰ As is evident from the following incident, he was also a racist. In the early 1950s there was just one Black member of the Cape Town Bar, a man called Ndhlovu. Because the Group Areas Act had just come into force, he was prohibited from taking chambers in Temple Chambers, as this was a building in a "white" area. On the occasions when Ndhlovu was present in the common room, van Wyk refused to enter it.³⁶³¹

Advocate George Bizos said of Judge van Wyk:

"He was very intelligent and very knowledgeable, highly respected among the National Party, but he was also very supportive of apartheid, with close ties to the government. It was no surprise at all to me that he was appointed to head this Commission [on Verwoerd's assassination]; they were never going to appoint someone they did not trust."³⁶³²

Professor John Dugard, who knew van Wyk well, had this to say about him:

"Van Wyk was a very austere, strict man. He took his professional duties very, very responsibly. So he would not speak to any of the advocates while we were in Calvinia, which is a small town. We were all staying in the same hotel. There was only one hotel. But all the top senior advocates from Cape Town then, you knew them all socially. But he said to me, 'I do not want to be seen talking to any of these advocates because the local people will think that I am biased.' So, for two weeks, van Wyk and I were virtually incommunicado. He didn't speak to anyone else. He only spoke to me. We used to go for long walks in the country. So I know van Wyk very well. Professionally he was very austere, but politically van Wyk was very much a party person. He supported the National Party and was very much

³⁶²⁹ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016; Sachs, *Justice in South Africa*, p. 257.

³⁶³⁰ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016; Francois Marais quoted in Geni.com. Retrieved from <https://www.geni.com/people/Jacques-Theodore-Van-Wyk/6000000008317660124>

³⁶³¹ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiflers: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 8-9.

³⁶³² Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

in favour of the government... he was, intellectually, one of the better judges. He and Beyers were intellectual giants, so to speak, amongst the National Party judges... they were certainly both political persons, and they owed their appointments to the government.”³⁶³³

Van Wyk represented the apartheid government in a number of high profile trials. In return for his service and loyalty, he was given a number of swift promotions. Aged just thirty-six, he was appointed KC in 1949, making him the youngest in South Africa to hold this position. He was promoted to Judge in October 1955.³⁶³⁴

One of van Wyk's landmark achievements was representing the apartheid government in the *Harris* case (*Harris v Dönges*) in the early 1950s³⁶³⁵ concerning the removal of Coloured voters from the Electoral Roll.³⁶³⁶ He was noted during proceedings to react viciously if any junior lawyers in the Cape Bar argued against the move. The voters' attorney, Pilkington-Jordan, wrote to United Party leader J.G.N. Strauss that both Beyers and van Wyk had treated the court with “scant courtesy” and that they had been “thoroughly rude” to Graeme Duncan KC, the leader of the legal team representing the voters. He said: “They really are monkeys in dinner jackets and the sartorial elegance of that garb does not in the least conceal the barbarian beneath ...”³⁶³⁷ Separately, van Wyk also served as an advisor to the Rhodesians in their talks between their Prime Minister Ian Smith and British Prime Minister Harold Wilson.³⁶³⁸

Van Wyk was elevated to the Appellate Division in January 1962, and was rewarded for his services with a position in The Hague. There, between 1962 and 1966, he served as an *ad hoc* member of the International Court of Justice, hearing the *Ethiopia and Liberia v. South Africa* case when the former collectively claimed to have a mandate to control South

³⁶³³ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

³⁶³⁴ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 73; Francois Marais quoted in Geni.com. Retrieved from <https://www.geni.com/people/Jacques-Theodore-Van-Wyk/6000000008317660124>

³⁶³⁵ The issue of legal favouritism became particularly pressing during the 1950s, when there was a dispute about the government's disenfranchisement of Coloured voters. In fact, this policy could ultimately be enacted because the government had appointed favoured judges to an enlarged Appellate Division. Among the new, partisan appointees were Beyers and van Wyk (Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016).

³⁶³⁶ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016; Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 8-9.

³⁶³⁷ Davis and le Roux, *Precedent and Possibility: The (Ab)use of Law in South Africa*, p. 25.

³⁶³⁸ J.R.T. Wood, *A Matter of Weeks Rather Than Months: The Impasse between Harold Wilson and Ian Smith Sanctions, Aborted Settlements and War 1965-1969*, (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2012), p. 569-573.

West Africa.³⁶³⁹ His counterpart, representing both Ethiopia and Liberia, was Sir Louis Mbanefo, a Chief Justice from Nigeria.³⁶⁴⁰

South West Africa was a former German colony that had been captured by South Africa during the First World War, and administered by it following the war. After the Second World War, the area was supposed to come under the jurisdiction of the UN and to start the process of becoming independent. However, the then Prime Minister of South Africa, Jan Smuts, objected and stated the view that it should instead be absorbed into South Africa.³⁶⁴¹ From 1949, Whites from South West Africa were represented in the South African parliament, and apartheid law was applied throughout the area. The case arose when the applicants to the court maintained that South Africa was engaging in discrimination, which ran counter to its obligation to “protect to the utmost” the well-being of the area’s residents, and also claimed that South Africa was legally bound by international law not to practice discrimination, which it claimed had been established as an international norm, citing the official, stated practice of the UN, among other international bodies.³⁶⁴²

Van Wyk roundly rejected the idea that any organ of the UN had the right to “bind a dissenting minority” to the decisions it took, and firmly stated that no body of the UN had any such competence, as well as his view that it should not pursue it in any application or interpretation of the relevant legal Article. Van Wyk stated, in a comment described a few years later as “depressing” and “disappointing” but “not unexpected” that: “Applicants’ contention involved the novel proposition that the organs of the United Nations possessed some sort of legislative competence whereby they could bind a dissenting minority. It is clear from the provisions of the Charter that no such competence exists ...”³⁶⁴³ Essentially, his argument was that, for any UN ruling to be valid, every member would have to agree with it. Clearly, this view implied van Wyk’s (and the South African government’s) position that South Africa had the legal right to ignore any international ruling that it did not like about apartheid or any other internal matter. He stated that the applications to the court had not even tried to show any example of international practice that was consistent with the “alleged

³⁶³⁹ Marinus Wiechers, “South West Africa: The Decision of 16 July 1966 and its Aftermath.” *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (November 1968), p. 408.

³⁶⁴⁰ *The New York Times*, ‘Summary of the World Court’s Decision Rejecting Suit Against South Africa’, 19 July 1966: 16.

³⁶⁴¹ Rosalyn Higgins, “The United Nations and Lawmaking: The Political Organs.” *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 64, No. 4, The United Nations: Appraisal at 25 Years (September 1970), p. 43.

³⁶⁴² Higgins, “The United Nations and Lawmaking: The Political Organs”, p. 43-46.

³⁶⁴³ Higgins, “The United Nations and Lawmaking: The Political Organs”, p. 43-46.

norm” and that they relied, instead, on statements rather than practice, and on criticism of South Africa.³⁶⁴⁴

Judge van Wyk further argued that there was no proof that other states did not discriminate, that their official statements to the UN were not worth anything, and that in discriminating against its own citizens, South Africa was doing nothing wrong or indeed out of the ordinary. What is striking is that, while certainly he was correct in asserting that many other states practiced discrimination, South Africa was proud to do so, and had made said discrimination a matter of policy.³⁶⁴⁵

On July 16, 1966, the Court eventually ruled in South Africa's favour, dismissing the application of Ethiopia and Liberia on grounds that they had no specific legal right or interest in the performance of the Mandate for South West Africa. It was a triumph for van Wyk and apartheid, especially as Ethiopia and Liberia had attacked South Africa's apartheid policies in the hope that South Africa would be abandoned by the United Kingdom and the United States, and despite the fact that the UN did not endorse South Africa's racist policies, as the government had hoped.³⁶⁴⁶ Judge van Wyk's provocative manner of celebrating the Court's decision offended and angered many Africans. A number of African representatives at the UN decided they would celebrate Dr. Verwoerd's assassination in 1966, partly in response to the unseemly way in which van Wyk and the South African delegation had celebrated the rejection of Ethiopia's and Liberia's claim. Eventually, however, they decided against any kind of public demonstration.³⁶⁴⁷

The Tsafendas case was held in 1966, by which stage van Wyk had more than demonstrated his ability to support the National Party, and invariably come up with the judgment that it wanted. Beyers and van Wyk were appointed to oversee the case in a move that Professor Dugard interprets as the government taking care to ensure that the outcome would be in its favour: “I suspect that the government was very careful when it came to appointing judges to hear the Tsafendas case, and so that would explain why both Beyers and van Wyk were involved. They were certainly political persons and they owed their appointments to the government.”³⁶⁴⁸

³⁶⁴⁴ Higgins, “The United Nations and Lawmaking: The Political Organs”, p. 47.

³⁶⁴⁵ UN General Assembly, res n° 2154 (XXI), 17 November 1966. Available at <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/21/ares21.htm>

³⁶⁴⁶ Wiechers, “South West Africa: The Decision of 16 July 1966 and its Aftermath”, p. 408-428.

³⁶⁴⁷ PIDE's News Digest; *Le Courrier d'Afrique*, ‘A Eleicao do Sucessor’, 9 September 1966: 2. SR.

PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁶⁴⁸ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

The Tsafendas case resolved to the government's satisfaction, van Wyk continued to pass judgements that suited the State. For example, in 1970 he ordered a member of the opposition not to reveal the contents of a statement that had been banned from publication on the grounds that it contravened South Africa's Official Secrets Act and could "prejudice State security."³⁶⁴⁹ Together with two other judges, in 1974 van Wyk also presided over a case taken against the prominent anti-apartheid writer André Brink, who had written a book that "offended" apartheid sensibilities. The court found the book, which was published in Afrikaans in 1973, objectionable on a number of grounds, with van Wyk stating that it was "undesirable" on "moral, political and religious" grounds. Brink's book, *Kennis van die Aand*, which told the story of a Coloured actor who is in prison awaiting execution for the murder of his White lover, explicitly discussed sexual relations between people of diverse racial backgrounds in a contemporary (late 1960s/early 1970s) setting, was critical of the behaviour of South Africa's security police, mentioned real-life incidents that had resulted from apartheid such as the Sharpeville Massacre, and described White South Africans as being cruel to Blacks.³⁶⁵⁰

Van Wyk, who had stated in *Die Transvaler* that the book contravened South African law because it ridiculed the white section of the population,³⁶⁵¹ determined that the state had a clear interventionist role to play in keeping South African literature within the parameters that the racist state considered acceptable, arguing that the "likely readership" of the book was composed of people who were vulnerable to corruption by it.³⁶⁵² Whereas the other judges assessing the book were also in favour of banning it, van Wyk's view that it should be banned on all three of the criteria listed above was, in fact, a minority opinion. He stated that, although the book was fictional, it was written in such a realistic way that readers were likely to assume that it was based on fact.³⁶⁵³ André Brink characterised van Wyk as an "arch-conservative, narrow-minded rightist with a number of axes to grind with liberals."³⁶⁵⁴

In August 1973, van Wyk rose to the position of Judge President, replacing the newly retired Judge Beyers, and held this position until 11 November 1975. He died from cancer

³⁶⁴⁹ *South China Morning Post*, 'Ordered Not to Disclose Statement', 25 February 1970: 20.

³⁶⁵⁰ Margaret De Lange, *The Muzzled Muse: Literature and Censorship in South Africa*, (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1997), p. 46; Laros, "Literary Autonomy on Trial: The 1974 Cape Town Trial of Andre Brink's *Kennis van die Aand*", p. 283-304.

³⁶⁵¹ De Lange, *The Muzzled Muse: Literature and Censorship in South Africa*, p. 48.

³⁶⁵² Laros, "Literary Autonomy on Trial: The 1974 Cape Town Trial of Andre Brink's *Kennis van die Aand*", p. 289.

³⁶⁵³ De Lange, *The Muzzled Muse: Literature and Censorship in South Africa*, p. 48-49.

³⁶⁵⁴ André Brink, *A Fork in the Road. A Memoir*, (London: Harvill Secker, 2009), p. 224.

five days later.³⁶⁵⁵ Of van Wyk, Dennis Davis, a High Court Judge in South Africa, and Michelle le Roux, an advocate of the High Court of South Africa, wrote: “Whereas Beyers was a man of pronounced personality and sometimes humanity, van Wyk possessed none of the latter. He did have a formidable intellect which was evenly matched by a parsimonious and mean-spirited view of the world, a true apartheid ideologue. Unlike Beyers he never showed an inch of compassion when confronted by the inhumane consequences of apartheid.”³⁶⁵⁶

³⁶⁵⁵ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiflers: Cape Tales 1950-1990*, p. 28, 77.

³⁶⁵⁶ Davis and le Roux, *Precedent and Possibility: The (Ab)use of Law in South Africa*, p. 18.

THE PURPOSE OF THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

A *Government Notice No. 1435*, dated 23rd September 1966, set out the Commission's purpose in the following terms: "To enquire into and submit a report on all aspects relating to the death of the late Dr. the Honourable Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd which the said Commission deems to be in the public interest."³⁶⁵⁷ Judge van Wyk stated that the Commission would investigate twenty-eight different aspects of the assassination, including:

- The history of Tsafendas.
- Tsafendas's motives.
- Circumstances surrounding Tsafendas's entry into South Africa.
- Tsafendas's appointment as a messenger in the House of Assembly.
- Security arrangements in the Assembly.³⁶⁵⁸

The scope of the Enquiry was outlined in more detail in the Commission's Report, with the following questions:

1. "What is the history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds on the late Dr. Verwoerd?
2. What were his motives?
3. Were there any accomplices?
4. Was there any neglect of duty on the part of any person which facilitated the commission of the deed or without which the deed probably would not have been committed?
5. (a) Who is responsible for this person's entry into South Africa?
(b) On what grounds and on what-conditions was he admitted?
(c) What facts were known to the official or officials concerned who authorized his entry?
(d) To whom did they convey any such information?

³⁶⁵⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Annexure A, *Government Notice No. 1435*, dated 23rd September, 1966.

³⁶⁵⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Murder of Dr. V-Probe Widens', 13 October 1966.

- (e) Was there any neglect of duty in this connection?
- 5bis.
- (a) Who granted permission for temporary sojourn in this country?
 - (b) What was known to the officials concerned?
 - (c) What investigations were made?
 - (d) What investigations should have been made?
 - (e) Was there any neglect of duty in this regard?
- 5ter.
- (a) Did any Department or official at any time receive any knowledge which would have made withdrawal of permission for permanent residence desirable?
 - (b) To whom was such knowledge conveyed?
 - (c) What steps were taken as a result?
 - (d) Was there any negligence in this regard?
- 6.
- (a) What knowledge of the aforesaid individual did the Police or any other body or person have at any time prior to the attack?
 - (b) What should that knowledge have been?
 - (c) What was the duty of the Police or such body or person in respect of such knowledge?
 - (d) Was there any breach of duty on the part of the Police or any person or body in this connection?
- 7.
- (a) Who appointed this person as a messenger in the Houses of Parliament?
 - (b) By whom should this appointment have been made?
 - (c) What enquiry was made before the appointment took place?
 - (d) What enquiry should have been made?
 - (e) Whose duty was it to make such enquiry?
 - (f) Was there any breach of duty in this respect?
- 8.
- (a) Who was responsible for the safety of the Prime Minister in the Houses of Parliament?
 - (b) Who was responsible for the safety of the Prime Minister in the Chamber of

- the Assembly?
- (c) Whose duty was it to make the necessary arrangements to ensure that unauthorized persons did not enter the Chamber of the Assembly?
 - (d) What arrangements were actually made?
 - (e) Were these arrangements adequate?
 - (f) Was there any breach of duty in this connection?
9. (a) Which person or persons were actually entrusted on this 6th September, 1966, with the duty of ensuring that unauthorized persons did not enter the Chamber of the Assembly?
- (b) What steps did such person in fact take to prevent the entry of the person concerned?
 - (c) What steps should he have taken in these circumstances?
 - (d) Was there any breach of duty in this respect?³⁶⁵⁹

THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION

The timeline of the various judicial proceedings following the assassination is as follows: September 26, 1966, the Commission begins preparatory work in Cape Town; October 17-20, 1966, Tsafendas's summary trial takes place at the Cape High Court; end November, 1966, the Commission concludes its work. Thus the Commission at times was interviewing witnesses who had already spoken to the police and in some cases had given evidence at the trial. In order to comply with its terms of reference, the Commission trawled far and wide for information about Demitrio Tsafendas.³⁶⁶⁰

A questionnaire was drawn up and given extensive publicity on Press and radio, and any individual with relevant information was requested to advise the authorities. Government departments, foreign embassies, banks and business houses were advised of the Enquiry's needs. As a result, the Commission received a large number of affidavits and numerous letters, as well as the statements made to the police by Tsafendas and by people who knew him, while all government departments declared their files open for inspection. One hundred

³⁶⁵⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Annexure B.

³⁶⁶⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter I, Paragraph 4.

and five persons, including Tsafendas, gave oral evidence before the Commission.³⁶⁶¹

EVIDENCE GIVEN IN SECRET

On September 22, four days before the Commission began its work, Vorster announced that evidence would be presented behind closed doors because the case was too serious for all the evidence to be heard in public.³⁶⁶² He declared that the integrity of Judge van Wyk was sufficient guarantee that the people of South Africa would hear the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.³⁶⁶³

On October 10, Judge van Wyk stated that it was his initiative that evidence be given in secret. Although he repeated Vorster's reasoning for the decision, he also offered a more credible sounding explanation. He said, "South Africa, more than other countries, has to see that nothing is done to prejudice the course of justice. It is not desirable that an inquiry of this kind should take place in public while criminal proceedings are pending. I did not think it is desirable to wait until after the completion of any criminal proceedings before starting this inquiry. A lot of evidence may be stale by then. As a great deal of the Enquiry relates to security matters, I do not think it would be wise for these matters to be heard in public."³⁶⁶⁴ This meant that the public would not hear what people said about Tsafendas, which was most convenient for Vorster and van den Bergh since by this time, as we have seen earlier, the police had heard from witnesses and discovered from other evidence that Tsafendas:

- was a passionate and committed Communist,
- while in Mozambique, he was "suspected of dedicating himself to communistic activities."
- a former dues-paying member of the South African Communist Party,
- had fought with Communists in the Greek Civil War,
- was a strong supporter of the independence of Mozambique and was arrested several times for his anti-colonial actions in Mozambique,
- was anti-apartheid, had joined the British anti-apartheid movement and had participated

³⁶⁶¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter I, Paragraph 4.

³⁶⁶² *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Killing Inquiry To Be Secret', 22 September 1966.

³⁶⁶³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Killing Inquiry To Be Secret', 22 September 1966; *The Canberra Times*, 'South Africa: Assassination Inquiry', 23 September 1966: 5.

³⁶⁶⁴ *Sunday Tribune*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry: Judge Explains', 9 October 1966: 3.

in anti-apartheid demonstrations in London. While in London, he had met such leading anti-apartheid activists as the Canon John Collins and Solly Sachs.

- considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator and “Hitler’s best student.”
- was a political animal and “a fanatic on politics” who “seldom spoke of anything else”
- had described the “United Party and National Party officials and members as capitalistic roughs.”
- was reported more than a year before the assassination by two different men as a dangerous Communist,
- had been characterised by another party as the “biggest Communist in the Republic of South Africa.”
- had engaged in distributing Communist propaganda both in South Africa and in Mozambique and was deported from Mozambique due to his Communist and anti-colonialist beliefs and activities.

More importantly, the key witness was Tsafendas himself, who would testify not once, but twice. Tsafendas had already told the police that he was anti-apartheid, anti-colonialist, anti-slavery and in sympathy with the people fighting racialism, that he was a former member of the South African Communist Party, that he considered Dr. Verwoerd not to be the real representative of all South Africans, that he wanted to see a government representing all the South African people, and most importantly that he was disgusted with Dr. Verwoerd’s racial policies and had killed him in the hope that a change of policy would take place after his death. Tsafendas was not going to have the chance to say all these things at his summary trial, so clearly the state could not permit him to repeat them in front of the Press and public at the Enquiry, when he was supposedly mad and killed Dr. Verwoerd because of a tapeworm.

Vorster would have been aware of all this information about Tsafendas since his closest associate, General van den Bergh, was in charge of the investigation. Vorster had already made a blunder when he declared just two weeks earlier that the police had no file on Tsafendas. As it turned out and was confirmed by the Commission, the police had four files on Tsafendas, one with his name on the Government’s Stop List. Both men would have been desperate to conceal two elements in particular from Tsafendas’s statements: first, the embarrassing revelation that he penetrated the security system for which they were

responsible, and secondly that he was a Communist and anti-apartheid who demonstrated the existence of a dangerous opposition to the apartheid system. It would be much better for them and for apartheid if the assassin was a deluded lunatic rather than a political activist, particularly a Communist.

In addition, since the police investigation was still ongoing, Vorster and van den Bergh were not to know what else might be discovered and they could not leave this to chance. Better to control the information, releasing only what was convenient for them. As it turned out, the blocking of information proved crucial for Vorster and van den Bergh since new revelations from Tsafendas added to the picture of an intelligent political activist. They will discover that while in London he had associated with prominent anti-apartheid activists such as Canon John Collins, David Gardener, Solly Sachs and the ANC representative there, Tennyson Xola Makiwane.³⁶⁶⁵

More importantly, that just three days before the killing, Tsafendas had discussed with friends a hypothetical assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as being morally justifiable because he was a tyrant and a dictator who oppressed his people. The ANC contact and the assassination conversation were omitted from the Commission's Report and did not become known then or even later. Whatever evidence was given behind closed doors to the Commission was entirely beneficial to Vorster and van den Bergh.

THE PRESS

On September 24, 1966, Judge van Wyk ordered all of South Africa's newspapers to submit to the Commission all of their "files of reports published on the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, as well as the names of the writers and sources of information."³⁶⁶⁶ Newspapers duly obliged, sending to the Commission everything they had published about Tsafendas and the assassination, including the names of article writers and their sources. Several news articles, plus documents listing requested names, were found at the NASA.

³⁶⁶⁵ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁶⁶⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Questions on Dr. V's Death', 24 September 1966; *The Cape Times*, 'Press Ordered to Disclose Facts', 24 September 1966: 1.

That the Commission had knowledge of all that was carried by the written Press is very important because van Wyk's Report omitted several important and accurate news reports, most importantly statements by people who knew Tsafendas but also references to his political activities. This issue will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

THE REST OF THE COMMISSION'S WORK

The Commission sent questionnaires and letters to all government departments and parastatals, requesting details of any dealings they may have had with Tsafendas. Completed questionnaires and related documents started arriving at the Commission after September 27. On October 9, van Wyk said he was pleased with the responses.³⁶⁶⁷ The Commission received copies of evidence collected by the South African police, the PIDE and the British police, as well as witnesses' statements. It was given secret communications between South Africa's embassies and foreign governments, information from different government departments, reports by officials and embassies of foreign governments, and the documented judicial process, plus all records relating to Tsafendas's movements in foreign countries, including his various hospitalisations. Overall, the Commission conducted what was effectively a detailed forensic audit of the movements of files and folders between different government departments and officials.

MISSING EVIDENCE

According to the Commission's Report, "One hundred and five persons, including Tsafendas himself, gave oral evidence before the Commission."³⁶⁶⁸ However, only forty-one of these statements were found in the archives. According to the Commission's interview schedule and its Report, Tsafendas gave evidence twice, on October 25 and on November 11. Neither of these statements was found in the archives and nor were the Dictaphone recordings which were supposed to accompany them. The system was that the words on a Dictaphone recording would also be set down in written form. It was discovered that whenever a written statement was missing, the Dictaphone version was missing, too, thus setting aside that statements went missing through carelessness or mishandling.

³⁶⁶⁷ *Sunday Tribune*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry: Judge Explains', 9 October 1966: 3.

³⁶⁶⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter I, Paragraph 4.

Tsafendas's two statements to the Commission are not his only ones missing from the archives. As we saw in the Investigation chapter, his first statement to General van den Bergh is also missing. The content of the two statements to the Commission remains entirely unknown, although, as we will see, the Commission makes references to the way Tsafendas answered questions. However the references are extremely vague and no extracts are used.

The issue of missing evidence was also a factor in the police investigation, as we discussed earlier in Chapter 4, and it is indisputable that several statements disappeared at some point from the archives, for example, Patrick O'Ryan's statement to the police. During his cross-examination at the summary trial, the Attorney-General read substantial parts of the statement he gave to the police on September 17.³⁶⁶⁹

The interview schedule of the Commission was found at the archives. However, it is inaccurate as to the dates of when some of the interviews took place. For example, according to the schedule, Father Probst was down to give evidence on 19th October, but actually, according to the date on his statement, he testified on the 13th October. Gordon Winter was scheduled for 14th October, but the transcript of his testimony has gone missing from the archives. Two sworn written statements by him were found, dated 6th and 12th October; however, the first page of the second statement is also missing. In addition, some witnesses who were not listed in the schedule gave evidence to the Commission, such as N.D. Hartford of the *Cape Argus*. It is clear from the Commission's Report that Hartford gave evidence at some point after Tsafendas's summary trial, but his name was not on the schedule.³⁶⁷⁰ His statement was also not found in the archives.

Another example is Mogamat Isaacs, who gave evidence to the Commission on 21st October³⁶⁷¹ but is not listed on the schedule. It is clear that the interview schedule cannot be considered as a reliable source for the dates when the interviews took place, nor as a record of unlisted witnesses who also gave evidence. The issue of the missing statements and other evidence will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

³⁶⁶⁹ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³⁶⁷⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

³⁶⁷¹ Mogamat Isaacs statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12. File: die Post aangeleentheid, NASA.

THE COMMISSION'S HEARINGS

INTRODUCTION

The Commission began hearings behind closed doors on 5th October, 1966 in the Thomas Boydell Building in Cape Town,³⁶⁷² with Judge van Wyk setting out a proposed schedule. He said, "We hope to hear all evidence, with the exception of evidence from witnesses who may be called to give evidence at the summary trial of Tsafendas, by the end of the month. After the trial has ended, the Commission may call witnesses who gave evidence at the trial."³⁶⁷³ Eventually, at least one of these witnesses, Patrick O'Ryan, would give evidence to the Commission presumably after the end of the trial, as there is no date on his statement. We will start the examination of these testimonies with the most important of them, that of Tsafendas's family. The various members gave evidence on October 21, 1966, just one day after Judge Beyers had delivered his verdict at Tsafendas's summary trial. Most of the family were interviewed together. This is their testimony:

REPORT REGARDING VISIT TO FAMILY MEMBERS OF DEMITRIO TSAFENDAS, PRETORIA, 21 OCTOBER 1966³⁶⁷⁴

Nicolas Vlachopoulos

This person is married to a half-sister of Tsafendas and is the owner of Proclamation Hill Café, 600 Church Street West, Pretoria. Mr Vlachopoulos says that he had seen Tsafendas about two years ago. Whilst in Pretoria Tsafendas worked at Poole's and City Engineering. He stayed in about 20 places. Tsafendas never made any friends. A Bible and two medical books – one about stomach ulcers – belonging to Tsafendas was in Vlachopoulos' possession and these he had handed over to Lt. Strumpher of the SA Police.

According to Vlachopoulos, Tsafendas had visited him at the Café. He was always bankrupt because he always used all his money to buy food. He habitually ate a huge amount of food but never mentioned a tape worm. They never actually conversed with each other and they never discussed politics. Tsafendas often disappeared for two or three days and then

³⁶⁷² *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Assassination Probe Begins', 5 October 1966: 1.

³⁶⁷³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Murder of Dr. V-Probe Widens', 13 October 1966.

³⁶⁷⁴ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

returned to the café where he would sit and read a newspaper for an hour or two, after which he would disappear again. He always had a Bible in his pocket.

The wife of Vlachopoulos also saw Tsafendas for the first time in Pretoria. She had never seen him before. The members of the so-called "Christians" sometimes fetched Tsafendas to attend their services. He sometimes went to Johannesburg for two or three days to do so. Tsafendas never went to the cinema. He claimed that he was religious and that it was forbidden by his religion.

Victor Tsafandakis

This person worked as a draughtsman at Iscor Steel Works in Pretoria. He was Tsafendas's half-brother. According to him, Tsafendas had lived in Johannesburg about 23 years ago. During 1963 his half-brother encountered him in Lourenço Marques when he went there with a cousin to discuss affairs with the step-mother. Victor went there to fetch his mother and took Tsafendas back (to Pretoria) at the same time. Tsafendas worked in Pretoria for about six months and then disappeared again.

When he arrived in Pretoria he stayed with Victor for about two days, but he did not want him there any longer as he was a "disturbing personality." Tsafendas would rise at five in the morning and then move around. Tsafendas never complained about anything. However he seemed to have problems with his stomach and that must have been because he always ate too much. He never mentioned a tapeworm. Tsafendas always walked around with a Bible in his hand.

Victor Tsafandakis said that on occasion he said to Tsafendas that South Africa was a wonderful country. Tsafendas agreed and said it was progressive. As far as Victor could recall, Tsafendas never commented when Victor said that integration was not a good thing. He was vague and could easily be contentious. Victor could not recall that Tsafendas ever complained about the government. However, he did complain that he had to work for too little money. It was obvious that Tsafendas worshipped his father. He also said that even if he was handed R1.000, he would spend it all on food. According to Victor, Tsafendas was looking for too much but had too little to give. He described him as "shrewd" and "peculiar."

Marika Tsafandakis (stepmother)

Mrs. Tsafandakis (wife of Victor Tsafandakis)

Mrs. Vlachopoulos

Mrs. Nissiotis

Victor Tsafandakis

These five people were interviewed together.

Tsafendas's stepmother said that Tsafendas could not speak Portuguese when he arrived in Lourenço Marques from Egypt as a six-year-old, and could speak only Greek. He was sent to a Portuguese school once he had learned the language. She had no knowledge of an Anglican Mission School in Lourenço Marques.

Tsafendas was favoured over the other children and sent to Middelburg because Portuguese children could only receive a proper education either there or in Swaziland. After he returned from Middelburg, he was again sent to a Portuguese school. He started working in a restaurant in 1933 or thereabouts. She remembered that he attended boxing lessons at night. Between the ages of 15 to 17 he worked in Lourenço Marques. Thereafter he worked for a British aircraft company. His stepmother had heard from someone else that he had developed appendicitis and was hospitalised during that period. Mrs Tsafandakis later went to South Africa for her children's schooling. She had heard that Demitrio had worked at a café, but that he only worked intermittently and that he had been sent back to Lourenço Marques around 1937 or 1938 after the Police had been summoned as he had been accused of being a Communist.

Tsafendas returned to South Africa in 1939 at which time he worked for British Mining Supplies. From around 1940 until 1963 none of the family saw anything of him. Tsafendas only wrote to them when he needed money. In 1963 someone phoned Mrs Tsafandakis from Lourenço Marques to tell her that Demitrio had asked her to intervene in bringing him back to his family. She had felt it to be her duty to do so as his father had died. After his stepmother had fetched him he had stayed with his family for a while and then hired a room. He refused to commit himself to any work. The family were of the opinion that he had returned because he thought that his father may have left a legacy. He searched all the cupboards for anything that belonged to his father. He remained in Pretoria for about 6 months, after which the family lost all contact with him.

Tsafendas never talked to the family about his tapeworm. According to them, he was definitely not insane. He always had proper accommodation in Pretoria. According to his stepmother, Tsafendas only learned that he had coloured origins when he looked for work at the aircraft factory. He had grown up as one of her children. He was depressed after he had learned about this, but never said anything about it. The stepmother vehemently denied that she had arranged for him to be raped as he had claimed. Her brother had only arrived from Egypt in 1928. Mr Victor Tsafandakis thanked the Government and the police on behalf of his family for the way they had treated them.

COMMENTS ON VLACHOPOULOS'S TESTIMONY

According to Fotini Gavasiadis, Vlachopoulos's sister, who spent every day for nine months with him in Pretoria in 1963-1964, and to Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas's cousin who grew up with him in Egypt and Mozambique and was also in Pretoria in 1963-1964, Tsafendas always wanted to discuss politics, but the family were reluctant because they were afraid of the apartheid system. Tsafendas constantly criticised apartheid and everyone in the family kept telling him to "keep your mouth shut."³⁶⁷⁵

Furthermore, according to both women, Vlachopoulos had a very good relationship with Tsafendas and was closer to him than any of his other in-laws. He went along with Marika and Victor to Lourenço Marques from Pretoria, keen to meet Tsafendas, of whom he had heard so much from his wife. He assumed he could not meet him in South Africa since he was a banned person. In Mozambique, it was Vlachopoulos who begged and convinced J.J. van den Berg, the responsible officer at the South African consulate, to ignore the fact that Tsafendas was on his government's Stop List. Upon their return to Pretoria, Vlachopoulos gave Tsafendas a rent-free apartment and offered him work in his café. Finally, Vlachopoulos even travelled to Cape Town to attend the summary trial as he wanted Tsafendas to know that he was there; an act of morale support towards him.³⁶⁷⁶

According to Gavasiadis and Eintracht, Vlachopoulos often discussed politics with Tsafendas, as he sympathized with his radical ideas, but he never discussed such things in

³⁶⁷⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³⁶⁷⁶ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

public and he continually urged him to following the same course.³⁶⁷⁷ Gavasiadis was aware that her brother told the police that they never discussed politics. “He lied,” she said and added:

“Everyone in the family did the same. They were all very afraid to admit that he was a Communist and against apartheid. Everyone knew Dimitri’s political ideas ... after the assassination, Nick and the others in the family tried to distance themselves as much as possible from Dimitri. They just couldn’t admit that Dimitri was a Communist and against apartheid. They all said we knew nothing about it. They were terrified, absolutely terrified. They did not know what would happen to them. My brother had helped him come to South Africa and was very close to him and he was more afraid than anyone. I have never seen him so scared in his life.”³⁶⁷⁸

Mary Eintracht’s memory is also that Tsafendas’s family was well aware of his political stance and that he often discussed it with them, especially Nick Vlachopoulos. She said:

“Everyone in the family said that they were not very close to him and knew nothing about his political ideas. They all said the same because they could not tell the police they knew he was a Communist and anti-apartheid and they had helped him to come to South Africa. Communists were persecuted at the time and they would have been in serious trouble if it had become known that they had helped someone they knew was a Communist to enter the country.”³⁶⁷⁹

Vlachopoulos stated that Tsafendas had “stayed in about 20 places” while in Pretoria. According to Tsafendas’s half-sister Katerina Pnema, Gavasiadis and Eintracht this is entirely untrue.³⁶⁸⁰ The rest of the family members would also testify to the Commission, as we will soon see, that Tsafendas “always had proper accommodation in Pretoria.”³⁶⁸¹ Vlachopoulos was well aware of this as he was the one who had given Tsafendas a rent-free apartment. Vlachopoulos farther had previously given this apartment free to Antonis Bizos,

³⁶⁷⁷ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³⁶⁷⁸ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³⁶⁷⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

³⁶⁸⁰ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁶⁸¹ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

the father of Advocate George Bizos. Nick Vlachopoulos was a good friend of Antonis Bizos and Tsafendas was introduced to Antonis Bizos by him.³⁶⁸²

According to Eintracht and Gavasiadis, Tsafendas did not just visit Vlachopoulos's café shop, but worked there voluntarily for almost nine months, another fact that Vlachopoulos hid from the police. Gavasiadis said "My brother was initially not very keen on having him there because he was told that he would start arguing with customers over politics, but he never argued with anyone as long as he was there." Tsafendas worked voluntarily at the café and he was so good at the job that Vlachopoulos offered him permanent employment with good wages, but Tsafendas refused because he felt obligated since he was given a rent-free apartment. He worked full-time at the café when he was unemployed, and part-time when he was at F.A. Poole Engineering.³⁶⁸³

Gavasiadis said her brother's comment about Tsafendas not making friends was also a lie. She considered herself to have been a very good friend of Tsafendas and spent practically every day for nine months with him. They lived together for a few weeks and then they would often go to each other's apartments since they were in adjoining buildings, while they would often go out in the evenings. She believes that she was Tsafendas's best friend during the nine months he was in Pretoria. However he also had other friends to whom he introduced her. Gavasiadis also said her brother's claim that Tsafendas did not go to the cinema because it was forbidden by his religion was untrue. She could not understand why he said such a thing because he knew it was a lie. She said on the contrary, Tsafendas was a movie fan and went often to the cinema, with her and his half-sister Eleni, Vlachopoulos's wife.³⁶⁸⁴

It is also a lie that his half-sister had seen him for the first time in Pretoria in 1963. Eleni Vlachopoulos was born in 1936 in Lourenço Marques at a time when Tsafendas lived with the family. Furthermore, she was six when Tsafendas left South Africa and from 1939 to 1941, he had also lived with the family in Johannesburg. Tsafendas adored Helen as a baby and when she was older they corresponded regularly. Tsafendas would often send her gifts from overseas along with his letters. Vlachopoulos either lied about seeing him for the first time, or he meant the first time she was an adult.³⁶⁸⁵ Finally, it was Nick Vlachopoulos who

³⁶⁸² Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Michael Vlachopoulos in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

³⁶⁸³ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³⁶⁸⁴ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³⁶⁸⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Michael Vlachopoulos in a personal interview, 10 April 2016.

Tsafendas named as his next of kin when he took up residency in E.R. Carney, Clair Wood.³⁶⁸⁶

COMMENTS ON VICTOR TSAFANDAKIS'S STATEMENT

According to Katerina Pnema, Victor's sister, and Irene and John Michaletos, his cousins, Tsafendas and her brother were exact opposites. Tsafendas's father had talked to Demitrio about politics and history as he was growing up, but he did not do the same with Victor. Tsafendas's mother, Marika, seeing that Tsafendas was becoming rebellious, frequently urged her husband not to bring up Victor the same way. However, Victor and Tsafendas had a good relationship and they wrote regularly to each other when Tsafendas was away.³⁶⁸⁷

Pnema said Victor had volunteered to drive his mother in Lourenço Marques to meet Tsafendas, but he strongly opposed the attempt to bribe J.J. van den Berg and threatened to return to South Africa without them. He was the most fearful of all the family after the assassination because he had brought Tsafendas back to South Africa in his car and he feared the police would find out about what happened with van den Berg. He had even considered leaving South Africa and had a packed suitcase at the ready in case he had to leave suddenly.³⁶⁸⁸

Tsafendas stayed in Victor's house but he left after Victor discovered to his horror that Tsafendas had a large amount of anti-apartheid and Communist literature in his suitcase. According to Gavasiadis, Pnema and Eintracht, Tsafendas left after he was asked to throw them away. The atmosphere in the house was tense over the suitcase, but also because of Tsafendas's practically illegal entry to the country and political outspokenness. Victor's wife did not know about the issue with van den Berg, but she was terrified on account of the literature and Tsafendas's political ideas.³⁶⁸⁹

Pnema, Gavasiadis and Eintracht dispute the claim that Tsafendas told Victor South Africa was a "progressive country." They said Tsafendas held exactly the opposite point of view and that Victor lied. Elizabeth Groves, Tsafendas's landlady in Cape Town in 1966,

³⁶⁸⁶ Casper Andries Willemsse statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁶⁸⁷ Irene and John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁶⁸⁸ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁶⁸⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

agreed with the three women. She said Tsafendas had characterised Afrikaners to her as a “backward nation.”³⁶⁹⁰ According to the three women, fear made Victor lie about the things which he claimed Tsafendas said. They said Victor was often present when Tsafendas spoke against apartheid and he always pleaded with him to “not talk like this.”³⁶⁹¹ Eintracht also said that when Tsafendas talked about politics, Victor always asked him to lower his voice.³⁶⁹²

COMMENTS ON THE FAMILY'S COMMON STATEMENT

The most significant part of the above statement is that the family, including Marika, knew nothing of any tapeworm. This is highly important, because during the summary trial, it was stated that Tsafendas had the tapeworm since he was a small boy and that Marika was involved in an incident with it: “... he told me that a while back, when he was a little boy, about six feet of it came down. The doctor gave him something and six feet of it came down. He was sitting on a bucket. And then he fainted on the bucket, and his mother removed it and she destroyed it, and since then nothing has ever come down.”³⁶⁹³

Until the day she died, Marika denied any knowledge of a tapeworm. She confided to close family members that she was certain Tsafendas made it up to escape the death penalty. This was actually what the whole family thought, and they knew Tsafendas very well.³⁶⁹⁴ Furthermore, the family stated clearly that Tsafendas was “definitely not insane” and this is what they all still believe. All the members of the family who knew him well always maintained among themselves that Tsafendas was pretending to be mad so as to escape the death penalty. None of them ever believed that he really thought he had a tapeworm or that he was insane.³⁶⁹⁵ Gavasiadis and Eintracht also confirmed that the family did not disclose their knowledge of Tsafendas's political ideas and tried to distance themselves from him out of

³⁶⁹⁰ Elizabeth Magdalena Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁶⁹¹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁶⁹² Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

³⁶⁹³ Louise O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³⁶⁹⁴ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁶⁹⁵ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

fear. Equally important is that none mentioned knowing that Tsafendas was banned from South Africa.³⁶⁹⁶

According to Katerina Pnema, her mother deliberately did not tell the police about Tsafendas's Communist and anti-apartheid ideology or that he had been a member of the South African Communist Party. She told the author:

“We all said the same thing [that] he never discussed politics with us ... how could she and us have told them that he was a Communist? That he was anti-apartheid? That he was anti-colonialist? That he called Dr. Verwoerd ‘bastard,’ and ‘Hitler’s student’ and ‘dictator? That he had been getting us into trouble because of politics since he was child? They [the police] would have said ‘Why did you bring him here then [to South Africa]? Why didn’t you report him to the police?’ They might have even thought that we had the same ideas as him.

Remember, these were very difficult times for anyone who was even suspected of being a Communist and anti-apartheid. The Communist Party was illegal at the time in South Africa ... my mother had not only known that he was a political animal, but she had helped him to come to South Africa. Can you imagine what would have happened to her and to us if they knew that we knew that he was Communist and anti-apartheid and we helped him to come to South Africa? My poor mother was so terrified that they might find out they had bribed this guy in the embassy in Lourenço Marques and that they would all go to jail. None of us told the police that he [Tsafendas] was a Communist and anti-apartheid. How could we have said such things then? They might have deported us all or even worse ... who knows what they could have done to us if they had found out that we knew. Even so, it took another twelve years before our application to reside permanently in South Africa was accepted. We had to hire lawyers and appeal several times. We spent a fortune ...³⁶⁹⁷

Marika in her family statement confirms that Tsafendas was treated as an equal member of the family and was even favoured over the other children when he was sent to South Africa for schooling, which is entirely true. This contradicts the picture Dr. Cooper gave of Tsafendas in the summary trial, where he claimed that he did not have a “normal family background.”³⁶⁹⁸ Several witnesses, including Tsafendas himself, confirm Marika's

³⁶⁹⁶ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³⁶⁹⁷ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁶⁹⁸ Dr. Harold Cooper's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

statement that Tsafendas was “brought up as one of her children.”³⁶⁹⁹ The fact that she travelled to Lourenço Marques to meet him is alone sufficient to render the picture developed at the summary trial and would also be developed by the Commission as a travesty.

Marika states that Tsafendas learned about her not being his biological mother when he worked at the aircraft factory. This was in 1935, when Tsafendas was aged seventeen, not a child as implied at the summary trial. His reaction, one of depression then silence, would fit the reaction of an adult to such news. Marika's account about how he found out is compatible with what Tsafendas told some witnesses.

Tsafendas claimed in one of his police statements that his step-mother asked her brother to rape him when he was nine.³⁷⁰⁰ In 1946, in Grafton State Hospital in the United States, he spoke extensively about his sexual life and past sexual “traumas,” all of which he invented, but he did not mention the alleged rape.³⁷⁰¹ Tsafendas brought the rape story up with Dr. Cooper when he examined him for the defence at the summary trial. The author is not in position to know if such a rape occurred. What is almost impossible to believe is that his step-mother asked her brother to do such a thing and that Tsafendas really believed it happened. He spoke negatively about his relationship with his step-mother to various psychiatrists, but never to anyone else. On the contrary, he often described how loving she was and how she treated him as her own child.³⁷⁰² Tsafendas never spoke about the alleged childhood rape to anyone else but given the seriousness of such a claim and perhaps the embarrassment attaching to it, it was probably natural that he did not do so, always assuming it really happened.

Later in life, Tsafendas said two claims were necessary to make an “insane act” look real and convince someone you are mad:

- a. To have a family history of insanity and
- b. To have a childhood trauma.³⁷⁰³

³⁶⁹⁹ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Costas Michaeletos statement to the police, 10 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁷⁰⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁷⁰¹ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

³⁷⁰² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³⁷⁰³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

The above would explain why Tsafendas said negative things about his step-mother to the psychiatrists, but not to anyone else. It is very possible that Tsafendas made the rape claim to the police because he knew he might need to pretend madness to avoid torture or worse as a consequence of killing Dr. Verwoerd. If a mad act became necessary, having a childhood trauma in his past would add authenticity. The fact that he had talked about sexual traumas at the Grafton State Hospital back in 1946 would further strengthen his claim. However, the author has not been able to establish for a fact why Tsafendas made a claim of rape or whether such an incident ever occurred.

The family also testified that Tsafendas “only wrote to them when he needed money.” However, according to Katerina Pnema, this is not true. She told the author that as far as she could remember, Tsafendas never asked for any money. On the contrary, his father, who was concerned for Demetri’s welfare abroad, regularly asked in letters if he needed money or any other help. Pnema believes that the family made the money reference to highlight the fact that Tsafendas was overseas writing letters and thus did not have a close relationship with them. Pnema said Tsafendas regularly corresponded with her father and her sister Eleni and he often sent presents for everyone in the family, including his step-mother.³⁷⁰⁴ Some of these gifts are still in the family’s possession. Mary Eintracht, also strongly denies that Tsafendas wrote to the family asking for money and confirms that he often sent presents along with his letters from overseas.³⁷⁰⁵

According to the family, Tsafendas “refused to commit himself to any work.” This is entirely untrue. Tsafendas worked over the Christmas-New Year period, December 9, 1963 to February 3, 1964, for City Engineering and Carron Limited,³⁷⁰⁶ and from February 7, 1964, to July 10, 1964 for F.A. Poole Engineering.³⁷⁰⁷ In addition, throughout this period, in his spare time, he worked voluntarily at Nicolas Vlachopoulos’s café.³⁷⁰⁸

On the question of Tsafendas’s return to South Africa, the opinion of some family members was that he had done so because he believed his father would have left him a legacy. They testified that he “searched all the cupboards for anything that belonged to his father.” Marika Tsafantakis gave quite a different reason for her stepson’s repatriation when

³⁷⁰⁴ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁷⁰⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

³⁷⁰⁶ Report by D.G. Gallard of City Engineering and Carron Limited regarding Demitrio Tsafendas to the Commission of Enquiry, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 3. NASA.

³⁷⁰⁷ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁷⁰⁸ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

she was questioned by the police on September 7. She then said: "When he returned [to Mozambique] during 1963 he told me that he wanted to settle down and he wanted me to help him. I then caused him to come to South Africa and he subsequently got permanent residence in the Republic."³⁷⁰⁹ According to family members who were interviewed by the author, namely Katerina Pnema (half-sister), Fotini Gavasiadis (sister-in-law), Mary Eintracht (first cousin) and John and Antony Michaletos (first cousins), what Marika told the police on September 7 was the truth, that Tsafendas returned because he wanted to settle down, not because he thought his father had left him a legacy. He knew his father was not a wealthy man and he could not have expected to receive anything substantial.³⁷¹⁰

Tsafendas did ask if his father had left him anything and did indeed search the cupboards for anything that belonged to his father. However, according to all these family members, he was not looking for money or valuables but for personal belongings of his father. He worshipped Michalis and wanted to keep items, such as hats and books that he had sent to him from Europe. Michalis Tsafantakis had an extensive collection of anarchist and revolutionary literature and Tsafendas wanted to take it, not for sale, but to ensure its safekeeping. He knew how much the books meant to his father and he was well aware of how they had been a constant source of friction with Marika, who did not share his political ideas. Marika had already destroyed most of Michalis's literary hoard because she did not want her grandchildren to find it, but also because she saw no value in such books. Tsafendas searched diligently for any volumes she may have missed and kept safely whatever he found. Before he left South Africa for Rhodesia in 1964, he gave all the literature to Nick Vlachopoulos for safekeeping, telling him to "look after it like it is his own eyes."³⁷¹¹

³⁷⁰⁹ Marika Tsafantakis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁷¹⁰ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁷¹¹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

SYDNEY WILLIAM WIEHAND³⁷¹²

INTRODUCTION

The following is significant testimony because Sydney Wiehand was one of the messengers who interviewed Tsafendas for employment at Parliament. He described in detail how Tsafendas was appointed. Questioned by Mr. Terblanche and Judge van Wyk, Wiehand stated that he was a senior, permanent messenger and had worked in Parliament for eight years. He said his work consisted of supervising, looking after stores and handling complaints. If he received a complaint, he would take it to his superior, the chief messenger, Mr Burger, who would act on it. Wiehand said he made the rounds of Parliament once a day to ensure that everything was in order.

SYDNEY WIEHAND'S TESTIMONY

Evidence adduced on 5.10.1966

TERBLANCHE: Now, when people are appointed as messengers, or temporary messengers, have you anything to do with it?

WIEHAND: Yes well, we are called in, Sir, the three of us, to see what takes place.

TERBLANCHE: Now, who are "we"?

WIEHAND: We are also given a chance to question these people...

TERBLANCHE: Who are the "three"? You said the "three"?

WIEHAND: The three is Mr, Burger, the Chief Messenger, and the - well, I shouldn't say the "second in charge" but the third in charge is Mr. Schuin, and then myself.

TERBLANCHE: Who?

WIEHAND: S-c-h-u-i-n. And then myself, Sir. That is, the Chief Messenger and his three assistants.

TERBLANCHE: Now, the Chief Messenger - you've now named two assistants?

WIEHAND: Yes, because the other one is not there. He's sick.

TERBLANCHE: I see, but usually the three of you?

³⁷¹² Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

WIEHAND: Usually it is the three of us, yes.

TERBLANCHE: But when this man Tsafendas was considered, and interviewed, it was only the three of you?

WIEHAND: That's right, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: The Chief Messenger, you yourself and Mr. Schuin.

WIEHAND: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: Why are you, the three assistants, called in by the Chief Messenger?

WIEHAND: That is, if anything happens. Who knows what happens to the Chief - if he's not there one day, that we can take his place. We know exactly what to do. The question is to ask.

TERBLANCHE: Mr. Wiehand, can you remember what questions were put to Tsafendas when he was interviewed?

WIEHAND: Yes, Sir.

VAN WYK: Yes?

WIEHAND: No. I — he must be of sober habits. He must be always neat, and then also we ask him if he's got any sickness, or anything like that, then he must tell us. If so, then he must get a report from the doctor that he is fit for duty. Then we tell him: "The normal hours of working is long, but the work is not hard."

TERBLANCHE: Anything else asked from him?

WIEHAND: Well, then we ask him.

JUDGE VAN WYK: No, but what happened in the case of Tsafendas?

WIEHAND: When he came for an interview, he wasn't taken on straight away.

TERBLANCHE: But were you present when he was interviewed?

WIEHAND: Yes, yes.

TERBLANCHE: Well, what did you ask him then?

WIEHAND: Well, I asked him also about the other places where he had worked -

TERBLANCHE: You asked him where he worked?

WIEHAND: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: And what did he tell you?

WIEHAND: He told me he worked in Durban at some firm there. He worked about eleven months there, or something to that effect.

TERBLANCHE: In Durban?

WIEHAND: In Durban somewhere.

TERBLANCHE: Yes, and what else?

WIEHAND: And he said it was because of a reduction of staff.

TERBLANCHE: Yes?

WIEHAND: Because - of course, then we asked him if he had an unemployment card - Identity Card.

TERBLANCHE: And did he have an unemployment card?

WIEHAND: He had an unemployment card. He had an Identification Certificate, which number -

TERBLANCHE: What is an Identification Certificate?

WIEHAND: Well, it is almost like these papers when you haven't got your Identification Card yet.

TERBLANCHE: I see.

WIEHAND: We took that and compared it with the number on the - his Identity Number on the unemployment card. It corresponded, and then also if he had any references to show to us.

TERBLANCHE: And did he have any references?

WIEHAND: He had some references. There was one —

TERBLANCHE: What were these references?

WIEHAND: They were from different firms -

TERBLANCHE: Pardon?

WIEHAND: From different firms. One or two of them. I just can't remember how many, Sir -

TERBLANCHE: One or two?

WIEHAND: Yes, and then he had one - I think it was from a school — where he went to school, somewhere in Natal or the Transvaal. I can't remember, Sir. There's such a lot that I see.

TERBLANCHE: Mr. Wiehand, are there any notes kept of these interviews?

WIEHAND: Well, no Sir. The only thing on our records that we keep is a sheet that we make cut with his name, his Identification Number, the date he starts to work, the date he ends -

TERBLANCHE: Is this the type of sheet you are referring to? (Sheet of particulars shown to witness).

WIEHAND: That's right. This is one yes, Sir.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Just identify that?

WIEHAND: This is the one I made out.

TERBLANCHE: What is the annexure number?

WIEHAND: Beg your pardon?

TERBLANCHE: Annexure 'D', page 24, Exhibit 'I'? Yes?

WIEHAND: And then speaking to him, Sir, he said to me he speaks twelve languages, six fluently and six broken, but I never asked him what the languages were. I think if you look underneath, on that form, Sir, you'll see I've made a note there.

TERBLANCHE: Yes, there is a note. It didn't occur to you to ask him what languages he could speak?

WIEHAND: No, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: If he had told you he could speak Russian, would that have made you suspicious?

WIEHAND: Well, then I would have asked him, perhaps. I don't know. The man hadn't any - I mean, the appearance that he had wasn't anything like that. But just out of curiosity, I think, I asked him if he spoke languages, or whether he told me - I can't remember that.

TERBLANCHE: Wasn't it slightly strange for a man who could speak so many languages to - ?

WIEHAND: I did. I commented on it, Sir. I said to him: "It is rather strange that you come

here to work as a messenger, whereas you can get a better position as a translator somewhere else? He said to me - then he had - he was a translator, or something, in a Durban Court, or something.

TERBLANCHE: Yes? An interpreter?

WIEHAND: An interpreter, yes.

TERBLANCHE: Yes?

WIEHAND: Then I said to him: "What is the good to come and work here? I mean, you can find a better position? He said, well, he can't find any work at the moment, and he must fill his stomach.

TERBLANCHE: Didn't it strike you as strange that a man of his age, and his ability, should be penniless?

WIEHAND: Well, Sir, the thing is - we get so many of them there, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: So many of what?

WIEHAND: These people. I mean, they've got good qualifications. Their ages count against them.

TERBLANCHE: What was that?

WIEHAND: Their ages count against them. I take it from myself, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Yes?

WIEHAND: When I left my employment, I had to find new employment. I knew I wouldn't be able to -

TERBLANCHE: What are your qualifications?

WIEHAND: My qualification was - I was in charge of a cabinet workshop.

TERBLANCHE: A what?

WIEHAND: A cabinet workshop.

TERBLANCHE: And what are your educational qualifications?

WIEHAND: Well, I went to six, Sir, and then I went to seven, and then I went away and I came back, and I went to the next one higher up, but I don't I ever stayed to pass that -

TERBLANCHE: Yes?

WIEHAND: Well, that was the end of my interview where he was concerned.

TERBLANCHE: Mr. Wiehand, you also had before you, at that time, or didn't you - Annexure "By page 22 of Exhibit "I" Unemployment Insurance?"

WIEHAND: Yes, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Now, according to that - that is on page 22 - according to that he had been employed by the City of Cape Town, Electrical Department, from the 13th of September, 1965, to the 25th of October, 1965 - a little more than a month, and he'd been employed by "Marine Diamond Corporation" from the 3rd of February, '66, to the 30th of March, 1966. That's for about two months. Didn't that give you a feeling that this man was not, perhaps, a very good worker?

WIEHAND: Well, no Sir. I don't - no, Sir. Not that. We get quite a good few like that.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Who has been from one job to the other?

WIEHAND: Yes, Sir. And they turn out quite good.

TERBLANCHE: You realised that he was going from one job to another?

WIEHAND: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: Did you ask him in what capacity he was employed by these firms?

WIEHAND: No, Sir. The only one about which he actually told me, was the one where he was an interpreter.

TERBLANCHE: At Durban?

WIEHAND: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: And why did he say did he terminate his employment there?

WIEHAND: That I can't remember, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: And did anybody ask him anything about his employment in Cape Town?

WIEHAND: I'm not quite sure, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Did anybody ask him what his Nationality was?

WIEHAND: Yes, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Who asked him?

WIEHAND: I also asked him that one, and so did my Chief, and my other colleague.

TERBLANCHE: You all three - ?

WIEHAND: Yea.

TERBLANCHE: Why did you all three ask him?

WIEHAND: Well, I mean – we're all there. I take it for granted we've all got the same idea.

TERBLANCHE: Yes, but did only one put the question?

WIEHAND: Well, one put the question, but I mean we would all like to put the same question. Everybody that was there, and he said he was a naturalised South African.

TERBLANCHE: And did he produce any proof that he was a naturalised South African?

WIEHAND: Well, we took it for granted that it was true, because of his identification.

TERBLANCHE: What was his identification?

WIEHAND: The slip that I've told you about, and when we took it and compared it with his unemployment card number.

TERBLANCHE: Didn't you know that foreigners also have identification cards?

WIEHAND: No, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Didn't you know that?

WIEHAND: No, Sir. Not the one that he showed me - the one that he said he was waiting for his card to come. He applied for one.

TERBLANCHE: Yes, but didn't you know that foreigners are also issued with identification cards - ?

WIEHAND: For coming into the country, Sir?

TERBLANCHE: No, no. And when they're here they get a "Persoonskaart" Didn't you know that?

WIEHAND: No, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Are you really qualified then to make these appointments, if you don't even know - ?

WIEHAND: Well, that is why we learn, Sir. We get trained for that.

TERBLANCHE: But how can you be trained, if you're not told that the fact that a person has an identification card is no proof that he is a South African?

WIEHAND: Well, Sir, in one instance we had one young fellow there. He was naturalised. He had his paper. I should say he had a form -

TERBLANCHE: Who was naturalised?

WIEHAND: Well, we had one young fellow there by the name of Barber, but he was a young boy.

TERBLANCHE: What is his name?

WIEHAND: Barber. I took it he should have had the same as that? (Just a minute, Sir. Just let me think). (Witness remains quiet for some seconds).

TERBLANCHE: Why are you taking such a long time? What are you trying to think about?

WIEHAND: No, Sir – the thing is this. He had some papers with him - quite a few. Now that I am thinking about Barber, I think he had a paper similar, to that –

TERBLANCHE: I'll show you another paper here, Mr. Wiehand. Annexure "A," page 21 of Exhibit "I"? Is that the paper you are referring to?

WIEHAND: I think it was something like this, Sir.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, but you see, that is no proof that he is a South African. It merely proves that he's got an identification number.

WIEHAND: Yes well, I mean, the man was employed all over the show. I mean, in Cape Town also.

TERBLANCHE: So why couldn't he be a foreigner and employed in Cape Town?

WIEHAND: It could be, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Well, so you only had his word that he was a South African?

WIEHAND: He had the things that we asked for. We asked him if he was naturalised - whether he is a naturalised South African, so he said yes. And then we asked for the -

TERBLANCHE: Why did you ask him whether he was naturalised? Why couldn't he have been born in South Africa?

WIEHAND: No, Sir. According to him - he said he came from Lourenço Marques.

TERBLANCHE: He said he came from Lourenço Marques.

WIEHAND: Yes, so then I asked him. He said, no, he was born in Lourenço Marques, but he

was brought up in the Transvaal.

TERBLANCHE: And you asked him whether he was naturalised and he said yes?

WIEHAND: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: And were any further enquiries made to find out whether he was actually naturalised?

WIEHAND: Not that I know of, Sir. It could be. Then it falls out of my hands -

TERBLANCHE: Mr. Wiehand, the making of appointments is really not your concern. You are only present at the interview, in order to learn?

WIEHAND: That is right, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Now, do you know that only South Africans - South African citizens - can be appointed as messengers, or temporary messengers? You know that?

WIEHAND: Yes, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Now, Mr. Wiehand, after his appointment - or rather, did you afterwards discuss this man between the three of you?

WIEHAND: Yes, Sir. Not after his appointment! Before his appointment.

TERBLANCHE: I mean, after the interview?

WIEHAND: Yes, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: After he had gone, you three discussed him at length. What was the nature of this discussion that took place between you?

WIEHAND: Sir, we had to take into consideration the way he spoke, his mannerisms, how he dressed, and we couldn't find anything wrong. I mean, according to what we need there, for doing the work, and so forth, and coming into contact with the Members.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Were you ever required to make any check as to whether there was any security risk attached to a particular individual?

WIEHAND: No, Sir. We never had it before.

TERBLANCHE: You were never asked to make sure whether this man was not a security risk?

WIEHAND: No.

TERBLANCHE: You were never asked?

WIEHAND: No.

TERBLANCHE: And that you never discussed?

WIEHAND: We never discussed that, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: As long as he could do the work that he was employed for, that was all that you were concerned with?

WIEHAND: That's right, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Afterwards, did you come into contact with him again, whilst he was working there?

WIEHAND: Yes, Sir when I go on the rounds, checking up each point, asking if there were any complaints, I used to come across him and I would ask him how was he doing, and he'd say, no, he was doing fine, and I asked him if he liked that type of work, and he said yes.

TERBLANCHE: And what impression did he make on you during all this time?

WIEHAND: Well, he was a quiet man. He wasn't the rough type, or anything like that. He was quiet - quietly spoken, well-mannered.

TERBLANCHE: Did he ever tell you anything about his previous history?

WIEHAND: No.

TERBLANCHE: Nothing?

WIEHAND: Nothing.

TERBLANCHE: He never told you about places he went to?

WIEHAND: No.

TERBLANCHE: Where he travelled - ?

WIEHAND: No, I never had the opportunity of speaking to him for so long.

TERBLANCHE: He never mentioned this during the interview -?

WIEHAND: Never. Nothing.

TERBLANCHE: So, that all you knew about him, really, was that he was born in Lourenço Marques?

WIEHAND: Yes, well that he told himself.

TERBLANCHE: That he grew up in the Transvaal, and you didn't know that he had ever left the country at all?

WIEHAND: No.

TERBLANCHE: As far as you were concerned, since he came to the Transvaal, when he was young, he had been in the Republic, ever since?

WIEHAND: Yes.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you not ask him whether he had any previous convictions?

WIEHAND: No.

TERBLANCHE: You didn't ask him what he'd done in all his life? You didn't ask him what he'd done before he was an interpreter, and that sort of thing?

WIEHAND: No, I didn't ask him that.

TERBLANCHE: Nobody else did, either?

WIEHAND: No, Sir. My Chief may have asked him, afterwards.

TERBLANCHE: Did you have a messenger called Carroll - Houses of Parliament, "Carroll"?

WIEHAND: No, Sir. Not as far as I can remember, Sir.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS

**SYDNEY WILLIAM WIEHAND'S SECOND TESTIMONY TO THE
COMMISSION³⁷¹³**

Evidence adduced on 13.10.1966

Sydney William Wiehand: (Duly Sworn, states): (recalled)³⁷¹⁴

TERBLANCHE: Mr. Wiehand, you have already given evidence in this?

WIEHAND: Yes, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: Now, it is being alleged here in evidence before the Commission, that a certain complaint was made to you in regard to the way in which Tsafendas did his work as temporary messenger. Is that correct?

WIEHAND: No complaint that I can remember, unless the complaint is that - shall I have to say it in Afrikaans?

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes well, do?

WIEHAND: The complaint - well, I didn't treat that as a complaint. I was told that: "the man stuffs himself with food." It was: "stuffs himself with food, sits and sleeps."

TERBLANCHE: That was Mr. Pienaar, I think?

WIEHAND: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: And he asked you to remove him?

WIEHAND: No, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: He didn't ask you to remove him?

WIEHAND: He didn't. My reply was to him when he said that to me, was: "do not worry, I shall make sure that he is on his feet."

TERBLANCHE: Mr. Wiehand, why didn't you consider that as a complaint?

WIEHAND: Well, I mean there is quite a few of them at lunchtime - they have something to

³⁷¹³ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

³⁷¹⁴ This is Venter's second statement to the COE, the first being on October 5.

eat and they sit and sleep, until they are ready.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Where do they sit and sleep?

WIEHAND: Well, where they have there what's name - meal.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Aren't they on duty then?

WIEHAND: Well, they are actually on duty all the time. There's no off-duty there with us. They have their meals as they can, until such time as when the rush starts, and then they get busy.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And that's quite usual?

WIEHAND: That's quite usual. I myself, Sir, after I have something to eat, and it is not actually time for me to go upstairs, I shut my eyes there, Sir, because I've got to work every night.

TERBLANCHE: But then, what did you mean by saying that you'll see that "he's on his feet"?

WIEHAND: Well, see that he has work, by shifting him to a different position - in between the two positions - then he must work upstairs and he won't get time to sit down,

JUDGE VAN WYK: If he's doing something that is quite usual, and not objectionable, why do you then say you'll do something about it?

WIEHAND: Well, they didn't like it, perhaps, there Sir - or whatever it is. I don't know, but I said that he mustn't worry. I'll see that he gets on his feet, because maybe he is right in the public eye there, because they are right up there on the Gallery.

TERBLANCHE: Now, on the 6th of September, were you on duty in, or close, to the - ?

WIEHAND: The foyer?

TERBLANCHE: Yes?

WIEHAND: I was in the foyer, yes.

TERBLANCHE: You were in the foyer? And what were you doing in the foyer?

WIEHAND: My job is that I must guide the public, and also help the visitors.

TERBLANCHE: Help the visitors to do what?

WIEHAND: That they go in the right direction. That they do not follow their M.P.'s into the

Chamber.

TERBLANCHE: So, you had to see that no unauthorised persons went into the Chamber?

WIEHAND: That's right, Sir,

TERBLANCHE: Where were you standing, Mr. Wiehand?

WIEHAND: I was standing at the one pillar near to the passage.

TERBLANCHE: And did you move from there to another?

WIEHAND: No, I stood there all the time. My back was towards the Chamber and my face was towards the big doors.

TERBLANCHE: Weren't you supposed to move up to the one side of the screen at a certain stage?

WIEHAND: I'll move when the bell stops ringing, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: When the bell stops ringing?

WIEHAND: Then before I move from there I'll ask for silence, and then I move to the walk in between the wall and the screen to stop any member from entering the Chamber while the Speaker's procession is coming along.

TERBLANCHE: But before you move there, do you watch the door to the Chamber to see that nobody - no unauthorised person enters?

WIEHAND: Well, now and again I look that way, Sir. If I see strange faces there, you always follow their movements.

TERBLANCHE: Now, I want to put this to you, Mr. Wiehand, if you had seen Tsafendas entering the Chamber at that stage, would you have done anything about it?

WIEHAND: No, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: I take it the reason being the same as the others have testified to, that any messenger can enter the Chamber at that time?

WIEHAND: That is right, Sir.

TERBLANCHE: And no check is kept on the messengers to see that they, are in fact, taking messages to members, etc.?

WIEHAND: No, Sir. Sometimes these messages are given at the last minute.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS-WITNESS EXCUSED

PIET BESTER BURGER³⁷¹⁵

Questioned by: Mr. Terblanche

Date: 13/10/1966

Mr. Burger is the head messenger at the Assembly. He worked there for almost twenty-three years at the time of the case and accordingly, he interviewed Demitrios Tsafendas for a messenger position at the Assembly. Burger approved Tsafendas for the position and appointed him. There were two colleagues, Piet Schuin and Sydney Wiehand, who were present when Burger conducted the interview. These two colleagues were always present when conducting interviews for the reason being that if they notice something about the person being interviewed, they could bring it to Burger's attention.

The messengers have to not only deliver messages but they must also stand at the entrance of the National Assembly when the First Minister passes by. These messengers stand there to close the door when the Speaker and his procession enter the National Assembly. Burger and his colleagues, an assistant and two seniors, are responsible for stopping any unauthorized person from entering the boardroom where the Assembly is held. Once the Speaker and his procession have entered the boardroom, only certain messengers may be inside the boardroom.

However, before the Speaker and his procession have entered the boardroom, any messengers, even temporary messengers, were able to be inside the room. The press or the private secretary often used temporary messengers to quickly deliver a message inside the boardroom. It was assumed that the messengers always had a message to deliver if they were seen inside the boardroom before the meeting begin, but, as soon as the Speaker and his procession entered the room, Burger ensured that only the allowed messengers are present inside. Thus, concerning the messengers, there was no control over who entered and left the room before the Speaker and his procession.

³⁷¹⁵ Piet Bester Burger testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

Burger stood on the second step to look over the assembly and to see that no one enters the boardroom who was not allowed. Next to Burger stood a temporary messenger, whom Mr. Burger himself called from the reading room. This messenger stopped any members of the Assembly from leaving before the procession. There was a screen where Burger stood to meet the Speaker. Burger and Wiehand were both there on the 6th of September. Burger had not seen Tsafendas on that day.

Dr. Verwoerd was going to speak at the Assembly, so many members stood outside to finish their cigarettes because they knew they were going to be inside for a long time. The door to the room was still open even when the bells rang. The corridor to the room was closed when the Speaker left his office.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Nothing in the remaining testimony is relevant to Tsafendas or the assassination.

PETRUS ROBERT SAMUEL SCHUIN³⁷¹⁶

Questioned by: Mr. Terblanche

Date: 13/10/1966

Mr. Schuin was a head messenger at the parliament. He had been working there since September, 1953; a total of thirteen years. Schuin only reached standard 6 at school, after which he joined the parliament, working under Mr. Burger. On the 6th of September, Schuin was on duty and declared that by the time he entered the boardroom, Dr. Verwoerd was already seated.

He also declared that he saw Tsafendas as he was coming up to the table of the Assembly. Tsafendas was more or less at the head of the table of the Assembly by the time Schuin saw him. This occurrence, not being anything strange to Schuin, he noticed him and knew that it was his duty to be there if there would be any message to deliver and was expecting that Tsafendas would have a message for him (Schuin). The Parliament was not in

³⁷¹⁶ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

sitting, nor has the Speaker and his procession arrived yet. Schuin was on the right-hand side of the speakers' chair and saw what happened.

Mr. Schuin noticed, during Tsafendas's interview, that there was nothing out of the ordinary about him. He noticed that Tsafendas was the same as any other person that had worked there.

MAJOR DANIEL JACOBUS ROSSOUW³⁷¹⁷

Testimony taken 14.10. 1966

Daniel Jacobus Rossouw (Declared under Oath):

Questioned by Mr. Terblanche and Judge van Wyk

TERBLANCHE: Major Rossouw, are you the Chief of the Security Police in Cape Town?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes I am.

TERBLANCHE: Were you also here in the Cape from 1962?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No, I started here on the 26th of September 1963.

TERBLANCHE: What was your rank at that time?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Captain.

TERBLANCHE: Was a certain Captain Rossouw here before you?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes, a Captain Rossouw was here some years, but I cannot remember exactly which years they were.

TERBLANCHE: Who was that?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Brigadier – he is now Brigadier Rossouw.

TERBLANCHE: And you did not take over from him?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No.

JUDGE VAN WYK: What is your rank now?

³⁷¹⁷ Major Daniel Jacobus Rossouw testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Major

TERBLANCHE: Do you know someone by the name of Hendrik Mulder?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes

TERBLANCHE: He claims that he spoke to a Captain Rossouw last year.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes I do remember someone by that name calling me last year.

TERBLANCHE: What did he say to you? Why did he call you?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: He called me on two occasions. The first time he wanted to report that he had overheard two Coloured people working in a factory in Paarden Island discussing how to kill the children of the Security Police and even how to kill the Police. On the second occasion he told me that his wife had run away and asked me to help him find her.

TERBLANCHE: Did you investigate the first report Major?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes, and it was found to be groundless.

TERBLANCHE: Did he call you on any other occasion?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No.

TERBLANCHE: Did he ever tell you that certain people had told him that the Prime Minister would be killed and that he had told you about this?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: I have no knowledge of this whatsoever

TERBLANCHE: He never said this to you?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No he never said that to me.

TERBLANCHE: Do you know someone called Nagel?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: At the moment he lives in Port Elizabeth – I do not know his rank - No I do not know this person.

TERBLANCHE: Did anyone call you after the death of the Prime Minister and tell you, “Major (or Captain) Mulder told you that this would happen” and that you replied that you do recall something like that?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No I deny this – I know nothing about this.

TERBLANCHE: I want to move on to something else now - in your investigation did you find certain evidence about certain parcels for Tsafendas at the Post Office?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes, this was brought to my attention during the investigation from the Woodstock Police that a Mrs “Taizer” had handed him a document. A member of the police brought this slip to my office at my request and I then sent a staff member to retrieve the parcel from the Post Office and found that it was not a parcel but a letter – a pamphlet containing Bible texts.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Where is the pamphlet now?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: I gave it to Tsafendas.

TERBLANCHE: Can you recall the origin of the letter?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes, it came from America.

TERBLANCHE: Can you remember who sent it?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No, but I wrote it down and it is in my office.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Was this handed over to a Code expert to determine whether it contained a code?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No I examined it myself and am confident that there was no code in at all Your Honour.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes but even though it was a printed document it could still have been in code?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: True, but I found several more of these texts addressed to him and am satisfied that none of them were in code – they were just Bible texts with the quotations from the verses of the Bible

JUDGE VAN WYK: You are aware that the Bible is often used for code purposes, the order of the texts and so on?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes I am perfectly aware of that, but in this case I am certain this is not the case. I deal with these matters frequently and am confident that in this case there were no codes in the pamphlets.

TERBLANCHE: Was the name of the sender perhaps Barandella?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No. The name Barandella is known to me and it is not Barandella. This was someone in America – I cannot recall it now

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes but there is also a Barandella in America

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No I am not aware of this.

JUDGE VAN WYK: There is a Barandella.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: The Barandella of whom I know is a young Coloured girl.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes she has an uncle in America

MAJ. ROSSOUW: I am not aware of that Your Honour. I will be able to find out the name for you.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes I should like to see those pamphlets which you found

MAJ. ROSSOUW: If Tsafendas still has them. I do not know whether he still has them because we gave them to him shortly after his arrest and I think he has nothing with him in the cell but I shall try to determine whether he still has them.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes it will be better that the Commission should see it.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Certainly I shall do my best to get hold of this but I really do not know that it will be available.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Are you the person who took a declaration from Tsafendas in the prison cell?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes I took a declaration from him.

TERBLANCHE: Did you question him later?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes I did and wrote the questions and the answers.

JUDGE VAN WYK: What language did you use with him?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: English.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And was it read out to him afterwards?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did he admit everything

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes and he was satisfied and signed it.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you get the impression that what he said was the truth or did you think that sometimes he was sly?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: I thought that he told the truth. I never got the impression that he tried to evade any question. He answered all the questions spontaneously.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Was he totally prepared to answer everything?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes

JUDGE VAN WYK: What was your impression – how does he feel about his deed? Does he regret it, or is he indifferent about it or did he not show any obvious emotion about it?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: I shall answer you to the best of my ability – when I originally questioned him I accused him of being a horrible murderer. To which he answered, “That is what you think, but the world thinks differently!” At a later stage I asked him whether he regretted his deed yet and he answered that he did feel remorse and that he was very sorry about what he had done.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Another thing is that there is a lot of evidence that on the Friday morning BEFORE the murder people had been running back and forth screaming to one another that Dr. Verwoerd had been murdered – are you aware of this?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes I am aware of that.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you come across anyone who had said that he had been told about the plan by Tsafendas?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No he denies this strenuously. I have asked him repeatedly whether he had told anyone of his plan to murder the Prime Minister and he had always specifically said that he had never told anyone about this.

JUDGE VAN WYK: All the statements thus far have concurred that he did not drink, but one person stated that sometimes he would drink a whole bottle after which he became very talkative. Are you aware of any of this?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: He always told me that he did not drink at all; although I have come across one or two who said that they had seen him drink beer.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Have the Security Police ever found old Communist member lists dating from the 1940's?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: No I am not aware that such lists have been found. I do know that with the Rivonia trial such lists were found but they were new lists, not the old ones.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Around 1953 when the anti-Communist Act was promulgated, and the Communist Party was banned and even before then, the police did have documents relating to it and I wonder if they still exist and whether it would be possible to find them.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes although I was obviously not attached to the Security Police when the Communist Party was banned, but we do possess old files which should indicate whether there are such name lists of members.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Tsafendas said that he was a member for ten years from 1936 and I should want to obtain those old files.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes I shall investigate whether I can find such old files. But we also compiled files on all the people who were brought to our attention and if any such files contained his name then we would have opened a file on him and we do not have such a file, not locally in the Cape.

JUDGE VAN WYK: No not just in Cape Town – he would not have been a member here – but the liquidator of the Communist Party would have such a complete list of all Communists.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes we do possess those lists and I shall investigate this and bring the information to you.

TERBLANCHE: Is Evidence “T” which is a photocopy, the first statement that you took from him?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: Is Evidence “U” the other further questioning that you conducted with him?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes.

Handed in as evidence.

TERBLANCHE: Major there is a memorandum here that you presented in which the name of the person who sent the registered letter to is “Vaughan A. Tomkins”?

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes that is the name.

TERBLANCHE: Of “38 Walnut Street, Arlington F.4, Massachusetts, U.S.A.?”

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Yes.

COMMENTS ON MAJOR ROSSOUW'S TESTIMONY

This is a very important testimony as Major Rossouw was the police officer who questioned

Tsafendas while in custody. Major Rossouw was not a psychiatrist, but he was a senior police officer, with extensive experience of questioning prisoners, and thus a natural choice as Tsafendas's lead interrogator. As such, he must certainly have been able to tell whether Tsafendas could follow a conversation for more than fifteen minutes, whether he talked in a disjointed manner or suffered from thought-blocking. These were the characteristics imputed to Tsafendas in court, in effect that he was someone who could not answer questions or gave vague or irrelevant responses. However, Rossouw made no mention of any such issues in his testimony, saying instead that Tsafendas did not evade any questions and replied spontaneously to everything he was asked, while this was after he interrogated Tsafendas for many hours on several separate occasions.

More to the point, Rossouw got the impression that Tsafendas told the truth. It is important here to look at compatibility. What Tsafendas told Rossouw is compatible with what he told several witnesses before and after the assassination; it is also compatible with the evidence gathered by the police. However, it is not compatible with what was heard in the court about him or the way he was described by the Commission, particularly in regard to his motive for killing Dr. Verwoerd. However, as we will see, although the Commission was in possession of Tsafendas's statements to the police and the testimony of the officer who questioned Tsafendas and recorded those statements, its Report ignored what Tsafendas had to say about his motive. Instead the Commission turned to speculation, presenting a quite inaccurate and obscure picture of what it purported to believe was his motive.

A very important issue discussed by the Commission and Rossouw concerned the reported exchanges about Dr. Verwoerd's death at the *Eleni*. The Commission asked him,

"Another thing is that there is a lot of evidence that on the Friday morning BEFORE the murder, people had been running back and forth screaming to one another that Dr. Verwoerd had been murdered – are you aware of this?"

It is clear the Commission attached great importance to this incident. Rossouw replied that he knew of the incident but was unable to shed any light on it as Tsafendas denied that he had discussed his plans with anyone and he had no other information. The Major was telling the truth because most of those involved in the conversation were no longer in South Africa but had sailed on the *Eleni*. The South African police would subsequently question all the *Eleni* sailors and find out why and how this discussion had taken place that Friday morning. However, their evidence would be omitted from the Report and instead the Commission

would speculate fruitlessly about what might have taken place when the sailors had told the police exactly what happened.

Another important aspect of Rossouw's testimony is that he makes no mention of the tapeworm. Indeed, nowhere in his testimony does he say anything to suggest that he thought Tsafendas to be insane, quite the opposite. As for the tapeworm, if Tsafendas believed he had a tapeworm and this had something to do with the assassination, would he not have told Rossouw, who questioned him so many times?

A final issue highlighted by Major Rossouw is that Tsafendas not only failed to show any remorse about the killing, but appeared to be happy and proud of it. When Rossouw accused him of being "a horrible murderer," Tsafendas replied, "That is what you think, but the world thinks differently." This remark clearly reflects Tsafendas's conviction that several people in South Africa and around the world would see his action as he saw it, namely as the justifiable killing of a tyrant.

N.D. HARTFORD³⁷¹⁸

In July, 1966, Tsafendas had a long interview with Mr. Hartford of the Cape Argus. They had already met at the beginning of the year when Tsafendas came to enquire whether there was any news of the so-called freedom fighters of Mozambique. He described himself as a rebel from Mozambique. Mr. Hartford thought that he might be able to provide material for a magazine article and asked him to return later for an interview. This interview was postponed a few times until it took place sometime in July. It lasted about 75 minutes. Tsafendas recounted inter alia, how he had entered the Union illegally in 1936. He made no secret of his strong anti-Portuguese feelings, but did not utter a word against the South African Government. He complained, inter alia, that he still suffered from headaches as a result of the treatment he had been given by the Portuguese in Lisbon after the war. Mr. Hartford's impression was that Tsafendas was normal; he had no reason to believe that he was mentally defective. This witness had listened to the evidence in the Supreme Court on Tsafendas's condition after the death of Dr. Verwoerd and his impression was that his condition must have deteriorated since the interview for, when he interviewed Tsafendas, the latter spoke fluently without any noticeable gaps in the conversation. He added, however,

³⁷¹⁸ Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

*that after he had heard the evidence, it occurred to him that Tsafendas had in fact sometimes evaded his questions, but not to such an extent as to arouse his suspicions about his mental condition.*³⁷¹⁹

THE MULDER CASE

Hendrik Johannes Mulder had given a statement to the police on October 5. He had testified that he was offered £20,000 by three men to eliminate Dr. Verwoerd but he refused. The offer was renewed twice by telephone, where they called and said they had a fool-proof method of killing Dr. Verwoerd – by arranging a job for him in the Houses of Parliament. At another time, he had said a customer at a garage where he worked asked him to kill Dr. Verwoerd. Mulder also said two different men offered him a large sum to blow up the *Die Burger* newspaper building and that on another occasion he was blindfolded and taken to a meeting in a block of flats. Mulder was not able to describe any of these contacts with any precision. On October 14, Mulder and two policemen who were involved in his case – Laubser and van Wyk – gave evidence to the Commission. Mulder's testimony was similar to the one he gave to the police.

HENDRIK JOHANNES MULDER'S TESTIMONY TO THE COE³⁷²⁰

Declaration under oath.

Examined by Mr. Terblanche and Judge van Wyk:

TERBLANCHE: Mr Mulder where do you live?

MULDER: I live in Heathfield, Galway Road.

TERBLANCHE: And where do you work?

MULDER: For a firm called Decoza Knitting Mills in Cape Town

TERBLANCHE: And what is the nature of your work?

MULDER: Costing Accountant.

³⁷¹⁹ This testimony was not found in the archives, but according to the Commission's Report, the interview took place on November 11, 1966.

³⁷²⁰ Hendrik Johannes Mulder testimony in the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

TERBLANCHE: Are you a South African citizen, were you born in this country?

MULDER: Yes

TERBLANCHE: Where do you come from?

MULDER: From Uitenhage, sir

TERBLANCHE: Have you been overseas?

MULDER: Yes, I was in Venezuela, South America for 7 years

TERBLANCHE: What did you do there, Mr Mulder?

MULDER: I worked for Sekoni Mobil Oil as a career diver

TERBLANCHE: And did you encounter firearms in your work?

MULDER: Well, not actually firearms, but I learned a lot about explosives. We often had to open areas with explosives, with fuses, know how to cut certain lengths, because when one is under water, at a certain depth, there must be enough time to get away before the explosion.

TERBLANCHE: What kind of firm was it?

MULDER: An oil company – many of our oil mines were beneath the water of Lake Maracibo.

TERBLANCHE: Did you also learn self-defence?

MULDER: Yes, I am an expert in Kung-fu which is the Chinese version of Karate.

TERBLANCHE: Where did you learn this, Mr Mulder?

MULDER: In Maracibo. I encountered it in one of the JoJo's of clubs where this art was practised. I am the only man in the Republic who can slice two bricks in half.

TERBLANCHE: How do you do this?

MULDER: It can be done with the heel of the hand or with the side of the hand. Like this

TERBLANCHE: Would you describe yourself as an expert in dangerous explosives?

MULDER: Not exactly an expert, but "I can make any gimmick" to explode things. On one occasion I wanted to add something to my petrol tank, but someone had put sand in my engine. One of the security police told me to walk away from the situation, and not meddle with explosives – so I walked away from the situation.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you want to put sand in again to blow up the car?

MULDER: No I just wanted to give him a fright.

JUDGE VAN WYK: There was a report about this in the Burger newspaper not so?

MULDER: Yes, I gave a shooting demonstration to the Burger.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Are you a good shot?

MULDER: Yes I would always be successful in shooting someone.

TERBLANCHE: What kind of weapon do you use?

MULDER: My favourite is the American M.1911-45, which is an automatic pistol.

TERBLANCHE: Are you better with a pistol than with a shotgun? Or vice-versa?

MULDER: Well, I am handier with a pistol than with other firearms. I am accurate with all firearms, but am more comfortable with a pistol, certainly as regards speed.

TERBLANCHE: Special holsters are made especially for them, but you probably don't wear them, like the cowboys, do you?

MULDER: No, they are worn under one's shoulder, with a strap over the back of the shoulder and the holster is totally open, but there is a spin which holds it in place. This is so that one does not have to lift up the pistol, one can just pull the trigger by taking hold of the jacket with a fingertip, then take hold of the handle, pull it forward and the point of the holster is fastened to part of the pants so that the holster cannot move out of place with the pistol.

TERBLANCHE: Are your pistols specially prepared for you?

MULDER: No, not at all.

TERBLANCHE: Are they just the normal types?

MULDER: Yes they are normal but they one I previously mentioned is not obtainable in the Republic anymore today.

TERBLANCHE: While you were in South America did you also visit Argentina?

MULDER: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: What happened to you while you were there?

MULDER: At that time in Argentina someone shot Evuart [sic] Peron and several of us were held in prison on suspicion that we were responsible for shooting him and while in prison one

of the others made it look as if he had hung himself and when the guards came in to investigate, we overcame them and managed to escape from jail.

TERBLANCHE: So you escaped, and how did you get away from there?

MULDER: With the boat of one of the Argentinians called a gunboat which is very fast.

TERBLANCHE: Did they find you?

MULDER: No, they could not find us, because we then returned to Venezuela, from which we could not be extradited.

TERBLANCHE: How did you get to Venezuela?

MULDER: We returned with one of the gunboats.

TERBLANCHE: Did you go there with one of the gunboats?

MULDER: No we went by aeroplane, but returned using the gunboat because we were trying to escape detection at all the airports, and rail connections because they would all have been alerted about us.

TERBLANCHE: How did you get to the gunboat?

MULDER: We knew from our tour through Buenos Aires that the gunboats were at anchor there.

TERBLANCHE: So you stole one?

MULDER: Yes we did steal one.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Were you detained although you were innocent?

MULDER: Yes, we were detained while we were entirely innocent. We were just strangers, and they just grabbed onto the nearest person, as often happens.

TERBLANCHE: You said you spent 7 years there?

MULDER: Yes. 7 years.

TERBLANCHE: Which years were those?

MULDER: Not exactly 7 years – from 1944-1950.

TERBLANCHE: When did you return to South Africa?

MULDER: I returned in January 1951.

TERBLANCHE: Where did you live after your return?

MULDER: I went to Port Elizabeth.

TERBLANCHE: How long did you live there?

MULDER: I lived there to 1955 or '56.

TERBLANCHE: Did you then go to Cape Town?

MULDER: Yes, I went to Cape Town.

TERBLANCHE: Have you been in Cape Town ever since then?

MULDER: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: Were you not away from there at all?

MULDER: No, never left Cape Town.

TERBLANCHE: Which year was it that the article in the Burger referred to by the Judge appeared in print?

MULDER: I really cannot recall – I am not a collector and I do not keep these things.

TERBLANCHE: Give us the approximate year.

MULDER: Around August 1960.

TERBLANCHE: Please tell the Commission the gist of the article please.

MULDER: The article was about my method of shooting, the method of carrying my pistol and my accuracy – such as being able to shoot a penny from between someone's fingers; and also my method of throwing a knife and ability to fight with a knife.

TERBLANCHE: Did photos of you appear in the article?

MULDER: Yes, there were a few photos of me.

TERBLANCHE: After the publication of this article did anything happen because of it?

MULDER: Yes, one evening while I was practising my Kung-fu in the garage, someone knocked first at the front door where my wife directed them to the garage at the back of the house. They did not want to enter into the house, but went around the back and knocked on my garage door but did not want to enter it. They called me to go outside and congratulated me on the fact that I am such a wonderful shot and so on.

TERBLANCHE: You 'they' – how many people were there?

MULDER: Three people.

TERBLANCHE: Did you know them?

MULDER: No, I had never seen them before.

TERBLANCHE: And what language did they speak?

MULDER: They spoke English, but one of them spoke Afrikaans remarkably well, the few times that he did speak.

TERBLANCHE: Were they white people?

MULDER: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: You say they congratulated you?

MULDER: Yes, they congratulated me on being such a good shot and asked me where I had learned to shoot and so on. I thought that perhaps they were interested in a demonstration or something like that.

TERBLANCHE: Do you know how they got there?

MULDER: They had a motor car there which was parked on the corner and they walked a short distance to the house. When they left I did not want to go with them as I was wearing exercise clothes, but I saw them walk around towards the Main road and get into a car. I remember it was one of the 1956-57 Dodge cars, a green colour but I could not see the registration number or any other details as it was already dark.

TERBLANCHE: What did you talk about?

MULDER: They asked me if I like money.

TERBLANCHE: Can you tell us about the conversation in the same language in which it was conducted?

MULDER: The man asked me: "Do you like money?" So I said to him: "Well, who doesn't". Then he said: "Would you like to earn some money?" To which I answered: "It all depends". He then said: "Well, you can earn quite a substantial amount". Then I said to him: "But what's the job?" He then said to me: "Oh, it's a very easy job, and it's not so easy. It all depends on how you are going to go about it". Then I was naturally totally confused and he next said to me: "We want to get this bastard Verwoerd out of this world. Do you think you can eliminate him?" Then I said: "What are you talking about? I don't know what the hell

you're talking about". He then said: "Look, we're offering you an amount of 20,000 pounds to eliminate him". I said: "By what method?" So he said: "Well, you're a good shot. Shoot him". He said: "We will pay you the amount of 10,000 pounds now, and you sign a contract to the effect that you will shoot him. Once you have completed the job, we will pay you, or your wife and children, a further 10,000 pounds".

At this point, following a short interruption after the arrival of the Speaker, Terblanche continued with the questioning.

TERBLANCHE: Mr. Mulder, we got to where you told us about the offer which the three people made to you, please tell us what your answer was to them?

MULDER: My first answer was: "Don't you think the amount of 20,000 pounds is a little money for such a big man?" That was my first answer. Then I also said to him: "Look here, I am a married man". At that time I only had one child, a little boy, and then I said: "I am not interested in your offer."

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did it not shock you that people wanted to do such a thing?

MULDER: I do not know how you would feel, but I did not feel good about the whole idea. I wanted to deceive them, to put it bluntly, by accepting the first 10,000 pounds, but they wanted me to sign a contract and obviously they did not want to disclose in the contract what the organisation was or to whom I was responsible.

JUDGE VAN WYK: How did you want to do this?

MULDER: I tried to get hold of the first ten thousand pounds by saying to him:" Alright, I'll sign the contract-(and so- and- so) (sic) "but who am I responsible to?" Then they said, "No, never mind. You just sign the contract. We'll give you the ten thousand pounds".

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did they have the contract with them?

MULDER: Yes, they had the contract with them and they wanted me to sign it.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Was it a typed document or handwritten?

MULDER: No, they would not show it to me. I again asked him: "Who am I responsible to?" but they would not answer my question.

TERBLANCHE: And when you told them.

MULDER: When I told them that I was not interested, they left.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Where did the conversation take place?

MULDER: At my home, at the back next to my garage.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Can you describe the men? How old would you say they were?

MULDER: I cannot remember now. The one man I shall be able to recognise easily if I saw him today. He was short, I estimate about five foot six. He was well set. He had a large face, but it was not fat and he spoke fluent Afrikaans. He had curly hair, light curly hair, not exactly blonde, but light curly hair and this is the one I can remember very well.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Light curly hair?

MULDER: Light curly hair. The other one was a rather tall man – almost as tall as Detective van Wyk.

JUDGE VAN WYK: We do not know what he looks like!

MULDER: He was tall but he was wearing a hat. I could not see him very well. He was very slim. I cannot recall the third person anymore. The Security police took the descriptions from me at that time.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, but I want to know about the tall man with a hat. Did he have a dark or a light complexion?

MULDER: I really cannot say – as I said before, it was dark and they would not go into the garage where the light was on – everything was done outside.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But the other man which you could see?

MULDER: The other man I saw half-and-half, because the garage light fell on him at one stage.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And what were they wearing?

MULDER: The one person whom I can remember – I cannot remember at all what he was wearing. The other one I know was wearing a hat and a suit. And one was wearing sports clothes.

JUDGE VAN WYK: When they left did you not think: “Good Heavens, I must report these men to the Police?”

MULDER: Yes, I did think so, and I did it the next day – I immediately phoned the Security Police and told them what had happened.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, and then?

MULDER: The following day the Security Police came to see me and I made a statement in that regard.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And were the footprints of the men still visible?

MULDER: No, my back yard is completely tarred.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And where their car had been parked?

MULDER: The spot where their car had been parked was also tarred and there were no footprints either.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did any of the men smoke?

MULDER: No, none of them smoked while we were standing there.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And did you ask them how they would pay you? Cash, or whatever?

MULDER: No, I did not ask the, as I was so shocked about the offer. I never thought that the little article in *Die Burger* would land me in such a situation.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Which Police came to see you? Can you remember?

MULDER: To the best of my memory, I may be wrong, but I remember the names Erasmus, van Wyk and Conradie. I cannot recall accurately.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did they come to see you the next day?

MULDER: Yes they came to see me the next day. I had telephoned them immediately to inform them.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And you say it was in 1960?

MULDER: Yes it was in 1960 – I think in November.

JUDGE VAN WYK: When was the first attempt on Dr. Verwoerd's life?

MULDER: I think it was in April, 1961, not so?

TERBLANCHE: Yes, the Rand Easter Show in 1961 in April I think.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Could one then say that it was 5 months later that he was shot?

TERBLANCHE: What about a member of the Security Police, Erasmus?

MULDER: I think I met Erasmus recently when was working in Main Road as an instructor in self-defence for the Police, and he came in and tried to smash my bricks in half. He then asked me if I was committed, because he wanted me to join him where he was then working, but he did not tell me what it was that he was doing at that time.

TERBLANCHE: Where were you living at that time? At the same address?

MULDER: Yes at the same address.

TERBLANCHE: Is that the address which you gave us?

MULDER: Yes.

TERBLANCHE: How long have you been living there?

MULDER: About six years.

TERBLANCHE: Did those men again try to contact you?

MULDER: I do not know whether the Police followed it up.

TERBLANCHE: You do not know? These people?

MULDER: Yes, they phoned several times at work at that time

TERBLANCHE: How long after this incident? After this first incident which you have just told the Commission about?

MULDER: It was about a year later that they called me again. Eight months or a year later they phoned me again asked whether I had not yet considered their offer.

TERBLANCHE: At your place of work?

MULDER: Yes, at work.

TERBLANCHE: And then, what did you say?

MULDER: I just told them: "Look, I told you that I am not interested", and I put down the phone.

TERBLANCHE: Did you report that incident to the Police?

MULDER: Yes, I did report it.

JUDGE VAN WYK: How did they know where you worked? How did they find out?

MULDER: I cannot remember. Someone probably asked me where I worked that night –but they had my home address – they got that from *Die Burger*. They told me that. I could in all probability have told them where I work. I really cannot remember. It was such a long time ago. I can imagine that one of them had asked me where I worked should they want to contact me again. I would have told them but also added that they should not do so, as I was not interested.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But if you had the plan to deceive them in order to get hold of the ten thousand pounds, then you must have been a little bit interested, not so?

MULDER: The thing is that one gets such a fright in that instant, about that sort of offer; I mean, murder is not a thing that one normally contemplates.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But if you were thinking about the ten thousand pounds?

MULDER: I did think about the money and that I would trick them, but I did not much want...

JUDGE VAN WYK: But if they were prepared to give you the ten thousand pounds, then you could easily afterwards say to them that you knew nothing of ten thousand pounds! They could not after all sue you!

MULDER: Yes, but I also thought that if I did that, then could afterwards come after my wife and child.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you tell your wife about this that night?

MULDER: My wife knows about it.

JUDGE VAN WYK: What did she say?

MULDER: She said I should stay away from such things.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Is your wife a South African?

MULDER: Yes, she is a Boer. She comes from Worcester.

TERBLANCHE: And were these the only two occasions that these people or any other person got in touch with you?

MULDER: No, someone phoned me about a year ago.

TERBLANCHE: Where were you when this person called you?

I was then working at Stewarts & Lloyds and I have no idea how they knew I was there.

TERBLANCHE: Yes?

MULDER: They asked me if I had reconsidered the offer. Then I said to them: "Look chaps, I have told you once before, I am not interested".

JUDGE VAN WYK: What did they say?

MULDER: They said to me: "We have a fool proof method by which you can actually eliminate Dr. Verwoerd. Then I said to him: "How" Then he said to me "We can arrange it that you get a job in the House of Parliament." Then they said to me that in that instance I would be close to Dr. Verwoerd on many occasions.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And then?

MULDER: My answer was short and to the point. I just said: "No dice" and I threw down the phone.

JUDGE VAN WYK: "No dice?"

MULDER: Yes, "No dice"! and then I threw down the phone – it is a slang word.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, but did you not then think: "Bit I must get the man to come to me, then I can set it up so that the police can catch him while he is with me", for instance?

MULDER: Your Honour, I have given certain information to the Police. We will come to one instance later. When they phoned me at Stewarts & Lloyds, I phoned the Security Police and told them about it.

JUDGE VAN WYK: That is the matter about which you have just told us?

MULDER: Yes, I told them, and I think in that instance I spoke to a Captain Rossouw at the Security Police in the city.

TERBLANCHE: You spoke telephonically?

MULDER: Yes, telephonically. I called them with the purpose that they could possibly take a declaration from me, or that we could possibly make a plan by which if they should phone me again, we could 'trap' them by tracing the phone from which they were speaking.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, but why did you not then do so when he made the offer again?

MULDER: Yes, but the whole office was full of people.

JUDGE VAN WYK: So then you did nothing further – did you just talk?

MULDER: No, then I phoned him

JUDGE VAN WYK: You phoned him to tell him about?

MULDER: I phoned him and told him that I want to tell him about it and I said to him: "This is what the offer was about and the next attack on Dr. Verwoerd's life will take place in the Parliamentary building.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Was it Rossouw to whom you said this?

MULDER: Yes, I think so.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And so?

MULDER: His response was: "Mr Mulder, you do not have to worry. Our Prime Minister is very well protected. We cannot do anymore."

TERBLANCHE: Did you suggest to him that you would help to catch those people?

MULDER: Yes, I wanted to work with the Security Police to catch them when they come to me again.

TERBLANCHE: But did you say this to the person with whom you spoke when you phoned him?

MULDER: No, no, I did not speak to them about at all again – I was very short and to the point with them.

TERBLANCHE: No, no, no! When you spoke to the Police?

MULDER: Oh with the Police?

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, when you phoned Mr. Rossouw?

MULDER: Well, when he answered me in that way I thought oh well, they are not interested. I am not either. I am just making a fool of myself.

JUDGE VAN WYK: You just said that you think it was Captain Rossouw?

MULDER: Yes, I think is Capt. Rossouw.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Can you not say so with certainty?

MULDER: I cannot say so with certainty, but a while ago someone phoned him, just after Dr. Verwoerd was murdered and then it was mentioned to him. Then he said yes, he could remember such an incident. He said he is also not certain.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Who called him?

MULDER: A friend called Nagel.

JUDGE VAN WYK: A friend of yours?

MULDER: I do not want to involve him here.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, but we would really want to know this. Nagel phoned Rossouw?

MULDER: Yes, he phoned Rossouw and said to him: "You see what happened? Mulder warned you." Then Capt. Rossouw said to him: "Yes, I know Mulder – I can remember something like that."

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you also tell Nagel about this?

MULDER: Just after I had made the declaration and after I had called Capt. Rossouw, I told Nagel about the incident and I said: "They are not at all interested. Now they must just do whatever they want to do."

TERBLANCHE: Did he work with you at that time?

MULDER: No, he was just a friend. He is now in Port Elizabeth or one of those places. I do not know exactly where he is. He was here a while ago when he came to say goodbye and that he was going away.

TERBLANCHE: What did he do here in the Cape?

MULDER: He worked at a newspaper or something like that, if I am not mistaken. I had met him at one of the "clubs".

TERBLANCHE: Which club was that?

MULDER: One of our practice clubs. I was also an Instructor at the Technical College.

TERBLANCHE: So it was at the Technical College that you met him?

MULDER: I am not sure where I had met him.

JUDGE VAN WYK: How long after the conversation where people had told you that Dr. Verwoerd would be murdered in the Parliamentary building did you tell this information to Nagel?

MULDER: I think it was within a week of the incident – the murder of Dr. Verwoerd.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you see him again after that?

MULDER: No, I did not see him again after that, but just after Dr. Verwoerd's murder he called me again.

JUDGE VAN WYK: From which place did he call you?

MULDER: He called me from here in the city. He was here in the city.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And what did he say to you?

MULDER: He said: "Hennie, your prophecy came true". But at that time I did not actually even know what had happened.

JUDGE VAN WYK: So you did not know what he was talking about?

MULDER: That is correct – I did not know what he was referring to, so I asked him: "What do you mean?" And then he said: "Dr. Verwoerd was murdered this morning"

JUDGE VAN WYK: Where were you when he called you?

MULDER: I was in the office where I am now working.

JUDGE VAN WYK: How long have you been working there?

MULDER: For about 4 months.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But how did he know that you work here if he has been away for such a long time?

MULDER: I wrote to him from time to time and his father probably gave my letters to him, but I had not heard from him for a long time.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And where did you write to him – what address?

MULDER: I addressed the letters to the National Printers. His father worked there – but I do not know if he is still there.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Does he not now have his own printers firm?

MULDER: I have no idea. He had problems with his wife and then he began drinking and so forth and moved on.

JUDGE VAN WYK: So he phoned you and said to you?

MULDER: "Your prophecy has come true".

TERBLANCHE: Did he say anything else when he phoned you?

MULDER: I cannot remember.

TERBLANCHE: Did he call you again after that?

MULDER: No, he did not call me again, but someone else did call me one day.

TERBLANCHE: I am asking you this because you said that he had talked to Capt. Rossouw.

MULDER: Yes, he apparently had talked to Capt. Rossouw.

TERBLANCHE: Then I want to know how you know that?

MULDER: He said so to me. He said that he had phoned Capt. Rossouw.

TERBLANCHE: In the same conversation?

MULDER: In the same conversation and asked him if he remembered if he knew me. Then Capt. Rossouw said to him: "yes, we know Mulder." Then he said: "Now I remember that he had warned you a year ago about an attack on Dr. Verwoerd in the Parliamentary building. Then Capt. Rossouw said yes he could remember something like that. He just was not absolutely sure, because so much water has flowed under the bridge.

TERBLANCHE: You also wanted to say something about 14 days ago?

MULDER: No, quite a while ago someone phoned me just after Dr. Verwoerd's death. I just do not know how they knew where to get hold of me.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Where did you get the phone call?

MULDER: They called me at work.

JUDGE VAN WYK: An English or Afrikaans-speaking person?

MULDER: English – the same voice as before.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And what did he say?

MULDER: "You see, Mulder, we had no need for you anymore. Somebody else did the job for us. And I can predict now that Advocate Vorster won't last another six months". Whether someone was playing the fool or not, I don't know, but that is what happened.

TERBLANCHE: Mr. Mulder, when you saw in the press that the Commission had been established, did you then put yourself forward to make a declaration?

MULDER: These declarations had already been made by me to the Police.

TERBLANCHE: Yes, but did you do so again?

MULDER: Yes, I made a declaration again.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Tell me, when did the three people contact you for the first time?

MULDER: It was in 1960.

JUDGE VAN WYK: So, in 1960, apart from your wife and the Police, did you tell anyone else?

MULDER: No, I never told anyone else. I never told anyone else, because I just felt it was none of their business and they might think I was playing the fool.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But did you not feel a little bit insulted that those people had thought that you would have been prepared to commit such a deed?

MULDER: Well, to tell the truth, I did not feel insulted immediately, but I was shocked. I was shocked that people could come to me with such an offer. After all, a married man with a wife and a child – to come to a man with such an offer just because he is a good shot and can fight well – this is just ridiculous. To tell the truth, I regard the incident as a farce. I thought they were playing the fool.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But after all they were strangers, so why would they play the fool with you?

MULDER: Yes, but I thought maybe they were just trying to test me, or something like that, because my name had appeared in the newspaper. Many people who come to see me say: “You are the bloke I saw in the paper who smashes bricks. Can you smash a brick?” I say, “Of course I can”. Then they go outside and pick up bricks and say: “Smash this brick for me”. And I say: “Alright, for five pounds I’ll do it for you.” It is unbelievable. They just do not believe it and many people do it just for a joke.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But have other people not also approached you to commit other murders? You know, to use your skills for other occasions – your firearm and so on?

MULDER: No, people like detectives have come to me. Quite a number of detectives and policemen that I have trained in Kung-fu – that is a deadly method of self-defence – all that kind of thing is what I do naturally.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Are there not people who are your enemies?

MULDER: Well, I think I have enemies – for instance quite a number of my family-in-law, who I have assaulted a number of times, but I do not think that I actually have enemies who want to land me in trouble.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Do you think that there are people who are opposed to you and perhaps have sent these people to you to get you into trouble?

MULDER: Possibly, quite possibly.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Have you ever felt that you are being watched or that people are following you?

MULDER: No, I have not felt that.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Possibly you feel that you have enemies and that they will do anything to get you into trouble?

MULDER: No, I have never had such a feeling.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And not in this instance, when the people came to you, did you not think that perhaps they wanted to get you into trouble?

MULDER: No, I have never had such an idea.

JUDGE VAN WYK: You did think it was a case of people “playing the fool”?

MULDER: I actually thought it could have been a prank.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But to be safe did you not think to protect yourself?

MULDER: For safety, to cover myself, in case anything happened, I always called the Security Police. I felt revulsion and very hurt the morning that I found out that Dr. Verwoerd had been murdered in Parliament, because I had already given them the warning a year earlier.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Apart from this Nagel, who else did you tell that Dr. Verwoerd – about the people who told you that Dr. Verwoerd would be murdered?

MULDER: No, I never told anyone else.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But did you not say?

MULDER: I can tell you that after that incident a year ago when I phoned Capt. Rossouw, that I simply felt that I would be making a fool of myself to disclose these things. I just felt

that they had not taken any steps, and so I would be making a fool of myself. I thought, leave it alone, what will be, will be and I shall not get myself involved in such things.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, but you did then tell Nagel a week later?

MULDER: Yes, I did tell him about the little incident.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, but why just Nagel and not your wife as well?

MULDER: He was a very good friend and he is the kind of person who would keep it to himself. He is not the sort of person who would go to others and say Hennie said so and so.

JUDGE VAN WYK: So, it was only him?

MULDER: Yes, I only told him.

JUDGE VAN WYK: When did he leave the Cape?

MULDER: Well, I do not know – about ten or fourteen days after Dr. Verwoerd after he phoned me – it was the same day that Dr. Verwoerd was murdered, not afterwards. Then he left again.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you see each other again?

MULDER: No, I did not see him at all, but I was only in touch with him telephonically.

JUDGE VAN WYK: So what did he come here for?

MULDER: I have no idea, Your Honour, I have no idea at the moment what Basil does, or where he works, or whether he works for himself. He talked about starting his own business for a long time, but he does not want to work in the Cape, he wants to get away from the Cape. So I think he just took to the road. But I think there is a Nagel in the Cape who worked at the Commercial printers and who had his own business. Perhaps it is his father.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Where does his father live?

MULDER: No, I do not know. His father did live in the city for a while, but I do not know as I never went to his house.

JUDGE VAN WYK: You just met him at the Club?

MULDER: This fellow Nagel I met at the Club. He told me he worked at the Commercial Printers.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But he was actually a good friend?

MULDER: He was a good friend of mine – in the sense that he was very interested in self-defence and so on and in physical exercise.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But you also have good friends amongst the Police too?

MULDER: Yes, I have several friends in the Police. For example Sybrand Hitchcock.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But why did you not tell them “What is wrong with the men that they do not want to negotiate?”

MULDER: Yes, but at that time when this incident happened, there were not any of the police with me in the Club.

JUDGE VAN WYK: I see. When did you start with them?

MULDER: Sybrand Hitchcock has only been with me for the last six or seven months. There were a few other police officers, like Odendaal and so on, who came to the club, but they could not deal with the hard physical exercise, so they soon left.

JUDGE VAN WYK: When did you get the call that Dr. Verwoerd would be murdered in the House of Assembly? When was that?

MULDER: Just a short while before he was murdered. After his murder, someone called me about Advocate Vorster.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, but did you then tell Hitchcock about it?

Yes, I did tell him about it.

JUDGE VAN WYK: You told Hitchcock about Advocate Vorster?

MULDER: Yes, I told him and then he said: “Why do you not go to the Security Police?” So I said: “No look, I did so a year ago when I warned about Dr. Verwoerd and I just made a fool of myself”.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And when was it that you warned them about Dr. Verwoerd?

MULDER: Around November 1960 – I may be wrong as the dates are no longer so clear for me.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But when did you warn them?

MULDER: I warned them the same day that the people came to see me.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, but when you warned them that Dr. Verwoerd would be murdered in the House of Assembly?

MULDER: That was a year ago.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Yes, but when exactly?

MULDER: Around August of last year. The people who had come to see me originally said that there was a new movement starting up which is financed from England and that is called "The South African Freedom Army". And I gave the police this information about two months before they became aware of it.

JUDGE VAN WYK: When did you give them this information?

MULDER: No, I cannot remember that anymore.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Did you give that information to the Police?

MULDER: Yes, to the police.

JUDGE VAN WYK: The Security Police?

MULDER: I told them that there is in the Republic a movement which is financed in England and the name is The South African Freedom Army and I believe that they dispersed those people.

JUDGE VAN WYK: When did you give the information to them? Can you remember?

MULDER: No, Your Honour, I cannot remember anymore.

JUDGE VAN WYK: When did you get the information about the South African Freedom Army? When did you get it?

MULDER: No, I cannot remember. The Police have all the records of the information which I gave them, but I remember that two months.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But did the same people come to you more than once?

MULDER: No they were only at my house on one occasion.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Then that must have been the occasion when they told you about the Freedom Army or was it when they phoned you?

MULDER: No these people told me about the SA Freedom Army at that time.

JUDGE VAN WYK: The same people?

MULDER: The same people told me that at that same time. Yes it was at the same time that they told me about the Freedom Army and then I told them – the Security Police. The same time that I made the declaration about the offer.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Oh?

MULDER: And two months after that there was a press report about a movement called the South African Freedom Army. I think the morning that I spoke to Sergeant van Wyk and then I asked him whether he had seen the press report and whether he remembered that I had told him about it a short while previously. Then I referred him to my declaration.

JUDGE VAN WYK: And what did he say?

MULDER: I cannot recall what Sgt. van Wyk had said – just that he had seen it.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Why should he know about it? Was he one of the policemen whom you had told about the incident?

MULDER: Yes, Sgt. van Wyk was one of the men attached to the Security Police of that time and who came to me and who took a number of declaration/statements from me.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS-WITNESS DISMISSED

JOHANNES PETRUS FRANCOIS VAN WYK'S TESTIMONY TO THE COE³⁷²¹

Declared under Oath.

Examined by Mr. Terblanche and Judge van Wyk:

TERBLANCHE: Mr. van Wyk, are you a Detective-Sergeant attached to the Security Section of the SA Police?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: I am.

TERBLANCHE: Do you know the previous witness, Hendrik Mulder, who has just testified?

³⁷²¹ Johannes Francois Petrus van Wyk's testimony in the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: He is known to me.

TERBLANCHE: When did you meet him for the first time?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: It was in 1961. I cannot remember the precise date.

TERBLANCHE: Were you with someone or were you alone?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: I was with the retired Detective-Sergeant Loubscher [sic], also attached to the Security Police of that period.

TERBLANCHE: Why did you go to see him?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: Because he had on a previous occasion provided information to us about an intended sabotage action.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Which sabotage incident was this?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: He had stated that a proposition had been made to him about a fantastic amount of money which would be given to him if he was prepared to blow up the offices of "*Die Burger*" newspaper in Keerom St. in Cape Town.

TERBLANCHE: And that was the reason for your visit to him?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: That is correct.

TERBLANCHE: What did he tell you about that proposition which had been made to him?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: Well, he said that one evening two Jews went to his home and said that they had seen an article in "*Die Burger*"³⁷²² newspaper the supplement section – which dealt with his expertise with firearms.

TERBLANCHE: Yes?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: They apparently said to him that if he was prepared to blow up the offices of *Die Burger* newspaper in Keerom St. they would pay him a fantastic amount of money.

TERBLANCHE: Did he mention the amount?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: I recall the amount of R20,000.00. It could have been either Rands or Pounds, but I do know that the amount was "twenty thousand".

TERBLANCHE: Did he mention how they wanted him to do it?

³⁷²² Incorrectly spelled as "*Bruger*" throughout this testimony.

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: They told him that it would be easy for him to gain entry to the offices by just going there and telling the Editor that he had another story to give them about his expertise with firearms, and that he should take along a parcel containing a time bomb. He should then leave the parcel in the offices and walk out. People who would later come across the parcel would simply assume that someone had forgotten it and leave it untouched.

TERBLANCHE: Mr. van Wyk, did the two of you question Mr. Mulder about this statement?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: I questioned him very thoroughly about his statement to us. He was very vague. He could not give a description about the two people, except that they looked like Jews. He said that they had arrived in a motor car, but could not provide the make, or colour or the registration number of the car, but emphasised that he definitely could identify them if he saw them again.

TERBLANCHE: Did you at that time make any arrangements with Mr. Mulder?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: We arranged that when the people visited him again he would notify us immediately.

TERBLANCHE: From what he had said did you think that those people would visit him again?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: He said that he had told them that he would help them, but that he needed time to think it over. His excuse was that he would want to be able to have the time to report the incident to us. According to him they said that they would return in two or three days. That was why we asked him to contact us immediately when they did so.

TERBLANCHE: Apart from that arrangement with him did you do anything else?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: Without saying anything to him we did actually keep the house under observation to see whether any people did indeed visit him. For almost ten days nobody visited him while we were there. So, we went to see him again, when he told us that the same two people had visited him again. That was during the time that we put his house under observation.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Why did he not inform you?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: He only claimed that he had been too busy. I then remarked that this was strange because we had not observed the car at his house. His immediate reaction was to claim that the car had parked at the bottom of the road and that he had only seen the red lights

as they drove away. I then repeated that it was strange that we had not seen the people enter the house, to which he replied that they had approached his house from behind the bushes which were behind the house.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Could he describe the people?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: He could never give a description apart from adding that one of them was starting to go grey just above his ears. That was the only description he could give.

TERBLANCHE: Did you approach him again?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: We asked him to stay in touch with us on a regular basis, and a while later I went to see him again to enquire why he had not been in touch with us. By that time he had again changed employment and we had difficulty in tracing him. He then told us that the men had again visited him when he was alone at home, and that they persuaded him to get into a large car with them and then they had driven to Sea Point where they all went into a block of flats and entered a flat on the 5th floor where 7 people were assembled. I questioned him thoroughly about this incident but he could not give a description of the car which I said to him was strange, but his reply was that when they entered his house they blindfolded him, led him to the car and forced him into the back of the car while the two men sat in the front. Then I asked him how he knew it was a large car and he replied that he could feel that it was large car and therefore assumed that it was large.

I asked him to try to get the number of the car, or the names of the people and also while he did not peep out of the blindfold while he was sitting in the back of the car. He then immediately responded that he had peeped, by moving the blindfold while he was bending down to fasten his shoelace, but that he still could not see anything because he found that there were two black curtains on the inside of the car windows.

I then asked him how he knew they were in Sea Point if he was blindfolded and his reply was that the roads were very steep and thus he made that assumption. When I asked him how he knew that the flat was on the 5th floor, he said that he felt the movement of the lift which took a little while to reach the next stage and so he knew that it was block of flats and not a house. When I asked him how he knew it was the 5th floor, he said that the one person had said to the other that he should press the button for the 5th floor.

Once again he could not identify them because he was blindfolded and when I asked him how he knew that there were 7 people, he said because he could distinguish 7 voices, and then he added that he suddenly remembered, whilst he was talking to me, that while in the flat, he

once again moved his blindfold a fraction and noticed that the one person had red hair and that was the only description he could give of all the 7 people. This story sounded altogether too fantastic and we thought it was entirely implausible.

TERBLANCHE: Mr. van Wyk, did he ever report to you that people approached him to murder Dr. Verwoerd?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: Never. While he reported other things to me, he never mentioned an attack on Dr. Verwoerd.

TERBLANCHE: Have you ever spoken to his wife?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: No, we never saw her and I never saw her.

TERBLANCHE: Do you know a person by the name of Nagel?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: Well, I know several different people with that name.

JUDGE VAN WYK: He said it is a person who worked at the National Press to whom he had said that he had received a message about the murder on Dr. Verwoerd?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: No your Honour, I do not know that Nagel. The Nagels that I know are all criminals. They have no connection with this Mulder.

TERBLANCHE: He said that he had in 1960 also told the two of you about the "South African Freedom Army" which is based in England and operates here.

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: The only time that the "Freedom Army" was heard about was in 1963 when it was actually known as "The African Resistance Movement."

TERBLANCHE: No, he says the name was The South African Freedom Army and that it is financed in England and that it was after he had told the Police about his information that people had asked him to murder Dr. Verwoerd and also that after he had told the Police about the South African Freedom Army that 2 months later the newspapers first reported about these rumours and that he had then said that to you remember? Did he tell you about the South African Freedom Army?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: No he never reported this to me. He also never gave us any information about this subject and if he had given it to other members of the police force I would have heard about in the course of my work because it is those kind of files that I deal with personally all the time.

TERBLANCHE: Do you know a detective called Erasmus?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: Yes, that is Captain Erasmus of the Diamond Section.

TERBLANCHE: Was he based here in the Cape?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: He was here from the 1st of January until the 31st of March 1963, with the Security Section of the Police.

TERBLANCHE: And after that? Where did he go?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: Afterwards he served with the Diamond Section of the Police in different places.

TERBLANCHE: He told us that in 1960 he was offered R20,000.00 to murder Dr. Verwoerd. Have you any knowledge of this?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: No, your Honour. If he had given such information I should also have known about it.

TERBLANCHE: He said that they wanted to give 10,000.00 Pounds in advance and that then 10,000.00 Pounds after he had done it, but that he had to sign a document?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: No the first information from him was that which I have just given to you.

TERBLANCHE: Which information is this?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: About the sabotage at *Die Burger* offices.

TERBLANCHE: When he informed the Police?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: Yes, he did give other information about other people in 1963.

TERBLANCHE: What was the information that he gave in 1963?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: It was information that he gave to me personally, about the investigation about Alexander and others, who worked in the High Court in Cape Town. It involved a man called "Enval Marnie". A typewriter that Dr. Alexander used for the typing of his documents was hidden by "Enval Marnie" who worked at "Cape Oil Products" and Mr. Mulder worked at the same place and after it became known that Enval Marnie had given testimony in the case he reported to me that Enval Marnie held Communist meetings daily at his workplace and this was investigated and found to be false.

TERBLANCHE: Also found to be false?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: Found to be totally false.

TERBLANCHE: And did he come to you with that information?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: Soon after the man had testified and this was reported in the papers I bumped into him and he said to me by the way you probably know Enval Marnie and after I confirmed this he gave me the above statement.

TERBLANCHE: He has also told us that he is an Instructor at Wynberg and that he trains the Police in "Kung-fu"?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: I have no knowledge of this.

TERBLANCHE: He told us here that he has been working at the same place since about 1960. Do you know that he had worked at other places?

DT. SGT. VAN WYK: I know that at one time he worked at a place in Lower Main Road in Observatory. Unfortunately I am not now in a position to give the name of the firm. Afterwards he worked at a shop on the corner of Essik Street and Victoria Road in Woodstock. Then he worked for a while at Cape Oil Products in Maitland. Afterwards he worked at an engineering firm and now he is at another firm in Garfield Road in Claremont. He continually moves from one workplace to another. He makes a statement to us and then by the time we go to investigate it he has already moved to another workplace.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS-WITNESS EXCUSED

PETRUS GERHARDUS LAUBSER TESTIMONY TO THE COE³⁷²³

Declared under Oath.

Examined by Mr. Terblanche and Judge van Wyk:

TERBLANCHE: Mr. Laubser, you were attached to the Security Dept. of the SA Police from September 1961 until 1963?

LAUBSER: Yes I was.

³⁷²³ Petrus Gerhardus Loubser testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

TERBLANCHE: During that period did you come into contact with a certain Hendrik Mulder?

LAUBSER: Yes I did.

TERBLANCHE: I assume that you saw him here this morning?

LAUBSER: Yes, I saw him.

TERBLANCHE: How did it happen that you came into contact with him?

LAUBSER: It was during 1962, when one day I received an assignment from Major van der Westhuizen to speak to him concerning certain information, so Detective-Sergeant van Wyk and I went to see him and when we got to his house he told us that three white men had gone to his house the previous night and made a certain proposition to him, but he could not give us a description of the three men –

JUDGE VAN WYK: What was the proposition?

LAUBSER: He said that the three men had apparently read an article on him in the "*Klein Burger*" (so called at that time) – about his expertise with firearms and Karate and that sort of thing, and the men made the proposition that he should return to the *Burger* as he knew people there, and that they would give him a time bomb which he should leave there to blow up the building – and at a later stage –

JUDGE VAN WYK: Would they have paid him to do this?

LAUBSER: Yes, they would have paid him a certain amount to do this.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Can you remember what the amount was?

LAUBSER: No, I cannot remember anymore, but it was a large amount. Well. He then said that he would think about it and that they should visit him again, and then on a later occasion he also said to me that the three men had made a proposition to him, in that they wanted him to act as an instructor to 20,000 volunteers which he had already recruited. The training would take place at a camp which was to be established and he was wanted because of his expertise with firearms.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But the three men never returned to him.

LAUBSER: We placed him under observation on various evenings to see whether the alleged car returned to his house. I spoke to him on another occasion at the end of 1962. This took place at a shop in Main Road, Woodstock where he then worked at a men's outfitter.

The subject of motor cars came up and he then told me that around the time that Dr. Verwoerd had just come into power, around 1959, when he was working as a motor mechanic at a certain garage in District Six which was owned by a Jew, that he and a client argued about the outrageously high price of the repairs. This person then made a proposition to him about shooting Dr. Verwoerd, but he declined, saying he was not interested. Think about this: the proposition was made to him in 1959 and it was only in 1962 that he first reported the incident to us.

TERBLANCHE: Did you question him about this man?

LAUBSER: Yes I did. He said the man is no longer there. The garage is closed. He could not provide the man's name, he could not give the name of the garage, he could not remember anything!

TERBLANCHE: Could he give you any definitive description of these people?

LAUBSER: No he could not although we asked him repeated occasions. He just said that he thought they were three Jews. He could not give a description of the car and he could not describe the number or anything – nothing!

JUDGE VAN WYK: Do you know anything about a message that he had sent about someone calling him on the telephone?

LAUBSER: Yes from time to time he said that people were allegedly calling him repeatedly. The strange thing about all this is that at the time that he gave us the information he was unemployed and had been without work for months. But then as soon as he allegedly started working somewhere then these people would call – and how they knew about his workplace so quickly is beyond strange.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But he let you know about these calls made to him on more than one occasion?

LAUBSER: I do not know about that. I only went to him on that one occasion on Major van der Westhuizen's instruction.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But then how did he come to tell you about the many places where calls had been made to him?

LAUBSER: He told that to me after I had seen him again that the people had been calling him repeatedly.

JUDGE VAN WYK: I see.

LAUBSER: But he does not know – he never knows – I still do not believe that he knows who these people are or where they can be found.

JUDGE VAN WYK: But did he not ever tell you that he had received a call telling him that Dr. Verwoerd would be murdered in Parliament?

LAUBSER: No, I know nothing of that – he never told me about anything like that.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Have you ever heard that he had made that statement?

LAUBSER: No.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Have you heard it now?

LAUBSER: No, nothing yet.

JUDGE VAN WYK: He has just told us that he had called Captain Rossouw to give his this information.

LAUBSER: I see him quite often and I do not remember him telling me about this.

JUDGE VAN WYK: Where do you see him regularly?

LAUBSER: I have seen him on a number of occasions in Woodstock when he has walked past me and greeted me and although he knows that I am connected with the Security Police, he never reported this to me.

JUDGE VAN WYK: He has just said that he again had a call from someone who said that Advocate Vorster would only last six months now that they have dealt with Dr. Verwoerd?

LAUBSER: No your Honour, I do not know anything about this. I think the man has a fantastic imagination. That is my opinion of him.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS-WITNESS DISMISSED

CONCLUSION

Detective van Wyk testified that in 1962 Mulder claimed that two men offered him 20,000 Rand or pounds to blow up the offices of *Die Burger* newspaper by leaving a time-bomb in

the building in Cape Town. Mulder could not describe the men or their car. After Mulder reported the alleged offer to blow up the *Die Burger* newspaper building, the police secretly observed his house. Mulder later told him the two men had returned during this period, but the police watchers said no-one visited. Later again, Mulder claimed he was blindfolded and taken to a meeting on the 5th floor of a block of flats, a story which the police considered “altogether too fantastic and entirely implausible.”

Dt. Sgt. van Wyk said Mulder also claimed a man at his workplace held Communist meetings, an allegation which the police found to be false. As for the blindfolded visit to a block of flats, van Wyk said the police considered it “altogether too fantastic and entirely implausible.” Mulder also told Dt. Sgt. van Wyk in 1962 that three years earlier a man had asked him to assassinate Dr Verwoerd. The detective naturally stated that “the proposition was made to him in 1959 and it was only in 1962 that he first reported the incident to us.”

Laubser testified that he interviewed Mulder after he told police he had been offered a large sum of money to blow up the *Die Burger* newspaper by planting a time bomb, but he could not describe the men who made the offer. On another occasion, he said he was working as a mechanic at a garage when a customer tried to persuade him to shoot Dr. Verwoerd. He said he could not describe the customer and the garage itself was by now closed. Laubser concluded that Mulder “has a fantastic imagination.”

Mulder's story is far-fetched, full of inconsistencies and lies, as both policemen correctly noted. As to his connection with Tsafendas, the only remote connection was when Mulder claimed his contacts told him they could arrange access to Dr Verwoerd by securing a position in Parliament. That Tsafendas had reached Dr. Verwoerd by just such a method, as a Parliamentary messenger, had been all over the newspapers for more than a month. It is well within the bounds of possibility that an evident fantasist such as Mulder could have made up such a claim retrospectively to strengthen his story. The Commission quite rightly shared the two policemen's opinion regarding Mulder's testimony, and would not mention his case in its Report.

SYNOPSIS OF OTHER TESTIMONIES

The following are synopsis of testimonies or statements given to the Commission. They were found in the archives but have nothing or very little to say about Tsafendas and are of no importance:

THELMA BERYL SUDDER

Sudder was Rowley Israel Arenstein's secretary and was questioned by the police after they learned that Tsafendas often visited Arenstein's office in Durban. She testified on 22nd October:

"I was shown a police file containing several newspaper photographs of Tsafendas. I have never seen him in my office or with Mr. Arenstein. If Tsafendas did call to see Mr. Arenstein, I was the most likely person to attend to him. There was a rumour that Tsafendas had worked at the Court in Durban as an interpreter. Our offices are situated opposite the Court buildings (Supreme Court and Magistrate's Court). I had already discussed this fact before Capt. Broodryk had interviewed me, and I am therefore positive, as far as I am concerned, that he has never called at our office. To the best of my knowledge I have never seen him."³⁷²⁴

NICOLAI ROMANOFF (Crown Prince)³⁷²⁵

This appears to be the statement of person who calls himself the 'Crown Prince.' He testified that Tsafendas was a hired assassin hired by someone called John Pascilly in Tangier where he was "given full training then given a one-year living, then sent out on a job. He was hired by Col. Nasser who paid R100,000 for the assassination. The object being to destroy the PMs conference held in England at that time." He then went on to say that Tsafendas was also hired to assassinate Ian Smith, the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, on 21 September 1966, and then 5,000 guerrillas who were stationed in Zambia were going to invade the country.³⁷²⁶ The rest of the statement contains information along the same lines, some of it even more absurd

³⁷²⁴ Thelma Beryl Sudder statement to the COE, 22 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁷²⁵ No date is given in this statement.

³⁷²⁶ Nikolai Romanoff statement to the COE, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

which suggests that Romanoff's statement cannot be taken seriously. The Commission and the police also did not appear to treat his statement seriously.

PETER CECIL VISSER

Visser was the assistant manager at the Mount Nelson Hotel, Cape Town, where it was rumoured that Tsafendas had applied for a job. Visser testified that "Tsafendas did not apply to our hotel for a position."³⁷²⁷

ANATOLE URBANIAK

Urbaniak was manager of the Grand Hotel in Cape Town and a member of the hotel Board. He testified that Tsafendas had made a job application to the hotel Board in Pretoria, which was turned down, but he had not applied to the Grand Hotel in Cape Town. He had no personal knowledge of him.³⁷²⁸

HENDRIK KLOPPER

Klopper was the Speaker of the National Assembly and was in charge of Parliament and its staff, including messengers and cleaners. Klopper's testimony is sixteen pages long and involves discussion between him and the Commission on ways to improve security and which measures would work if implemented. None of it relates to Tsafendas or the assassination.³⁷²⁹

SAREL JOHANNES VENTER

He was a major in the South African police, attached to the staff of the Divisional Commissioner in Cape Town. His testimony concerns discussions he had in the past regarding security in the House of Assembly. It includes nothing about Tsafendas.³⁷³⁰

ROBERT JOHN MCFARLANE³⁷³¹

³⁷²⁷ Peter Cecil Visser statement to the COE, 3 November 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁷²⁸ Anatole Urbaniak statement to the COE, 3 November 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁷²⁹ Hendrik Klopper testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol.: 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

³⁷³⁰ Sarel Johannes Venter's statement, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

McFarlane, Secretary to the House of Assembly, gave evidence twice to the Commission, but there is nothing in his statements relevant to Tsafendas, who is not even mentioned. His first testimony mainly concerned internal security arrangements such as the duties of police, reception of parcels and vetting procedures. McFarlane testified for a second time on October 25, 1966, answering questions from the Commission about security arrangements in the House. These ranged over the quality and availability of messengers, screening practices and the question of previous convictions. McFarlane said the current system had operated without fault since 1910 and the House had employed many thousands of messengers.³⁷³²

³⁷³¹ Robert John McFarlane testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA; Robert John McFarlane testimony to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

³⁷³² Robert John McFarlane testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA; Robert John McFarlane testimony to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

STATEMENTS, LETTERS AND MEMORANDA

The following are important statements taken by the SA police on behalf of the Commission, as well as letters³⁷³³ and memoranda sent to the Commission. Several others were found but they did not contain anything significant or that has not been said already.

GENERAL HENDRIK J. VAN DEN BERGH'S MEMORANDUM TO THE COE³⁷³⁴

Memorandum

Testimony of Major-General H. J. Den Bergh - Commentary by Lieutenant General J.M. Keevy, Commissioner of the South African police.

1. *The circumstances surrounding the finding of S.A. Police file WD. 10/10/4102 are set out completely in the memorandum C. 8/66/4/1 of 14 October 1966 addressed to me by my Head Office, Pretoria, the original of which has already been submitted to the COE.*
2. *Paragraphs 2.1 and 2.2 of the same memorandum deals with SA Police Headquarters file C. 6/835/3697 (C. 6/1835/3697 is the correct reference number).*
3. *As a result of inquiries made by my Head Office, the indications are that this file was destroyed in 1963 when the Security Police moved from Wachthuis to Kompol building.*
4. *Destruction of files are maintained by the Archives Law 6/1962 which came into force on 14 May 1962 (see Proc. R103 of 1962) and the regulations issued thereunder (see Government Notice No. 1380 of 1963, published in Extraordinary Gazette 595 of 06/09/63). In addition to this the departmental instructions contained in Special Order 14A of 1961 (Annexure A) as read with Standing Order 340 (Annexure B) also applies.*
5. *In summary, the S.A. Police policy could be set out as follows:*
 - a) *General correspondence files from Head Office to division offices are kept under the Archives Law 6/1962 and regulations as they appear in Government Notice 1380 of 1963 published in Extraordinary Gazette 595 of 06/09/1963 and standing order 340 as amended. No correspondence files in the latter offices are thus destroyed unless proper authorization from the Director of Archives is obtained. Secret and confidential files are included. Of such files which are destroyed, proper record with archive authorisation affixed thereto, is kept.*

³⁷³³ Witnesses who, for whatever reason, were unable to testify physically to the Commission, sent their statements by post.

³⁷³⁴ General H. J. Den Bergh memorandum to the COE, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File VDSO 17-64, NASA.

b) *Standing destruction authorisation was obtained from the Director of Archives for the annual destruction of correspondence files in district and Station Commanders' offices, personal files, registers, forms, dockets, etc. in all offices, and it is in terms of the provisions of Order 340 and Special Order (A) 14A / 1961. This policy was also applicable for the year 1963.*

6. *Files at Headquarters, Pretoria, as well as Division Offices, of the nature of the missing Tsafendas file C. 6/1835/3697 (not C. 6/835/3697 as Home Affairs has it) should, according to existing orders be strictly treated by the provisions of the Archive Law and regulations. This means that a record must be kept of each file that was destroyed or transferred to an archive repository.*

7. *The S.A. Police maintains a uniform filing system, which however for obvious reasons cannot be used with the Security Police.*

8. *Concerning the reservation list of illegal immigrants, a list gets sent to Security Head Office, Pretoria, and all border posts which control the entering of persons in the RSA. This aspect has already been dealt with by way of a comprehensive memorandum submitted to the commission.*

9. *A list on which Tsafendas's name appears has been in the possession of the Security Police since 1965. The question whether they should not have established on 06.09.66 if his name appears on that list before unequivocally declaring that the police knew nothing of him, is an open one. The list covers persons prohibited from entering the country and as such the police accept that a person whose name appears on it, is not in the country.*

10. *Regarding the lack of safety measures at the Assembly, I want to explain that the whole matter is currently under consideration and review by all the parties concerned.*

11. *Finally, I refer to the desirability or otherwise that the names of the mentally deranged who could possibly be a threat to the country's rulers and the like, be given to the SA Police by the doctors who treat them. It could serve a useful purpose if their names are kept on file as applications from people who want to be employed in positions of security interest can be selected with greater thoroughness.*

Signed by J.M. Keevy. Commissioner of the South African police.

Cape Town 18 October 1966.

CHRISTO VAN³⁷³⁵ **MALEN**³⁷³⁶

I am an adult white man presently awaiting trial at the Dundee Prison. I make this statement willingly well-knowing that I do so under oath.

In 1964 I was a hard labour prisoner in Standerton Prison. During September of that year I escaped from that prison. I then went to Pretoria where I did odd jobs at private homes. I boarded with Mr Cilliers whose house was behind new flats called Lampfopolis Heights. Before that I boarded with Mr Pretorius in Pretoria West. I also did odd jobs at overseas ambassadorial houses situated against Meintjieskop in Pretoria, so I knew the area very well. I worked as a welder. I also knew the area around Libertas (PM's residence) and often spoke to police guards.

From 1959-1961 I had my own business as welder and plumber and during that time Dennis Stafunus worked for me as a welder and I do not know whether he was Greek or Portuguese or where he lived. I also stayed at Lampfopolis Flats while I had my business and later stayed with Mr Pretorius and then with Mr Cilliers after I escaped from prison and thence to Durban. When I spoke to the police guard at Libertas I often saw a black Dodge car driving past Libertas. There were always three men in the car and one of them was Dennis Stefanus? I do not know the name of the police guard.

In November 1964 at midday while walking in the road about 100 ft. from Libertas the same car with three men sitting in the front stopped next to me. One of the men was Dennis Stefanus who introduced me to the other men and he asked me if I work in the area. One of the other men spoke to Dennis Stefanus in an unknown language which was not Greek or Portuguese with which I am familiar. Dennis Stefanus asked me whether I had access to government departmental houses and I replied that a permit from the Dept. of Public Works was only given to employees, otherwise the premises were out of bounds. I was then asked to help them gain entry as they had seen that I was friendly with the police guard but I told them this was impossible. On the rear seat of the car I noticed a camera with a long attachment in front.

Approximately 3 or 4 days later when I returned to my boarding house sometime between 5 and 6 pm I saw the same parked in the road outside. When I went inside I saw the same three men sitting on a couch in the back porch which was behind my room. They

³⁷³⁵ It might be 'von' instead of 'van.' This is a handwritten statement and the name is not very clear.

³⁷³⁶ Christo van Malen's statement to the COE, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

greeted me and then followed me when I entered my room and talked for a while with Dennis Stephanus acting as interpreter and I was asked to help them and that it was not hard work and I would be well paid. One of them then opened a black leather attaché case and took out a sketch pad, asking me to draw a plan of the late Dr. Verwoerd's house and also the house of the Minister of Justice. They again said that they would pay me very well and took out a roll of banknotes which they would give me immediately with more to come once I had given them the plans.

I refused because I thought they were up to no good and were trying to entice me into a trap. I asked them to leave my room after which there was an argument and while I accompanied them to the car Dennis Stephanus attacked me and stabbed me in my face, left arm and also in my back. I do not know who actually stabbed me because it was dark. Mr Cilliers, the landlord then phoned the police, the three men drove away. I was taken to the hospital by the Sunnyside police but I did not want to lay a charge because I was an escaped prisoner and did not want to be identified. I recently heard that Mr Cilliers had died in a police cell in Pretoria. When I returned to the boarding house and was walking to my room I noticed something lying on the ground where the fighting had taken place. I picked it up and when I got to my room I saw that it was photos of Chinese or Asiatics which I could also tell from the writing on the back of the photos. My wife has them and will give them to the police.

In February 1965 I moved from Pretoria to Durban where I lived with Mr Botha in Umbilo, Durban. I was known to the Bothas as Eddie van Malen. Two months after I arrived in Durban I met Dennis Stefanus and Demetry Tsafendas (sic) and accompanied them to their room in a private hotel near to the Durban Railway Station. I have seen photos of Tsafendas (after the assassination of the late Dr. Verwoerd and recognised him as the man introduced to me by Dennis Stefanus in Pretoria and also as one of the men in the black car. A month after I had told them where I lived, Tsafendas approached Mr Botha who agreed to let a room to him for two nights. Tsafendas again spoke about the plans but I ignored him. I moved to another place, but when I subsequently saw Mr Botha he told me that Tsafendas and other strangers often returned to search for me and asked where I was but he never disclosed my whereabouts to them.

PATRICK O'RYAN³⁷³⁷

9 Westminster Road, Lansdown. Teacher at Bishop Lavis High School.

Yesterday K/S/S Gray, stationed at Epping who was stationed at Epping, was with him and told me that he was often in personal contact with Tsafendas. Tsafendas stayed with him from November 1965 to February 1966. He stayed with him for free, as he was broke. He was still a letting agent in 1965. Tsafendas asked him for a room. Tsafendas always behaved like a normal person, except that his interpretations of the Bible differed from his. He believed implicitly that he was a Christian but could not understand that Jesus was first in Heaven and afterwards came to Earth through Maria. He believed that he had a worm in his stomach. He often ate a great deal and also often just lay in bed all day. He also often used the Lord's name in vain unnecessarily and then I told him that a Christian does not do that. Sometimes he went to church with them on Sundays and participated in the services. He never gave a proper spiritual interpretation of the scriptures. Nobody ever visited him there. Letters were delivered to him there. There was one from the Meat Board in which they asked him to interpret at a conference. That was about 3 months ago. He did not go.

He also worked at the City Tramways but his probation time there was not approved. He worked at Diamond Marine Corp. He said that the person who should have trained him did not do so and he became very angry. He called the person a "bastard." He said this to everyone born in South Africa like that. He apparently nearly lost his life on one occasion when on the boat taking them to the "Barge" and this frightened him and he asked me to pray with him. When he prayed he burst into tears. After that he was normal again. He also recounted that while he was somewhere in a Portuguese prison that he had been hit on his head and how someone else was also hit like that until he died. He never wanted to repeat that story in front of other people. He said that he had stayed at two places in Observatory. They took him to a place in Devon Street in Woodstock where he then stayed. He also apparently lived in Mouille Point and Vredehoek, and also at a hotel, which name I cannot remember. He applied to the French Consulate for work. They must have his references. He said that his mother was non-white. He received a letter from a John Machletos from overseas which had been forwarded to him from Marine Diamond. He did not smoke or drink to his knowledge.

³⁷³⁷ Patrick O' Ryan statement to the COE, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

GORDON WINTER'S STATEMENT TO THE COMMISSION³⁷³⁸

This is s statement by Gordon Winter, a reporter employed by POST newspapers in their offices at 14 Upper Darling Street, Cape Town.

I, Gordon Winter, swear on oath that the following statement by me is completely true:

Monday, September 26, 1966, I visited Mr. Omar Vallie, aged 65, at his cafe, "The Star Cafe" in Tennant Street, District Six, Cape Town. I asked Omar Vallie if he was the father of one Isak Vallie. Omar Vallie said he was the father of Isak. I asked Omar Vallie to direct me to Isak. Omar told me that Isak was working. I asked Omar to give a message to Isak. I asked Omar to tell Isak that I wished to speak to him. I gave Omar my telephone number at work (25601 Cape Town) and asked him to tell Isak to telephone me. Omar said he would do this.

Next day, on Tuesday, September 27, 1966, a man telephoned me. He said his name was Isak Vallie. I told him that I wished to interview him in connection with rumours which I had heard concerning Demetrio Tsafendas, the alleged assassin of Dr. Verwoerd. Isak told me that he would talk to me but not on the telephone. I asked Isak where he was speaking from. He said a shop in Upper Darling Street. I went to this shop and met Isak Vallie. I told him that I had heard a rumour that he had met a man named Tsafendas. I said I understood that Tsafendas had described himself as a Russian sailor (To Isak Vallie). Isak told me that this was true.

Isak then told me that Demitrio Tsafendas had entered his father's cafe in Tennant Street, at about 10:30 one morning about three or four weeks before the death of Dr. Verwoerd. Isak said he had been present when Tsafendas sat down in the cafe and was offered a cup of tea by his father (Mr. Omar Vallie.) Isak told me that Tsafendas had spoken of liking Indian food. Isak told me that Tsafendas had laboured this point and that he, Tsafendas had asked how the food was cooked. Isak told me that he was of the opinion, at the time, that Tsafendas was trying to "scrounge" free food.

Isak told me that Tsafendas had said he was off a Russian ship and that he was from Russia. Isak said Tsafendas had spoken of living in Woodstock. Isak said Tsafendas had spoken of looking for a job. Isak said he was behind the service hatch at one point when he

³⁷³⁸ Gordon Winter's statement to the COE, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12. File: die Post aangeleentheid, NASA.

saw Tsafendas talking to a man named "Berny." Isak said he had later heard Tsafendas tell "Berny" that he, Tsafendas, had had "dealings" with Russian fishing vessels off the coast of Walvis Bay. I asked Isak how this subject had been broached. Isak said, and I quote him, "He volunteered the information that he had had dealings with the Russian ships. He (Tsafendas) said he had changed clothes for food." (I took it that he meant Tsafendas changed clothes for food with the Russian fishermen.)

I then asked Isak to introduce me to his father, Omar Vallie. Isak walked with me from the shop in Upper Darling Street, and took me to his father's cafe in Tennant Street. There, I asked Omar Vallie if he had met Tsafendas. Omar Vallie said he had done so. Omar Vallie confirmed exactly what his son Isak had told me with one exception. Omar Vallie told me that he had not heard Tsafendas talk about having dealings with Russian fishermen in Walvis Bay. At this point, a man who I was later to learn was Isak's brother, Sulaiman Vallie, entered the cafe. He was introduced to me. He then joined the conversation.

I then told Omar Vallie and his two sons, Isak and Sulaiman, that I intended publishing their story in POST. They said they did not want the story in POST. I persuaded them to let me publish the story when I explained that the Prime Minister had suggested that any person having information, however trivial, about Tsafendas, should come forward. Isak told me, in front of his brother Sulaiman and his father, Omar Vallie, that the family had not reported the matter to the police. Isak said: "No, we were scared of getting involved because my brother and I have had problems with the Security Branch in the past and we were afraid we might be suspected of being mixed up with Tsafendas"

Isak then told me that Sulaiman had just finished serving a 12-month jail sentence in connection with the possession of explosives. Isak said Sulaiman had been released from jail in early August. Isak also said he had been involved with the Security Branch some time ago in connection with the smuggling of letters from prisoners on Robben Island. Isak said he had been questioned by Security Branch men who had also visited the shop where he works. I remember that Isak said something about the shop address being used as a "cover" address.

I asked Omar Vallie and Isak Vallie how they knew for sure that the man who came into their cafe was, in fact, Demetrio Tsafendas. The two men told me that they had recognised Tsafendas's photograph in the newspapers just after the murder of Dr. Verwoerd. They said they were quite positive about their identification of Tsafendas and that "Berny" had also identified Tsafendas. I asked if I could interview "Berny." Isak sent someone to look

for "Berny" I gather, because shortly afterwards a little boy entered the cafe and spoke to Isak. Isak immediately told me that "Berny" was not at home. I dropped the idea of speaking to "Berny" because I was satisfied that Omar and Isak Vallie were telling me the truth. I could see no reason why they should be lying about meeting Tsafendas because they had already indicated that they did not want the matter publicised. I asked Mr. Omar Vallie to pose for a picture. He refused and I was unable to persuade him to pose. I asked Isak to pose and he refused. I finally persuaded him to pose and I took several pictures of him in the doorway of the cafe. In the background of my pictures the figure of his brother can be seen, (his face is clear and proves that he was present when I took the pictures.)

Isak does not know that his brother Sulaiman is also in the picture, I should imagine, so it would be interesting to see if he, Isak, admits that his brother Sulaiman was present when I took the photographs.) Omar Vallie was rather unhappy about me taking pictures but his son Isak talked him into letting me publish the pictures and my story. The old man (Omar) made it clear that he was worried in case the police were, "suspicious" about the family connection with Tsafendas. I pointed out that it was better for the family to admit knowing Tsafendas, rather than face the possibility, that Tsafendas might, conceivably, mention that he knew them (in court evidence). This point was made by me to influence the Vallie family into letting me publish their story. Isak grabbed at this and said to his father that it would "look bad" if Tsafendas stated in court that he knew the Vallie family. Omar Vallie agreed that if he was a policeman he would also be suspicious.

At about 3 p.m. Isak Vallie came into my office on the third floor of Qranje House, 14 Upper Darling Street. He asked me NOT to publish the article about his family having met Tsafendas ... I immediately realised that the family were getting worried of possible repercussions. With this in mind I carefully read through my notes of my interview and asked Isak Vallie if they were correct. Isak confirmed that my notes were correct and he substantiated everything I had written. This is very important because two others were present in the office when I read my notes to Isak Vallie. The two men were; MR. MIKE NORTON, Cape Editor of POST and Mr. David ANDREWS, a freelance reporter, for POST.

I talked to Isak Vallie at length and persuaded him to let me publish the article. When he left the office I made a careful point of asking Mr. Norton and Mr. Andrews to remember that Isak had quite clearly confirmed my notes of my interview with him. I pointed out that Isak Vallie might possibly deny my article after it was published. (I have experienced this dozens of times in the last six years while I have worked in South Africa as a journalist.)

Earlier in the day I had asked Isak to sign a statement permitting me to publish my article just in case he DID try to deny it.)

On my return to my office I asked Mr. Norton to witness this by placing his initial to it. He did so. It would be interesting to discover if Isak Vallie DENIES having signed this piece of paper. Next day, on Wednesday, September 28, Isak Vallie came into my office again. He again asked me not to print the article. Mr. Norton was present during this interview. I had already written my article and I allowed Isak Vallie to read it in the presence of Mr. Norton. After Isak Vallie had read the article I made a special note of asking him (Isak Vallie) if I had made any mistakes. He said my article was 100% correct and factual but he asked me to delete the mention I had made of his being questioned by the Security Branch in connection with the smuggling of letters from prisoners on Robben Island.

I asked Isak Vallie why he wished me to delete this part. He said he was worried about the Security Branch. I pointed out to him that the Security Branch ALREADY knew about this because he had been questioned by them— so why should he worry? The logic of this baffled Isak and he agreed, rather reluctantly, to let me leave this in. Isak asked me not to publish his picture. I also talked him out of continuing in this vein by stating that I would telephone Johannesburg to request that his picture be held out. (In all truth, I misled Isak and had no intention of telephoning Johannesburg to make this request.) Before Isak left my office I made quite certain that he again confirmed the accuracy of my article— in Mr. Norton's presence. Isak definitely agreed that my article was completely factual.

When Isak had gone I asked Mr. Norton to keep the matter fresh in his mind because I said I was convinced that Isak would deny my story later. Today, October 5, 1966, I was telephoned by Sergeant van Wyk of the Security Branch. He asked me to visit him in his office. I did so at 3 pm. Mr. van Wyk told me that he had taken an affidavit from Isak and also an affidavit from Omar. Mr. van Wyk asked me to give him my version. I gave Mr. van Wyk all the details and showed him the signed permission to publish by Isak Vallie. Mr. van Wyk was quite clearly doubtful about my side of the story. I asked him point-blank if he believed me or if he believed the two Vallie men. Mr. van Wyk made no bones about it. He said he believed the two Vallie men. I asked him why. He replied "I have two affidavits." I then offered to make an affidavit. Mr. van Wyk said he was "not interested." I explained how I had talked to Isak Vallie, and gone through my interview again, in the presence of Mr. Norton— and that I would ask Mr. Norton to sign an affidavit supporting me. Mr. van Wyk said he was "not interested." Mr. van Wyk said he had "completed his investigations into the

matter” and that he intended to hand the “file” over to Mr. Justice J.T. van Wyk, who is heading the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s death.

I pointed out to Mr. van Wyk that his “file” would be rather one-sided if he did not include my affidavit and the affidavits-of my witnesses. I also pointed out that I would like him (Mr. van Wyk) to take a statement from Sulaiman Vallie to see if it checked with what Isak Vallie and Omar Vallie had said. Mr. van Wyk replied: “That is a waste of time. Sulaiman would only tell the same story as his father and brother.” I pointed out to Mr. van Wyk that I thought him clever enough to find out if Sulaiman’s version was true or not. But Mr. van Wyk again repeated that he had closed his investigation and that he was “not interested” in seeing Sulaiman. I asked Mr. van Wyk to call in Sulaiman Vallie and let me question Sulaiman in his (Mr. van Wyk’s) presence. Mr. van Wyk said he was not interested in doing this. I asked Mr. van Wyk if he would believe me if I made an affidavit. In the presence of a witness, Mr. van Wyk replied: “No.” I then pointed out that Mr. van Wyk was clearly of the opinion that I would lie on oath and that this was defamatory of myself.

At this point the witness, I think he is also a Security Branch man, walked away. During my interview with Mr. van Wyk I told him that I had not written the Tsafendas article simply for sensationalism. I told Mr. van Wyk that I was of the opinion, after speaking to Isak and Omar Vallie, that I was entitled to think the matter of some importance — even if later it was to be ascertained that Tsafendas was merely lying to the two Vallie men. Mr. van Wyk made a great play on my use of my phrase “I was of the opinion” and he told me; “You are not entitled to write your opinion.” I take strong exception to Mr. van Wyk’s attitude in this whole matter and for this reason, I submit this sworn statement.

Signed ... Gordon Winter

Agreed to & witnessed ... (Indecipherable name)

Agreed to & witnessed... (Indecipherable name)

6/10/1966

The following is part of the second statement by Gordon Winter to the Commission. This is only the second page of the statement as its first page was not found at the archives.

GORDON WINTER'S SECOND STATEMENT TO THE COMMISSION³⁷³⁹

I asked Isak if he wished me to delete this part. He said he did because he was "worried" about the Security Branch. I pointed out to Isak that the Security Branch already knew because they had questioned him on the matter so why should I leave that out of the story? The logic of this appeared to bemuse Isak because he then reluctantly, allowed me to leave it in.

Isak asked me not to publish a photograph of him. I told him that it was rather late because my firm printed its Cape edition on Wednesday. But I told Isak that I would put a telephone call through to Johannesburg and ask them not to use the photograph. Isak appeared satisfied by this and after some discussion - during which I said he must not be afraid of the Security Branch (if he was tailing the truth) Isak agreed that the story be published. He left us with the impression he was not happy about the publication of the story however and that he had been "talked into it" by me.

Just before he left I again got him to confirm that my article, as read by him, was factual. In Mr. Norton's presence, Isak agreed that my story was completely correct. When Isak had left the office I asked Mr. Norton to keep the matter fresh in his mind because, I said, I was convinced Isak would deny my story when he read it in the newspaper. Norton asked me if I intended telephoning Johannesburg to ask them to take out the photograph of Isak. I told Mr. Norton that I was not going to make the request and that when I made this remark to Isak, I had had no intention of doing so.

I wrote my article in good faith, firmly believing that I was entitled to bring the matter into the open. It may be ascertained that Tsafendas, if he did make the statements as alleged by Omar and Isak Vallie (to me), was deliberately telling them lies. On the other hand he may not have been. I was of the opinion, when I wrote my article, that this was a matter for the police to thrash out. I would like, at this stage, to make it quite clear that I realised the Security Branch would approach me- after the publication of my story. I pointed this out to Mr. Norton BEFORE the article was published. For this reason, I submit that it is clear that I could hardly have fabricated the statements which Omar and Isak Vallie have now repudiated.

³⁷³⁹ Gordon Winter statement to the COE, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12. File: die Post aangeleentheid, NASA.

Signed ... Gordon Winter

Agreed to as correct as far as I am concerned M. Norton.

Agreed-to as-correct as far as I am concerned ... (indecipherable name)

Cape Town. 12.10.66.

Sworn to before me at Cape Town this 12th day of October 1977.

D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505. Commissioner of Oaths.

COMMENTS ON WINTER'S EVIDENCE TO THE COMMISSION

According to the Commission's schedule, Winter was down to give oral evidence on 14 October; he later confirmed that he gave oral evidence to the Commission. However, his statement, like so many others, has gone missing and was not found in the archives. Winter is aware that his statement has disappeared; more importantly, he knows why and who was responsible for this. He told David Beresford in 1998:

“I also wish to stress that H J van den Bergh made quite sure that my evidence to the Commission of Inquiry in Verwoerd's death (that I had discovered that Tsafendas had definite links with Russian seamen and that Tsafendas spoke Russian) was completely (and illegally) eradicated from the minutes of that Inquiry ... All H J wanted the public to believe was that Tsafendas was totally mad and that if he managed to get out of Death Row he would definitely kill again.”³⁷⁴⁰

OMARJEE VALLIE³⁷⁴¹

Indian male, owner of the Star Café in Cape Town.

³⁷⁴⁰ Gordon Winter to David Beresford, 8 September 1998. From David Beresford's personal collection.

³⁷⁴¹ Omarjee Vallie statement to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12. File: die Post aangeleentheid, NASA.

About three to four weeks before Dr. Verwoerd was murdered, I was standing in my café when I noticed a white man standing outside in the street. He stood there for some time and I then called him inside. He entered the café and I offered him a cup of tea. While he was drinking the tea I asked him where he came from and he told me that he came here with a steamer. I asked him what kind of a steamer and he told me a Russian Steamer. I then asked him when and he told me a long time ago. He then told me he was staying in Woodstock and that he was looking for a job. Some customers then entered the shop and I attended them. The white man finished the tea and left the café without saying anything.

After the murder, I saw a photo in a newspaper and identified it as the photo of the man who was in my café. The name underneath the photo was given as Demetrio Tsafendas. My son, Isaac Vallie, was not in the café at the time but when I saw the photo in the paper I told him that I gave this man Tsafendas a cup of tea. About a week ago, a reporter of the "Post" called at the Café and my son Isaac then told him what happened. I was present when my son talked to the reporter. He never told the reporter that we overheard Tsafendas talking to another man, telling him that he had dealings with seamen from Russian fishing vessels. I never knew Tsafendas was working at S.W.A. or Walvis Bay. Tsafendas never talked to anybody while he was in the café. I only had the conversation with him because when I saw him outside, I thought he was a member of the C.I.D. looking for somebody. The reporter never asked me whether I made a report to the police and I never told him that I did not report it because the police will have suspicions about him meeting my family.

I never reported Mr Tsafendas's visit to my shop to the police because I did not think that his visit could help them in their investigations. To me it seems silly to use the words "Tsafendas posed as Russian sailor" because nothing of that sort was ever said by Tsafendas and it was also never mentioned during the conversation with the reporter. The fact that Tsafendas told me that he came to the Republic on a "Russian steamer" does not mean that he said he was a sailor on a Russian ship and the reporter was never given to understand that it was the case.

Statement taken by ... (Indecipherable name) D/Sgt.

ISAAC VALLIE³⁷⁴²

I am an adult Indian man living at 1 Greatmore Street, Woodstock. I have just been shown the newspaper "POST" by the Police. The person Demitrio Tsafendas is totally unknown to me. I was not in my father's café on the day when, it is alleged, he came in to drink a cup of tea. I am indeed aware of the report which appears in the Post newspaper. About 14 days ago I did have a conversation with someone who works for Post and told him that my father told me that Tsafendas was in our café once. About a week ago Mr. Gordon Winter, a reporter at the Post came to see my father and I and I did talk to him then after he said that he wanted to write a story about Tsafendas. That was when I told him that my father says that a white man, whose photo he had seen in a newspaper was recognized by him as Tsafendas; this was about 3 weeks before the murder of the late Dr. Verwoerd. He was standing in front of our café and my father invited him inside and served him with tea. Upon my father's question about where he lived, he answer that he lived in Woodstock and that he had arrived in the Republic of SA from a Russian ship. I did not Mr... (The second page of the statement is missing).

MOGAMAT ISAACS³⁷⁴³

Sirs, Mr. Gordon Winter, of our staff, has asked me to confirm that I gave him the tip-off about the Vallie family having met Demitrio Tsafendas and that they had stated Tsafendas had mentioned that he was a Russian. This is correct. I told Mr. Winter these facts on September 24, 1966. I told him that he should go to see Isak Vallie because there might be a story for him there. Mr. Winter asked me for more details. I told him that I had spoken to Isak Vallie and that Isak Vallie had told me that Demitrio Tsafendas had once visited his father's cafe, The Star Cafe, in Tennant Street, District Six, Cape Town. I told Mr. Winter that Isak claimed that Tsafendas had spoken of being from Russia and that he (Tsafendas) had also spoken of having had some dealings with Russian fishing vessels off Walvis Bay.

Mr. Winter asked me why I did not write the story. I told Mr. Winter that the Vallies did not want me to write the story. Mr. Winter then said Post would still want the story and that I should go and get it. I told him that I did not want to get involved with the Vallie family

³⁷⁴² Isaac Vallie statement to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12. File: die Post aangeleentheid, NASA.

³⁷⁴³ Mogamat Isaacs statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12. File: die Post aangeleentheid, NASA.

because I knew that they had good connections in the underworld. I also told Mr. Winter that the Vallie family were associated with Sherif Khan, the well-known Johannesburg underworld figure. I told Mr. Winter that there was a risk that I would be beaten up if I wrote a story which the Vallies did not want publishing.

Mr. Winter then said he would go and get the story from the Vallie family because he was not scared of being beaten up. I told Mr. Winter the address of the cafe (The Star Cafe in Tennant St.) and I drew a sketch for him so that he would find it easily. Since Mr. Winter's article appeared on our front page, on October 2, 1966, I have deliberately avoided the Vallie family just in case they may blame me for the fact that Mr. Winter wrote about them — apparently against their wishes.

I SWEAR THAT THIS IS THE TRUTH, THE WHOIE TRUTH, and NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH, SO HELP ME GOD.

Signed ... Mogamet Isaacs

Witnessed ... Gordon Tobin

GORDON TOBIN'S MEMORANDUM TO THE COE³⁷⁴⁴

20 October 1966.

Subject: Vallie article in POST.

Sirs, I was present in the Cape Town offices of POST on September 24 1966, when Mr. M. "Sharkey" Isaacs, (a POST reporter) told Mr. Gordon Winter that he did not want to write an article about Isak Vallie and Demitrio Tsafendas. Mr. Isaacs told Mr. Winter that, according to Isak Vallie, Tsafendas had once been to his father's cafe in Tennant Street, District Six and that Tsafendas had mentioned that he was a Russian and that he had had dealings, swopping food for clothing, with fishermen on Russian fishing vessels off the coast of Walvis Bay, SWA. Mr. Winter asked Mr. Isaacs why he did not want to write the article about this matter. Mr. Isaacs replied that he was scared of being beaten up by the Vallie

³⁷⁴⁴ Gordon Tobin memorandum to the COE, 20 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12. File: die Post aangeleentheid, NASA.

family because the Vallie family did not want the article published. Mr. Winter then said he would go and interview the Vallie family and get the story. At that stage I left the office.

Signed ... Gordon Tobin.

Witnessed ... (indecipherable name)

A.J. HARRISON'S LETTER³⁷⁴⁵

The person referred to arrived in the shop at approximately 9.05 a.m. on September 6th, just after I had opened - he was the first customer and no one else entered the shop whilst I was serving him. He wore grey, baggy flannels, a white shirt and a light-coloured jacket. His general appearance gave me the impression that he was either a fisherman or a merchant seaman. He spoke fluent English and asked me for the prices of the sheath knives displayed in the shop window. I showed him two sheath knives and after looking at the first one, he placed it on the counter and then removed the second one from the sheath, asking why the knife was so tight to remove. I explained that it was a metal sheath with a spring clip, which prevented the knife from slipping out.

He then replaced the knife in the sheath and slipped it on the inside of his trousers with the leather top of the sheath facing outwards. He then removed the knife and once more asked the price. He tendered a R10.00 note from his wallet in payment. Whilst I was getting his change, he looked at an advertisement of a pistol and enquired whether one needed to have a licence to purchase same. I informed him in the affirmative. I did not enquire his reason for purchasing the knife and he tendered no reason for doing so. This was the first time I had seen this person and when I was called to the Identification Parade, I was absolutely certain that the person I identified was the person who had purchased the knife from me and now known to our nation as Demitrio Tsafendas.

WILLEM NEL VISSER³⁷⁴⁶

³⁷⁴⁵ A.J. Harrison letter to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File 3. NASA.

³⁷⁴⁶ Willem Nel Visser statement to the COE, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

No.29097 Sergeant.

I am a sergeant in the South African Police stationed at Durban Central where I was in charge of the Immorality section.

On a date before the 11th of September I was spoken to by Mr. Brian Rudden who is connected to the Sunday Times as a reporter. Mr. Rudden wanted to know if I knew the alleged assassin - Mr. Tsafendas - of Mr. Dr. Verwoerd. I shared that I knew Tsafendas simply as an interpreter in the Regional Courts of Durban where he (Tsafendas) worked as interpreter in a fornication case I handled. Mr. Rudden wanted to know what Tsafendas's attitude towards the Immorality Law was and I notified him the following: "That Tsafendas have asked what people say when I arrest them under the Immorality Law and whether I catch a lot of these cases. That Tsafendas was interested no more and no less in such business than a normal member of the public is interested when they hear what kind of cases I deal with." Mr. Rudden also wanted to take a portrait of me to publish in the "Sunday Times" which I refused to allow, because of Captain du Toit, my commanding officer, had not given permission. The report of Mr. Rudden is mere sensationism and untrue.

Durban. 17/10/66. 1.35 p.m.

HELEN STRUTHERS³⁷⁴⁷

White woman, aged 32 years, Greyville, Durban.

I am an adult White woman, resident and employed at the above address.

During late June or early July, 1965, on a Sunday evening, a White male who had the appearance of a Greek, paid a visit to me. He introduced himself to me as Demetrios. I accepted that he was Mr Demetrios.

I have seen a photograph of the assassin of the late Dr. Verwoerd and identified the photo as being the same person who paid the visit to me in 1965 and who will be referred to as Demetrios hereafter. Mr Demetrios said that he had come to thank me for having visited with him whilst he was in hospital. At that stage, his hand was bandaged. I pointed out to him that he was mistaken and that I had never visited him. Mr Demetrios said that he belonged to our faith, The Fellowship of Christ, and I accordingly invited him into my house. We did not discuss anything along political lines and Mr Demetrios did not make his political beliefs known to me. He asked if he could see me again, apparently to promote a personal relationship, but I rejected his request and I also rejected to correspond with him. After about an hour, Mr Demetrios left my house and that was the first and last time that I had ever seen or heard from him. Mr Demetrios did not relate his travels to me and there was very little else that we discussed.

Helen Struthers.

The above statement was taken by ... (Indecipherable name) ... 40205 D/Sgt.

Durban. 12.50 p.m. 19/10/66

³⁷⁴⁷ Helen Struthers statement to the COE, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

DR. WILLEM LODEWICUS DANIEL MATTHYS VENTER³⁷⁴⁸

Adult White Male, N.G Minister, Parow.

On 06/09/66 at about 2:18 pm I was in the Assembly. The bells had already rung and we waited for the Speaker to enter. My position is near Dr. Verwoerd (deceased's) chair. While there were still members walking past, Mr. Jan Visse made the remark - "Look, that guy is not properly dressed yet." He referred to the messenger (D. Tsafendas), now the accused. I saw accused fiddling with his clothes near his pants, where you usually tie your suspenders. I saw him take something shiny from his pants and pointed Mr. Visses' attention to it. By then Dr. Verwoerd was already in the hall and had taken his seat.

Accused very quickly approached from the big door heading in the direction of Dr. Verwoerd. I was under the impression that he wanted to pass behind the Speaker's chair before the Speaker came. When the accused was right behind Dr. Verwoerd, he bent over and disappeared from my sight. Immediately after that, I observed an expression of shock and surprise on deceased's face. I saw the accused partially behind Dr. Verwoerd and noticed that his hand was moving up and down swiftly. I saw no knife until Dr. Verwoerd slightly fell forward and I then saw the accused with a knife in his hand, and he then again brought his hand down and stabbed Dr. Verwoerd in the neck.

Several other members and I jumped up. Chaos ruled. Some people grabbed the accused and someone shouted "Get the knife." Accused was thrown to the ground halfway across the bench and his hand with the knife was near me. I grabbed the hand and forced the fingers open to take the knife. His fingers were clenched around the knife. After the accused was overwhelmed, I put the knife on the table in front of the Speaker chair, where the police had taken it.

Cape Town. 19/10.1966

Statement taken by D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

³⁷⁴⁸ Dr. Willem Lodewicus Matthys Venter statement to the COE, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

VIOLET IRENE MANNING³⁷⁴⁹

E/F/A. Cape Town

I am a housewife residing at the above address. I let rooms at No. 7 Prince Street.

Approximately October-November 1965 I had rooms advertised at the latter place and Demetrio Tsafendas answered my advert and came to see me. He rented Room 3 next to the Ferreiras. It was a serviced room but I found him making his own bed. When he came to me he was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. I thought him to be a Greek. For a few weeks he attracted no unfavourable attention, until Mrs Ferreira came to me to complain that he was a nuisance. She said he was going into her kitchen to fetch water and that he was spilling water on the floor. I spoke to Tsafendas, but after some time, the Ferreiras complained again. When he was interviewed, he said that Mrs Ferreira was blackmailing him, I had given him instructions not to go into her kitchen, so I gave him notice to leave at the end of the month, which was two days later. He returned my keys at the end of the month and left.

During his stay, I regularly inspected his room. I also spoke to him. He told me he had just come from Mozambique and that he was looking for a café or catering business to buy. From his general appearance, he appeared to be a businessman. When he paid me, he had a bundle of notes and I took him to be a man of means. During the days he went out, I thought to look for a business. He never spoke politics that I know of. In his room I saw two good suitcases, a box with pots and pans, a good briefcase etc. He received no visitors that I know of.

V.I. Manning. Cape Town. 21/10/66.

Statement taken by me. D.J.V. Troost. D/Sergt. 23505.

³⁷⁴⁹ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

JOHANNES CHRISTOFFEL BROODRYK³⁷⁵⁰

I'm a Captain in the South African Police stationed at The Grays, Johannesburg and attached to the security police.

On Friday, October 21, 1966 at about 11 am I was present when Brigadier Bester interviewed Rowley Israel Arenstein at office Nr. 505, The Grays, Johannesburg in connection with the assassination of the late Dr. Verwoerd. Arenstein denied knowing Tsafendas, that Tsafendas ever was a client of his or that he at any time granted him an interview. During the interview it was clear that he was completely honest with the police in connection with this matter. He also stated that his secretary, Mrs. Suddes would know if Tsafendas was at any time in his office. He sent a letter to Mrs. Suddes, directing her to give me all possible help, and handed the letter over to me.

Saturday afternoon, 22 October 1966, I interviewed Mrs. Suddes in Durban. I took an affidavit from her. It was clear to me that she was completely honest with me and gave all possible assistance. She told me that she did not share the political views of her employer, Mr. Arenstein, but was not willing to mention it in her statement as she was still in his employ. From past experience, I know that Mrs. Suddes is fully aware of all matters relating to this law firm. I showed her a file containing various newspaper photographs.

Johannesburg 24.10. 1966.

MAURICE KLEIN³⁷⁵¹

25 October 1966.

Mr. Maurice Klein, the owner of Wm. Rawbone en Kie, a local hardware store, claimed that Mr. Tsafendas was in his shop on September 6th 1966. Mr. Klein said that Mr. Tsafendas entered his shop and requested the price of a sheath knife which was in the showcase. Mr.

³⁷⁵⁰ Johannes Christoffel Broodryk statement to the COE, 24 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁷⁵¹ Maurice Klein testimony to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

Klein told him it was R3.30 and Mr. Tsafendas bought the sheath knife. The blade of the knife was approximately 5½ inches long. Mr. Klein did not ask Mr. Tsafendas what his purpose was with the knife, even though he knew it was a dangerous weapon. Mr. Klein was not aware of Article 10 Act 54 of 1949, which entails that the owner of the shop has to enquire to the reason why a client wanted a knife. Mr. Klein stated that he has never seen Mr. Tsafendas before.

ALBERT VERCUAL³⁷⁵²³⁷⁵³

25 October 1966.

Mr. Vercual; a foreman at F.A. Poole, an engineering firm, personally knew Mr. Tsafendas. F.A. Poole was also the place where Mr. Tsafendas worked from 7th February 1964 until 10th July 1964 under Mr. Vercual's management. Mr. Vercual claimed that Mr. Tsafendas was an intelligent man, just untidy and lazy in rounding off his work. He also said that Mr. Tsafendas was a very friendly, social and talkative person, but he was always looking to quarrel with the white workers. Mr. Vercual would usually receive complaints from the other (white) foremen, but never from the black workers. Mr. Vercual would always reprimand Mr. Tsafendas, but Mr. Tsafendas would normally just not respond.

On one occasion Mr. Vercual had an argument with Demitrio about his poor workmanship and he (Demitrio) was very angry about it. Later Mr. Vercual got reports that Demitrio wanted to fight with the foremen. Mr. Vercual went to him and told him: "You are always causing trouble. I want you to leave." Demitrio walked off. And later returned to Mr. Vercual's office asking why he had to leave. Mr. Vercual again asked him to leave, this causing Mr. Tsafendas to turn around and grabbing the door handle – his knuckles turned white – and he said to Mr. Vercual: "You are like your bloody Government, but I will get you, and I will get your Prime Minister too!"

Mr. Vercual stated that he never got the impression that Mr. Tsafendas wasn't right in his mind. F.A. Poole moved from their warehouse and Mr. Tsafendas was tasked with organizing the move and he handled it effortlessly. Mr. Tsafendas was busy sawing of the

³⁷⁵² Albert Vercual statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁷⁵³ His surname in his statement to the police is given as Vercoueil.

letters which made up the company's name and then dropping the letters to the ground, upon which Mr. Vercual saw this and told him not to drop the letters as they will be re-used. Mr. Vercual walked on and heard Mr. Tsafendas say: "The bloody foreman does not know what he is doing." Mr. Tsafendas never spoke of his worm. His threat against the First Minister was the only incident that Mr. Vercual knows about.

JOHANNA HENDRIEKA MULRENAN³⁷⁵⁴

U/W/Vrou – Woman, Green Point.

I reside at the above address; I am a housewife and rent out 5 rooms in the house to men.

During September 1965 Tsafendas stayed with me for 1 or 2 weeks. The room was advertised. Although I accepted him as a boarder in one of the rooms, I soon observed that he was not neat in his room and told him to look for another place. He prepared food in my kitchen and was a big eater. He also never removed his big hat and wore a coat all the time. He worked at the power station during his stay with me. Apart from the fact that he was messy, he never drank and that sort of thing. He said was from overseas, was Portuguese and spoke many languages. I know nothing more of his movements or anything else about him.

J.H. Mulrenan. Cape Town. 26/10/1966.

HANNO PROBST³⁷⁵⁵

C/o Mangete Catholic Mission Station. Mangete Zululand

I am a European male born in Germany and am at present the Priest in charge of the Mangete Catholic Mission station in Zululand. Sometime during 1965, I cannot remember the exact date, but it must have been during June, I went to the town of Mandini to collect mail and do some purchases at the Mandini store. At the Mandini store, as I emerged I noticed a

³⁷⁵⁴ Johanna Hendrieka Mulrenan statement to the COE, 26 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

³⁷⁵⁵ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

person, who appeared to me to be a coloured, sitting on a bench in front of the store. I noticed that this person's one arm was wrapped in bandage and as he looked rather lost, I approached him to find out whether I could be of any assistance. I immediately realised that this person was not a South African because of his dark complexion and general appearance. I even told him that he was not a South African but that he came from Mozambique. He appeared to be much surprised at this remark I passed and asked me how I knew he came from Mozambique. I told him that I had travelled a lot and knew, by his appearance that he was actually a Mozambique citizen. This person thereupon informed me that he too, had done much travelling and that he could speak eight different languages.

I tried him out in different languages and found that he could speak Spanish, Czech, Italian, German, the Munich Dialect of German and English fluently. During our conversation he also mentioned to me that he had been to Germany and actually stated that he had visited Munich in Germany. Because very few people in South Africa can speak or understand the Munich Dialect of German I spoke to him in this dialect. I was surprised to hear that he could speak this dialect so well. I gained the impression that this person was very well trained in the different languages and I actually said to him that he must have had very good teacher in Moscow to be able to speak the different languages so well. To my surprise he admitted have been in Moscow.

During our conversation, this person asked me to what church I belonged apparently because he recognised me as a priest. I informed him that I was attached to the Roman Catholic Church. He then suddenly started to swear at the Roman Catholic Church and also at the Portuguese Government in Mozambique, stating that the Nuns in Mozambique Hospitals inject the natives to get rid of them and that the Portuguese Government approves of this. I became annoyed at his groundless accusation and told him that he was a communist and that he reacted like a Zimba of the Congo. I told him what the Catholic Church does for the natives and that it definitely not to get rid of them, but on the contrary to help them. I told him that we have a law against Communists in this country and that he would not get far in South Africa and that it would be better if he returned to Mozambique. I then left him. This person did not introduce himself to me and at that stage I did not know what his name was or where he was employed.

The following morning I again went to Mandini. As I had given the matter thought (I refer to my meeting with the European the previous day) I decided to bring the matter to the attention of the security officer at Mendini Paper Factory (SAPPI). I spoke to a Mr. van

Vuuren at this Factory and told him what had transpired between me and the other person the previous day. I told Mr. van Vuuren that this man was a Communist and a dangerous person. I did not know who he was because he did not introduce himself to me but I gave Mr. van Vuuren a description of him. I cannot remember that I pointed him out to Mr. van Vuuren at his office. I can however, recollect that this person told me during our conversation that he worked for Roberts construction at Mendini.

After the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, I heard on the radio that the assassin was of Portuguese origin and that he could speak eight different languages. Mention was also made of the fact that he used to work at Mandeni. I immediately realised then that the person I had occasion to meet at the Mendini Store must be the assassin, I have seen this man only once, on this particular day at the Mandini store and never again. After the murder of Dr. Verwoerd I saw a photo of the alleged assassin in some newspapers and recognised the man of which the photo was published, as the same person I had spoken to at the Mandeni store. The name of this person was given in the newspapers as Demetrios Tsafendas.

On a certain day, subsequent to my meeting with Tsafendas at the Mandini Store, I spoke to Coloured male Gladstone Dunn who resides in the Mangete Reserve. I mentioned the incidence at the store to him and also gave him a description of Demetrios Tsafendas. He then informed me that the same man had on one occasion visited him and had stayed with him overnight. I have not seen Demtrios Tsafendas in the Mangete Reserve or at any other place, except Mandini on that one occasion. I however suspect that he must have had some influence on the inhabitants of the Mangete Reserve. I say this because, during the period Demetrios Tsafendas stayed at Mandini, the youngsters in the Mangete Reserve became unruly and aggressive. This, however, is only suspicion because since the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd everything became quiet again and the youngsters controllable. I have reported the incidence with Demetrios Tsafendas only to Mr. van Vuuren at the Mandini Paper Factory. I have not reported to the South African Police or to any individual Policeman. The first time I have mentioned the incidence to the South African Police was on 9.9.1965 when I was approached by D/Sergt. Els of the Security Police Empangeni to whom I have made a statement.

Mangete. 13.10.1966 at 11.30 am.

Statement taken by me ... (Indecipherable name) Captain

COLONEL SPENGLER³⁷⁵⁶

Cape Town, 13 October 1966.

Captain Marx declares the following:

On 5.3.1964, Sergeant Warrant Officer Bezuidenhout and I received a letter from Mr. Howard of the Department of Home Affairs. This letter as I could remember, was directed to the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs and written by Tsafendas. It was about bribery in respect of the issuance of passports. The author acted as informer and had no self-complaint. The persons named in the letter were spoken to by Sergeant Warrant Officer Bezuidenhout, in the presence of the informer. They both denied that they had paid bribes to any person. A letter was written by me on 03/20/1964 to the secretary of Home Affairs, Pretoria, and read as follows:

Attached letter addressed to his honourable, the minister of Home Affairs, was handed to Captain Marx by Mr. J. Howard on 03/05/1964. The author was interviewed and an investigation was made, but no evidence could be obtained to connect any person with his allegations. The persons who are claimed by the writer of the letter, to have the bribes, were questioned in his presence but denied the allegations. No file was opened in this regard, as no specific complaint could be found. As far as can be remembered, the accusation was that the two people who were spoken to, paid bribes to officials at the Department of Home Affairs. This information is largely supplied from memory as little supporting documentary proof is available.

³⁷⁵⁶ Colonel Spengler statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File VDSO 17-64, NASA.

IN ADDITION:

- On the 15th November, the Liberal Party of South Africa sent a letter informing the Commission that the members of the party had no knowledge of Tsafendas.³⁷⁵⁷
- A list from the Department of Home Affairs was sent to the Commission with the names on the Stop List of the Ministry. Tsafendas appears as Demitrio Tsafandakis and Demitrio Tsafendas, born in Lourenço Marques or Delogoia Bay in 14.1.1918, listed in group G, interior file no/SA Police reference B7771.³⁷⁵⁸

³⁷⁵⁷ Letter of Mrs. Klugman, secretary of the Liberal Party, to the Commission. 17 October 1966. K150. Vol. 6, File 3. NASA.

³⁷⁵⁸ Stop List of the Department of Home Affairs. K150, Vol. 3, File: Policie daran. NASA.

ANALYSIS OF THE COMMISSION'S REPORT

The resulting Report, thirty single-spaced, double-column pages consisting of eleven chapters and two annexures, purports to give a detailed account of Tsafendas's life. It looks impressively detailed and convincing to someone who is unaware of Tsafendas's life and is reading the Report to find out about him. However, despite the huge input, it is a mishmash of often superficial information, lacking answers to crucial questions, at times evasive and invariably denigratory where Tsafendas is concerned.

Surrendering any pretence to even-handedness, the Report goes into considerable detail when dealing with something that might fit the picture of a schizophrenic or apolitical Tsafendas, but is significantly less forthcoming when facts contradict such an image. In addition, the language used to describe Tsafendas is frequently of a belittling nature, often misrepresenting his character and intentions. What highlights the dishonesty of the document is that the evidence gathered by the Commission is materially very different from that which appears in its Report. The purpose of this section is to examine the errors in the Commission's Report, including its omissions and distortions. Those parts of the Report which are not discussed are free of error or contain nothing relevant. This is the list, with the Report's chapters:

Chapter I: Introduction

Chapter II: The History of Demitrio Tsafendas

Chapter III: Demitrio Tsafendas's Motives

Chapter IV: Were there Accomplices?

Chapter V: The Permit for Temporary Sojourn

Chapter VI: The Permit for Permanent Residence

Chapter VII: The Visa to Visit Rhodesia and Mozambique

Chapter VIII: Demitrio Tsafendas's Return via Durban on 8th March

Chapter IX: The Removal Order

Chapter X: The House of Assembly

Chapter XI: The Police

CHAPTER II: THE HISTORY OF DEMITRIO TSAFENDAS

Chapter II of the Commission's Report deals exclusively with Tsafendas's life, from the day he was born to the summary trial. According to the Commission, Tsafendas's "history has been compiled from information obtained from the sources referred to above. A part is derived from statements which Tsafendas made to policemen and other persons. Where any material fact has been supplied solely by Tsafendas, this is stated explicitly in this report."³⁷⁵⁹ Tsafendas's life story in terms of chronological order and his travels is mostly accurate, but there are some places which he visited that are not mentioned, for example his second visit in London in 1962.

The analysis of the Report is presented in two parts. In the first, we will examine some general topics that are mentioned throughout the Report, such as Tsafendas's employment, his political ideas, his mental state etc. The second part deals with specific incidents mentioned in the Report, for example the vitally important *Eleni*, his fight with Vergos and so on.

³⁷⁵⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 1.

PART I: GENERAL SUBJECTS

TSAFENDAS'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND IDEOLOGY

The Report ranges widely over Tsafendas's political activities, giving the impression that he was not as indifferent or "confused" about politics as he was portrayed at the summary trial.

The Report states:

- That Tsafendas was a member of the South African Communist Party from 1937 to 1942.³⁷⁶⁰
- That the South African police had four files on him.³⁷⁶¹
- That he was dismissed from a job in Mozambique due to his Communist tendencies.³⁷⁶²
- That he was suspected of disseminating Communist propaganda in Mozambique in the late 1930s.³⁷⁶³
- That he was engaged in distributing Communist propaganda in South Africa in the early 1940s.³⁷⁶⁴
- That he was on the Stop List of the Government because he was listed as Communist.³⁷⁶⁵
- That his nine visa applications for entry to South Africa were all turned down because he was listed as a Communist.³⁷⁶⁶
- That the Department of Immigration had two files on him.³⁷⁶⁷
- That he was reported by two different men to a South African security officer as a "dangerous Communist" and was also characterised as a "Communist bastard."³⁷⁶⁸
- That he expressed himself strongly against the South African Government and in favour of Communism.³⁷⁶⁹

³⁷⁶⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 23.

³⁷⁶¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter XI, Paragraphs 4 and 5.

³⁷⁶² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 19.

³⁷⁶³ Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁷⁶⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 26.

³⁷⁶⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraphs 29-30; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter VI, Paragraphs 19-20.

³⁷⁶⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter VI, Paragraphs 18 and 20.

³⁷⁶⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter IV, Paragraph 19; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter IV, Paragraph 20.

³⁷⁶⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 29

- That he was arrested and imprisoned by the Portuguese Public Security Police accused of making subversive statements.³⁷⁷⁰
- That he had attended several meetings of the Anti-Colonial Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.³⁷⁷¹
- That he tried to recruit people for an uprising in South Africa and Mozambique.³⁷⁷²

All of the above information is true, but every one of the points listed, apart from the last one, was already known to the public through the Press, therefore the Commission could not feasibly omit them. That Tsafendas was a former member of the SACP was something he admitted to the police when interrogated, was well-known to many of his friends and acquaintances and was published by *The Post* on 30th October, 1966 while the Commission was still collecting evidence. That Tsafendas was fired from a job in Mozambique because of his Communist tendencies, that he was placed on the Stop List because of his beliefs and that he was actively engaged in Communist propaganda while in South Africa in the early 1940s were all facts contained in various official documents and quoted by the South African Press.

However, Tsafendas's political activities were significantly more wide-ranging than those outlined by the Commission and extended over many years and many countries. The Commission omitted the majority of these activities while downplaying others. What was easy to ignore was information about Tsafendas given verbally to the police or to the Commission and this is perhaps one reason why so many statements have gone missing. Other important details may have been disregarded because the Commission thought them unimportant. What is likelier, however, is that a vigorous, politically engaged activist as suggested by this evidence was the very opposite of the vapid and pathetic figure the Commission persistently sought to present.

³⁷⁶⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 32.

³⁷⁷⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter III C, Paragraph 19.

³⁷⁷¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32.

³⁷⁷² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32.

OMISSIONS AND DOWNPLAYING OF TSAFENDAS'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Let us examine what has been said and what has been omitted or downplayed with regard to Tsafendas's political ideas and activities.

TSAFENDAS'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES WHILE IN ENGLAND

*While in England, Tsafendas was noticed in the company of leftists. According to Tsafendas, some of these persons expressed the opinion in private discussions that the Prime Minister of South Africa should be shot, but he could not remember who had said so.*³⁷⁷³

According to Tsafendas he attended several political meetings in England, including meetings of the Committee of African Organizations, the Anti-Colonial Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

*Evidence was submitted to the Commission that Tsafendas had tried to recruit people to take part in an uprising in South Africa. He admits that he did in fact try to recruit people for an uprising, but says that his aim was confined to the Territory of Mozambique.*³⁷⁷⁴

The Commission here reveals that Tsafendas was politically active while in England. Once again, the information is correct, but the Commission has omitted important facts. The most significant of these concerns Tsafendas's political aims and activities at the time which are relevant to his motive for killing Dr. Verwoerd. Edward Furness, a South African living and working in London at the time, testified to the South African police that Tsafendas was "a regular visitor" to a Labour Party office which was used by members of the anti-apartheid movement, and that he had seen him there "in company of several members" of the movement. Furness testified that Tsafendas told him that he wanted to "create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned civil disobedience and anything that would get the South African regime out of power."³⁷⁷⁵

Not only was this testimony in the possession of the Commission, but Furness also gave evidence personally to the Commission. What is important is Tsafendas's reported willingness to do anything that would get the South African regime out of power. The statement demonstrates his eagerness to oppose apartheid a full six years before Dr.

³⁷⁷³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 31.

³⁷⁷⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32.

³⁷⁷⁵ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Verwoerd's killing. It makes clear that Tsafendas's ultimate objective was the destruction of apartheid, with the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, if that should be necessary, an assist to that end. This is entirely compatible with what Tsafendas told the police when questioned about his motive (that he was "disgusted" with apartheid and hoped that "a change of policy would take place" after the killing³⁷⁷⁶) and it was what more than a hundred of witnesses said to the police, to the Commission and to the author. However, it was totally incompatible with the scene in court, where Tsafendas was presented as a man without any political interests, who in fact supported the Government, and who killed Dr. Verwoerd because of a tapeworm he believed lived inside him. Furness's statement could also have been used by the Commission when discussing Tsafendas's motive for killing Dr. Verwoerd, but again it is omitted.

A significant omission is Tsafendas's personal relationships in England. The Report says "*Tsafendas was noticed in the company of leftists,*" but it does not give any names. However, it was known to the Commission that Tsafendas associated while in London with Commander Thomas Fox-Pitt, the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society and one of the leading figures in the modern anti-slavery movement who had characterised Tsafendas as "very simple-minded and not at all sinister."³⁷⁷⁷ It was also known that he had met and associated with prominent anti-apartheid activists such as David Gardener,³⁷⁷⁸ Canon John Collins and Solly Sachs.³⁷⁷⁹

Furness, who testified both to the police and to the Commission, told the police that Tsafendas was "a regular visitor" to the offices of the anti-apartheid movement and that he had seen him "in company of several members of the party, including David Gardener" and that it was "beyond doubt that he associated" with the movement and its members.³⁷⁸⁰ He also told the police that an "African" man named "Tennison" was there regularly and often gave speeches.³⁷⁸¹ Although the police were given only the first name of this "African," it should not have been difficult to deduce that the man was the ANC representative in London, Tennyson Xola Makiwane. He was, after all, a Black South African and a prominent activist associated with the British anti-apartheid movement.

³⁷⁷⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁷⁷⁷ *The Guardian*, 'Winding Back', 30 September 1966: 10.

³⁷⁷⁸ Edward Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966, K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁷⁷⁹ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁷⁸⁰ Edward Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966, K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁷⁸¹ Edward Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966, K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

When the name of Rowley Arenstein, the South African Communist lawyer and anti-apartheid activist, was mentioned by two witnesses during the investigation, the police and the Commission made inquiries about a possible connection, questioning Arenstein, his secretary and Tsafendas himself. It would seem obvious that Tsafendas would be asked about any links in London to prominent anti-apartheid activists. The Commission refers to Tsafendas's response to questions about Arenstein, first that he did not know him, then when faced with the witnesses' statements, that he had only a casual business acquaintanceship with him. The Commission's Report clearly suggests that there was no real connection between Tsafendas and Arenstein (this incident will be discussed later in this chapter). However, what is surprising is that it makes no reference to any of the London activists mentioned above or whether Tsafendas was asked to explain his knowledge of or relationship to any of them. It seems that the Commission did not find it necessary to find out, or, having found out, did not wish to make Tsafendas's anti-apartheid links public knowledge.

What suggests that Tsafendas must indeed have been asked about the London activists is that the Commission went to great lengths to find out about Tsafendas's relationship with people such as John Michaletos (discussed later in this chapter), who were far less important to the apartheid authorities than Sachs, Makiwane and Canon Collins. Furthermore, the Commission appeared to have examined even the most far-fetched rumours about Tsafendas and his connections, even that he had murdered and raped women all over the world; since it specifically mentions these rumours in its Report (Chapter II B, Paragraph 43).

The absence of the London names is of particular interest in the case of Tennyson Makiwane. Tsafendas was very proud of his association with the anti-apartheid movement in London and his participation in demonstrations and meetings, and he talked widely, about his activities, especially his association with Makiwane. Witnesses who heard him talk of these matters included Fathers Minas Constandinou and Nikola Banovic, Mary Eintracht, Fotini Gavasiadis, Katerina Pnefma, Patrick O'Ryan and Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis. As Tsafendas explained it, he did not have any personal relationships with the activists, they were not bosom friends; he had simply met them at anti-apartheid meetings and had volunteered his services as a helper. His association with them was basically running errands and helping out with small jobs required in any organized movement. The fact that Makiwane and Sachs are mentioned by different witnesses confirms Tsafendas's claims, and when Tsafendas returned to South Africa in 1963, his bags contained a large quantity of anti-apartheid literature. He told witnesses that it was given to him by members of the British anti-apartheid movement,

though he did not mention any names.³⁷⁸²

Furness's statement to the Commission was not found in the archives, therefore we cannot know what he said and whether he gave additional information about Tsafendas's activities in London. However, Tsafendas subsequently told Father Minas Constandinou that he was surprised that the police knew so much about what he did at this time and place.³⁷⁸³ It is interesting that in his statement to the police, Tsafendas volunteers information about some of his activities in London, while omitting reference to his political activism elsewhere, for example his 1965 arrest in Beira or his participation in the Greek Civil War. This would clearly suggest that he was specifically asked about his activities during his time in London.

Finally, the Commission has used the English language in such a way as to raise doubts regarding the veracity of Tsafendas's statements. It may not be obvious to non-native English speakers, but the expression "*According to Tsafendas ...*" suggests that it was only Tsafendas who mentioned his activities. That could imply that there was doubt as to the veracity of his statement because he alone was quoted. However, the Commission knew his claims were true because Furness had confirmed them in his statement. The phraseology used by the Commission seemed intended to cast doubt on the truth of Tsafendas's comments. The inescapable conclusion is that the Commission either considered Tsafendas's association with leading members of the anti-apartheid and anti-slavery movements in London to be unimportant, or it suppressed the information in order not to link Tsafendas in any way with the ANC and such well-known activists.

TSAFENDAS'S IMPRISONMENT IN PORTUGAL IN 1949

*Apparently the Portuguese authorities would not accept Tsafendas's refugee passport, nor his claim that he was a Portuguese subject, the result being that he was arrested at the border post Barca d'Alva on 8th February, 1949. It appears that he was afterwards detained for a long time.*³⁷⁸⁴

The Commission deals with Tsafendas's arrests and imprisonments in Portugal in fewer than fifty words which contain one blatant inaccuracy and lack any semblance of factual detail. As such, the Commission seriously underplays the significance of these events. Tsafendas was indeed arrested at Barca d'Alva but the date was November 8, 1949, not February 8, 1949. He was detained because of doubts about his passport and his claim to

³⁷⁸² Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁷⁸³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

³⁷⁸⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 17.

Portuguese citizenship. The passport in fact was valid and the Lourenço Marques authorities informed the Portuguese police that Tsafendas was indeed a Portuguese citizen. However, they added that he had been dismissed from a job for “voicing Communist ideas” and that he was suspected of “spreading Communist propaganda” although “nothing was proven.”³⁷⁸⁵ It was because of these two incidents, not the passport, that Tsafendas was detained and interrogated. While he arrested on the passport issue, he was subsequently detained for a lengthy period because of the two incidents.

As for the Commission's vague reference to “a long time in detention,” Tsafendas was held at Barca d'Alva for three months, then transferred to the Aljuba Prison for political prisoners in Lisbon, where he remained for several more months.³⁷⁸⁶ The Commission was aware of the reasons for Tsafendas's lengthy detention, but omitted them whilst implying that he was held over a passport problem.

TSAFENDAS'S IMPRISONMENT IN PORTUGAL IN 1952

A more important omission by the Commission, one that was left out altogether, concerned a further term of imprisonment in Portugal. After being denied entry to Mozambique in 1951 and informed that he was now banned from the country, Tsafendas was sent back to Portugal. Upon his return to Lisbon in January 1952, he was detained for the usual reasons - his 1930s Communist and anti-Portuguese activities in Mozambique.³⁷⁸⁷ This time he was held in the notorious Cascais (Caxias) Fort.³⁷⁸⁸ That establishment and Aljuba were the two facilities set aside for political prisoners. Both were effectively run by the PIDE.³⁷⁸⁹

Historically, military courts dealt with suspicions of political dissent. Later, this responsibility was handed to the PIDE, whose officers decided who should be arrested -- in

³⁷⁸⁵ PIDE Confidential Report about Demitrio Tsafendas, 7 June 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁷⁸⁶ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT

³⁷⁸⁷ Confidential Letter of the Director of PIDE to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no: 2.077- S.R., 3 May 1961. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; *Diario Popular*, ‘E Conhesido em Lisboa o Assassino do Dr. Verwoerd’, 9 September 1966.

³⁷⁸⁸ PIDE Report regarding Tsafendas, 5 May 1956. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; *Diario Popular*, ‘E Conhesido em Lisboa o Assassino do Dr. Verwoerd’, 9 September 1966.

³⁷⁸⁹ Vincent, ‘The Shame of Portugal’, *The Spectator*, 12 April 1962: 11.

practice all those who opposed or might oppose the government – and how long they should serve. By the time Tsafendas was arrested, many hundreds of political prisoners filled these two gaols and reports were widespread of ill-treatment, including beatings, cigarette burns, tiny damp cells, and permanent darkness. These and more systematic tortures were reported in 1962 by an Amnesty International investigation that confirmed appalling conditions in both prisons.³⁷⁹⁰

Tsafendas himself was tortured in Cascais Fort by the administration of electric shocks aimed at discovering if he supported any active movements for the independence of Mozambique.³⁷⁹¹ Although he was a political prisoner for almost a year in 1949 and another year in 1952, the Commission omitted this information from its Report. This was despite the fact that Judge van Wyk was well aware of them from PIDE's report, Tsafendas's own statement and Hartford's interview, all of which mentioned both arrests.

Also missing from the Commission's Report are the names of the two prisons, evidently because questions would be asked as to why a person held on a travel issue should be incarcerated in a prison for political offenders. It seems inescapable that the Commission's omissions regarding Tsafendas's second arrest and his incarceration in political prisons were intended to conceal the real extent of Tsafendas's political engagement.

TSAFENDAS'S ARREST IN MOZAMBIQUE IN 1964

*On 16th November, 1964, Tsafendas was arrested by the Portuguese Security Police for making subversive statements. These statements show strong feelings against Portugal. On this occasion, according to his statement to the Police, he was under the influence of liquor. During his detention he read books written in Bantu languages, but never the Bible. On 26th January, 1965, he was released.*³⁷⁹²

All of the above information is correct. However, very little is vouchsafed about Tsafendas's conduct while his political activity is downgraded or omitted. Importantly, the Commission ignored another arrest, again for subversive propaganda, that took place only a few days after he was released. We will examine this case below.

³⁷⁹⁰ Vincent, 'The Shame of Portugal', *The Spectator*, 12 April 1962: 11.

³⁷⁹¹ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA; *The Cape Argus*, 'Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.' 7 September 1966: 3; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

³⁷⁹² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter III C, Paragraph 19.

The details of Tsafendas's November 16 arrest and imprisonment on serious charges, are not given in the Report, which appears to treat the incident as some sort of alcoholic peccadillo. The political ideas and statements Tsafendas made to the police are nowhere to be seen, although they were known to the Commission. In reality, Tsafendas was arrested in Maforga, a small town five miles from Gondola, on November 16, 1964, by the Portuguese Public Security Police, accused of "making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses." He was taken to a police sub-station in Beira for interrogation.³⁷⁹³ This was known to the Commission.

When the police discovered that his suitcase contained books that were anti-apartheid, anti-colonialist and pro-Communist, as well as several Bibles, he was accused of pretending to be a missionary spreading Christianity, while actually preaching "under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique's independence ..."³⁷⁹⁴ Due to the seriousness of the charges, he was handed over to the Sub-Delegation of PIDE in Beira.³⁷⁹⁵ There, he was interrogated by PIDE's Sub-Inspector, Joaquim Piçara Sabino, Brigade Chief Augusto de Sousa Maia, and agent Virgílio Francisco.³⁷⁹⁶

While in custody, Tsafendas was asked by the police if he had "dedicated himself to preach as a missionary and, under the guise of this same religion, advertised in favour of Mozambique's independence." Tsafendas replied that he was "a Christian who considers himself a representative of God on earth, a missionary that wishes he could preach the Christian religion but that he is not allowed to because, on this earth, there is no freedom of expression." He maintained, however, that he strongly supported the independence of Mozambique, but was not a member of any subversive group.³⁷⁹⁷ The information concerning his religious activities and non-subversive support for Mozambican independence support was probably not known to the Commission since PIDE omitted it from the report they gave to the South African police.

³⁷⁹³ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demetrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demetrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁷⁹⁴ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

³⁷⁹⁵ PIDE report about the Defendant: Demetrio Tsafendas or Dimitrius Tsafendakis. 19 January 1965. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; PIDE report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas or Dimitrius Tsafendakis, 19 January 1965. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demetrio Tsafendas

³⁷⁹⁶ PIDE Record of questions. 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁷⁹⁷ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

Even so, the Commission was certainly in possession of a statement by Inspector Horacio Ferreira, the officer in charge of the police cells where Tsafendas was kept for some fourteen days after his arrest. This statement was found in the Commission's archives in NASA and used in the Report for its reference to Tsafendas reading books in Bantu languages. It was Inspector Ferreira who stated that during his detention, Tsafendas was often seen to read books written in "Bantu languages, but never the Bible." However, Inspector Ferreira's statement provided information of much greater importance than Tsafendas's choice of reading matter, information which the Commission chose to ignore. Ferreira characterised Tsafendas as "intense anti-white" and someone convinced that "the Portuguese Government has never done anything for its non-whites." He also said he considered Tsafendas to be "normal" and "a very intelligent person."³⁷⁹⁸ Although Inspector Ferreira was able to observe Tsafendas in detention for fourteen days, the Commission used the least significant of his observations; that is what Tsafendas read while in custody. That he was characterised as "intense anti-white," "anti-Portuguese" and "a very intelligent person" are omitted.

As for the reference to liquor, the PIDE report held by the Commission said that Tsafendas had confessed to making anti-Portuguese statements but added that "he was under the influence of liquor and also under exultations (excitement)." However, according to the PIDE report, Tsafendas also made it clear to his interrogators that "these words were caused by the ideas which he had about the independence of Mozambique, a Mozambique governed by natives whether white or black, but separate from the mother-country." The PIDE reported concluded that "although, as above mentioned, Tsafendas is mentally disabled, the truth is you find in him a true spirit of rebellion against the ruling institutions, and a clear adhesion to the independence of Mozambique."³⁷⁹⁹

None of the above is mentioned in the Commission's Report, although it was all set out in the PIDE report to the South African police which was in the Commission's possession. Tsafendas's political convictions, especially his support for the independence of Mozambique, are all omitted, while his anti-Portuguese stance is attributed to liquor. Although Tsafendas had made it clear that these words were his ideas, despite the fact that he had been drinking, the Commission conveniently omitted Tsafendas's whole statement and

³⁷⁹⁸ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, File 1/5. FILE Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

³⁷⁹⁹ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

included the comment about the liquor, thus giving a completely different picture of the incident and of Tsafendas.

It is no surprise, therefore, that Tsafendas's most "dangerous" political statement, his carefully considered prescription for a future Mozambique as an independent country "governed by natives whether white or black, but separate from the mother-country," does not see the light of day. In summary, Tsafendas's political activities and convictions, most importantly his support for an independent Mozambique and his efforts to raise awareness for this cause, are downgraded, omitted or offhandedly attributed to alcohol and thus of little consequence.

TSAFENDAS'S SECOND ARREST BY THE PORTUGUESE SECURITY POLICE IN MOZAMBIQUE

Tsafendas's arrest and imprisonment in Lisbon in 1952 is not the only one omitted from the Report. Soon after his release in January 1965, in the incident discussed just above, Tsafendas was arrested again by the Portuguese police in Mozambique and this arrest is not to be found in the Commission's Report. Newspapers worldwide such as the British *Daily Mirror* and *The Daily News*, *The Herald* of Melbourne, Australia, the *Rhodesia Herald* and the *Herald African News Service*, as well as *The Star* in South Africa, plus many others reported clearly that Tsafendas was twice arrested, detained and questioned about "suspicious activities" while in Mozambique, and not just once as stated by the Commission in its Report.³⁸⁰⁰ The *Dagbreek* had referred to three arrests and had even reported that Tsafendas had "clashed with the law in the USA and Mozambique, and especially his activities in Mozambique left a huge question mark over and around his name."³⁸⁰¹ According to these Press reports, the second arrest, which the Report omitted, was Tsafendas being arrested in Beira "after being seen in cafes with Coloured political suspects."³⁸⁰²

Press reports aside, the South African embassy in Lisbon, on September 7, the day after the assassination, informed the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Cape Town that Tsafendas "has a criminal record in Mozambique, where he is said to have been arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances, including shouting pro-Communist anti-

³⁸⁰⁰ *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17; *The Herald* (Melbourne), 'The Killer: Five Passports and A Record of Subversion', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Rhodesia Herald*, 'Assassin Said To Have Been Deported From P.E.A. for Communist Connections', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Star*, 'Assassin Had Five Passports', 10 September 1966: 3.

³⁸⁰¹ *Dagbreek*, 'Tsafendas Het Vir V.V. in Persie Gewerk', 11 September 1966.

³⁸⁰² *Daily Mirror*, 'The Clouded Past of An Assassin', 9 September 1966: 11.

Portuguese slogans.” It went on to say “if information correct, we suspect Portuguese may play down assassin’s previous political activities and we would suggest full details in this connection be sought.”³⁸⁰³ However, the Commission mentions only one arrest in Mozambique, the one in November 16, 1964.

Shortly after his release from PIDE custody on January 26, Tsafendas found a job as an interpreter at the docks in Beira. However, he was dismissed after attempting to organise a strike. The dock owner did not report the incident to the police because he was a friend of Tsafendas’s brother-in-law, Gerry Pnema, and did not want to cause him trouble.³⁸⁰⁴ A few days later, Tsafendas was in a bar with several Mozambicans and Greeks, among them Andreas Babiolakis, Costas Poriadis and Nick Papadakis. At one point, Tsafendas bought beer for everyone, then paraphrasing Mark Anthony in Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*, happily called out, “Friends, countrymen, lend me your glasses.” However, when he called on them to drink to a recent attack by FRELIMO rebels, everyone froze and lowered their glasses untouched while Tsafendas downed his beer. The bar owner politely asked Tsafendas to leave and he never returned.³⁸⁰⁵

The next day, Tsafendas was arrested by the Portuguese police because of his comments at the bar and his activities at the docks which the police had learned about by then. However, he was released almost immediately because the police had by now accepted that he was “mentally ill and therefore not chargeable at a juridical or penal level” and there was no point in detaining him any longer.³⁸⁰⁶

It is likely that the Commission was unaware of the details of this arrest. However, since two arrests were reported widely by the South African media, the Commission might have been expected to make inquiries, as it did with other, less important and far-fetched, stories about Tsafendas. The second arrest was well-known within the Greek Community in Beira and Gondola, and Tsafendas gave evidence twice to the Commission and could have answered questions about the issue.

³⁸⁰³ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 07 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁸⁰⁴ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁸⁰⁵ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriadis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

³⁸⁰⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriadis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

TSAFENDAS'S ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE IN 1951

*In October, 1951, Tsafendas left Portugal for Lourenço Marques where he was not allowed to land, the result being that he was forced to return to Portugal in January, 1952.*³⁸⁰⁷

The Commission here omits the reason Tsafendas was “not allowed to land” in Mozambique – that he was listed as Communist and suspected of involvement in subversive activities. PIDE had withheld this information from the reports it gave to the South African police, but Antony Maw, Greece’s honorary Consul in Lourenço Marques, revealed to the South African police that the refusal was due to Tsafendas’s “suspected Communist tendencies.”³⁸⁰⁸

Furthermore, the fact that Tsafendas was denied entry to Mozambique and his subsequent deportation was published in the South African Press, with at least three newspapers, *The Daily News*, the *Pretoria News* and *The Star* reporting that Tsafendas was deported from Mozambique because of “Communist activities.”³⁸⁰⁹ Also absent is Tsafendas’s arrest in Lourenço Marques following the refusal to be “allowed to land,” and his subsequent two weeks’ imprisonment when he was interrogated by the Portuguese police regarding his past “unclear activities” in Mozambique in the late 1930s.³⁸¹⁰ However, this information was also omitted by PIDE and not reported by the South African Press of the time.

Yet another omission is Tsafendas’s extraordinary appendicitis deception. When he learned that he would not be allowed off the ship that had taken him to Lourenço Marques, Tsafendas doubled up dramatically, pretending to be in terrible pain from appendicitis. He was rushed to a hospital ashore, from which he calmly walked out, but was apprehended sometime later. The appendicitis trick spread through the entire Greek community in Lourenço Marques, although none of those questioned mentioned it to the police. Antony Maw, in his statement to the police, said only that Tsafendas had “claimed illness,”³⁸¹¹ without specifying it, though he was well aware of the appendicitis act.³⁸¹²

³⁸⁰⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 23.

³⁸⁰⁸ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

³⁸⁰⁹ *The Daily News*, ‘Tsafendas Seen As ‘Mystery Man’’, 8 September 1966: 17; *Pretoria News*, ‘Dimitrio A Red, They Alleged’, 7 September 1966: 1; *The Star*, ‘Assassin Had Five Passports’, 10 September 1966: 3.

³⁸¹⁰ PIDE Record of questions. 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; PIDE Confidential Report about Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; John Michaleto in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

³⁸¹¹ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub File: 1/8. NASA.

³⁸¹² Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

TSAFENDAS'S EXILE

The Commission's Report makes no reference at all to the fact that Tsafendas was banned from entering and residing in Mozambique, the country of his birth, and was forced to live in exile from 1951 to 1963.³⁸¹³ Nor is there mention of the fact that he had made at least six applications to be allowed to return in Mozambique since 1939 and all were turned down. PIDE had removed this information from the reports they gave to the South African police, presumably because they would have had to include the reasons for the banning, which were Tsafendas's Communist and anti-colonialist ideas and activities. PIDE's omission was compatible with its director's order to withhold from the South African police "any information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique."³⁸¹⁴

However, Tsafendas had spoken about his exile when interrogated by the South African police, stating that in August or September, 1963, he "received amnesty" in order to be allowed to return to Mozambique.³⁸¹⁵ One receives amnesty to return to a country only after being banned from residing there. The issue of the amnesty will be discussed again shortly. Furthermore, the fact that he was forced to live in exile was published not only in the South African Press (for example *Pretoria News*, 'Dimitrio A Red, They Alleged', 7 September 1966, and *The Star*, 'Assassin Had Five Passports', 10 September 1966), but worldwide (*The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966; *The Herald*, 'The Killer', 8 September 1966; *The Rhodesia Herald*, 'Assassin Said To Have Been Deported From P.E.A. for Communist Connections', 8 September 1966).³⁸¹⁶ Therefore, the Commission was aware of it but chose to omit it, either because it felt that Tsafendas being exiled from Mozambique for his Communist and anti-colonial activities was not worth mentioning or it wished to downplay the extent of Tsafendas's political activism.

TSAFENDAS'S AMNESTY IN 1963

³⁸¹³ Confidential Letter of the Director of PIDE to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no: 2.077- S.R., 03 May 1961. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Letter of a police agent to the Ministry of Interiors regarding Tsafendas's exile. 30 October 1962. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁸¹⁴ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁸¹⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁸¹⁶ *The Chronicle* (Bulawayo), 'Tsafendas: Mystery Man of Parliament', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17; *The Herald*, 'The Killer', 8 September 1966: 1; *Pretoria News*, 'Dimitrio A Red, They Alleged', 7 September 1966: 1; *The Rhodesia Herald*, 'Assassin Said To Have Been Deported From P.E.A. for Communist Connections', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Star*, 'Assassin Had Five Passports', 10 September 1966: 3.

*In 1963 he left Portugal for Lourenço Marques where he stayed with an uncle for a short time.*³⁸¹⁷

This single sentence makes no mention of the fact that Tsafendas was given an amnesty by the Portuguese Government and that is why he was allowed to return to Mozambique. That Tsafendas had received an amnesty by the Portuguese Government was known to the South African police as he had told them so when he was interrogated on the 11th of September:

“In August or September, 1963, I received amnesty and the Social Services agreed to pay my boat fare to Lourenço Marques. I left immediately on the *Princippi Perfecto* and arrived in L.M. during approximately October, 1963.”³⁸¹⁸

Paragraph 41 provides an obvious opportunity for the Commission to report the amnesty, but it fails to do so. The reason seems obvious: if the Commission had mentioned that Tsafendas received amnesty from the Portuguese Government, the question would have been, “Why did he need an amnesty to return to the country in which he was born and of which he was a citizen?” Amnesties were for people who had been convicted of an offence, so the next question would have been, “what had Tsafendas done?”

It is just possible that the Commission considered the amnesty question not important enough to include in its Report. It is much more likely that the Commission deliberately suppressed the information as it would have demonstrated that Tsafendas was more politically active than was known at the time, which was why he was in exile from Mozambique for all those years. This would be just one omission, a minor one in comparison to the others, by the Commission regarding Tsafendas's political activities and involvement.

TSAFENDAS IN GREECE (Chapter II B, Paragraphs 11-15) AND HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE CIVIL WAR

All the evidence regarding Tsafendas's participation in this war is presented in Chapter 2 of this study. To describe Tsafendas's movements while in Greece, the Commission uses mostly information taken from his September 11 statement to the South African police. The fact that he had joined the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE), the military wing of the Greek

³⁸¹⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 41.

³⁸¹⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Communist Party, during the Greek Civil War is omitted. At least seven witnesses, Cleanthes Alachiotis, Nikolaos Billis, Elias Constantaras, Nikolas Kambouris, Giorgos Kantas, Grigoris Pouftis and Michalis Vasilakis, had testified to the South African police that Tsafendas told them he had joined the DSE during the Civil War. His participation in the war was also known to some of his close friends, like Babiolakis, Papadakis, Poriadis and Kyriakakis, although they had not testified to the police. Some relatives, including Katerina Pnema and Mary Eintracht, were also aware of it, but had not reported it to the police.

A statement by the *Eleni* seaman, Nicolas Mavronas that was found in the NASA, says Tsafendas told the crew that “he joined the Greek army during the war and that he is an expert shot.”³⁸¹⁹ The army Mavronas referred to was the DSE, and the war was the Civil War, the most recent war in Greece. The South African policeman who took Mavronas’ statement did not specify the war Tsafendas talked about and seemed to assume it was the Second World War. Six seamen who participated in the *Eleni* conversation and were interviewed by the South African Police and by the author said they clearly remembered Tsafendas saying he served with the Allied Navy during the Second World War and with the DSE during the Greek Civil War. They were positive that Tsafendas never said he joined the Greek regular army. None of them doubted him because it was clear that he knew about the DSE and how it was organized and operated.³⁸²⁰ The Commission was in possession of Mavronas’ statement, but it made no mention of what he said regarding Tsafendas joining the Greek Army and being an expert shot. Ignoring this important information, it went instead into great detail about some far-fetched rumours and information concerning Tsafendas and how it investigated them and found them to be untrue.

More rumours were contained in a report submitted to the Commission by the *Die Landstem* newspaper. The Commission examined some of these rumours and declared them to be untrue. However, the telegram also contained some correct references to Tsafendas, for example how he left South Africa by sea during the Second World War and the dates of his entry to some of the countries to which he travelled. The Commission refers to this telegram in Chapter II B, Paragraph 43, where a whole section deals with rumours about Tsafendas:

“At a relatively late stage, the Commission received information from a weekly newspaper that there were rumours that Tsafendas had fled from South Africa, because he

³⁸¹⁹ Nicolas Mavronas statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

³⁸²⁰ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

was wanted by the police for attempted murder, that he had committed a murder in Mozambique, that he had raped and seriously assaulted a woman in Montreal, that he had raped and assaulted a White Woman in Ontario, that he had blown up a ship with dynamite in Boston, that in New York he was found on his way to the docks with explosives, that in Greece he was suspected of murders and rapes, that in Portugal he had strangled and raped a young girl, that in Germany he was suspected of murders. Tsafendas denies all these allegations. From the information at the Commission's disposal, it appears unlikely that the allegations concerning the reason for his departure from South Africa in 1942 have any foundation. The same applies to the alleged crimes in Canada, the United States of America, Portugal and Mozambique. No evidence of any other alleged crimes came to the knowledge of the Commission. As yet no reply has been received to some of the enquiries that were made, and should any information worthy of mention come to hand after the submission of this report, it will be given in a supplementary report."

However, *Die Landstem's* telegram also contained the following information:

*"In 1947 he was sent to Greece which was in a bad state after WWII. There was general hunger, food shortages and unemployment among the Greek people. Tsafendas wandered around starving and without shelter until he joined the Greek Communist Party with whom he fought against the Greek Government."*³⁸²¹

While taking pains to set out a series of wild rumours, and then discount them, the Commission failed to mention Tsafendas's participation with the Communists in the Greek Civil War. This must have sounded far more real than all the other material since Tsafendas had admitted to the South African police and to the Commission that he was a member of the SACP in the late 1930s and early 1940s. More importantly, Tsafendas was indeed in Greece during the Civil War. Even if the Commission had previously been unaware of this fact, it was no aware of the fact and could have researched the matter further.

It seems possible that the Commission dismissed Mavronas' statement in the belief that it was inaccurate since Tsafendas was known not to be in Greece during the Second World War, the war the Commission wrongly assumed Mavronas was referring to. However, on other occasions when a witness gave inaccurate evidence to the Commission, Judge van Wyk pointed it out. For example, in Chapter II B, Paragraph 41, the Report says:

"In 1963 he left Portugal for Lourenço Marques where he stayed with an uncle for a

³⁸²¹ *Die Landstem* telegram. n.d. K150, Vol 5. NASA.

short time. One witness alleged that he saw Tsafendas in Zambia during June, as well as in various other months in 1963. Tsafendas denies that he ever visited that country, and says that he did not leave Portugal until August or September, 1963."

The author is not in position to know whether the missing statements from the *Eleni* crew were suppressed by the Commission or whether they were never given to it. The fact that they were not found in the NASA does not necessarily mean that they were not given to the Commission, since almost seventy statements taken by the Commission itself have now gone missing and clearly these statements were in the hands of the Commission at the time.

The Commission also attempted to locate John Michaletos, the man who recruited Tsafendas to the DSE in 1947. First, the South African police asked Costas Michaletos about John Michaletos, claiming that they had found a letter by him, sent from Greece, in Tsafendas's possession. It was known that Tsafendas corresponded with various people around the world and it is likely that the police found some of these letters at the time of his arrest. Therefore, why would the police ask about someone in Greece corresponding with him? It could have been the contents of the letter (which was not found in the archives), but it could also have been that Tsafendas told the police or the Commission during interrogation that he had joined the DSE during the Greek Civil War and that John Michaletos had recruited him. Costas Michaletos characterised John Michaletos to the South African police as an "active communist" in 1952. This suggests that he was also "active" during the Civil War which had ended only three years earlier. It also suggests that Costas Michaletos was possibly asked specifically about John Michaletos's political ideas.

Inquiries by the police and the Commission about John Michaletos did not stop after the approach to Costas Michaletos. Indeed, the authorities went to great lengths to find out more about this Communist Michaletos. Apparently they did not see him just as someone who just wrote letters to Tsafendas. On November 7, 1966, the Commission of Enquiry contacted the Portuguese Embassy in Pretoria "requesting any possible information regarding an individual named John Machletos from whom, allegedly, Demitrio Tsafendas, who claims to be a Portuguese citizen, would have received mail from abroad." The Commission's request was passed by the embassy to the Director General of PIDE in Lisbon.³⁸²² On November 17, PIDE sent a letter to the Director-General for Political Affairs and Internal

³⁸²² Confidential Letter of the Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Director of PIDE requesting information regarding John Machletos. 7 November 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

Administration in Lisbon stating that “there are no records of John Machletos in the registries of this Police.”³⁸²³

The question is: Would the Commission have gone to these lengths about a simple letter-writer? Tsafendas corresponded regularly with people abroad, like Father Nikola Banovic in Istanbul and George Grispos in Rhodesia, and the Commission made no inquiries about them. That said, it cannot be ruled out that the South African authorities did not become aware of such information.

Since John Michaletos was a Greek and lived in Greece at the time, the first and most logical thing for the Commission to do would have been to contact the Greek authorities. However, it seems that, assuming they were contacted, the Greece authorities were unable to locate Michaletos and the Commission then turned to the Portuguese. The request, made on November 7, came two weeks after Tsafendas's summary trial, suggesting that contacts with the Greeks could have had taken up the intervening period. Given the Greek government's readiness to help the South African police, as already demonstrated by its co-operation over the *Eleni*, it would surely have been willing to help the South Africans with the Michaletos request, too. A possible explanation for the Greeks' failure to locate Michaletos is that his name was misspelled by the Commission. It appeared as *Machletos* in the Commission's request and also in the PIDE letter to the government in Lisbon, therefore it is very possible that it was also misspelled when it was given to the Greek authorities.

There are no records of any of the Commission's requests in the National Archives of South Africa. However, the Portuguese National Archives contain the Commission's request in PIDE's file on Tsafendas. There are no records of Tsafendas in the Greek National Archives and therefore it cannot be ascertained with certainty whether the Greek authorities were indeed contacted by the South Africans. Would the Commission have made enquiries to PIDE about a childhood friend who was just writing to Tsafendas? Although the Commission tried strenuously to locate this man, he is not mentioned in the Report.

TSAFENDAS BEING A COMMUNIST

Within twenty-four hours of Dr. Verwoerd's assassination, all of South Africa knew from the Press and radio that Tsafendas was a Communist who had been deported from Mozambique

³⁸²³ Letter of the Director of PIDE to the Mr. Director-General for Political Affairs and Internal Administration regarding John Machletos. 16 November 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

because of his Communist beliefs and activities.³⁸²⁴ Further reports in the ensuing days added details to the sketchy early dispatches.³⁸²⁵ Even PIDE had to admit to the SA police that in the late 1930s in Mozambique, Tsafendas was “suspected of dedicating himself to communistic activities.”³⁸²⁶ Despite this, the word Communism was never heard during his summary trial. On 30th October, while the Commission was still at work, *The Post* newspaper revealed that Tsafendas had been a member of the SACP.³⁸²⁷

As with the public, it was the day after the assassination, 7th of September, that the South African authorities themselves learned of Tsafendas's adherence to Communism. On that day, the South African Embassy in Lisbon informed the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Cape Town that Tsafendas “has a criminal record in Mozambique, where he is said to have been arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances, including shouting pro-Communist anti-Portuguese slogans ... if information correct, we suspect Portuguese may play down assassin's previous political activities and we would suggest full details in this connection be sought.”³⁸²⁸

As we have seen, the Portuguese did exactly what was said in this telegram, but the South African police made no great effort to discover more about these political activities. They appeared simply to accept what was given to them by the Portuguese. As for the Commission, although it included in its Report that Tsafendas was a Communist and a former member of the SACP, both already known and published facts, it soft-pedalled the extent and the significance of his political activities and involvement with Communism.

TSAFENDAS DESCRIBED AS A COMMUNIST BY WITNESSES WHO KNEW HIM

³⁸²⁴ *Pretoria News*, ‘Dimitrio A Red, They Alleged’, 7 September 1966: 1.

³⁸²⁵ *Dagbreek*, ‘Tsafendas Het Vir V.V. in Persie Gewerk’, 11 September 1966; *The Daily News*, ‘Tsafendas Seen As ‘Mystery Man’’, 8 September 1966: 17; *The Herald* (Melbourne), ‘The Killer: Five Passports and A Record of Subversion’, 8 September 1966: 1; *The Rhodesia Herald*, ‘Assassin Said To Have Been Deported From P.E.A. for Communist Connections’, 8 September 1966: 1; *The Star*, ‘Assassin Had Five Passports’, 10 September 1966: 3.

³⁸²⁶ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁸²⁷ Gordon Winter, ‘Tsafendas: I Was A Communist’, *The Post*, 30 October 1966: 1.

³⁸²⁸ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 07 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

A number of Tsafendas's acquaintances and workmates testified that Tsafendas was a Communist; Vergos even describing him as "the biggest Communist in the Republic."³⁸²⁹ However, only a few of these statements were included in the Report. A detailed account of Tsafendas's Communist activities and statements about his political ideology can be seen in his biography in Chapter 2. More statements can be seen in Chapter 4.

Durban Men's Home

*On 21st June, 1965, he moved into the Durban Men's Home, Durban, where he lived until 24th August, 1965. At this home he expressed himself strongly against the South African Government and in favour of Communism.*³⁸³⁰

This information is correct but again important aspects of the situation are omitted, including Tsafendas's own words. The police and the Commission interviewed two people from Durban's Home and the Report is based on their testimonies. This is what they said:

Robert Smith, the night clerk at Durban Men's Home, told the police that Tsafendas was a "Communist," "a fanatic on politics and seldom spoke of anything else" and had said that "the United Party and National Party officials and members were capitalistic roughs." Tsafendas had also told him that the "South African Government's policy was 'rotten'" and often compared conditions in South Africa with those in Russia, stating, "Look at all the poor people in South Africa, such conditions don't exist in Russia because Russia is a Communistic state." Smith also testified that Tsafendas had "a large quantity of literature" but he did not "know the nature thereof."³⁸³¹

Kenneth Ross was the manager in Durban Men's Home. He testified that Tsafendas was "very fond of discussing politics and gave me the opinion that he was well versed in politics. Tsafendas objected to the Communists being banished to Robin-Island [sic] because of their political opinions and actions. In general, Tsafendas opposed to every decision taken by the South African Government and freely voiced his opinion to me. He was blatantly opposed to the National Party policy, the policy of the present Government, and was definitely pro-Russian. I am aware that Tsafendas possessed a large quantity of literature but

³⁸²⁹ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸³⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 32.

³⁸³¹ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

did not take note of the names of the books he read.”³⁸³²

Tsafendas's comments to Smith and Ross vividly reflect the strength of his passion for Communism and his detestation of the South African government and its policies. They stand out in strong contrast to the generalised, fourteen-word statement by the Commission, that “*he expressed himself strongly against the South African Government and in favour of Communism.*” The vigour and intelligence of Tsafendas's condemnations challenge his diagnosis as schizophrenic at his summary trial. In condensing Tsafendas's views into a single sentence of indirect speech, the Commission deprives the reader of any sense of the man's convictions and thus his personality.

On the other hand, another section of the Report reproduces word for word what Tsafendas said to Dr. Sakinofsky about his political ideas. These too were strongly anti-government but they were discounted as the beliefs of a “deluded” person and therefore irrelevant and not to be taken seriously. They were included only to support the idea that Tsafendas was incapable of clear political thought. Thus the Report goes into detail when dealing with something negative about Tsafendas or something that will fit with the schizophrenic picture, but is much less detailed with anything that contradicts such an image. Tsafendas's words to those many witnesses flatly contradicted what he told Dr. Sakinofsky and what was heard about him at the summary trial, but the Commission chose to ignore them and write in vaguely generalised terms instead. In this way, it covered itself: it did not lie since Tsafendas had indeed spoken against the government, but by omitting his actual words, it ensured that the world did not learn the specifics of Tsafendas's beliefs or the truth of his passion. However, manipulative as ever, when it came to his so-called “deluded” comments, the Commission carried them in full.

Among the most important omissions were the description by Smith and Ross of Tsafendas as a “fanatic on politics,” well-versed on politics,” who “seldom spoke of anything else” This is what several other witnesses told the police and the author, too, some even describing him as a political animal. No mention of any of these statements is made in the Report. As we will see, even his arrest by the Portuguese in 1964 for political reasons will be attributed by the Commission simply to liquor.

Another omission is that Tsafendas had, according to both these witnesses, “a large quantity of literature” with him. Why would the Commission omit such an innocuous

³⁸³² Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

statement? Certainly it was not of major importance that Tsafendas had many books with him. However, it is a positive aspect of his character rather than a negative one and as such is consigned to the dust-bin by the Commission which invariably prefers the negative. What is more, the books reference is not as unimportant as it might seem, since it shows Tsafendas in a positive light, suggesting that, as several other witnesses testified, Tsafendas was well-read, cultured and educated, and not the dumb and hopeless wreck portrayed at the summary trial and by the Commission's report.

Tsafendas's political ideas, as mentioned by both witnesses, are lucid, well-grounded and perfectly logical, including, for instance, his stated opposition to the political imprisonment of Communists on Robben Island, but this, like all the others, is omitted in favour of vague generalisations. This evasive tactic by the Commission is a major issue since Tsafendas's own words could never be considered by a neutral observer to be the words of a deluded schizophrenic who murdered Dr. Verwoerd because of a tapeworm.

Tsafendas and the "Roman Catholic" Priest

Chapter II C, Paragraph 30 deals with the testimony of a Roman Catholic priest who informed J.J. Botha, a factory security officer, that Tsafendas was a Communist. Botha passed this statement to the police. In addition, the Report says Tsafendas told the priest that he had been to Russia and that was where he learned all the languages he could speak. According to the Report, the priest also said that Tsafendas was hostile towards the Roman Catholic Church and the South African government.³⁸³³ The Commission does not name the priest, referring to him only as "a Roman Catholic priest," although it knew his identity since he had testified about meeting Tsafendas to the police and to the Commission itself. His name was Hanno Probst.

Although the priest's two statements quoted above are correct, three other elements from his evidence are omitted. First, Father Probst denounced Tsafendas as a Communist to a second security officer, Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren. He described Tsafendas as a "Communist and a dangerous person" and asked van Vuuren to "get rid of him."³⁸³⁴ It seems the Commission found this unimportant or wished to avoid the reference to Tsafendas being a

³⁸³³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 30.

³⁸³⁴ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

dangerous person. The second omission concerned a report of Tsafendas's links to young Blacks in a local reserve. Father Probst testified to the Commission that he suspected Tsafendas of being a kind of political agitator having

“some influence on the inhabitants of the Mangete Reserve. I say this because, during the period Demetrios Tsafendas stayed at Mandini, the youngsters in the Mangete Reserve became unruly and aggressive. This, however, is only suspicion because since the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd everything became quiet again and the youngsters controllable.”³⁸³⁵

The Commission must have seen here the echo of something similar in Tsafendas's past. In Mozambique, Tsafendas had urged workers at a dock and at the Hume Pipe Company to go on strike. He had also toured the rural areas of Beira preaching in favour of Communism, for the independence of Mozambique and against the Portuguese policy of forced cotton. He was arrested and accused of “making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.”³⁸³⁶ According to the police he pretended to be a Christian missionary spreading the word about religion, while in reality, he was preaching “under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique's independence ...”³⁸³⁷ It is not impossible, given Tsafendas's past, that he did the same thing in the Mangete Reserve.

Finally, Father Probst testified that Tsafendas at one point started “swearing at the Mozambique government, saying it did nothing for the black people.”³⁸³⁸ In thirteen words, Tsafendas demonstrated his antipathy for the colonialist government and his sympathy for the Blacks. It is not a hugely important statement but that it was omitted from the record is yet another example of Tsafendas's political engagement being hidden from the light of day.

TSAFENDAS AND ROWLEY ARENSTEIN

³⁸³⁵ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸³⁶ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁸³⁷ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriazis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

³⁸³⁸ Father Hanno Probst statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

*Here he also made enquiries about the home address of an attorney Arenstein, a well-known communist.*³⁸³⁹

*Mrs. Theron, the wife of an attorney in Durban, gave evidence that on more than one occasion she had seen Tsafendas going to the office of the Arenstein referred to above. Tsafendas could not recollect the name Arenstein, but recognized a photograph of Arenstein as being that of a person resembling the attorney whom he went to consult in connection with a translation bureau which he wished to buy. He also explained in which building the office of the attorney he interviewed was, and this is exactly where Arenstein's office is situated. However, there are also other attorneys in the same building. Mr. Arenstein and his typist deny that Tsafendas ever visited him.*³⁸⁴⁰

Robert Smith, the night clerk at Durban Men's Home, told the police that Tsafendas had asked him if he knew Arenstein's residential address.³⁸⁴¹ Esperanza Theron, wife of attorney Daniel B. Theron, testified to the police that the "offices occupied by my husband were situated adjacently the offices occupied by the listed communist, Rowley Arenstein. I was my husband's secretary and was thus always in the office. During 1965 or late 1964, I observed a White or Coloured male whom I have since identified from photographs in the newspapers as Demitrio Tsafendas, frequenting the offices of Rowley Arenstein. Demitrio Tsafendas used to pay visits to Arenstein's office regularly and on occasion he would greet me. I observed Demitrio Tsafendas actually entering the general office of Rowley Arenstein but am unable to state for what purpose he visited Arenstein. I am unable to state the period of time that he used to visit Arenstein, but the visits were very regular. I have also observed Demitrio Tsafendas in the presence of Rowley Arenstein walking down the corridor from Arenstein's office."³⁸⁴²

As result of Theron's testimony, Arenstein and Thelma Beryl Suddes, his secretary, were questioned by the police. She testified that "to the best" of her "knowledge" she had never seen Tsafendas in Arenstein's office.³⁸⁴³ Arenstein was questioned on September 24,

³⁸³⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 32.

³⁸⁴⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 33.

³⁸⁴¹ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁴² Eperanza Theron statement to the police, 24 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁴³ Thelma Beryl Suddes statement to the COE, 22 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

1966, by Brigadier Baster "at office No. 505, The Grays, Johannesburg, in connection with the assassination of the late Dr. Verwoerd."³⁸⁴⁴

At the time, Arenstein was in police custody accused of "furthering the aims of Communism" and was about to go on trial on such a charge. The last thing he wanted at such a time was to be involved with Tsafendas and the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. Was it remotely possible that he would admit to knowing Tsafendas? The same would apply to his secretary. The logic of their circumstances demanded that both would deny any knowledge of Dr. Verwoerd's alleged assassin. On October 31, 1966, Arenstein was sentenced to four years' imprisonment under the Suppression of Communism Act for furthering the aims of Communism.³⁸⁴⁵

Tsafendas's statement to the Commission has gone missing and therefore the author cannot know exactly what he said in evidence. According to the Commission's Report, Tsafendas did not remember Arenstein's name, but said he recognized a photograph of him as "a person resembling the attorney he went to consult in connection with a translation bureau which he wished to buy." Tsafendas's reply is very smart. Obviously realising that someone had seen him in Arenstein's office, he made up a story about a translation bureau as an explanation for meeting innocently with Arenstein. This was less risky than a flat denial since he could not be aware of who had testified.

What is surprising is that the Commission seemed to accept Tsafendas's word and Arenstein's denial. The explanation presumably was its readiness to downplay Tsafendas's political associations and activities, especially in connection with prominent Communists and anti-apartheid activists. An earlier example of this was Tsafendas's association with David Gardener, Solly Sachs and Canon John Collins which were omitted completely.

TSAFENDAS'S THREAT AGAINST DR. VERWOERD

On 10th July, 1964, Mr. Vercuiel dismissed Tsafendas from employment with Messrs. F. A. Poole (Pty.), Ltd., because of the untidiness of his work and his constant quarrelling with the other workers. Mr. Vercuiel gave evidence that Tsafendas was most upset about this and uttered the following threat:

³⁸⁴⁴ Johannes Christoffel Broodryk statement to the COE, 24 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁴⁵ South African History Online, *Rowley Israel Arenstein*.

“You are just like your bloody Government. I will get you. I will also get your Prime Minister.”

Mr. Vercuiel said that at the time he did not report this threat to any person, but when he heard that Tsafendas had stabbed Dr. Verwoerd to death, he immediately recalled the incident. In a statement in writing made in September, 1966, the alleged threat is worded as follows:

“You are just like your bloody Government. I will kill your Prime Minister yet.” Mr. Vercuiel made a favourable impression, but the possibility that his memory played him false after such a long time had elapsed cannot be excluded.”³⁸⁴⁶

This incident seems to be of no great importance, since Tsafendas's remarks are the sort of thing anyone might say in the heat of the moment. What is surprising is the Commission's attempt to downplay the flare-up by suggesting that Vercuiel might have got things wrong because of the passage of time. In fact, two years had passed since the incident, and the Commission did not offer the same excuse for witnesses' evidence made more than two years ago, for example Antony Maw, who described in detail events from 1951. The fact that the wording in the two statements is slightly different does not mean the witness misremembered the incident. The import of the statement is the same.

³⁸⁴⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 10.

TSAFENDAS'S CHARACTERISATIONS OF DR. VERWOERD

Apart from reproducing Vercuiel's comment, the Report does not refer to anything Tsafendas said about Dr. Verwoerd, although several witnesses reported comments he freely made.

Tsafendas himself spoke about the Prime Minister when questioned by the police. He said that he considered Dr. Verwoerd was not the true representative of South Africa. "I wanted to see a government representing all the South African people. I do not think the Nationalist Government is representative of the people and I wanted to see a different government."³⁸⁴⁷ He further told the police that he was "disgusted with his (Dr. Verwoerd's) racial policies" and he said, "I always had a grudge against the South African Government on account of its racial policies and I hated Dr. Verwoerd because he was a foreigner - a Hollander."³⁸⁴⁸ (The issue of foreigner/Hollander is discussed extensively in the previous chapter).

The fact that Tsafendas did not consider Dr. Verwoerd to be properly representative of all the South African people was something that the police and almost certainly the Commission were told by several witnesses. They testified that Tsafendas described Dr. Verwoerd as a dictator and a tyrant who oppressed his people and he regularly characterised him as "Hitler's best student." In addition, Jacobus Bornman, told the police that Tsafendas "often criticised the government, his exact words I don't remember, but it seemed to me that he had a grudge against Dr. Verwoerd."³⁸⁴⁹ Edward Furness testified that Tsafendas wanted "to create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned civil disobedience and anything that would get the South African regime out of power."³⁸⁵⁰ None of these opinions which so animated Tsafendas finds any mention in the Report.

TSAFENDAS'S ATTEMPT TO RECRUIT PEOPLE FOR AN UPRISING IN SOUTH AFRICA

*Evidence was submitted to the Commission that Tsafendas had tried to recruit people to take part in an uprising in South Africa. He admits that he did in fact try to recruit people for an uprising, but says that his aim was confined to the Territory of Mozambique.*³⁸⁵¹

³⁸⁴⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁸⁴⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁸⁴⁹ Jacobus Johannes Bornman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁵⁰ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁵¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32.

*He denied that he had ever tried to canvass support in London for an uprising in South Africa. His efforts, he said, were confined to Portuguese territories.*³⁸⁵²

The Commission here makes an important revelation: that Tsafendas, while in England, attempted to recruit people for an uprising. According to the Report, Tsafendas denied that he tried to bring about an uprising in South Africa and said it was meant for Mozambique. Whichever country was to be involved, the plan demonstrated Tsafendas's passion and dedication to his goal. That goal was clearly stated by a witness to the Commission, Edward Furness, but was not included in the Report: he wanted "to create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned civil disobedience and anything that would get the South African regime out of power."³⁸⁵³ That was in the early 1960s, half a decade before the assassination, a pointer to Tsafendas's commitment to his intention.

The Report said Tsafendas's remarks about the uprisings were disclosed when "evidence was submitted to the Commission." However, no such evidence was found in NASA. This is no great surprise, since a great deal of evidence have gone missing, especially those portraying Tsafendas as a revolutionary. That this evidence is missing is further clear proof that important evidence disappeared from NASA. The Commission has omitted several very important incidents showing Tsafendas as a revolutionary person. In this case it did publish a report reflecting Tsafendas's revolutionary nature, but it would best be described as a "bare-bones" account.

PIDE'S FILE ON TSAFENDAS

PIDE had a file on Tsafendas since 1938 but lied to the South African police that they did not. This was obviously an attempt to withhold any information pointing to Tsafendas as "a partisan for the independence of Mozambique."³⁸⁵⁴ However, just one day after the assassination, the South African embassy in Lisbon, citing "a reliable local source," revealed that Tsafendas "has a criminal record in Mozambique, where he is said to have been arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances, including shouting pro-Communist anti-Portuguese slogans." The embassy even warned the South African police that "If information correct, we suspect Portuguese may play down assassin's previous political

³⁸⁵² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

³⁸⁵³ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁵⁴ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

activities and we would suggest full details in this connection be sought.”³⁸⁵⁵ The Commission, like the South African police, was aware of the above information. However, it seems that it did not make any further inquiries but simply accepted what was given to it by the Portuguese.

TSAFENDAS'S ARGUMENT WITH A COLLEAGUE ABOUT SALAZAR

*A Portuguese who was also employed by the firm said that Tsafendas had assumed a hostile attitude towards him because he had refused to discuss Dr. Salazar with him.*³⁸⁵⁶

The Commission here tells only half of the story. According to Antonio Teixeira Da Silva, the Portuguese colleague in question, Tsafendas first asked him what he did in Mozambique. Da Silva told him that he had served in the Portuguese Army for three years. According to Da Silva, Tsafendas asked what salary he got and whether the army had often had trouble with the natives. Tsafendas then asked him for his opinion of Salazar, which he refused to discuss. Tsafendas then became hostile towards him.³⁸⁵⁷

Tsafendas strongly supported Mozambique's independence from Portugal and wanted to see “a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the mother nation.”³⁸⁵⁸ For this reason, he repeatedly conducted “subversive” propaganda in Mozambique, seeking to raise awareness about Communism and the possible independence of Mozambique. His activities there led to his five arrests by the Portuguese police, imprisonment and torture, the loss of at least three jobs and the creation of a PIDE file (n° 10.415)³⁸⁵⁹ which got fatter with every passing year, finally reaching around 130 pages. According to Inspector Horacio Ferreira, of the Portuguese Security Police in Mozambique, Tsafendas was “intense anti-White” and told him that “the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-Whites.”³⁸⁶⁰

Peter Pappas, whose café in Durban Tsafendas often visited, said Tsafendas “spoke angrily about the Salazar regime in Portugal and about the Mozambique police.”³⁸⁶¹ While in

³⁸⁵⁵ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 07 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁸⁵⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter III C, Paragraph 8.

³⁸⁵⁷ Antonio Teixeira Da Silva statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁵⁸ PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁸⁵⁹ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁸⁶⁰ Col. van Wyk's report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁸⁶¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend', 14 September 1966.

Cape Town, Tsafendas visited Mr. N.D. Hartford, a reporter with the *Cape Argus*. He described himself as “a rebel from Mozambique,” and asked him if there was any news of the freedom fighters there, saying he was interested in their efforts to overthrow Portuguese rule in Mozambique. Tsafendas refused to serve in the Portuguese Army because, he said, he “did not want to serve a dictatorship.”³⁸⁶² Albert Vercueil, Tsafendas’s foreman at F.A. Poole, testified that Tsafendas “was well-built and strong, and bullied the other Portuguese workers.”³⁸⁶³ Tsafendas did the same in other jobs with Portuguese workers who were supportive of Salazar’s regime.³⁸⁶⁴ Thus it seems unlikely that Tsafendas became hostile towards Da Silva simply because he refused to discuss Salazar with him. Far more likely is that Tsafendas was angered that Da Silva had served in the Portuguese Army and perhaps concluded that he supported the Salazar regime.

JACOBUS BORNMAN

*Mr. Bornman, who occupied the same room as Tsafendas, stated that Tsafendas did not show any signs of being mentally abnormal. He was good-natured, but had messy habits. His topics, of conversation were politics and women. He was strongly opposed to the policy of the Government. He read only English-language newspapers and was sometimes upset by what he had read. At times he passed the remark that the Government was doing so much for the Coloureds that it would be better for him to be a Coloured.*³⁸⁶⁵

Bornman was Tsafendas’s roommate for six to seven weeks in Mrs. Groves’s boarding house. Although the Commission’s Report includes some positive comments about Tsafendas made by Bornman, they are few and far between in comparison to his full testimony, while some important comments are missing. Bornman testified that “Tsafendas’s conversations were always about women and politics. He never talked about anything else. Tsafendas was dissatisfied with conditions in R.S.A and he has often criticized the government, his exact words I don’t remember, but it seemed to me that he had a grudge against Dr. Verwoerd. He stood up a lot for the Coloureds.” The Commission admits Bornman’s remark that Tsafendas strongly opposed the policy of the government, but omits

³⁸⁶² *The Cape Argus*, ‘Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.’ 7 September 1966: 3; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

³⁸⁶³ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁸⁶⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁸⁶⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 58.

that Tsafendas “stood up a lot for the Coloureds,” a most important statement since Tsafendas was portrayed at the summary trial as “unsympathetic towards the Coloureds.”

Also important was Bornman saying Tsafendas seemed to have “a grudge against Dr. Verwoerd.” Several other witnesses reported similar, even stronger, remarks by Tsafendas, for instance that he considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a dictator and a tyrant, and that he described him as “Hitler’s best student.” None of the above statements was included in the Report. The Report finally states that Tsafendas told Bornman he would have been better off as a Coloured than a White because the Government was doing “so much for them.” Bornman has made no such comment in his statement to the police on October 3, which means that he probably made it to the Commission hearing. Forty-six witnesses who were interviewed by the author said they never heard Tsafendas make any such comment and they could not believe he held such opinions. It is not impossible that Tsafendas was being sarcastic, as he often was, according to several friends the author interviewed. The fact is, however, that the Commission included the disputed statement and omitted the one about standing up for the Coloureds.

Although Bornman’s lively, first-person statement was one of the most positive about Tsafendas, the Commission downplayed it significantly by omitting crucial comments and reducing it to five flatly-delivered sentences. Bornman’s comments regarding Tsafendas’s personality are examined in the section ‘Landlords and Flatmates’ of this chapter.

SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS

*On one occasion while he was working there, he intimated that to his mind the South African Government was handling its Bantu problems better than Great Britain was dealing with problems in connection with the West Indians.*³⁸⁶⁶

No statement to this effect or any like evidence was found in the archives and none of Tsafendas’s colleagues at this job testified to his saying anything of the sort. It is always possible that such a statement was among testimony that has gone missing. In those circumstances, the author cannot know how and when Tsafendas made the remark attributed to him and how faithful the Commission’s account is to his words. What is certain is that this is a statement which shows support for the apartheid government and it is not what Tsafendas believed. Working for a governmental enterprise, it would have been very stupid for

³⁸⁶⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 26.

Tsafendas publicly to attack the government, as he often did with people he knew.

Statements that show Tsafendas's real political ideas are listed earlier in this study and later in this chapter. It is important to mention that once again the Commission has included a statement portraying Tsafendas as a supporter of the apartheid government while omitting several where he condemned the government and affirmed his anti-apartheid, anti-colonialist and Communist beliefs. The statement in question was read to forty-six people who knew Tsafendas well and every single one declared that he could never have meant what he was quoted as saying. For reasons of space, the names of the forty-six will not be listed here; but their testimonies, along with the issue in general, have already been discussed extensively in Chapters 4 ("Tsafendas Meets His Lawyers") and 5 ("Dr. Cooper's Testimony").

TSAFENDAS'S FIVE PASSPORTS

The South African and Portuguese Press reported that on one of his arrests in Mozambique, Tsafendas was found to be in possession of five passports.³⁸⁶⁷ However, the Report makes no mention of this. Even if it believed the reports to be mere rumours, one would have expected the Commission to investigate the issue. After all, it had probed and dismissed other rumours involving conspiracies about the assassination and Tsafendas's past, some of them considerably more far-fetched than this one.

There was certainly nothing sinister about the five passports, which were almost certainly old passports Tsafendas had held onto. PIDE made no mention of them in their reports. Had the passports been forgeries or suspect in any way, this would have been stated by PIDE in its reports. Even if the information had been omitted from PIDE's reports for the South African police, it would certainly have been included in their own secret and confidential reports after the arrest. Furthermore, four witnesses confirmed that Tsafendas did indeed keep some, if not all, of his old passports. Mary Eintracht, Ira Kyriakakis and Andreas Babiolakis told the author that Tsafendas retained his out-dated passports as souvenirs.³⁸⁶⁸ A

³⁸⁶⁷ *Dagbreek*, 'Tsafendas het vir V.V. in Persie Gewerk', 11 September 1966; *Daily Mirror*, 'The Clouded Past of An Assassin', 9 September 1966: 11; *The Daily News*, 'Tsafendas Seen As 'Mystery Man'', 8 September 1966: 17; *The Herald* (Melbourne), 'The Killer: Five Passports and A Record of Subversion', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Rhodesia Herald*, 'Assassin Said To Have Been Deported From P.E.A. for Communist Connections', 8 September 1966: 1; *The Star*, 9 September 1966: 5, 'More Uncovered On Assassin's History'; *The Star*, 'Assassin Had Five Passports', 10 September 1966: 3.

³⁸⁶⁸ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

Greek man in Mozambique named Manuel Tsokos also told *The Star*, one of the newspapers that published the story of the five passports, that Tsafendas had “several different passports.”³⁸⁶⁹

The Commission omitted the reference to five passports from its Report for what seem to be obvious reasons: that such information could have fuelled conspiracy theories suggesting that Tsafendas was a hired assassin or part of a Communist plot and was therefore much more than a helpless human being. There was, in fact, a perfectly logical explanation for the passports, but the Commission chose to avoid all mention of the subject, presumably to avoid adding to the rumours.

EVIDENCE REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S POLITICAL IDEAS WHICH HAVE BEEN OMITTED BY THE COMMISSION

The following comments are taken from statements given to the police and the Commission by people who knew Tsafendas. All were in the Commission's possession but were omitted from its Report. On occasion, the Commission referred to some of these witnesses and some of the things they said, but they omitted their political comments:

- Edward Furness, who met him in London, testified that Tsafendas wanted to “create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned civil disobedience and anything that would get the South African regime out of power.” Furthermore, he testified that Tsafendas was a regular visitor to the offices of the British anti-apartheid movement and that he had seen him in the company of members of the movement, including David Gardener. He had also mentioned that Tennyson Makiwane, the ANC representative in London, was regularly present in the offices and often gave speeches there.³⁸⁷⁰
- Kenneth Ross was Tsafendas's landlord in Durban for two months in 1965. He testified that Tsafendas was “very fond of discussing politics and gave me the opinion that he was well versed in politics. Tsafendas objected to the Communists being banished to Robin Island [sic] because of their political opinions and actions. In general, Tsafendas opposed to every decision taken by the South African Government and freely voiced his opinion to me. He was blatantly opposed to the National Party policy, the policy of the

³⁸⁶⁹ *The Star*, ‘Assassin Had Five Passports’, 10 September 1966: 3.

³⁸⁷⁰ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

present Government, and was definitely pro-Russian.”³⁸⁷¹

- Jacobus Bornman testified that Tsafendas “stood up a lot for the Coloureds” and “often criticised the South African government and seemed to have a grudge against Dr. Verwoerd.”³⁸⁷² Bornman is mentioned in the Report but it carries none of these comments. His case is discussed in detail earlier in this section.
- Robert Smith was a night clerk at the Durban Men’s Home where Tsafendas stayed for two months in 1965. He testified that Tsafendas was “a Communist,” “a fanatic on politics and seldom spoke of anything else” and had described “United Party and National Party officials and members as capitalistic roughs.” Tsafendas had told him that the “South African Government’s policy was ‘rotten’” and often compared conditions in South Africa with those of Russia, to South Africa’s detriment, stating, “Look at all the poor people in South Africa... such conditions don’t exist in Russia because Russia is a Communistic state.” More importantly, Smith had testified to the police that Tsafendas had told him that when he lived in London he had associated with Canon John Collins and Solly Sachs, both leading members of the British anti-apartheid movement.³⁸⁷³
- According to Inspector Horacio Ferreira, of the Portuguese Security Police in Mozambique, Tsafendas was “intense anti-White” and told him that “the Portuguese Government has never done anything for their non-Whites.”³⁸⁷⁴
- Patrick O’Ryan told the police that Tsafendas “was against the state policy of both South Africa and Portugal” and that he “labelled the apartheid policies as unfair.”³⁸⁷⁵ O’Ryan is mentioned in the Report but these comments are not. His case is examined earlier in this section.
- Johannes Botha, a security officer, told the police that Nick Vergos characterised Tsafendas in a remark to him as the “biggest Communist in the Republic of South Africa.”³⁸⁷⁶ The Commission refers to Botha and to Vergos, but these comments are omitted. His case is discussed in the “Vergos Case” section of this chapter.

³⁸⁷¹ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁷² Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁷³ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁷⁴ Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁸⁷⁵ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³⁸⁷⁶ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

- Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren, a security officer at the Mandini Paper Factory in Zululand, told the police that Nick Vergos said Tsafendas “was not Greek, but a kaffir and a Communist.”³⁸⁷⁷
- Father Hanno Probst reported Tsafendas to a security officer as a “communist and a dangerous person.”³⁸⁷⁸ He also suspected Tsafendas of being a political agitator, stirring up disaffection among young Blacks in the Mangete Reserve. “I say this because during the period Demetrios Tsafendas stayed at Mandini, the youngsters in the Mangete Reserve became unruly and aggressive. This, however, is only suspicion, because since the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd everything became quiet again and the youngsters controllable.”³⁸⁷⁹
- Roelof Swiegers testified that Tsafendas “leaned towards the communist side.”³⁸⁸⁰
- Keith Martincich testified that Tsafendas “on quite a few occasions he had discussed politics with me. He said he did not like the Government and that he was given a hard time in South Africa. He said the Government won’t reign very long.”³⁸⁸¹ The Commission refers to Martincich, but these comments are omitted.
- Elizabeth Groves was Tsafendas’s landlady for six or seven weeks and a retired psychiatric nurse. About Tsafendas she said, “I received complaints that he was argumentative and towards me he said that we Afrikaners are a backward nation. It was clear that he had nothing good towards Afrikaners.”³⁸⁸² The Commission refers to Mrs. Groves, but these comments are omitted. Her case is discussed in the ‘Landlords and flatmates’ section.
- Gillian Claire Liebermann, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that Tsafendas had attempted to discuss politics with her and that she had got the “impression that he does not agree with authority (Governmental or other). I cut him short, saying that in my capacity of my work I do not discuss politics. I

³⁸⁷⁷ Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁷⁸ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁷⁹ Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁸⁰ Roelof Erasmus Swiegers statement to the police, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van vorm Z 204. NASA.

³⁸⁸¹ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁸² Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation.”³⁸⁸³

- Antony Maw testified that the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique did not allow Tsafendas to enter the country on grounds of suspected Communist tendencies.³⁸⁸⁴
- A report from Col. van Wyk of the South African police characterised Tsafendas as being regarded in Mozambique as “intensely anti-white.”³⁸⁸⁵
- Peter Pappas, whose café in Durban Tsafendas often visited, said Tsafendas “spoke angrily about the Salazar regime in Portugal and about the Mozambique police.”³⁸⁸⁶
- Reports from Mozambique which emerged after the assassination said that Tsafendas was “violently anti-Portuguese.”³⁸⁸⁷
- Gladstone Dunn testified that Tsafendas expressed the opinion that the South African Government “was not playing fair with the non-Whites. He said that the wages paid to non-Whites was very unsatisfactory, as well as the political situation.”³⁸⁸⁸

CONCLUSION

Although the Report referenced some of Tsafendas's political activities, it fell far short of describing the full extent of his political involvements. Apart from one particular instance, that Tsafendas urged an uprising against the colonial rulers of Mozambique, all the information the Commission presented was already in the public domain through the media. Furthermore, the incidents mentioned are frequently downplayed or misinterpreted, in particular in regard to Tsafendas's Communist and anti-apartheid links. The most glaring omissions are that Tsafendas had associated in London with leading anti-apartheid activists such Solly Sachs, Canon John Collins and David Gardener, some of his prison terms under the Portuguese due to his Communist and anti-Portuguese activities, the fact that he was exiled from Mozambique for twelve years because of these activities and that he fought with the Communists in the Greek Civil War.

It is notable that the Commission went to great lengths to locate John Michaletos, a Greek Communist childhood friend of Tsafendas who recruited him in the Democratic Army,

³⁸⁸³ Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁸⁴ Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub File: 1/8. NASA.

³⁸⁸⁵ Col. van Wyk's report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁸⁸⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend', 14 September 1966.

³⁸⁸⁷ *The Cape Argus*, '180-Day Prison for Tsafendas?', 7 September 1966: 1.

³⁸⁸⁸ Gladstone Dunn statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA

the military wing of the Greek Communist Party during the Civil War. Despite the Commission's efforts, no mention of Michaletos is made in the Report. That Tsafendas was described by several witnesses as a Communist and by one as "the biggest Communist in the Republic" are omitted.³⁸⁸⁹ Generally, Tsafendas's Communist activities and statements are downplayed as incompatible with the picture of him crafted from evidence by the Commission and the police.

A very important omission is that PIDE had a file on Tsafendas since 1938. Although PIDE lied to the South African police that they had no such file, South Africa's embassy in Lisbon had informed its superiors in Cape Town of the existence of just such a file. What is more, the embassy warned that the Portuguese would attempt to downplay Tsafendas's political activities, which is exactly what they did. Nevertheless, still the South African police appeared to accept at face value what the Portuguese gave them.

Evidence that Tsafendas was clearly a political animal, an anti-apartheid fanatic, a Communist, and a committed supporter of an independent Mozambique finds no place in the Report. Omitted also are his descriptions of Dr. Verwoerd as a dictator and a tyrant, as well as his oft-repeated characterisation of Dr. Verwoerd as "Hitler's best student."

Not only is Tsafendas's ideology absent, but so are the words he used to describe and explain it to his friends and acquaintances, to the South African police and to PIDE. This is important because it deprived readers of the opportunity to know exactly what Tsafendas believed and to decide how "deluded" he was, or indeed whether he was deluded at all. When someone repeated to the police various specific remarks Tsafendas had made about politics, the Commission would generalise or summarise the statements, instead of using Tsafendas's own words, as related by the witness. An example of this is seen with two witnesses in Durban Men's Home. Tsafendas's exact remarks to them are omitted in favour of a woolly paraphrase by the Commission that Tsafendas "*expressed himself strongly against the South African Government and in favour of Communism.*"³⁸⁹⁰

It would have been revealing to learn exactly what Tsafendas said when he condemned the government and in what terms he expressed his preference for Communism. However, his words did not sound like the words of a madman and this could well have been why they were not included. On the other hand, the Commission did include Tsafendas's own

³⁸⁸⁹ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁹⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Parangraph 32.

words to the psychiatrists. The comments which Tsafendas made to Dr. Sakinofsky are also against the South African government, but they are considered “deluded” and apolitical.

The Commission has not included even one of the many statements made by Tsafendas about his political ideas to the South African and Mozambican police or to people who knew him. If this was done, it would have been obvious that Tsafendas said completely different things to his psychiatrists than he did to his friends and acquaintances; what he told his friends and acquaintances were serious and clear political thoughts, also compatible with what he told the police, something that did not fit with the portrayal of Tsafendas at the court.

The following is a short summary of Tsafendas's political activities which were omitted by the Commission:

- The Commission refers to Tsafendas's involvement with the British anti-apartheid movement and that he was noticed “in the company of leftists,” but fails to name any of these leftists, when it was known to Judge van Wyk that he had met and associated with prominent members of the movement such as Tennyson Makiwane, Canon John Collins, David Gardener and Solly Sachs.
- That Tsafendas, while in London, had a friendly association with Commander Thomas Fox-Pitt, the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society and one of the leading figures in the modern anti-slavery movement.³⁸⁹¹
- His participation alongside the Communists during the Greek Civil War.
- That he was considered by PIDE to be “a partisan for the independence of Mozambique.”
- He was accused by PIDE of preaching “under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique's independence ...”
- The true reasons for his imprisonment in Lisbon in 1949.
- His arrest and imprisonment in Lourenço Marques in 1951.
- That he was allowed to enter Mozambique and deported in 1951 because of his Communist and anti-Portuguese activities in the 1930s.
- He was exiled from Mozambique for twelve years and was allowed to return in 1963 only after he received amnesty by the Portuguese government.
- His arrest and imprisonment in Lisbon in 1952.
- The true reasons for his imprisonment in Beira in 1964.

³⁸⁹¹ *The Guardian*, ‘Winding Back’, 30 September 1966: 10; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

- His arrest in February 1965 in Beira.
- That PIDE had a file on him since 1938, the *Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis*. However, this was not known to the Commission as PIDE lied about it to the South African authorities.

Why did the Commission omit the facts that Tsafendas was a passionate Communist who had participated in a military conflict with the Communists and had associated with members of the British anti-apartheid movement in London? Gordon Winter, who worked as a journalist for the *Post* and the *Citizen*, while he was also a BOSS agent and very good friend of H.J. van den Bergh, the man in charge of the Tsafendas police investigation, said that it was because the General wanted to downplay and even omit Tsafendas's Communist activities and beliefs.³⁸⁹² Why? Winter's explanation seems more than just logical:

“He [General van den Bergh] didn't want it in. It's an embarrassment for him that this man who was a) dangerous, b) mad, c) Coloured, got a job at the House of Assembly, and HJ's policemen or security... it doesn't matter about going to work Pelindaba or whatever you call it, for a uranium base or whatever. This is not a Kruger Park ranger job; we're talking about in the House of Assembly. It's embarrassing for HJ, the supremo of intelligence, for his mob to allow this lunatic – if he was a lunatic – into the House of Assembly, and he then went in with two daggers. That's some security! No wonder they wanted to keep it quiet ... if there was a political motive, it's hardly pro-South Africa. And if it was a political motive, surely wouldn't the Kremlin get some benefit from that? A nice bit of propaganda. You don't want that. The reds under the beds in South Africa were the enemy. We don't let them score victories. Think about it. Its common sense.”³⁸⁹³

³⁸⁹² Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness*.

³⁸⁹³ Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness*.

Common sense indeed...

TSAFENDAS'S CHARACTER ACCORDING TO THE COMMISSION

In its determination to prove that Tsafendas was mad, the Commission distorted, manipulated and ignored the evidence of witnesses on a comprehensive scale, manufacturing an unrecognisable caricature to suit its purposes. In what can only be described as character assassination, it employed a series of unfounded characterisations to misrepresent Tsafendas's actions and intentions. Its basic tactic was to omit from its Report anything positive, while including everything negative.

An appraisal of the statistics proves this beyond dispute. Of the two hundred witnesses who were interviewed by the police and the Commission, 44 made positive statements about Tsafendas's character or in some way contradicted the Report's negative picture. Of the rest, 6 made negative comments, while the others had nothing either positive or negative to say about him. In percentage terms, that means 22% of statements were positive, 3% were negative and the remaining 75% were neutral. However, the Commission used only 1 of the 44 positive comments; that is only 2.2%, while at the same time using 100% of the negative. Even the single positive reference, by Bornman, that Tsafendas was "good-natured,"³⁸⁹⁴ is a drop in the ocean in comparison with the totality of Bornman's favourable testimony. This must be more than a coincidence. In short, everything that supported the theory that Tsafendas was mad or as described by the psychiatrists at his summary trial is included, while everything that contradicts it is omitted.

If 200 people are asked about a particular person, many different opinions will be volunteered. For some, a person like Tsafendas might be a freedom fighter, for others a terrorist. To a university professor, he might appear uneducated while an ill-educated person could conclude he was a professor. Well-bred people might think him rude and boorish, others that he is excessively polite. The safest way to judge someone is generally by his actions, although personal opinions cannot be discounted, especially when the vast majority say exactly same thing. The Commission has described Tsafendas with the following characterizations: maladjusted, rejected, frustrated, feckless rolling-stone, boastful, selfish, unscrupulous and crafty. Let's examine them one by one:

³⁸⁹⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 58.

BOASTFUL

Of the two hundred witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission, only one testified that Tsafendas was “boastful.” This was Wilhelmina de Vos, the same woman who told the police that she “considered him to be a completely normal person”³⁸⁹⁵ and then told the Commission that he was mad.³⁸⁹⁶ The Commission refers to this incident in Chapter II C, Paragraph 65.

The Commission makes two more references to Tsafendas's alleged boastfulness. One is that he appeared to be boastful while working at City Engineering (Chapter II C, Paragraph 7):

*“On 9th December, 1963, he was employed as a fitter by Messrs. City Engineers and Carron Ltd. He was asked to resign and left the firm on 3rd February, 1964. Here he displayed signs of boastfulness.”*³⁸⁹⁷

Johannes Benade, a colleague at City Engineers and Carron Ltd, said Tsafendas “pretended to be a welder fitter. According to the work he delivered, it was clear that he did not have much knowledge on the subject, and as a result he was dismissed on 03/02/64.”³⁸⁹⁸ However, D.G. Gallard, the secretary of the company, in a letter to the Commission of Enquiry, did not mention anything about Tsafendas being dismissed or being asked to resign. The letter simply stated that Tsafendas resigned, without offering an explanation or further detail.³⁸⁹⁹ Neither Benade nor Gallard said anything about Tsafendas being boastful, unless the Commission considered such an attitude to be implicit in Tsafendas's “pretending to be a welder fitter,” in the contemptuous opinion of Benade. The statements by these two witnesses are the only ones found in the archives from employees of this company.

The same applies to the incident described in Chapter IV, Paragraph 3, which states,

“These stories probably owe their origin to the two drafts of R20 each which Tsafendas's brother-in-law sent to him for furniture which had been sold, the payments which Tsafendas received from the Hume Pipe Co., and Tsafendas's statement to the Greek

³⁸⁹⁵ Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁹⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 65.

³⁸⁹⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter III C, Paragraph 7.

³⁸⁹⁸ Johannes Tobias Benade statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁸⁹⁹ Report by D.G. Gallard of City Engineering and Carron Limited regarding Demitrio Tsafendas to the Commission of Enquiry, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 3. NASA.

Consul that he had received R5,000 from South Africa ... his statement to the Greek Consul is typical of a boastfulness which he displayed from time to time.”

The Greek Consul mentioned is Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Consul in Beira, who had mentioned that Tsafendas received R5.000 from his family, as stated in the same part of the Report. A South African police report said Sanianos told them he had several conversations with Tsafendas, who he regarded as “a very intelligent person.”³⁹⁰⁰ Sanianos made no mention of boastfulness or anything that could be taken as such. His full statement is available in the Investigation chapter. It seems highly unlikely that Sanianos made another statement to the Commission; he was not on the list to give evidence to the Commission and he lived permanently in Beira and the only statements that he or anyone else in Beira made were those given to Lt.-Col. van Wyk. Therefore, there seems to be no foundation for the claim that Tsafendas appeared boastful to the Greek Consul. The author asked seventy-one witnesses who knew Tsafendas, including several who knew him extremely well and for many years, whether he was boastful. All strongly rejected such a description.

MALADJUSTED

This word is defined by the *Oxford Living Dictionaries* as “failing to cope with the demands of a normal social environment.” It is difficult to know in which way the Commission believed Tsafendas to be maladjusted. He grew up a happy child in a loving family environment, coped well and interacted normally with his classmates when sent away to boarding school, and from the age of eighteen looked after himself and forged his own future. He spent several years at sea during World War Two servicing Allied ships, and after the war travelled through at seventeen countries.

Wherever he went, he managed to find work, ranging from welding, which was his trade, to bus conducting, to selling goods on commission or teaching English. He read widely and came to adopt firm political principles, which, when he acted on them, brought him periods in exile and prison. On several occasions, he managed to secure his release by deceiving the authorities. To describe such a person as maladjusted is to misunderstand the meaning of the word. Tsafendas coped with the “normal social environment” with ease and aplomb.

³⁹⁰⁰ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

REJECTED/FRUSTRATED/OUTCAST

Apart from Dr. Cooper, who spoke at the summary trial of Tsafendas's alleged frustration, there is no evidence that he was frustrated. None of the two hundred witnesses who were interviewed by the Commission and the police or the seventy-one who spoke to the author testified that Tsafendas was frustrated. As for being rejected and outcast, these are also inaccurate characterizations and it something that has been discussed extensively in the sections covering his relationships with his family and with the Greek community in this chapter.

FECKLESS ROLLING STONE

Calling Tsafendas a "feckless rolling-stone" is like calling Odysseus the same. Tsafendas never travelled aimlessly or just for the sake of it. Wherever he went was for a purpose. He was banned from South Africa and Mozambique and was prosecuted in Portugal. As result of this, he travelled either to find employment (Sweden, Germany, England), or because he was deported there (Greece and Germany again), or because counties were on the way to his destination (Syria, Lebanon, France, Spain, Denmark, Italy) or simply for a holiday (Bulgaria, Rhodesia, Greece again).

The Commission was aware that Tsafendas was forced to spend the years from 1951 to 1963 in exile since he was banned from Mozambique, the country of his birth, because of his pro-Communist and anti-colonialist activities. It was also aware that at the same period he was also barred from South Africa because he was a "half-caste" and a Communist. In the years up to 1963, Tsafendas made nine applications for permanent residence in South Africa and all were rejected; he made at least six to be allowed to return to Mozambique, all of which were turned down.

Mozambique was then a Province of Portugal and Tsafendas was officially a Portuguese citizen. However, not only was he banned from Mozambique, he was prosecuted and imprisoned in Portugal. The authorities objected to his past political activism in Mozambique and the fact that he was a Communist who opposed the dictatorship of Premier Antonio Salazar. As for drifting around the world, Mozambique and South Africa were the only countries Tsafendas lived in prior to being banned from them, although as a child, he had also lived for a year in Egypt. While serving the Allied cause as a merchant seaman in

World War Two, he was stationed in Canada and in the United States. In 1947, he was deported from America to Greece and it was then that his odyssey began. With Mozambique, Portugal and South Africa inaccessible, he tried to find a place to live.³⁹⁰¹ All these travels were known to the Commission.

The fact is Tsafendas was travelling because he was not allowed to live where he wished to live, in Mozambique and South Africa. "Forced globe-trotting," he called it.³⁹⁰² If one of his visa applications had been successful, he would have gone there immediately. It is true that Tsafendas travelled much more widely than most people, but an analysis of his journeys and intentions comprehensively disproves the Commission's characterization of Tsafendas as a "feckless rolling-stone." He spent the first twenty-three years of his life in Mozambique, Egypt and South Africa. He lived in those countries because that was where his family was. From 1941 to 1947, he lived in the United States or, during the Second World War, at sea serving in American Liberty Ships. In 1947, and against his will, he was deported to Greece because of his Greek origins, although he wanted to return to Mozambique.

While in Greece, he joined the Democratic Army, the military wing of the Greek Communist Party, and fought with them in the civil war. When it was obvious that the Communists had lost and the war was coming to an end, Tsafendas applied for a visa to return to South Africa. In his application he wrote, "I am here a man without a country, living in strange lands with people who have different ways of living, customs and languages."³⁹⁰³ The application was turned down. He decided to try Mozambique, via Portugal. He managed to do this by taking ship from Greece to France, then travelling on foot to Portugal through Spain.³⁹⁰⁴

In Portugal, in November 1949, Tsafendas was arrested because the authorities had questions about his identity. It was discovered that he was indeed a Portuguese citizen, but had not served his compulsory term in the military and that he had been dismissed twice from jobs in Mozambique for Communist activities.³⁹⁰⁵ Tsafendas spent the next year in prison but

³⁹⁰¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹⁰² Demetrios Tsafendakis Affidavit, November 1965. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen, NASA; Father Minas Constantinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

³⁹⁰³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 17.

³⁹⁰⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹⁰⁵ PIDE Confidential Report about Demitrio Tsafendas, 7 June 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

was then released and boarded a ship to Mozambique. He arrived there in October 1951 but was refused entry because he was listed in official files as a Communist and suspected of involvement in subversive activities.³⁹⁰⁶ This refusal led to his next twelve years being spent in exile. In January 1952, he was back in Portugal and was arrested in Lisbon. The police discovered that he was a Communist and an avowed anti-colonialist who was under suspicion of “unclear activities” during his time in Mozambique and put him in jail again.³⁹⁰⁷

Upon his eventual release a few months later, with his chosen destinations South Africa and Mozambique unattainable, he decided to go to Sweden, where he had heard he could get a job as a welder. He travelled there through Denmark, and eventually got a job as a carpenter.³⁹⁰⁸ He did not stay in Sweden long as the weather was too cold and the money too little, so he moved to Hamburg, Germany and found work as a welder. Tsafendas remained in Germany from early 1954 to June 1955. During his time there, he sent off applications to be allowed to return to Mozambique and to South Africa. All were rejected and in mid-1955 he returned once more to Portugal and spent the next three years working as a hawker in Lisbon.³⁹⁰⁹

In 1958, Tsafendas travelled to Brussels to sell embroidery at the international exhibition, Expo 58. From there, he went back to Germany and spent the next year and a half in Frankfurt, working for one and half months at Fries and Son, six months for Anglo-American Fashions and Designers, and then another six months at a US Army printing works.³⁹¹⁰ During his time in Germany, he lived on his own but had a relationship with a German girl who was a Communist.³⁹¹¹

In May 1959, Tsafendas travelled to Britain, hoping to find a job. He was refused a work permit and took “clandestine” jobs to survive.³⁹¹² While in London, once again, he applied for permission to enter South Africa, sending a letter and an application form dated August 4, 1959 to the Union’s immigration attaché in London. A note attached to his file at the embassy stated that Tsafendas had sought permanent residence status in South Africa

³⁹⁰⁶ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

³⁹⁰⁷ *Diario Popular*, ‘E Conhesido em Lisboa o Assassino do Dr. Verwoerd’, 9 September 1966.

³⁹⁰⁸ Ochsenzoll Hospital report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1, Sub-file: 1/8. NASA.

³⁹⁰⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

³⁹¹⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹¹¹ Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

³⁹¹² PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

several times without success, that in 1941 he entered illegally and was fined; it said he had Communist leanings and had threatened to enter without permission if he was denied again. The diplomat dealing with the application wrote, "Refusal is suggested!" On September 11, 1959, "Demetrio Tsafandakis, alias Demetrio Tsafendas," was blacklisted by the South African Department of the Interior, meaning that he could receive no passport or admission facilities without the consent of the Department's head office.³⁹¹³

In London he also became politically active with anti-apartheid and anti-fascist organisations. He was discovered to be in the country illegally and in December 1959, the British sent him back to Germany, where he spent the next six months working in a tractor factory in Munich.³⁹¹⁴ In March 1960, he read about the Sharpeville massacre and decided to return to South Africa and "do something" against Dr. Verwoerd and apartheid.³⁹¹⁵

Convinced by now that he would not be allowed to enter the country legitimately, he decided on an illegal route, "through the African states south to South Africa." The first stage took him through the Balkan States to Piraeus, Greece, then he took a ferry to Alexandria, Egypt. There his passport expired and he was unable to renew it or replace it, but with the help of the Red Cross, he managed to get to Beirut and Jerusalem.³⁹¹⁶

With his Africa North-to-South plan blocked, Tsafendas decided to return to Portugal. Travelling through Lebanon and Syria by bus, he crossed the Taurus mountain range and reached Ankara, Turkey in May 1961. A month later, he arrived in Istanbul, where he worked as a teacher of English at the best private language college in Turkey at the time, the Limasollu Naci College.³⁹¹⁷

In December 1961, he left to visit a former comrade from the Greek Civil War who lived in Sofia, Bulgaria. His visit lasted two weeks and then he went to Greece to spend Christmas with his good friend John Michaletos and his family.³⁹¹⁸ In January 1962, he travelled to the island of Crete to meet his relatives and see where his beloved father and his hero great-grandfather were born. From Greece, he travelled to Italy, then took the train to

³⁹¹³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraphs 28-30.

³⁹¹⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹¹⁵ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

³⁹¹⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹¹⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹¹⁸ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

Lisbon, where he arrived in February 1962.³⁹¹⁹

Tsafendas worked as a welder in Lisbon until July 1962, when he went back to England and again participated in anti-apartheid and anti-fascist demonstrations. In late 1962, he learned that his father had died and he determined to visit his grave in South Africa. After several more unsuccessful applications for a visa for Mozambique and South Africa, in August or September of 1963, after twelve years of exile, the Portuguese government relented. Convinced by an “act” he put that he was mad but harmless, and “reformed” in terms of his political ideology, the authorities gave him amnesty and permission to return to Mozambique.³⁹²⁰

In October 1963, he arrived in Mozambique and a month later, with the help of his family, he was back in South Africa in Pretoria. He remained in Pretoria until July 1964, working for five months for F.A. Poole Engineering and the rest of the time at his half-sister's café. He crossed into Rhodesia to visit another half-sister he had not seen since 1941, and from there went again to Mozambique. He remained in Beira from October 1964 until November 1964, working for the Hume Pipe Company,³⁹²¹ before being arrested by the Portuguese police for “making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.”³⁹²²

After three months in jail in Beira, he left Mozambique for Durban in March 1965. He remained there until October 1965, working off and on as an interpreter at the Durban Court, as a welder at Fraser and Chalmers for two months and for a month for South African Railways. After receiving a letter from a girl who said she wanted to meet and marry him, he travelled from Durban to Cape Town, where he met her. He remained in Cape Town from October 1965 until September 1966.

None of the above travels can be described as aimless. Tsafendas himself, as already

³⁹¹⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹²⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

³⁹²¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹²² PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

mentioned, characterised them in his affidavit as “forced globetrotting”³⁹²³ and he was right. Several countries happened to be on the way to his destination, like France, Italy, Spain, Syria, Lebanon, Denmark and Turkey. Naturally, he spent little time there because he was just passing through. This does not apply to Turkey, where he got a teaching job and stayed for seven months. He visited Greece for the second time, Rhodesia and Bulgaria for holidays. For business and work, he travelled England, Belgium and Sweden, while one of the Liberty ships during the Second World War also took him to Canada. Apart from places where he stayed only weeks or a few months, this is his life story:

- Six years in Egypt, all in Alexandria (1919-1925).
- Seventeen years in Mozambique: 16 years in Lourenço Marques and one in Beira (1918-1919, 1925-1939, 1963-1964).
- Five years in South Africa: approximately two years in Pretoria, one in Johannesburg, one in Cape Town and a eight months in Durban (1939-1941, 1963-1966, plus school in Middleburg).
- Six years in the USA in Boston and New York, a lot of this time at sea (1941-1947).
- Two years in Greece, all in Athens (1947-1949).
- Six years in Portugal, all in Lisbon (1951-1953, 1955-1958, 1962-1963).
- Three years in Germany, all in three cities, Munich, Frankfurt and Hamburg (1953-1955, 1958-1959).
- Seven months in Turkey in Istanbul (1961).³⁹²⁴

This is not drifting, it is the odyssey of a man who was forced to live in exile from the country where he was born (Mozambique) for twelve years, who for sixteen years was not allowed to enter the country where his family lived (South Africa) and who was prosecuted and imprisoned because of his political beliefs in the country of his official nationality and where, after Mozambique, he spent most of his time (Portugal). Wherever he was, he always applied for permission to return to Mozambique and South Africa. Had he been allowed to return to either country or left in peace in Portugal, this vast Baedeker of travel would never have been opened.

Tsafendas travelled through so many countries mainly for two reasons:

- In search of a better place to stay and work

³⁹²³ Demetrios Tsafendakis Affidavit, November 1965. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen, NASA.

³⁹²⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

- He needed to cross through many countries to reach his destination.

Tsafendas's desperate efforts to return to Mozambique or South Africa and find a place to live and work without being followed by the police do not constitute being branded as a "feckless rolling-stone." His peregrinations recall those of Odysseus, who travelled for ten years through many different places to reach his destination. All of these travels and the reasons for them were known to the Commission, therefore to characterise Tsafendas as a feckless rolling-stone was a travesty of the truth.

UNSCRUPULOUS AND SELFISH

To characterize Tsafendas as unscrupulous and selfish is arguably the most unpleasant and the least accurate of all of the Commission's negative pen portraits. Tsafendas, voluntarily and without charge, taught English to children on three different occasions in his life: in Lourenço Marques in the 1930s, in Istanbul in 1961 and in Beira in 1964. He did this because he believed strongly that education was a person's greatest asset and the best way to get out of poverty and become a better and more useful person to society. This is hardly what an unscrupulous and selfish man would do.

Peter Pappas, a café proprietor in Durban, said he "sometimes gave him [Tsafendas] a free meal, but when he started work he paid me." Pappas also said that Tsafendas was friendly with White "down-and-outs" and when he had some money he would give them a few cents.³⁹²⁵ This was not the first time Tsafendas helped poor people, though penniless himself. In Cape Town, he aided his young flatmate, Jacobus Bornman, when he was out of funds, and then declined to take the money back.³⁹²⁶ Both of these incidents were known to the Commission, but there was no mention of them in the Report.

Tsafendas regularly bought food, sweets and toys for the family of Patrick O'Ryan, who was hosting him. When Patrick complained that this was embarrassing for him since he was the head of the family, Tsafendas's told the children that it was he and his father who had made the purchases.³⁹²⁷ Tsafendas also helped a colleague in Beira to build a room for his daughter, who was to get married.³⁹²⁸ He worked voluntarily in his half-sister's café in

³⁹²⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend', 14 September 1966.

³⁹²⁶ Jacobus Johannes Bornman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹²⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

³⁹²⁸ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

Pretoria for nine months, refusing to take any money, after she had given him a rent-free apartment.³⁹²⁹ He sent a “thank you” card to his uncle in Crete after he had stayed in his house for a few days in January 1961.³⁹³⁰ He urged Greek sailors of the *Eleni* tanker to boycott South Africa’s economy by spending as little money as possible. In order to show them the hardships of apartheid, he took some of these sailors to a township in Cape Town.³⁹³¹ Once again, these are not the actions of an unscrupulous and selfish man.

An unscrupulous and selfish person is by definition someone concerned primarily with his own well-being, no matter how this is achieved. Such a person would never act disinterestedly, in pursuit of what he saw as noble political ends or out of concern for others, sometimes risking life and liberty in the process, as Tsafendas did in the following cases:

- In England, Tsafendas became involved with the anti-fascist and the British anti-apartheid movement and participated in meetings and demonstrations arranged by both movements.³⁹³²
- He voluntarily joined the Greek Communists in the Greek Civil War to fight for a cause he believed in.³⁹³³
- In Mozambique, he protested against Portugal’s forced cotton policy and later toured villages preaching about Communism and working for the independence of Mozambique, although he knew he could be arrested. When he was eventually detained and accused of pretending to be a Christian missionary while in reality preaching “under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique’s independence,”³⁹³⁴ he told the police that what he wanted was “a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or

³⁹²⁹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

³⁹³⁰ Aris Tsafantakis in a personal interview, 13 April 2016.

³⁹³¹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 15 February 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

³⁹³² Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demetrio Tsafendas, NASA; Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹³³ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 15 February 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015. Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

³⁹³⁴ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

black, and therefore separated from the Mother-nation.”³⁹³⁵

Finally, a selfish and unscrupulous man would never have committed the ultimate act of assassination, knowing that there was no escape for him and that his life would very probably end soon as a result. This is conclusive proof of Tsafendas unselfishness. His conviction that he was doing the right thing and that a “change of policy would take place” after the assassination were enough for him to act as he did.

TSAFENDAS PRESENTED AS A BEGGAR

*Tsafendas was always begging for a place to sleep and for meals. At Beira, for example, he slept at the fire-station for a time.*³⁹³⁶

The above statement is one of the clearest indications of the Commission's effort to belittle and humiliate Tsafendas. Although it is true that Tsafendas slept at the fire-station in Beira at one point, the rest of the statement is completely inaccurate. The usage of the word “beg” is completely inaccurate and harsh. The circumstances of Tsafendas when he slept in the fire-station are also not mentioned, although known to the Commission and very important.

Tsafendas was released from prison in Beira, having spent three months there, on January 26, 1965.³⁹³⁷ Penniless and without a place to stay, he had two options: to find himself somewhere to sleep and stay until he stabilize his situation or to ask for help from his friends. Obviously embarrassed to ask his friends' for help, also maybe thinking that he might put them into a difficult and uncomfortable situation since he was just released from prison, he chose to not go to one of them. Instead, he went to the fire-station and asked the fire-fighters if he could sleep in the department's premises and they agreed and eventually spent ten nights there.³⁹³⁸ No one else told the police and the Commission from the statements found at the archives that Tsafendas “begged” or even asked for a place to sleep. This is the only case, so to use the word “always” is entirely inaccurate. Furthermore, probably a lot of people would have done the same in Tsafendas's condition.

³⁹³⁵ PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

³⁹³⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter III C, Paragraph 20.

³⁹³⁷ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA; Chapter II C, Paragraph 19.

³⁹³⁸ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

Two more witnesses, George Ananiades and George Liberopoulos, stated to the police something that is compatible with the Commission's report. Lt.-Colonel van Wyk wrote in his report after he had questioned both that Tsafendas "practically forced himself upon them and they treated him and often paid for his meals but further had nothing to do with him. He never spoke about politics with them. They describe him as a normal person with a very high-intelligence."³⁹³⁹

Furthermore, John Verghis, the owner of a café in Beira which Tsafendas often visited, testified to the police that Tsafendas "frequently visited the cafe where he spent time in the company of other Greeks. The subject was quiet and never spoke much and never about politics. It seemed to him that the subject always visited the café to see just if someone would give him something to eat or drink. ... According to him Tsafendas was a normal person."³⁹⁴⁰ John Galanakis was given by Tsafendas when he later entered his shop the impression that he "was on the scrounge, but realised that he was an intelligent man and that he spoke Greek, Portuguese and Afrikaans fluently."³⁹⁴¹

All the above statements were given to Lt.-Colonel van Wyk of the South African police when he visited Mozambique. He concluded in his report that Tsafendas "was most of the time without money and took advantage of others." This seems to be in line with what Lt.-Colonel van Wyk was told. However, it is noticeable that these statements and opinions came only from people who knew Tsafendas in Mozambique and especially in Beira, at a time when he was finding it difficult to make ends meet. A closer look at Tsafendas's problems in Mozambique throws some light on his behaviour and attitudes there. He was arrested twice, he spent three months in police custody and he had difficulty finding work. That he was pressed for cash is evident from the fact that he asked Nick Vlachopoulos, his brother-in-law in Pretoria, to sell some furniture that he had left in storage there. Vlachopoulos did so and sent the proceeds to Tsafendas in Mozambique. It is unlikely that Tsafendas would have sold his furniture unless he was in a serious financial situation. If he just wanted to get rid of the furniture, he could have sold it himself before he left Pretoria.

In total, the police and the Commission questioned some two hundred witnesses and only the Beira interviewees commented along those lines. None of the witnesses in South

³⁹³⁹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹⁴⁰ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹⁴¹ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

Africa or elsewhere in Mozambique and Rhodesia confirmed this picture of Tsafendas; indeed, some, like Bornman and Pappas, testified that Tsafendas was the exact opposite and helped people financially, although he was poor himself. However, even in Beira, things were not exactly like this.

Andreas Babiolakis, Costas Poriазis and Nick Papadakis, who knew Verghis well and often visited his café, disagree with Verghis's assumption that Tsafendas visited the café "just to see if someone would give him something to eat or drink." Certainly, Greeks often offered to buy drinks for Tsafendas and for each other, but this was customary when the Greeks sat together. If a new person arrived and was invited to join their company, someone would buy his drink. According to Andreas Babiolakis and Nick Papadakis who were present in Beira at the time, however, Tsafendas would only accept if he had enough money to buy the next round. Most times, he could not afford to buy everyone a drink, so he would decline their offer, but he would sit in their company and talk and listen.³⁹⁴²

Ananiades and Liberopoulos stated to the author that they strongly disagree with van Wyk's interpretation of their words with regards to Tsafendas forcing himself upon them and strongly condemn the use of the word "begging" which they state that it is a lie. Ananiades disagrees with the report's comment that Tsafendas "practically forced himself upon them" and believes it is "inaccurate." He told the author that Tsafendas "was not the kind of man" described by the Commission. He states that if the Commission based the conclusion in question in his statement to the police, that it is mistaken as this is not what he had meant. He told the author:

"No, no, no, no. It was nothing like that. I met him one day in Costa do Sol where we had coffee. We spoke and he said he was leaving the next day for South Africa. That was all. He never asked me to pay anything for him or to give him any money. Nothing. Never. I can't say if he generally was a beggar, but he was not like that with me and did not give me any such impression. He did not look or act like a beggar. It is not true [that Tsafendas forced himself upon him]. I don't know why it is in my statement, but I never said anything like that."³⁹⁴³

Liberopoulos associated often with Tsafendas and considered him to be a very "intelligent and political person." He does not remember what he told the police, but he too

³⁹⁴² Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriазis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

³⁹⁴³ George Ananiades in a personal interview, 21 June 2016.

disagrees that Tsafendas “forced himself upon them” which finds to be “not true.” When he first met Tsafendas, he had paid for his dinner because it was Greek tradition for the people who lived there to pay for a visitor’s dinner, although Tsafendas was reluctant to allow him to do so. The next day, Liberopoulos attempted to pay again, but Tsafendas refused and paid for both of them. Liberopoulos characterises Tsafendas as a “proud man” and “no beggar.” He told the author:

“He never took advantage of me or of anyone I knew. He would come and sit with us but would never accept a drink if he could not afford to buy you one in return. He would make excuses to avoid accepting the drink, and would never admit that it was because he could not afford the next round.”

Liberopoulos had also tried to distance himself from Tsafendas during the questioning.³⁹⁴⁴

Evidence of egregious omission and distortion by the Commission concerns the case of a twenty-escudos loan. It was known to the Commission that John Emmanuel Marvis lent Tsafendas twenty escudos, which he paid back a few days later.³⁹⁴⁵ This incident is omitted. However, what the Commission does mention, in Chapter II C, Paragraph 21, is that “*on one occasion, he (Tsafendas) was seen with a wad of hundred-escudo notes.*” The person who made this statement was Marvis, but what the Commission omitted was that Marvis had seen the money when Tsafendas paid him back. Obviously, to have carried the full Marvis story would have contradicted the Commission’s preferred picture of Tsafendas begging for meals and a place to stay. Tsafendas also was given money to sail from Beira to Durban by Costas Poriakis, and Giannos and Andreas Babioulakis, but he paid all of them back about a month later.³⁹⁴⁶

There were several known occasions when Tsafendas acted with generosity towards poor people although he was poor himself. While the Commission mentioned that he was a beggar, it failed to include any of the evidence of his generosity. Jacobus Bornman was Tsafendas’s flatmate for two months in Cape Town. When he was broke, Tsafendas voluntarily gave him five cents and when Bornman tried to return the money, Tsafendas

³⁹⁴⁴ George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2015.

³⁹⁴⁵ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

³⁹⁴⁶ Andreas Babioulakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriakis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

refused to take it back.³⁹⁴⁷ The Commission's report refers to Bornman but not this statement of his. Peter Pappas, owner of a Greek café in Durban, said when Tsafendas had some money he would give "a few cents to the white down-and-outs of the city." Pappas said also had said, "When his luck was out, I sometimes gave him a free meal, but when he started work he paid me."³⁹⁴⁸

Furthermore, Richard Poggenpoel testified to the police and the Commission that when Tsafendas stayed in his house for two weeks, he did not pay for lodging because he was unemployed. However, a few weeks later and after he had moved out of his house, Tsafendas visited Poggenpoel and gave him R4. Poggenpoel did not want to take the money, which he had not asked for, but Tsafendas insisted on paying him.³⁹⁴⁹ All this was known to the Commission but was left out of its Report, presumably because they were not the things a beggar would do and therefore contradicted such a claim.

The author asked seventy-one witnesses whether Tsafendas could be described as a beggar and not one agreed. For reasons of space and since the witnesses' statements about his character are listed in the previous chapter, such statements will not be listed here, but the following are some examples of views as to whether he was a beggar:

- One evening in August 1966, some of the *Eleni* seamen asked Tsafendas to take them to a Greek restaurant. He did so and despite their protests, he paid the bill for everybody. Tsafendas said the crew were "strangers in his town" and since he was the host, he should pay.³⁹⁵⁰ Patrick O'Ryan and his son Reuben O'Ryan in whose house Tsafendas lived for five months said that he constantly bought food and sweets and toys for their family. When Patrick complained that it was embarrassing for him to be seen that their guest was bringing more food and toys in his house than him, Tsafendas did not stop, but started claiming to the children that it was their dad who had bought it and not him.³⁹⁵¹ Tsafendas also sometimes gave money to Allan O'Ryan for his bus fare to school.³⁹⁵²

³⁹⁴⁷ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁴⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend', 14 September 1966.

³⁹⁴⁹ Richard Poggenpoel statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013.

³⁹⁵⁰ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 15 February 2014; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

³⁹⁵¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Father Ioannis Tsafataridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

³⁹⁵² Allan O' Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

Emanuel Tsabouniaris, one of the *Eleni* seamen, told the author that he gave Tsafendas money to buy him a few things ashore and when he returned with them, he told Tsafendas to keep the change. Tsafendas insisted that he take back the change. Tsabouniaris said, "He was always very prompt with our financial dealings." Tsabouniaris also said that "the only thing I found strange was that his profession of a hawker did not match his character. He was very educated and very polite for a hawker. The thing that impressed me more was that he was very proud. He was doing the job with pride, not like a beggar or trying to make you buy in a sleazy way. He was a true gentleman."³⁹⁵³

Father Nikola Banovic became very sad upon hearing that the Commission had presented Tsafendas as a beggar, and found it hard to believe it. He told the author, "Dimitris was a very generous man. If he had two drachmas (Greek currency of the time) in his pocket, he would give them both to someone in need. He was not a beggar, this is libel... I remember he always used to give good tips to waiters and taxi drivers."³⁹⁵⁴

THE MISSING BIBLE

*However, he remained at the hostel until 14th April, 1965, and when he left he took the Bible that was in his room with him.*³⁹⁵⁵

The above statement refers to the time when Tsafendas lived at the E.R. Carney Hostel, Clair Wood, while working for the South African Railways and Harbours. The statement is by Casper Andries Willemse, the hostel's housemaster, and it is correct.³⁹⁵⁶ But once again a positive comment about Tsafendas is omitted since Willemse, had also characterised Tsafendas as "a sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man."³⁹⁵⁷

TSAFENDAS'S CHARACTER ACCORDING TO PEOPLE WHO MET HIM AND TESTIFIED TO THE COE OR TO THE POLICE

Let us now consider what Tsafendas's friends and close acquaintances said about him in the period leading up to the assassination. All of the statements below were in the possession of the Commission and were omitted from its Report. The study includes here only their

³⁹⁵³ Emanuel Tsabouniaris in personal interview with the author, 14 June 2016.

³⁹⁵⁴ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

³⁹⁵⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 26.

³⁹⁵⁶ Casper Andries Willemse statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁵⁷ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder', 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

comments about Tsafendas's character and not his political ideas or his mental state as these are discussed in the relevant sections of this chapter:

1. Kenneth Heugh Ross, Tsafendas's landlord for two months: "Tsafendas was very fond of discussing politics and gave me the opinion that he was well versed in politics. Tsafendas objected to the Communists being banished to Robin Island [sic] because of their political opinions and actions. In general, Tsafendas opposed to every decision taken by the South African Government and freely voiced his opinion to me. He was blatantly opposed to the National Party policy, the policy of the present Government, and was definitely pro-Russian. I am aware that Tsafendas possessed a large quantity of literature but did not take note of the names of the books he read."³⁹⁵⁸
2. Johannes Aurets, Tsafendas's supervisor at South African Railways, told the police that Tsafendas "was a well-mannered and well-spoken person. He associated with those working with him. He was soft-spoken and appeared to be of a good nature. During the time he was employed under my supervision, i.e. for approximately three weeks, I did not see him being cross at any time. He was a good worker."³⁹⁵⁹
3. August Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be "very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet."³⁹⁶⁰
4. Patrick O'Ryan hosted Tsafendas in his home for five months in 1965-1966 and was close to him up to his arrest. Tsafendas was described to him by a preacher of the Christian Church as a "highly cultured gentleman, a very refined gentleman who speaks seven languages."³⁹⁶¹ He formed a "deep liking"³⁹⁶² for Tsafendas and considered him to be an "enlightened person."³⁹⁶³ He also testified that "I had confidence in him and used to like him. He was a very kindly man. In my experience of him he had a good heart ... I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind," or that he "was mentally disturbed."³⁹⁶⁴ He also found Tsafendas to be "well-spoken and had good vocabulary."³⁹⁶⁵

³⁹⁵⁸ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁵⁹ Johannes Jaonus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁶⁰ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁶¹ Patrick O' Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

³⁹⁶² Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³⁹⁶³ Patrick O' Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

³⁹⁶⁴ Patrick O' Ryan testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

5. Inspector Horacio Ferreira of the Portuguese Security Police was in charge of the cells where Tsafendas was held in custody in Beira in 1964. His statement to the police said he considered Tsafendas to be “normal and regarded him as a very intelligent person.”³⁹⁶⁶
6. Ian Boswell, administrative assistant at the Department of Labour in Cape Town. He interviewed Tsafendas three times in 1966 and testified that “he was at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute. Aside from being over-talkative, he showed no symptoms of abnormality, during his interviews with me.”³⁹⁶⁷
7. John Bornman lived with Tsafendas for six-seven weeks in April and May of 1966. He found Tsafendas to be “normal, intelligent and friendly. He was neat in his person, but his eating habits were messy.” Bornman also testified that when he was broke, Tsafendas lent him five cents and when Bornman tried to return the money, Tsafendas refused to take it back. Furthermore Bornman testified that Tsafendas “stood up a lot for the Coloureds.”³⁹⁶⁸ The Commission’s report refers to Bornman but none of the above is included.
8. Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine to ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that he “never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers.”³⁹⁶⁹
9. Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Greek Consul in Beira “was often in the company of the subject and others had several conversations with him. He considered Tsafendas to be “a normal and very intelligent person.”³⁹⁷⁰
10. Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban, accepted Tsafendas as a Portuguese and Greek interpreter. Rudolph used him “on several occasions” over six months and “got to know him pretty well.” He said, “I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and intelligent. He spoke English properly.”³⁹⁷¹

³⁹⁶⁵ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

³⁹⁶⁶ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹⁶⁷ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

³⁹⁶⁸ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA

³⁹⁶⁹ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁷⁰ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹⁷¹ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

11. Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas's landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry: "it was a serviced room but I found him making his own bed. When he came to me he was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman. When he paid me, he had a bundle of notes and I took him to be a man of means."³⁹⁷²
12. Carel van Heerden was senior security officer for the Marine Diamond Corporation and worked with Tsafendas for around three months in 1966. He told the police: "We were transferred from the Marina on a small outboard boat to the Col pontoon. It was terrible, rough seas, so much so that almost all of us old hands got seasick. It struck me that Tsafendas adapted well. He was one of the few who was not seasick. Upon landing, he filled the mess basin on the lower deck with water and started shaving. His calm way struck me that he must know the sea. Tsafendas was employed as a pump, or engineer, operator and did not work under my direct supervision. I introduced myself to him and talked to him. He was friendly, outgoing, and not aloof. I noticed that his eating was messy. Otherwise he was completely normal."³⁹⁷³
13. Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for Mike's Outfitters for forty-two days in July and August 1966, frequently driving him to the tanker *Eleni* while it was docked in Cape Town. Of Tsafendas, he told the police that he "never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers."³⁹⁷⁴
14. Gillian Claire Lieberman was a personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation who was often visited by Tsafendas in her office. She "found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation, but a strange type of person, a unique character. I got the impression that he was physically different in dress and appearance. He was a big man, with a particularly striking big hat, stainless steel teeth, sloppy, dirty clothing."³⁹⁷⁵
15. Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour in Cape Town, interviewed Tsafendas twice. He testified to the police that Tsafendas was "neatly dressed" and he "never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with

³⁹⁷² Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

³⁹⁷³ Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁷⁴ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

³⁹⁷⁵ Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

- him or that he acted abnormally.”³⁹⁷⁶
16. John Galanakis was given by Tsafendas when the later entered his shop the impression that he “was on the scrounge, but realised that he was an intelligent man and that he spoke Greek, Portuguese and Afrikaans fluently.”³⁹⁷⁷
 17. Albert Vercueil, Tsafendas's boss at F. A. Poole in Pretoria, said that in the five months he worked with Tsafendas, he found him to be a “very friendly, social and talkative person,”³⁹⁷⁸ “not a very good worker, but will say that he was an intelligent worker.”³⁹⁷⁹ He also testified to the Commission of Enquiry that he considered Tsafendas to be “an intelligent man, just untidy and lazy in rounding off his work.” He never got the impression that Mr. Tsafendas was not right in his mind.³⁹⁸⁰
 18. Helen Grispos knew Tsafendas from birth and grew up with him, while her husband was Tsafendas's best childhood friend. She told the police that Tsafendas was “well-mannered and intelligent.”³⁹⁸¹ She also told the author that she never thought Tsafendas was insane. “He never did or said anything to make me or George (her husband) think that he was insane.”³⁹⁸²
 19. Reginald Maile, guard on the *Eleni*, testified that Tsafendas was “on very friendly relations with the crew ... He was sober, polite and perfectly normal.”³⁹⁸³
 20. Robert Smith, Tsafendas's landlord for two months: “Tsafendas was in my opinion a fanatic on politics and seldomly spoke of anything else ... I am also aware that he has a large quantity of literature but do not know the nature thereof.”³⁹⁸⁴
 21. Sydney Wiehand, Tsafendas's colleague at the House of Assembly testified that Tsafendas “was a quiet man. He wasn't the rough type or anything like that. He was quiet, quietly spoken, well-mannered.”³⁹⁸⁵
 22. Hendrik van Loggenberg knew Tsafendas and his family well in Pretoria. He told the

³⁹⁷⁶ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

³⁹⁷⁷ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹⁷⁸ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁷⁹ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹⁸⁰ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁸¹ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹⁸² Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

³⁹⁸³ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

³⁹⁸⁴ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁸⁵ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

- police that Tsafendas “definitely came across as normal ... he also seemed healthy ...”³⁹⁸⁶
23. John Gianouris, the Greek Vice Consul at Lourenço Marques, described Tsafendas as “a normal and intelligent person.”³⁹⁸⁷
 24. Petrus Schuin, the head messenger at the Parliament, was also one of the three men who had interviewed him and appointed him. He told the Commission of Enquiry that “there was nothing out of the ordinary about him. Tsafendas was the same as any other person that had worked there.”³⁹⁸⁸
 25. Sydney Wiehand, a messenger who was also on the interview panel in the House of Assembly, said Tsafendas “was a quiet man. He wasn't the rough type or anything like that. He was quiet, quietly spoken, well-mannered.”³⁹⁸⁹
 26. Elizabeth Groves was Tsafendas's landlady for six or seven weeks and a retired psychiatric nurse. About Tsafendas she said, “I received complaints that he was argumentative and towards me he said that we Afrikaners are a backward nation. It was clear that he had nothing good towards Afrikaners.”³⁹⁹⁰
 27. Lt.-Colonel P.J.B. van Wyk wrote in his report from Mozambique that Tsafendas, “for all purposes, can be seen as a normal, intelligent person.”³⁹⁹¹
 28. Jose Lopez Baltazar, a fireman in Beira, testified that “when Tsafendas was in the presence of Whites, he said little or nothing, but was friendly and talkative with the Bantu.”³⁹⁹²
 29. Owen Smorenberg, who worked with him for five-six weeks, testified that “Tsafendas was very talkative and gave the impression that he was very friendly. He wanted to talk to everybody and it became known to me that he was able to speak different languages.”³⁹⁹³
 30. Keith Martincich who worked with him at the Marine Diamond Corporation testified that Tsafendas “spoke to me every day and I got the impression that he was sociable

³⁹⁸⁶ Hendrik Johannes van Loggenberg statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁸⁷ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹⁸⁸ Petrus Robert Samuel Schuin testimony to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

³⁹⁸⁹ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

³⁹⁹⁰ Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

³⁹⁹¹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹⁹² Col. van Wyk's report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹⁹³ Owen Smorenburg statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 oor Stafendas. NASA.

- type.”³⁹⁹⁴
31. William Mare Volbrecht, Tsafendas's school mate at the English Medium Primary School in Middleburg, testified to the police that he was “never a loner and freely mingled with us.”³⁹⁹⁵
 32. Redvers Quintin Wakfer, who worked with Tsafendas for six weeks at the Power Station in Cape Town, testified that Tsafendas was “neatly dressed.”³⁹⁹⁶
 33. Edward Furness testified that Tsafendas “was well-dressed and appeared to be wealthy.”³⁹⁹⁷
 34. Katerina Pnema, his half-sister, testified that Tsafendas “was well-dressed and gave a good appearance” although as far as she could see he had no visible means of support.³⁹⁹⁸
 35. Garnet Muller, Tsafendas's supervisor at South African Railways for three weeks, testified that Tsafendas gave him to understand that he took the job on a temporary basis. He “observed Demitrio Tsafendas to possess intelligence above that of the average person who is likely to accept a position with the little responsibility which is attached to that of shed attendant.”³⁹⁹⁹
 36. Kyriakos Skordis who Tsafendas used to visit at his coffee shop in Durban for several months in 1965, testified that he “appeared to be quite normal and was apparently in a poor financial position.”⁴⁰⁰⁰
 37. Richard Poggenpoel lived with him for two weeks and kept on associating up to his arrest, “there was no mention or impression that he was mentally abnormal. He lived a completely normal life.”⁴⁰⁰¹
 38. George Ananiades met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963 and described him in

³⁹⁹⁴ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁹⁵ William Mare Volbrecht statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Verklaring deur Majdor Venter. NASA.

³⁹⁹⁶ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA; Redvers Quintin Wakfer statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub File: 1/5, Subject Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

³⁹⁹⁷ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

³⁹⁹⁸ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

³⁹⁹⁹ Garnet Vincent Muller statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁰⁰ Kyriakos Skordis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁰¹ Richard Poggenpoel statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

his statement to the police “as a normal person with a very high-intelligence.”⁴⁰⁰²

39. Helen Daniels told the police: “besides his messy ways, I did not notice anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal. His stories about travelling abroad was interesting.”⁴⁰⁰³
40. Costas Michaletos,⁴⁰⁰⁴ who knew Tsafendas from birth, stated, “Ever since I knew Dimetrios Tsafantakis, I never, any time observed that he showed any deviations. He also never was an aggressive type person.”⁴⁰⁰⁵
41. James Summers, owner of the “Barlings Tea Lounge,” which Tsafendas frequented for four months, testified that Tsafendas “was no nuisance, and appeared to be a quite normal, innocent type. I never had reason to even suspect that he could be mentally unbalanced. He acted quite normal.”⁴⁰⁰⁶
42. George Liberopoulos met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963 and described him in his statement to the police as “a normal person with a very high-intelligence.”⁴⁰⁰⁷
43. Gideon Cloete, an employee in the Department of Labour, met Tsafendas twice and said he “seemed eager to get employment, was neatly dressed and had a clean appearance.” Cloete said he saw no signs of abnormality, that “he seemed perfectly normal.”⁴⁰⁰⁸

In addition, we should remember statements which people made to newspapers about Tsafendas which were in the Commission's possession:

1. Dr. Samuel Schmahmann, a classmate, recalled Dimitri as “a popular boy and not the least introverted. I particularly remember him singing a Greek song at a school concert,” he said. “He was very funny and had us all in stitches.”⁴⁰⁰⁹
2. Guenther Haafe, doorman at the Frankfurt factory where Tsafendas worked for six weeks in 1958. Eight years later, after the assassination, he still remembered the jovial greeting which Tsafendas gave him every morning. “He was a jolly man, always smiling

⁴⁰⁰² Col. van Wyk's report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁰⁰³ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

⁴⁰⁰⁴ The correct spelling is Michaletos, not Michaeletos. Costas Michaeletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁰⁵ Costas Michaeletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁰⁶ Herbert James Summers statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁰⁷ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁰⁰⁸ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

⁴⁰⁰⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Boyhood Days of Tsafendas’, 8 September 1966.

and friendly. He would almost always come into my locker (room) to say Hi. He was really one of the friendliest workers I have met and trust me, in my twelve years as a doorman I have seen thousands and thousands of faces coming in and out; this man was courteous, they do not make them like that anymore.”⁴⁰¹⁰

3. Peter Pappas, owner of a café in Durban, said when Tsafendas had some money he would give “a few cents to the white down-and-outs of the city.” Pappas said also had said, “When his luck was out, I sometimes gave him a free meal, but when he started work he paid me.”⁴⁰¹¹
4. Horst Hartmann, Tsafendas's employer in Frankfurt, Germany, at the heavy engineering company Fries and Son, characterised Tsafendas “as extremely nice and friendly ... He looked like a successful business man. I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man...he made a good impression and he spoke good German, so I took him on...” Tsafendas “left on his own wish,” although Hartmann “would have liked to keep him.”⁴⁰¹²
5. J. Willemse, a former landlord, characterised Tsafendas as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.”⁴⁰¹³
6. Tsafendas made a “good impression” on his colleagues in Frankfurt; they said he was “always smiling” and characterized him as being “very kind”, “a nice guy” and a “good comrade.”⁴⁰¹⁴

Do all these people, over fifty of them, describe the same man as that portrayed by the Commission? All of their comments were in the possession of the Commission but not one was used in its Report. Tsafendas is described by these men and women as an intelligent, polite, talkative, sociable and friendly person, perfectly able to reason in conversation, well-

⁴⁰¹⁰ *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966; *The Daily News*, ‘Tsafendas Seen As ‘Mystery Man’’, 8 September 1966: 17.

⁴⁰¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend’, 14 September 1966.

⁴⁰¹² *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

⁴⁰¹³ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

⁴⁰¹⁴ PIDE's News Digest; *Le Courrier d'Afrique*, ‘Em Torno Do Assassinado do Primeiro Ministro Sulafricano; Versoes Contraditorias Circulam Sobre A Personalidade Do Assassino’, 9 September 1966: 1. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; *Daily Dispatch*, ‘He Made A Good Impression’, 8 September 1966: 1; *Natal Witness*, ‘Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...’, 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, ‘Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte’, 8 September 1966.

dressed and courteous. Witnesses like Kenneth Heugh Ross⁴⁰¹⁵ and Robert Harpur Smith⁴⁰¹⁶ had also commented on the fact that Tsafendas had a large quantity of books in his possession, suggesting that he was a literate person but again, this was not mentioned in the Report.

The Commission seemed to base its description of Tsafendas on a figment of Judge van Wyk's imagination, created with only one intention, which is to belittle Tsafendas in the eyes of the public. The Commission's Report is a travesty of the truth, picking and choosing witnesses, using and ignoring their statements to create a Tsafendas who never existed. The statistics tell the story and are worth repeating: Of the 200 witnesses who were interviewed by the police and the Commission, 44 made positive statements about Tsafendas's character, and 6 negative, with the remainder neutral. Thus, 22% of the statements were positive, 3% were negative and the remaining 75% neutral. However, the Commission used only 1 of the 44 positive statements, thus the 2.2%, in comparison to 100% of the negative ones. Could anything better demonstrate the Commission's bias and aim? The 44 positive statements about Tsafendas, along with the 6 more listed above, contradict not only the Commission's caricature of him, but also the picture of him that emerged during the summary trial; that Tsafendas was withdrawn, isolated, unsociable, unfriendly, unable to function on a reasonable level, unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, a man who suffered from thought-disorder and was unable to speak properly.

CONCLUSION

The Commission manipulated witnesses' testimonies and other evidence to mispresent Tsafendas and some situations to his disadvantage. It also used negative characterisations of him for which there was no support. It seems obvious that the Commission's intention was not to reveal the real Tsafendas, but to create a distorted version of him, which would arouse the public's contempt and thus ensure that no-one would ever think of him as a hero or attribute a political motive to his act.

⁴⁰¹⁵ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966, K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁰¹⁶ Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

TSAFENDAS'S MENTAL STATE

The Report contains some comments made about the mental state of Tsafendas by people who knew him. In this section we will examine what the Commission has included and what it has omitted.

TSAFENDAS'S FAMILY'S OPINION ABOUT HIS MENTAL STATE

*They (the family) realized that he was eccentric, but did not think he was mentally disordered. The half-sister who lives in Rhodesia stated that the family did realize that he was not quite normal after he returned from Portugal. He said nothing to them about his alleged worm.*⁴⁰¹⁷

The Commission states that Tsafendas's family "realized that he was eccentric, but did not think he was mentally disordered." This is accurate, but the family had made a much stronger statement regarding his mental state. They told the Commission clearly that Tsafendas "was definitely not insane."⁴⁰¹⁸

The Commission also states that his half-sister in Rhodesia, Katerina Pnefma, stated that "the family did realize that he was not quite normal after he returned from Portugal." Her statement contradicts the view of other family members that "he was definitely not insane." Furthermore, the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali who had interviewed Pnefma when she made this comment, added at the bottom of the report that "At the time of the interview, Mrs. Pnefma was considerably upset and her opinion and facts might be slightly biased and inaccurate."⁴⁰¹⁹ Clearly the Commission ignored this caveat.

Furthermore, Pnefma stated in a personal interview with the author:

"Of course I was upset! He [Tsafendas] had ruined my life. I knew he had the moment I heard about it [the assassination]. I remember it as if it was yesterday. I was by myself in the house ... no, they [the policemen] didn't have a typing machine; they were keeping notes ... I don't remember saying that he was unbalanced, but he certainly was not ... no it is untrue that we thought he was unbalanced. He was perfectly sane. He was very clever, cleverer than any of us [the family]. I must have meant that he had crazy political ideas. I

⁴⁰¹⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 6.

⁴⁰¹⁸ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴⁰¹⁹ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

don't remember saying that at all ... I remember saying that he was talking rubbish! He was always talking rubbish, but I couldn't tell the police what exactly he was saying! He was saying that the South Africans are Nazis, he was calling Dr. Verwoerd Hitler's best student ... that us and most Whites were exploiting the Black Rhodesians ... he was calling the Greeks racists, saying that one day the Rhodesians would kick us all out and take back what we stole from them ... that one day the Blacks in South Africa would throw the Whites into the sea ... He believed Mozambique and South Africa should have a colourful flag, like a rainbow or something in order for each colour to represent each race! Have you heard anything more absurd? He used to say that Jesus Christ was socialist and if he was alive today he would have been a revolutionary fighting apartheid and for the independence of Mozambique! Can you believe it? Well, this is what he was saying, all this kind of nonsense! How could I have told all these things to the police? They would have said 'Why didn't you report him to the police since he had such crazy ideas? Didn't you know he was dangerous?'

You can't imagine how many people had told my poor father to do something with him and his crazy political ideas. You can't imagine how many! Even my poor mother told him to talk to him because he would get us into trouble someday, as he was often doing, but my dad did nothing. It was actually all his fault. He taught him all these things, but my father was a cautious man, he was not like Dimitri; he wouldn't go around saying all these stupidities. His son was the opposite; he couldn't keep his mouth shut ... what about the other thing? He changed his name because he thought it was insulting to be called Tsafantakis since this was the name given to our ancestors by the Turks! Wasn't this nonsense?"⁴⁰²⁰

Despite the frailty of the evidence it adduced, the Commission apparently felt it could not omit the opinions of Tsafendas's family about his mental condition since this was something everyone would have wondered about.

⁴⁰²⁰ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

NEGATIVE STATEMENTS REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S MENTAL STATE IN THE COMMISSION'S REPORT

Let us now examine those parts of the Report where people spoke negatively about Tsafendas's mental state:

Wilhelmina de Vos

*She says that at times his conversation was confused and her impression was that he was mad.*⁴⁰²¹

De Vos was Tsafendas's landlady for about a month. We must assumed that she made this comment above to the Commission, because she gave a completely different statement to the police two weeks before the trial began, saying that she "considered him to be a completely normal person."⁴⁰²² De Vos's testimony to the Commission has gone missing, so the author cannot know when she gave evidence. It is possible that she did so after or during the summary trial as this could explain her change of opinion. Perhaps influenced by what she heard in the court, she changed her mind; perhaps she felt overawed by those learned psychiatrists who testified that Tsafendas was mad. We do not know whether the Commission asked her why she changed her mind. What we do know is that the Commission ignored the statement she made to the police on October 3 and included her new testimony. Without knowing the background of the new testimony, it would be imprudent for the author to speculate further. However, the fact is that before the trial de Vos gave an entirely different statement to the police saying Tsafendas was a completely normal person.

James Johnston

*Mr. Johnston, a minister of his church, gained the impression that he was slightly unbalanced.*⁴⁰²³

This fifteen-word sentence at the end of a short paragraph about Tsafendas's religious practices demonstrates an extraordinary distortion by omission and a very clear attempt by

⁴⁰²¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 65.

⁴⁰²² Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰²³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 42.

the Commission to manipulate a witness's words to Tsafendas's disadvantage. Johnston was a defence witness and testified in the summary trial. His case was examined there, but we will discuss it again here in the context of the Commission's statement.

Johnston told the police on October 6 that he had "only seen Tsafendas periodically and had no discussions with him ... I do not know Tsafendas very well and the longest discussion I had with him was for about 10 minutes at each occasion."⁴⁰²⁴ Thus the opinion of a man who spoke to Tsafendas twice for a total of twenty minutes is included in the Report while, as we will see, the opinions of people who knew Tsafendas for weeks, months and years are omitted. That Johnston hardly knew Tsafendas is obviously not taken under consideration by the Commission and is not mentioned in the Report.

However, where the Commission glaringly infringes the judicial traditions of neutrality and objectivity is by reporting only part of Johnston's statement. Johnston testified that he had concluded that Tsafendas was "slightly unbalanced and that he seemed to have a mysterious background, but otherwise he appeared to be all right."⁴⁰²⁵ The Commission chose to omit the second part of Johnston's sentence but report the first part. A final, blatant act of omission was to come: Johnston also told the police that he had seen Tsafendas the night before the assassination and although he did not speak to him, he "appeared to be perfectly normal."⁴⁰²⁶ The Commission omitted this statement, too.

Patrick O'Ryan

*Mr. O'Ryan never gained the impression that there was anything seriously wrong with him. He did tell them, though, about the tapeworm which he was supposed to have. Sometimes he called it a snake, and said that he had to feed it constantly.*⁴⁰²⁷

Tsafendas stayed at the O'Ryan household for some five to six months (November 1965-April 1966), and remained close to O'Ryan after he left. The Report has conflated some of O'Ryan's words and omitted others. He did not say that he "never gained the impression that there was anything seriously wrong with him." He said that he believed Tsafendas "was not spiritually or mentally disturbed ... I never got the impression that something was wrong

⁴⁰²⁴ James Johnston statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰²⁵ James Johnston statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰²⁶ James Johnston statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰²⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 55.

in his mind.”⁴⁰²⁸ Furthermore, he told the court he “never actually doubted his mental state” and that Tsafendas’s mind was similar to the one “the majority of people have.”⁴⁰²⁹ There is a significant difference between saying there is nothing seriously wrong and saying there is nothing wrong. The first expression means that while there is nothing seriously wrong, there is *something* wrong; the second means there is absolutely nothing wrong.

The Report mentions Tsafendas’s references to O’Ryan about the tapeworm. This issue has been discussed extensively in the Summary Trial Chapter but it should be mentioned here that O’Ryan spoke of the tapeworm to the Commission, while he had not done so to the police. As already noted, O’Ryan testified to the Commission after he had testified to the police and after he was asked by the lawyer Wilfrid Cooper to mention it to save Tsafendas’s life.⁴⁰³⁰

O’Ryan also made several positive statements about Tsafendas’s character, but none of them was included in the Report. For instance, he said that he formed a “deep liking” for Tsafendas and that he “had confidence in him ... he was a very kindly man. In my experience of him he had a good heart ... I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind,” or that he “was mentally disturbed... he was well-spoken and had good vocabulary.”⁴⁰³¹ O’Ryan’s opinion about Tsafendas is discussed later in this chapter in the “Landlords and Flatmates” section. For his personal relationship with Tsafendas, see his testimony in the Summary Trial Chapter and at Tsafendas’s biography.

Keith Martincich

*At times he heard Tsafendas talking to himself. On one such occasion he heard Tsafendas say that he had dived into the sea from the boat to save people. He clapped his hands and jumped up and down like a child.*⁴⁰³²

These three sentences are excerpted from a lengthy statement by Martincich, who had worked with Tsafendas for three weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation. While the tone of Martincich’s observations is generally hostile, the Commission’s selection of the incidents

⁴⁰²⁸ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁰²⁹ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁰³⁰ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness*; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 6 April 2015.

⁴⁰³¹ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁰³² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 56.

quoted seems designed to question Tsafendas's mental stability. It seems Martincich was the only one of two hundred witnesses questioned by the police and the Commission who noticed Tsafendas talking to himself. The author also asked seventy-one people who knew Tsafendas if they ever saw him talk to himself and all said absolutely not. For reasons of space, the study will list here only people who knew Tsafendas very well who never spotted him addressing himself:

- His half-sister Katerina Pnefma;⁴⁰³³
- Mary Eintracht, his first cousin, who grew up with him in Egypt and Lourenço Marques and spent a lot of time together in a period of nine months in 1964;
- Fotini Gavasiadis who spent every day with him for nine months in Pretoria in 1963-1964;
- Father Michalis Visvinis who visited him for three-four years in prison (1990-1994);⁴⁰³⁴
- Father Nikola Banovic who lived with him at the same house for four months in 1961 and then lived right next to his house for another three;⁴⁰³⁵
- Ira Kyriakakis who grew up with him and spent a lot of time together in 1964 and 1965;⁴⁰³⁶
- Fathers Minas Constandinou, Ioannis Tsafaridis and Michalis Visvinis, who very regularly visited him in prison and the hospital during the late 1970s, the 1980s and the 1990s;⁴⁰³⁷
- Andreas Babiolakis who knew him since they were children, lived him for two months in 1964 and associated with him for about a year then;⁴⁰³⁸
- Thirteen crewmen from the *Eleni* who saw him every day for forty-two days in 1966;⁴⁰³⁹
- Elias Constantaras who lived under the same roof for two months in Cape Town in 1966 and knew him for more than a year;⁴⁰⁴⁰

⁴⁰³³ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁰³⁴ Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

⁴⁰³⁵ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

⁴⁰³⁶ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

⁴⁰³⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015; Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

⁴⁰³⁸ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

⁴⁰³⁹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emanuil Tsabouniaris in a personal interview, 19 January 2016; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁴⁰⁴⁰ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

- Irene Michaletos who knew him very well for more than a year (1964-1965), when he often visited her house in Beira;⁴⁰⁴¹
- Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's cousins and sons of Artemis Michaletos, Tsafendas's aunt and his father's sister who brought him up in Egypt. They first met Tsafendas in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique.⁴⁰⁴²
- Alexander Moumbaris who spent three months in a cell next to Tsafendas's in Pretoria Prison. They spoke every day for an hour when they exercised together in the prison yard.⁴⁰⁴³
- Costas Poriазis who met him in 1964 in Beira;⁴⁰⁴⁴
- Alexandra Vaporidis who knew him for about six months in Istanbul in 1961;⁴⁰⁴⁵
- Nick Papadakis, who knew Tsafendas for two-three months and lived with him for two months in Mozambique in 1964;⁴⁰⁴⁶
- Panagiotis Peroglou, Stratis Vamvarapis, Antonis Nichas and Costas Chagios, who were Tsafendas's friends in Cape Town for more than a year.⁴⁰⁴⁷

It could be argued that everyone talks to himself occasionally, either audibly or inaudibly, and the whole human race is not crazy. As for Tsafendas jumping up and down, this is open to speculation. It appears to be childish, but again many people will do something silly on the spur of the moment. Alternatively, Tsafendas may have had a few drinks then – Martincich testified that Tsafendas “occasionally had a few drinks” - or Martincich might have misunderstood his action. The fact is that of two hundred witnesses who knew Tsafendas, most of them much better than Martincich, none testified to ever seeing such behaviour; the same response came from interviews with seventy-one other friends, relatives and acquaintances by the author. However, what also needs to be mentioned is that the Commission omitted from its Report a remark made by Martincich about Tsafendas, namely that he got the impression “there was something mentally wrong with him”⁴⁰⁴⁸ This was his

⁴⁰⁴¹ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

⁴⁰⁴² Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

⁴⁰⁴³ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

⁴⁰⁴⁴ Costas Poriазis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

⁴⁰⁴⁵ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

⁴⁰⁴⁶ Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

⁴⁰⁴⁷ Costas Chagios in a personal interview, 14 July 2015; Miltiades Kaldis in a personal interview, 12 March 2016; Antonis Nichas in a personal interview, 31 March 2016; Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016; Stratis Vamvarapis in a personal interview, 31 May 2016.

⁴⁰⁴⁸ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

conclusion after seeing Tsafendas mumbling to himself and on one occasion jumping up and down.

Number of the Negative Statements used by the Commission

The Commission has included three of the four negative statements about Tsafendas's mental state from approximately 200 witnesses who were questioned by the police and the Commission itself. The fourth witness who made a negative statement is Caroline Barbeau who told the police that after speaking to Tsafendas a few times in 1965, she formed the impression that he was "not all there."⁴⁰⁴⁹ However, the Commission did not include her opinion in the Report, although it was in possession of her testimony. Her statement is examined in the previous two chapters.

POSITIVE STATEMENTS REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S MENTAL STATE INLCUDED IN THE COMMISSION'S REPORT

- *Neither the Chief Messenger nor the two senior messengers had any reason to believe, either during their interview or while Tsafendas was employed at the House of Assembly during August and September, that he was mentally disordered. Nor did the policemen and other messengers who came into contact with him at the House of Assembly notice anything wrong.*⁴⁰⁵⁰
- *During June and July, 1966, he had his meals with Mrs. Scott at No. 42, Chamberlain Street, Woodstock ... In her opinion he was normal.*⁴⁰⁵¹
- *In July, 1966, Tsafendas had a long interview with Mr. Hartford of the Cape Argus. Mr. Hartford's impression was that Tsafendas was normal.*⁴⁰⁵²
- *According to persons who know the family in Pretoria, they were not exactly taken up with this member of the family. They realized that he was eccentric, but did not think he was mentally disordered.*⁴⁰⁵³
- *Mr. Bornman, who occupied the same room as Tsafendas, stated that Tsafendas did not show any signs of being mentally abnormal.*⁴⁰⁵⁴

⁴⁰⁴⁹ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁵⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 73.

⁴⁰⁵¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 67.

⁴⁰⁵² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 74.

⁴⁰⁵³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 6.

⁴⁰⁵⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 58.

- On Sunday evening, 4th September, 1966, attended a church service at the home of a certain Mr. Hall in Pinelands. On that occasion he appeared to be normal.⁴⁰⁵⁵

According to Harry Hall's statement, Tsafendas did not only appear to be normal "on that occasion," but generally. Having knowing him since March 1966 until his arrest, he had testified that he regarded Tsafendas "as a sub-standard intellect, but otherwise found him to be reasonably normal."⁴⁰⁵⁶

The Commission included in its Report the above statements testifying to Tsafendas's mental normality. They come from people who knew him socially or professionally plus his colleagues at the Parliament. The fact that none of his colleagues at the House of Assembly noticed anything wrong with him over the thirty-five days they worked with him is of prime importance. Yet it was not mentioned at the summary trial, where Tsafendas was presented instead as a person who was unable to conduct even his simple duties as a messenger.

POSITIVE STATEMENTS REGARDING TSAFENDAS'S MENTAL STATE OMITTED FROM THE COMMISSION'S REPORT

Although the Commission included the above positive statements about Tsafendas's mental state in its Report, very many more were collected but did not see the light of day, For example:

1. Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine to ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that he "never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers."⁴⁰⁵⁷
2. Charles Woods, Tsafendas's supervisor at Fraser and Chalmers, characterised him as a "good tradesman,"⁴⁰⁵⁸ "a very good worker, far from being a crank, fairly intelligent, but a violent type."⁴⁰⁵⁹
3. Inspector Horacio Ferreira of the Portuguese Security Police was in charge of the cells where Tsafendas was held in custody in Beira in 1964. His statement to the police said he considered Tsafendas to be "normal and regarded him as a very intelligent person."⁴⁰⁶⁰

⁴⁰⁵⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 90.

⁴⁰⁵⁶ Harry Hall statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁵⁷ Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁵⁸ Charles Edwin Woods statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁵⁹ *The Cape Times*, 'Tsafendas in Brawl in Canteen', 9 September 1966: 15.

⁴⁰⁶⁰ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

4. Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden was senior security officer for the Marine Diamond Corporation and worked with Tsafendas for around three months in 1966. "He was friendly, outgoing, and not aloof. I noticed that his eating was messy. Otherwise he was completely normal."⁴⁰⁶¹
5. Johannes Aurets, Tsafendas's supervisor at the South African Railways, told the police Tsafendas "was a well-mannered and well-spoken person. He associated with those working with him. He was soft-spoken and appeared to be of a good nature. During the time he was employed under my supervision, i.e. for approximately three weeks, I did not see him being cross at any time. He was a good worker."⁴⁰⁶²
6. Garnet Muller, Tsafendas's supervisor at South African Railways for three weeks, testified that he "observed Demitrio Tsafendas to possess intelligence above that of the average person who is likely to accept a position with the little responsibility which is attached to that of shed attendant."⁴⁰⁶³
7. Hulse, who worked with Tsafendas at Marine Diamond Cooperation from December 1965 to March 12, 1966, stated that Tsafendas "did not appear to be disturbed at any stage."⁴⁰⁶⁴
8. Antonio Teixeira Da Silva, who worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole's engineering works in 1965, testified that Tsafendas "was acting normal and I never noticed anything wrong with him. I have seen an insane person before but I can state that the accused never behaved as an insane person whilst employed here."⁴⁰⁶⁵
9. Albert Vercueil, Tsafendas's boss at F. A. Poole in Pretoria, said that in the five months he worked with Tsafendas, he found him to be "an intelligent worker."⁴⁰⁶⁶ He also testified to the Commission of Enquiry that he considered Tsafendas to be "an intelligent man, just untidy and lazy in rounding off his work." He said "Tsafendas was a very friendly, social and talkative person but he was always looking to quarrel with the white

⁴⁰⁶¹ Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁶² Johannes Jaonus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁶³ Garnet Vincent Muller statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁶⁴ Hulse statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁶⁵ Antonio Teixeira Da Silva statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁶⁶ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

- workers. He never got the impression that Mr. Tsafendas wasn't right in his mind."⁴⁰⁶⁷
10. August Karel Oestrich worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole in Pretoria. He found him to be "very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease."⁴⁰⁶⁸
 11. Cornelius Rudolph, the head court interpreter on the staff of the Magistrate of Durban testified that Tsafendas "was in the habit of regularly reporting two or three times a week to ask whether there is any interpretation work." He used him "on several occasions" over a period of six months and "got to know him pretty well ... I spoke with him several times. He seemed to be a normal person and intelligent."⁴⁰⁶⁹
 12. Nikolaas Nel worked with Tsafendas for five months at F.A. Poole and told the police that Tsafendas "seemed normal."⁴⁰⁷⁰
 13. Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for Mike's Outfitters for forty-two days in July and August 1966. He testified that he "never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers."⁴⁰⁷¹
 14. Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen, was Tsafendas's tram instructor in December 1965 and January 1966. He testified that "other than his slow response, I did not at all get the impression that mentally anything was wrong with him. He is mentally normal."⁴⁰⁷²
 15. Helen Grispos knew Tsafendas from birth and grew up with him, while her husband was Tsafendas's best childhood friend. She told the police that Tsafendas was "well-mannered and intelligent."⁴⁰⁷³ She also told the author that she never thought Tsafendas was insane.

⁴⁰⁶⁷ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁶⁸ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁶⁹ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁷⁰ Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁷¹ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

⁴⁰⁷² Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁷³ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

“He never did or said anything to make me or George (her husband) think that he was insane.”⁴⁰⁷⁴

16. Hendrik van Loggenberg knew Tsafendas and his family well in Pretoria. He testified that Tsafendas “definitely came across as normal ... he also seemed healthy ...”⁴⁰⁷⁵

17. Captain P.A. Sanianos, the Greek Consul in Beira “was often in the company of the subject and others had several conversations with him.” He considered Tsafendas to be “a normal and very intelligent person.”⁴⁰⁷⁶

18. James Summers, owner of the “Barlings Tea Lounge,” which Tsafendas frequented from July 1966 until the assassination, testified that Tsafendas “was no nuisance, and appeared to be a quite normal, innocent type. I never had reason to even suspect that he could be mentally unbalanced. He acted quite normal.”⁴⁰⁷⁷

19. John Gianouris, the Greek Vice Consul at Lourenço Marques, described Tsafendas as “a normal and intelligent person.”⁴⁰⁷⁸

20. Kyriakos Skordis who Tsafendas used to visit at his coffee shop in Durban for several months in 1965, testified that he “appeared to be quite normal.”⁴⁰⁷⁹

21. Inspector Horacio Ferreira of the Portuguese Security Police was in charge of the cells where Tsafendas was held in custody in Beira in 1964. He testified that he considered Tsafendas to be “normal and regarded him as a very intelligent person.”⁴⁰⁸⁰

22. Costas Michaletos,⁴⁰⁸¹ who knew Tsafendas from birth, testified that “Ever since I knew Dimetrios Tsafantakis, I never, any time observed that he showed any deviations. He also never was an aggressive type person.”⁴⁰⁸²

⁴⁰⁷⁴ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

⁴⁰⁷⁵ Hendrik Johannes van Loggenberg statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁷⁶ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁰⁷⁷ Herbert James Summers statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁷⁸ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁰⁷⁹ Kyriakos Skordis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁸⁰ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁰⁸¹ The correct spelling is Michaletos, not Michaeletos. Costas Michaeletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁸² Costas Michaeletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

23. John Galanakis, who met Tsafendas in Umtali in 1964, told police that he found Tsafendas to be “an intelligent man.”⁴⁰⁸³
24. Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour in Cape Town, interviewed Tsafendas twice. He testified to the police that Tsafendas was “neatly dressed” and he “never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally.”⁴⁰⁸⁴
25. Gideon Cloete, an employee in the Department of Labour, met Tsafendas twice and said he “seemed eager to get employment, was neatly dressed and had a clean appearance.” Cloete said he saw no signs of abnormality, that “he seemed perfectly normal.”⁴⁰⁸⁵
26. George Liberopoulos met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963 and described him to the police as a “normal person with a very high intelligence.”⁴⁰⁸⁶ Liberopoulos also stated to the author that he “never believed that Tsafendas was insane. He was perfectly normal; very clever man.”⁴⁰⁸⁷
27. Reginald Robert Maile was the guard on the *Eleni* while it was docked in Cape Town from July 26, 1966 to September 3, 1966. He saw Tsafendas every day and told the police that he “never got the impression that he could be mentally defective. He was sober, polite and perfectly normal.”⁴⁰⁸⁸
28. George Ananiades met Tsafendas in 1963 and described him to the police as a “normal person with a very high-intelligence.”⁴⁰⁸⁹ He later told the author that Tsafendas “is impossible to have been insane. He was a very intelligent and educated man. He was definitely able to function on a reasonable level.”⁴⁰⁹⁰
29. Ian Boswell, administrative assistant at the Department of Labour in Cape Town. He interviewed Tsafendas three times in 1966 and testified that “he was at all times neatly

⁴⁰⁸³ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁰⁸⁴ Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

⁴⁰⁸⁵ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

⁴⁰⁸⁶ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁰⁸⁷ George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2015.

⁴⁰⁸⁸ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

⁴⁰⁸⁹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁰⁹⁰ George Ananiades in a personal interview, 21 June 2016.

dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute. Aside from being over-talkative, he showed no symptoms of abnormality, during his interviews with me.”⁴⁰⁹¹

30. John Verghis, owner of a coffee shop in Beira which Tsafendas visited often for several months, said he considered him to be a “normal person.”⁴⁰⁹²

31. For two months in 1966 Tsafendas had his meals in Mary Scott’s boarding house. She told police that she “never got the impression that he could be mentally unbalanced. To me he appeared perfectly normal.”⁴⁰⁹³

32. Lt. Col. P.J.B. van Wyk of the South African police interviewed several people in Rhodesia and in Mozambique, including in Beira and Lourenço Marques, who knew Tsafendas. He stated in his report that Tsafendas, “for all purposes, can be seen as a normal, intelligent person.”⁴⁰⁹⁴

33. John Bornman lived with Tsafendas for six-seven weeks in April and May of 1966. He testified to the police that he found Tsafendas to be “normal, intelligent and friendly. He was neat in his person, but his eating habits were messy.”⁴⁰⁹⁵

34. Patrick O’Ryan hosted Tsafendas in his home for five months in 1965-1966 and was close to him up to his arrest. Tsafendas was described to him by a preacher of the Christian Church as a “highly cultured gentleman, a very refined gentleman who speaks seven languages.”⁴⁰⁹⁶ He formed a “deep liking”⁴⁰⁹⁷ for Tsafendas and considered him to be an “enlightened person.”⁴⁰⁹⁸ He “never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind,” or that he was “mentally disturbed.”⁴⁰⁹⁹

35. Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas’s landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission of Enquiry: “it was a serviced room but I found him making his own

⁴⁰⁹¹ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

⁴⁰⁹² South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁰⁹³ Mary Kathleen Scott statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁰⁹⁴ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁰⁹⁵ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁰⁹⁶ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

⁴⁰⁹⁷ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁰⁹⁸ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

⁴⁰⁹⁹ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

bed. When he came to me he was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman. When he paid me, he had a bundle of notes and I took him to be a man of means.”⁴¹⁰⁰

36. Elizabeth Groves was Tsafendas's landlady for six or seven weeks and a retired psychiatric nurse. About Tsafendas she said, “I was a nurse and worked in lunatic institutions. He was a normal person to the best of my knowledge.”⁴¹⁰¹
37. Alice Mary Theyser was Tsafendas's landlady from July 1, 1966 to August 30, 1966, just six days before the assassination. She testified that she “never got the impression in any way that he might be mentally unbalanced. To me he appeared a quite normal person.”⁴¹⁰²
38. Helen Daniels lived with Tsafendas in her parents' house for six weeks in 1965 and “did not notice anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal.”⁴¹⁰³
39. Richard Poggenpoel lived with him for two weeks in his house and kept on associating up to his arrest, “there was no mention or impression that he was mentally abnormal. He lived a completely normal life.”⁴¹⁰⁴
40. J. Willemse was Tsafendas's landlord for one month in 1965. He characterised him as a “sophisticated, friendly and well-spoken man.”⁴¹⁰⁵
41. Marika Tsafantakis Tsafendas's stepmother, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas was “definitely not insane.”⁴¹⁰⁶
42. Victor Tsafandakis, Tsafendas's stepbrother, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas was “definitely not insane.”⁴¹⁰⁷

⁴¹⁰⁰ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

⁴¹⁰¹ Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴¹⁰² Alice Mary Theyser statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹⁰³ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

⁴¹⁰⁴ Richard Poggenpoel statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹⁰⁵ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Assassin - Man With A Chip On His Shoulder’, 11 September 1966: 1, 8.

⁴¹⁰⁶ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴¹⁰⁷ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

43. Mrs. Tsafandakis, wife of Victor Tsafandakis and Tsafendas's sister-in-law, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas was "definitely not insane."⁴¹⁰⁸
44. Eleni Vlachopoulos, Tsafendas's stepsister, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas was "definitely not insane."⁴¹⁰⁹
45. Evangelia Nissiotis, Tsafendas's stepsister, testified to the Commission that Tsafendas was "definitely not insane."⁴¹¹⁰

As we see from the foregoing, there were at least another 45 statements in the Commission's possession where people had commented positively about Tsafendas's mental state and all were omitted. Some were particularly important because they were from people who had lived with him or worked with him and knew him well. Thus the positive statements about Tsafendas's mental state total 51 out of the 200 statements, or 25.5%. Of the remaining statements, 4 were negative, 2%, while the rest of the witnesses made no comment on Tsafendas's mental state, presumably because his conduct as they knew it never suggested there could be anything wrong with him. Out of the 4 negatives, 3 were included. That makes it 3 out of the 4 negative and 6 (since we are not sure about the number of his colleagues in the Parliament the Commission refers to) out of the 51 positive. Thus, the Commission made use of 75% of the negative statements in comparison to 11.7% of the positive ones. It should be also noted that exactly the same thing has happened with other positive and negative statements regarding Tsafendas's personality; all the negative ones are included, while only a very small number of the positives is mentioned.

It is notable that the negative responses came from people who did not know Tsafendas well. The fact that Johnson, who had spoken to Tsafendas for twenty minutes in his entire life, is included, while the words of people who knew him well are omitted is indicative of the Commission's aim.

The author has also interviewed several people who lived, worked and knew Tsafendas, but their statements will not be included here as they were not in possession of the Commission. However, they are included in Chapter 5. Finally, one more significant opinion is that of the US Immigration authorities. They dealt with Tsafendas for five years and were aware of his hospitalizations while in the United States. They also knew that he had faked

⁴¹⁰⁸ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴¹⁰⁹ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴¹¹⁰ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

mental illness in 1943 while he was in their custody, discovered when he was taken to a hospital. It was for that reason that they believed “he was unstable though not (not)⁴¹¹¹ insane.”⁴¹¹² The Commission makes no mention at all of their opinion.

CONCLUSION

Only four of two hundred people who were interviewed by the COE and the police testified negatively about Tsafendas's mental state and none of these four could be considered a reliable witness. Johnston had spoken to Tsafendas for twenty minutes all his life, de Vos initially testified to the police that Tsafendas was perfectly normal and then told the Commission that he was mad, while Martincich was the only witness out of two hundred who noticed that Tsafendas was talking to himself and assumed he was mad. That leaves only Barbeau, who, like Johnston, was a member of the Christian Church, and clearly tried to distance herself from Tsafendas by belittling him. Even these four “negative” statements did not mention any of the things that were stated in court about Tsafendas, namely that he was unable to function on a reasonable level or follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, that his speech was disjointed, that he suffered from thought-blocking and that he had confused ideas. The fact that the Report contains 75% of the negative statements about Tsafendas's mental state but only 11.7% of the positive ones points to a significant bias by the Commission.

⁴¹¹¹ This is exactly how it appears in the telegram. There is a second ‘not’ within brackets.

⁴¹¹² Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

TSAFENDAS'S EMPLOYMENT

In this section, the study deals with Tsafendas's employment record and what his colleagues thought of him. Tsafendas was medically examined for some of these jobs and was found to be perfectly healthy each time. However, the issue of the medical examinations will not be discussed here since it is considered at length in the section Medical Examinations.

The Commission refers to several positions which Tsafendas held, but the study will comment only on those which raise doubts over issues such as the Commission's treatment of witnesses' statements, omissions, repetitions, undue bias and so on. As we will see, the Commission's Report invariably dwells on situations which place Tsafendas in a bad light while passing swiftly over jobs where workers had positive things to say about him. Anything which supports the theory that Tsafendas was mad or as described by the psychiatrists at his summary trial is included, while anything that contradicts the theory is omitted.

IN GERMANY

*It appears that Tsafendas was employed in Germany during 1959 from where he went via France to the United Kingdom in May, 1959. (B.7771.)*⁴¹¹³

This sketchy, two-line summary omits a large amount of information, much of it complimentary to Tsafendas, which was well known to the Commission. In September 1958, Tsafendas travelled to West Germany from Belgium and registered at Frankfurt Aliens Office.⁴¹¹⁴ On September 18 he started work as a welder at the heavy engineering company of Fries and Son in a Frankfurt suburb. Mr. Horst Hartmann, Senior Personnel Officer at the company, said,

“He drove up here in a big battered American car. I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous ... a very pleasant man. He looked like a satisfied, successful businessman, and his looks certainly didn't fit the job he wanted. But he spoke good German, so I took him on. We liked him ... always laughing, a good worker.”⁴¹¹⁵

Six weeks later Tsafendas left Fries and Son voluntarily, with a very good reference

⁴¹¹³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 27.

⁴¹¹⁴ *The Cape Argus*, 'Did He Live in W. Germany?', 7 September 1966 (late edition): 2.

⁴¹¹⁵ *Daily Dispatch*, 'He Made A Good Impression', 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, 'The Assassin', 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

in his briefcase. Horst Hartmann said, "He left of his own accord ... we would have liked to keep him."⁴¹¹⁶ Tsafendas also made a lasting impression on Guenter Haafe, fifty-seven, the factory gatekeeper, who after the assassination remembered the jovial greeting Tsafendas gave him every morning. He said:

"He was a jolly man, always smiling and friendly. He would almost always come into my locker room to say hi. He was really one of the friendliest workers I have met and trust me, in my twelve years as a doorman I have seen thousands and thousands of faces coming in and out. This man was courteous; they do not make them like that anymore."⁴¹¹⁷

Three other workmates said, "He was a nice guy," "He was a good comrade" and "He left me with a good impression."⁴¹¹⁸ Tsafendas then worked for six months for Anglo-American Fashions and Designers in Frankfurt, and for about another six months at a US Army printing works in Hochst, a district of Frankfurt.⁴¹¹⁹ The general impression among his colleagues was that Tsafendas was "very kind" and "always smiling."⁴¹²⁰

The Commission was well aware of the above information, but saw fit to exclude it from its Report. It might be argued that a listing of work places was relatively unimportant, but the same cannot be said of the witnesses' comments. Not only were the opinions ventured about Tsafendas positive, they showed him in a completely different light to the way he was pictured at the summary trial. There, Tsafendas was described as a bad worker, dirty, looking neglected, withdrawn, isolated, unsociable, unfriendly and uncommunicative. The contrast with the views of his workmates could hardly be greater.

⁴¹¹⁶ *Daily Dispatch*, 'He Made A Good Impression', 8 September 1966: 1; *Daily Express*, 'The Assassin', 8 September 1966: 2; *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

⁴¹¹⁷ *Daily Dispatch*, 'He Made A Good Impression', 8 September 1966: 1; *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

⁴¹¹⁸ *Daily Dispatch*, 'He Made A Good Impression', 8 September 1966: 1; *Natal Witness*, 'Tsafendas Was So Friendly ...', 10 September 1966; *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 'Tsafendas Trabalhou Como Soldador em Frankforte', 8 September 1966.

⁴¹¹⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴¹²⁰ PIDE's News Digest; *Le Courrier d'Afrique*, 'Em Torno Do Assassinado do Primeiro Ministro Sulafricano; Versoes Contraditorias Circulam Sobre A Personalidade Do Assassino', 9 September 1966: 1. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

THE LIMASOLLU NACI COLLEGE IN ISTANBUL

*The next country he visited was Turkey. It appears that he was there during the second half of 1961 and the beginning of 1962. He was employed for two months as a teacher of English.*⁴¹²¹

Another item on the file contains the following note:

*“Applicant can speak German and a little Afrikaans. English fluently. 1963—Marine Watchman in Lisbon— (Certificate issued by Police in Portugal seen) 1961-1962— Teacher of English at Limasolla Nace College, Turkey.”*⁴¹²²

The Commission here refers to something very important: that Tsafendas was employed as a teacher of English while in Turkey. This had already been published by the South African media and Tsafendas had referred to it when he was questioned by the police; however, it was not mentioned during the summary trial. The reference in the Report was not only brief, but incomplete and inaccurate. The name of the school where Tsafendas taught was not given in the first reference to Turkey in Chapter II B of the Report, although it was known to the Commission and was stated in the second reference, in Chapter VI.

The length of time that Tsafendas spent as a teacher is wrong, being closer to six months than two. However, it was Tsafendas who told the police that he had worked for two months.⁴¹²³ Why he got this wrong is not known to the study, but could be due to confusion under pressure from police questioning or fatigue or a simple miscalculation. The figure of approximately six months was confirmed by Father Nikola Banovic and Alexandra Vaporidis, who met Tsafendas in Istanbul. Tsafendas spent four months living at the home of Father Nikola, who said Tsafendas attended at the college throughout this time. He continued teaching there for another two or three months until he resigned in the middle of December 1961.⁴¹²⁴

Let us now consider a few things about the college and its owner. Limasollu Naci (1921-1992), who became one of Tsafendas's best friends, was a Turkish-Cypriot who moved from Cyprus to Turkey when he was four. He began his working life as a photographer and in 1940 became the first professional to use cine film in Istanbul. He held

⁴¹²¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 37.

⁴¹²² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter VI, Paragraph 4.

⁴¹²³ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴¹²⁴ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2014.

his first photo exhibition at the Faculty of Arts in 1947, opened his second in 1948 at the Community Centre in Beyoğlu, and later exhibited his work in Paris and London. He won first prize in an international photography contest in Turin, Italy in 1948.⁴¹²⁵ Limasollu is widely recognised as pre-eminent in the provision of private foreign language instruction and distance learning in Turkey. He also pioneered the concept of introducing young Turks to foreign languages at summer camps, initially in the coastal regions of Turkey and later in Britain.⁴¹²⁶ He established the Istanbul College that bears his name in 1953; it was the first private language institute in Turkey and widely considered to be the best and most prestigious, with many students from wealthy and powerful families.⁴¹²⁷

Tsafendas's college work flatly contradicts the trial presentation of him, especially with regard to his ability to work and even to function on an everyday basis. In court he was portrayed as unable to function on a reasonable level, unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, talking in a disjointed manner, suffering from thought-disorder and unable to do more than a menial job. Therefore, if his work at the college was known, the natural question would have been: 'How was it possible that a schizophrenic man with all the aforementioned disabilities managed to secure such a position and keep it for six months?'

In addition, Tsafendas used the reference he received from Mr. Limasollu Naci to get his job at Parliament. For this reason if for no other, one would have expected the South African authorities or the Commission to inquire about Tsafendas's time at the Istanbul College. Strangely, while these officials made enquiries all around the world and managed to find information from almost everywhere Tsafendas had been, Turkey came up empty. Tsafendas spent six to seven months in Turkey holding down a job which seemed far beyond the abilities of his emerging picture, yet nothing is said about it. We cannot, of course, exclude the possibility that the Commission did indeed discover about Tsafendas's time at the college, but then chose to omit its findings because they would contradict the way he was represented in court.

⁴¹²⁵ *En So Haber*, "Limasollu Naci kimdir", 23 May 2012.

⁴¹²⁶ Ayse Sule Akinturk, *The Politics of English As A Foreign Language: The Case of Turkey*, p. 204.

⁴¹²⁷ Durgun, *A General Outlook on Teaching Foreign Language via Distance Learning in Turkey*, p. 2; Adviye Vedia Limasollu in a personal interview, 8 January 2016.

F.A. POOLE

On 7th February, 1964, he started work as a fitter with Messrs. F. A. Poole (Pty.), Ltd.

*A foreman employed by the firm gave evidence that once Tsafendas had threatened to stab him with a knife and another person gave evidence that one day Tsafendas had threatened a Bantu with a knife. A Portuguese who was also employed by the firm said that Tsafendas had assumed a hostile attitude towards him because he had refused to discuss Dr. Salazar with him.*⁴¹²⁸

*On 10th July, 1964, Mr. Vercueil dismissed Tsafendas from employment with Messrs. F. A. Poole (Pty.), Ltd., because of the untidiness of his work and his constant quarrelling with the other workers.*⁴¹²⁹

Tsafendas's argument with a colleague about Salazar

This issue is discussed in the "Political Activities and Ideas" section of this Chapter.

Tsafendas's Dismissal from F.A. Poole

The Commission stated that Tsafendas was dismissed because of his constant quarrelling with the other workers. This tells only half of the story. What the Commission omitted was that Tsafendas argued only with the White workers and not the Blacks. Vercueil told the Commission that "Tsafendas was a very friendly, social and talkative person, but he was always looking to quarrel with the white workers." Vercueil "would usually receive complaints from the other (white) foremen, but never from the black workers."⁴¹³⁰

Furthermore, Vercueil had testified to the police that Tsafendas "bullied the other Portuguese workers. He had fights with several white workers."⁴¹³¹ Nikolaas Nel, another worker, testified that Tsafendas "was certainly unpopular among white workers. Accused adapted more to the non-whites."⁴¹³²

⁴¹²⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter III C, Paragraph 8.

⁴¹²⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter III C, Paragraph 10.

⁴¹³⁰ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹³¹ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴¹³² Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

In addition, although Vercueil dismissed Tsafendas for “untidiness in his work,” he had also stated that “he was an intelligent worker, mainly because he quickly grasped when work was entrusted to him. However, I found him very sloppy in his work. I found him to be very friendly, but very opinionated. He would not, for example, work according to the assignment, but as he decides... Personally I would say that he is an intelligent person and completely mentally balanced. I now show some tools and work produced by the accused personally and performed to give you an idea of the degree of initiative he laid to the day ... F.A. Poole moved from their warehouse and Mr. Tsafendas was tasked with organizing the move and he handled it effortlessly.”⁴¹³³

Colleagues' Opinions about Tsafendas

Vercueil also testified to the Commission that “he never got the impression that Mr. Tsafendas wasn't right in his mind. F.A. Poole moved from their warehouse and Mr. Tsafendas was tasked with organizing the move and he handled it effortlessly.”⁴¹³⁴ These statements are very important because they contradict claims that Tsafendas was a bad worker, unable to do more than a menial job, withdrawn and isolated. The Commission omitted from its Report the assessment of Tsafendas's mental state and character offered by Vercueil (“friendly, sociable, talkative, quarrelsome with whites”), who worked with him for five months, while including the negative opinion of James Johnston, who spoke to Tsafendas for twenty minutes in his entire life. Vercueil testified that after Tsafendas was dismissed, he threatened him and Dr. Verwoerd. This issue is discussed in the section on Tsafendas's political activities and ideas.

Vercueil's comments about Tsafendas's character are not the only ones from employees at F.A. Poole. Three other men gave evidence about Tsafendas, each having worked with him for five months:

⁴¹³³ Albert Vercueil statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹³⁴ Albert Vercueil statement to the COE, 25 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

- Antonio Teixeira Da Silva testified that Tsafendas “was acting normal and I never noticed anything wrong with him. I have seen an insane person before but I can state that the accused never behaved as an insane person whilst employed here.”⁴¹³⁵
- Nikolaas Nel testified that Tsafendas “seemed normal,” but also that he had a “messy and dirty appearance.”⁴¹³⁶
- August Karel Oestrich testified that he found him to be “very polite, fairly intelligent, well-spoken in both English and German, very courteous and quiet. I never noticed anything abnormal about him, except that he had a strange look when I looked him straight in the eyes. He never gave me the impression that he was suffering from any mental disease.”⁴¹³⁷

FRASER AND CHALMERS

*His next employers were Messrs. Frazer and Chalmers, at Mandini, Zululand. There he worked as a fitter and turner from 19th April, 1965 to 19th May, ' 1965, when he was dismissed after a fight with a Greek, a certain Nicholas Vergos.*⁴¹³⁸

The Commission deals extensively with the fight, but does not say anything about Tsafendas's work there. The fight is examined in detail at the ‘Vergos incident’ section in this chapter. An important omission here is a statement by Charles Woods, Tsafendas's supervisor at Fraser and Chalmers. Woods characterised Tsafendas as a “good tradesman,”⁴¹³⁹ “a very good worker, far from being a crank, fairly intelligent, but a violent type.”⁴¹⁴⁰ Woods's statement is yet another contradiction of the claims in court that Tsafendas was a poor worker fit only for menial jobs.

CITY TRAMWAYS

On 12th November, 1965, he applied for a position as a bus conductor with City Tramways, Cape Town. Once again he was examined medically and nothing was found to be wrong with

⁴¹³⁵ Antonio Teixeira Da Silva statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹³⁶ Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹³⁷ August Karel Oestrich statement to the police, n.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹³⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 28.

⁴¹³⁹ Charles Edwin Woods statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹⁴⁰ *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas in Brawl in Canteen’, 9 September 1966: 15.

him. He stated, inter alia, that he had never had a nervous breakdown. He had to report as a learner-conductor on 24th November, 1965, but he did not do so until 29th December, 1965. The instructor noted the following, inter alia, concerning him: "Trainee is slow and seems lazy too. He won't last long if he passes out. Slow in uptake. Won't last. Mind seems blank at times.

In any case Tsafendas found the work too exacting, and he resigned on 12th January, 1966.⁴¹⁴¹

All the above information is taken from a statement by Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen, the Tramways' instructor. He also said: "Other than his slow response, I did not at all get the impression that mentally anything was wrong with him. He is mentally normal. There are many rejected applicants because they are found to be of a bad standard."⁴¹⁴² Once more, the Commission acts as censor by selection, including what is negative about Tsafendas and omitting what is positive and thus giving a distorted impression of what Oosthuizen actually said.

GROOTE SCHUUR HOSPITAL APPLICATION

In the meantime he applied on 17th November, 1965, to the personnel officer of Groote Schuur Hospital for a position in the reception section. Owing to his lack of qualifications, as well as the poor impression he made on the officer concerned, the application was not successful.⁴¹⁴³

The Commission states that Tsafendas made a poor impression on the personnel officer who interviewed him (his name in the statement is indecipherable). However, that is not what the officer said. His words were, "apart from his lack of qualifications, the applicant did not impress me as a person in other respects suitable for appointment as Receptionist Officer at this hospital."⁴¹⁴⁴ What he is saying is that apart from his lack of formal qualifications, Tsafendas did not have the other attributes necessary to be a receptionist. This had nothing to do with the impression he made personally on the officer. In a new twist to its

⁴¹⁴¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 49.

⁴¹⁴² Johannes Christiaan Oosthuizen statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹⁴³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 50.

⁴¹⁴⁴ Personnel Officer's statement regarding Tsafendas's application, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10//4102 Dor Stafendas. NASA.

generally hostile approach, this is not a case of the Commission including yet another negative opinion about Tsafendas, but of inventing one where none exists.

MARINE DIAMOND CORPORATION

The next place where he sought employment was the Marine Diamond Corporation in Cape Town.

*On 13th January, 1966, he was examined by this company's medical officer and nothing was found to be wrong with him. Once again he declared that he had never had any mental or nervous disease.*⁴¹⁴⁵

Mr. Martincich, who worked with Tsafendas on the Colponton, told the Commission that Tsafendas occasionally had a few drinks or drank a bottle of light wine and then talked a lot of nonsense. On one occasion Tsafendas told him that the South African Government would not last long. When this witness told him on another occasion that he was talking nonsense, Tsafendas wanted to assault him, but when he saw that the witness was going to use Karate against him, he immediately calmed down and apologized. On another occasion he said that he was expecting a large sum of money, that he was an important businessman and that he really did not know why he was wasting his time on the boat.

*He was often in the company of non-Whites and explained that they were more sympathetic towards him than the Whites. According to this witness, Tsafendas was exceptionally lazy and childish, and his table manners were bad. At times he heard Tsafendas talking to himself. On one such occasion he heard Tsafendas say that he had dived into the sea from the boat to save people. He clapped his hands and jumped up and down like a child.*⁴¹⁴⁶

The Commission refers to Tsafendas's employment in Marine Diamond Corporation in Chapter II C, Paragraphs 53, 55, 56 and 57. The Commission includes the fact that "he was examined by this company's medical officer and nothing was found to be wrong with him. Once again he declared that he had never had any mental or nervous disease." This is something that will be examined later in this chapter, in the section about the Medical Examinations.

Most of the information in the Report about Tsafendas's time with the company is from his colleague, Keith Martincich. Martincich was one of five workmates who testified to

⁴¹⁴⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 53.

⁴¹⁴⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 56.

the police and the Commission. The other four colleagues evidently knew Tsafendas much better than Martincich, as they had worked with him at least three times longer than Martincich's three weeks, and had given more detailed statements about his behaviour and time in the job. Yet the Commission included almost all of Martincich's testimony while ignoring that of those who knew him better. It is the only time in the Report that the Commission has used so many details from a single witness's statement.

These four other colleagues had all spoke in a positive manner about Tsafendas, but their statements were not used and it was the generally hostile statement by Martincich, which dominated the Commission's Report. The only point which appeared from the other four colleagues' statements was that Tsafendas "expressed his disapproval of the Government's colour policy" to his colleagues. This was significant in view of a reference by the Commission to Tsafendas talking a lot of nonsense when drinking. The Report did not specify the nature of this "nonsense," although Martincich had spelled it out as follows:

"On various occasions he had said that he was staying with a Coloured or Malay family in Lansdowne. He also said the Coloureds were better than the Europeans. He said they were more friendly and had more sense than the Europeans, and showed more understanding. When I said he was talking nonsense, he got cross and lifted himself as though he wanted to tackle me."⁴¹⁴⁷

This statement is precisely the opposite of what was heard at the summary trial, that Tsafendas was unsympathetic towards Coloured people, which may have been why it was left out of the Report. What the reader does not learn is that Tsafendas's "nonsense" talk actually constituted his views on serious political and social matters. Such opinions would certainly not have been considered nonsense by many people if the Commission had explained what the so-called nonsense was.

Martincich's testimony that Tsafendas spoke against the government and apartheid is included in the Report, but a positive remark is omitted. This was that Martincich, who spoke to Tsafendas every day, got "the impression that he was a sociable type."⁴¹⁴⁸ This contradicts evidence at the summary trial from psychiatrists who examined him and diagnosed him as

⁴¹⁴⁷ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹⁴⁸ Keith Terrence Bertram Martincich statement to the police, 4 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

“rather isolated from his surroundings”⁴¹⁴⁹ and a “withdrawn and isolated individual.”⁴¹⁵⁰ As we have seen, tens of people testified that Tsafendas was a sociable, talkative and friendly person, but none of these statements were included by the Commission. Martincich’s comment that Tsafendas was mumbling to himself and on one occasion had jumped up and down has been examined in the “Mental State” section of this chapter.

Let us examine now what the other four colleagues of Tsafendas told the Commission and the police:

- Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden was senior security officer for the Marine Diamond Corporation and worked with Tsafendas for around three months in 1966. He testified that, “We were transferred from the Marina on a small outboard boat to the Col pontoon. It was terrible, rough seas, so much so that almost all of us old hands got seasick. It struck me that Tsafendas adapted well. He was one of the few who were not seasick. Upon landing, he filled the mess basin on the lower deck with water and started shaving. His calm way struck me that he must know the sea. Tsafendas was employed as a pump, or engineer, operator and did not work under my direct supervision. I introduced myself to him and talked to him. He was friendly, outgoing, and not aloof. I noticed that his eating was messy. Otherwise he was completely normal.”⁴¹⁵¹
- Ralph Lighton, who worked with Tsafendas for nine to ten weeks at the Marine Diamond Corporation, testified to the police that he “never got the slightest impression that he was mentally unsound. He had excellent reasoning powers.”⁴¹⁵²
- Hulse, who worked with Tsafendas at Marine Diamond Cooperation from December 1965 to March 12, 1966, stated that Tsafendas “did not appear to be disturbed at any stage.”⁴¹⁵³
- Gillian Clare Lieberman, personnel secretary at Marine Diamond Corporation, whose office Tsafendas visited testified, “I had various discussions with him. I got quite interested in him as an individual... By his talks he gave me the impression that he does

⁴¹⁴⁹ Dr. Harold Cooper’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA; Jacobus Andreas Johannes Erasmus’ testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 20 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴¹⁵⁰ Reynh van Zyl’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴¹⁵¹ Carel Sebastiaan van Heerden statement to the police, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹⁵² Ralph Lighton statement to the police, 17 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹⁵³ Hulse statement to the police, 28 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

not agree with authority (Governmental or other). I cut him short, saying that in my capacity of my work I do not discuss politics. I found him intelligent, someone apparently able to reason in conversation, but a strange type of person, a unique character. Apart from him being well travelled etc. I got the impression that he was physically different in dress and appearance. He was a big man, with a particularly striking big hat, stainless steel teeth, sloppy dirty clothing.”⁴¹⁵⁴

At least three of these four witnesses, Hulse, Lighton and van Heerden, and maybe even Lieberman, too, spent more time with Tsafendas than the three weeks Martincich did. All testified that Tsafendas was perfectly sane and they commented positively about his intelligence. Yet none of their comments was used in the Report. Two praised Tsafendas's verbal skills, saying that he had “excellent reasoning powers” and was “able to reason in conversation.” These two statements are important in that they contradict the psychiatrists' trial evidence, that Tsafendas was “unable to function on a reasonable level,” “unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes” and that he talked in a “disjointed manner.” However, these opinions were omitted from the Report.

Another very important omission is van Heerden's statement describing Tsafendas working in difficult conditions in a calm and confident manner – a sharp contrast to the oft-repeated claims that he could barely manage menial work. An example of the latter is Smorenberg's claim that Tsafendas made childish mistakes at work. This statement was, of course, included. Finally, the Report carried no mention of Tsafendas being characterised as friendly and outgoing, clearly so as not to muddy the picture presented at the trial of a withdrawn, unsociable and isolated individual.

MAGISTRATE'S COURT IN DURBAN

*From time to time Tsafendas acted as an interpreter at the Magistrate's Court in Durban, and he acquitted himself fairly well of his task.*⁴¹⁵⁵

Tsafendas worked for some five months as a part-time interpreter, providing his services whenever needed. The head interpreter at the Court, Cornelius Johannes Rudolph, said, “It happened that I made use of his services on several occasions. He was in the habit of regularly reporting two or three times a week to ask whether there is any interpretation work.

⁴¹⁵⁴ Gillian Claire Lieberman statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹⁵⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 25.

I got to know him pretty well and would have no trouble identifying him. I spoke with him several times, he seemed to be a normal person and intelligent. He spoke English properly.”⁴¹⁵⁶

Although Rudolph does not refer directly to Tsafendas's working abilities, we can assume they must have been acceptable since he used him several times. However, the important thing here is Rudolph's personal opinion of Tsafendas. Having spoken to him several times, he found him to be a normal, intelligent person. However, Rudolph's opinion is omitted from the Commission's Report.

SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS

On 16th March, 1965, he was employed by the South African Railways and Harbours as a shed attendant at R90 per month. He was examined medically and nothing was found to be wrong with him. In a written statement in connection with this examination he stated, inter alia, that he had never had any nervous or mental disease. When he was employed by the Railways, he was so poor that the Railway staff collected R2 for him. It was arranged for him to board at a railway hostel. On one occasion while he was working there he intimated that to his mind the South African Government was handling its Bantu problems better than Great Britain was dealing with problems in connection with the West Indians.

*On 6th April, 1965, one of his fellow workers gave him a dousing for a joke. The result was that Tsafendas immediately absconded. However, he remained at the hostel until 14th April, 1965, and when he left he took the Bible that was in his room with him.*⁴¹⁵⁷

As usual, the Commission portrays Tsafendas in a negative fashion – he accepts charity, cannot take a joke, walks out on his job (which it describes as absconding) and steals a Bible. The only positive mention is that “nothing was found to be wrong with him” when he was medically examined. This could hardly have been omitted as passing a medical was known to be necessary for a job with the company. The issue of the medical is considered in the Medical Examinations and Hospitalizations section of this chapter.

Then, the Report says:

“On one occasion while he was working there, he intimated that to his mind the South

⁴¹⁵⁶ Cornelius Johannes Rudolph statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴¹⁵⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 26.

African Government was handling its Bantu problems better than Great Britain was dealing with problems in connection with the West Indians.”

No statement or any other evidence has been found that contains this reported remark, but it could easily have been included in material that has gone missing. Here again the Report carries a statement which appears to show Tsafendas supporting the apartheid government. Omitted are instances, known to the Commission, where he criticised or condemned the government and declared his Communist beliefs.

The author cannot know the circumstances under which Tsafendas made his reported statement about the ‘Bantu problem,’ assuming that he made it at all. The fact is it is not what he really believed. However, working as he did for a government company, he would have been very stupid publicly to criticise the government’s racial policies, as he did to many of his friends and acquaintances. Examples of Tsafendas’s real political beliefs have been listed on several occasions on this study. The statement quoted in the Report was read to forty-six people who knew Tsafendas and every one denied that Tsafendas could have meant what he supposedly said. For reasons of space, their names will not be included here, but this issue has been examined in the Summary Trial Chapter.

It is important to mention here that Garnet Muller, Tsafendas’s supervisor at this job, gave a statement to the police which was in the Commission’s possession. Muller testified that Tsafendas gave him to understand that he took the job on a temporary basis. He said he had “observed Tsafendas to possess intelligence above that of the average person who is likely to accept a position with the little responsibility which is attached to that of shed attendant.”⁴¹⁵⁸

Johannes Aurets, another of Tsafendas’s supervisors at South African Railways, told the police Tsafendas “was a well-mannered and well-spoken person. He associated with those working with him. He was soft-spoken and appeared to be of a good nature. During the time he was employed under my supervision, i.e. for approximately three weeks, I did not see him being cross at any time. He was a good worker.”⁴¹⁵⁹ The Commission preferred to ignore these two character observations and instead highlight the irrelevant facts that Tsafendas was very poor and someone played a joke on him, which he did not like. The issue of the Bible has been discussed earlier in this chapter.

⁴¹⁵⁸ Garnet Vincent Muller statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴¹⁵⁹ Johannes Jaonus Uys Aurets statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

TABLE BAY POWER STATION

*In Cape Town his first job was that of a fitter and turner at the Table Bay Power Station. He started work there on 13th September, 1965, but his work being unsatisfactory he was given seven days' notice on 25th October of the same year. He then immediately resigned. The foreman under whom he worked found that at times he made childish mistakes.*⁴¹⁶⁰

The above statement is correct, but again important information is omitted. Two employees from this company were interviewed by the Commission and the police. One was Owen Smorenberg, the foreman mentioned above, who also acted as defence witness in the summary trial, and the other was Redvers Wakfer, who interviewed Tsafendas for the job. It was Smorenberg who testified that Tsafendas made childish mistakes in his work and he had said the same at the summary trial. Since his testimony has been examined there, Chapter 5, the matter will not be discussed here again. What is important here is that the Commission included this negative comment about his working abilities, but omitted most of the many positive statements from colleagues who testified that he was a good worker.

A surprising omission here is Smorenberg's impression that Tsafendas was unsympathetic towards the Coloureds and that he believed that Vorster and Dr. Verwoerd were the right men to be in these positions.⁴¹⁶¹ This is what Smorenberg told the court and said to the police. This statement has been examined in the Summary Trial Chapter. What is also omitted is what Redvers Wakfer told the police, that Tsafendas "appeared to be quite normal and was neatly dressed."⁴¹⁶² Just one of many similar positive statements which the Commission ignored.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

*On 7th August, 1965, Tsafendas reported to the Department of Labour in Durban, and asked for work as a "handyman storeman."*⁴¹⁶³

During April and May, 1966, he applied to the Department of Labour for sick benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act, and in all he received R56. In June of the same year an

⁴¹⁶⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 44.

⁴¹⁶¹ Owen Smorenburg statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Leer W.D. 10/10/ 4102 oor Stafendas. NASA.

⁴¹⁶² Redvers Wakfer statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub File: 1/5, Subject Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

⁴¹⁶³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 34.

application for a further amount was refused since he had already received the full amount to which he was entitled."⁴¹⁶⁴

*On 25th May, 1966, he applied to the Department of Labour's employment officer for light work as a clerk or salesman or, alternatively, as an operator-welder or fitter. He was requested to submit a medical certificate to the effect that he was fit for work, but on 6th June, 1966, he again turned up without the required certificate. On 30th June he was referred to Chrysler (S.A.) Pty. Ltd., Elsie's River, for employment as an operator-welder, but was not employed.*⁴¹⁶⁵

Another example of Tsafendas being portrayed in a bad light while any positives were ignored is his experience at the Department of Labour. Although the Report refers three times to this Department and Tsafendas's visits to it, there is no mention of the comments made by employees who interacted with him there. It is also stated that Tsafendas did not bring a medical certificate, which again tells only half of the story. Let us first see what the workers in this Department said which was omitted from the Report:

- Ian Boswell, administrative assistant at the Department of Labour. He interviewed Tsafendas three times in 1966 and testified to the police that "he was at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute. Aside from being over-talkative, he showed no symptoms of abnormality during his interviews with me."⁴¹⁶⁶
- Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour, interviewed Tsafendas twice. He told the police that he "never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally."⁴¹⁶⁷
- Gideon Cloete, also at the Department of Labour, interviewed Tsafendas twice. According to Cloete, Tsafendas "had a neat appearance and made a good impression." He did not notice any "signs of abnormality" and "appeared totally normal" to him.⁴¹⁶⁸

Taken together, these three officers interviewed Tsafendas seven times. All said that he showed no signs of abnormality and Boswell and Cloete testified that he was neatly dressed. These were important statements as they clearly contradicted the State's portrayal of

⁴¹⁶⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 59.

⁴¹⁶⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 62.

⁴¹⁶⁶ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

⁴¹⁶⁷ Pieter Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

⁴¹⁶⁸ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas's summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, NASA.

Tsafendas at his summary trial, as a man of dirty and neglected appearance who suffered from schizophrenia, but they were omitted from the Report.

As for the medical certificate, the Report has manipulated a witness's evidence on this matter in such a way as to portray Tsafendas in a distinctly negative light. Boswell did indeed state that Tsafendas failed to present such a document despite being asked to do so. However, Boswell also testified that "Tsafendas shortly after produced a certificate to the effect that he had been treated for a nasal complaint at Groote Schuur Hospital. This was accepted as a certificate of fitness and an application for Unemployment Benefits taken by myself."⁴¹⁶⁹

From April 19, 1966 to May 15, 1966, Tsafendas was under the medical supervision of Dr. Leon Solomon at Groote Schuur Hospital suffering from "a deviated nasal septum and epistaxis," and underwent surgery on his nose. Dr. Solomon during this period did not report any mental disability and found Tsafendas to be fit to return to his work at Marine Diamond Corporation.⁴¹⁷⁰ Since Tsafendas was declared fit to return to work by Dr. Solomon just three weeks ago, naturally this certificate was deemed acceptable by Boswell.

The fact that Tsafendas was in possession of this certificate from May 17 means that he could easily have produced it for Boswell on June 6 and the likelihood is that he simply forgot to bring it. What is important is that the Commission was aware of the existence of the certificate from Dr. Solomon and aware that Tsafendas had given it to Boswell. However, it omitted these two facts, thus grossly misrepresenting the issue of the medical certificate and making it appear as if Tsafendas was unable to produce the document, implying that there was something wrong with his health.

Actually, Tsafendas was in possession of at least two medical certificates proving him fit for any work. These were from the two state doctors, Dr. C. Been⁴¹⁷¹ and Dr. A.C. McDonald,⁴¹⁷² who examined him for his permanent residence application. This also suggests that Tsafendas probably forgot to bring the certificate on that specific occasion. The

⁴¹⁶⁹ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

⁴¹⁷⁰ Dr. Leon Solomon's medical report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA; Medical certificate issued by Dr. Solomon for the Employment Insurance Act, 1946. 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA.

⁴¹⁷¹ Demitrio Tsafendas medical certificate issued by Dr. Been for the Aliens Act, 1937. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

⁴¹⁷² Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

Commission was well aware of that, too, but did not find it necessary to mention it here or anywhere else in its Report.

MIKE'S OUTFITTERS

In July, 1966, he entered into an agreement with Michaelis Augustides of Mike's Outfitters, Woodstock, by which he would receive commission on the purchases of crew members whom he brought to the shop. For this purpose, one of the shop assistants accompanied Tsafendas to the ship on a few occasions, and brought some of the crew members to the shop. In this way Tsafendas earned about R12.⁴¹⁷³

Neville Judson was the shop assistant who accompanied Tsafendas to the ship, which was the *Eleni*. He said of Tsafendas that he "never in no way got the impression that he could be mentally deranged. He appeared to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers."⁴¹⁷⁴ Judson's statement was not used by the Commission.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Towards the end of June, or at the beginning of July, 1966, he went to the House of Assembly to enquire about a post as a messenger. He had most probably heard from other unemployed persons at the Department of Labour that he might be able to get a situation there.

On 18th July, 1966, he was summoned by the Chief Messenger, and after an interview with the Chief Messenger and two senior messengers he was notified in writing on 20th July, 1966, to report for duty on 1st August, 1966, at 7.45 a.m. He did so, and worked there until 6th September, 1966.

Particulars of his engagement and the Commission's findings thereon are dealt with in Chapter X.⁴¹⁷⁵

Neither the Chief Messenger nor the two senior messengers had any reason to believe, either during their interview or while Tsafendas was employed at the House of Assembly during August and September, that he was mentally disordered. Nor did the policemen and other messengers who came into contact with him at the House of Assembly notice anything

⁴¹⁷³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 77.

⁴¹⁷⁴ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

⁴¹⁷⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 73.

wrong.⁴¹⁷⁶

The Commission has used Tsafendas's statement to the police as the source of how he heard about a possible job at the House of Assembly. However, he had lied. Many years later, in 1987, when he was in Pretoria Central Prison, Tsafendas described to a senior magistrate, Mr. T.I. Potgieter, how he got the job:

“One day I was sitting in front of the Assembly and I bought fish and chips from a Portuguese shop across the road... I sat on a bench and started throwing pieces to the seagulls... While I was doing that, somebody comes and sits next to me on the bench. He was a small man, dark, he says, ‘What are you doing here?’ I say to him, ‘Well, I’m doing nothing.’ He says to me, ‘Are you out of a job?’ I said, ‘Yes.’ He says to me, ‘Look, there is a part-time job here. Don’t say I told you. Go there and tell them, inquire if you can get the job, but don’t say I sent you or told you about it.’ So, I went there ...”⁴¹⁷⁷

A few years later, Tsafendas repeated the story to Father Minas Constandinou, but with crucial detail added. He said that sometime, probably in July, he started observing the Parliament building to explore the possibility of assassinating Dr. Verwoerd. His preference was to kidnap him and exchange him for political prisoners, but he knew that would be impossible on his own. He had hoped that one day the common people would storm the building, as the French revolutionaries had done with the Bastille. He visited the place two or three times in a week but not every day, so as not to be noticed. He would sit on a bench and feed the birds while observing the building. One day, a man came out of the building and started talking to him, while he also fed the birds. They started talking about the birds and then Tsafendas told him he was unemployed. The man told him that he was a messenger and that the Parliament was desperate for messengers and he should apply for the position. He assured him he would be accepted as they were short-staffed. Tsafendas could not believe his luck. He went to the barber, had a haircut and shave, bought a new suit and attended the interview.⁴¹⁷⁸ What happened in the interview and thereafter is discussed later in this chapter in the “House of Assembly” section.

HUME PIPE COMPANY

⁴¹⁷⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 74.

⁴¹⁷⁷ Interview by Mr T.I. Potgieter, Senior Magistrate, Pretoria with Mr Demitriou Tsafendas at the Pretoria Central Prison on 20 October 1987. Correctional Services. File 80/0043, A123, Dimitrio Tsafendas, Vol 1. NASA.

⁴¹⁷⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

*During September and October, 1964, he worked for the Hume Pipe Company at Gondola, near Beira.*⁴¹⁷⁹

*On 9th October, 1964, he re-entered Rhodesia at Umtali. In Umtali he tried to buy a farm, but since it appeared that he had no money, no transaction took place. He also said that the silver fillings in his teeth had been done in Russia. (To the Commission he stated that he had obtained these in Turkey.) Because he had no visa, he was declared an illegal immigrant, and deported to Mozambique on 10th October, 1964.*⁴¹⁸⁰

The Commission here is in error as to when Tsafendas worked at the Hume Pipe Company. Lt. Col. van Wyk wrote in his report regarding Tsafendas's activities in Rhodesia and Mozambique: "From there he went directly to Gondola near Beira, where he was arrested by the Security Police of Mozambique because of subversive activities on 16.11.64 while he worked at Hume Pipe, Gondola."⁴¹⁸¹ In reality, the two above paragraphs of the Commission's Report would have been correct if they were the other way round, as Tsafendas got the job at Hume Pipe after he returned to Mozambique on October 10. This is evidently an innocent and unimportant mistake on behalf of Judge van Wyk since it makes no difference whether Tsafendas worked a month later or earlier at this company. However, it is indicative of the difficulties the Commission (and the author) faced in order correctly to reconstruct Tsafendas's life story based on thousands of documents and reports.

CONCLUSION

The Commission once again has misrepresented Tsafendas on the issue of employment and his ability properly to do a job. Several important facts are missing, for example the fact that he worked at Limasollu Naci College as a foreign language teacher for six months. This alone contradicted the claim that Tsafendas was unable to do more than a menial job, that he was unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, that his speech was disjointed and that he suffered from thought-disorder. Missing also are very positive comments about Tsafendas's character and working abilities. Tsafendas is described by most of his colleagues as a friendly, talkative, polite and intelligent worker, a total contradiction to the way he was described at his trial and by the Commission.

⁴¹⁷⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 17.

⁴¹⁸⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 18.

⁴¹⁸¹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

TSAFENDAS'S LANDLORDS AND FLATMATES

This section examines what the Commission has written about Tsafendas's landlords and flatmates. Their testimony is important because several of them spent a significant amount of time with him. The study examines what the Commission took from their testimonies and what was omitted from them.

TSAFENDAS'S ACCOMMODATION IN PRETORIA IN 1963

*After Tsafendas's arrival in Pretoria from Lourenço Marques, he stayed with his half-brother for a few days and then lived in rooms in various parts of the city.*⁴¹⁸²

It is correct that Tsafendas stayed at his half-brother's house for a few days, but entirely incorrect that he "lived in rooms in various parts of the city." That claim was taken from Nick Vlachopoulos testimony to the Commission where he stated that Tsafendas "stayed in about 20 places in Pretoria."⁴¹⁸³ However, Tsafendas's step-mother, his two half-sisters and his half-brother, all told the Commission that Tsafendas "always had proper accommodation in Pretoria."⁴¹⁸⁴ The Commission itself wrote in its Report after interviewing the above members of Tsafendas's family that "after his stepmother had fetched him, he had stayed with his family for a while and then hired a room."⁴¹⁸⁵ Judge van Wyk ignored the evidence of these witnesses in favour of the remark by Vlachopoulos.

The statement of Tsafendas's family was confirmed to the author by Katerina Pnefma, his half-sister, Mary Eintracht, his first cousin who was in Pretoria at the time, and Fotini Gavasiadis, Vlachopoulos's sister. All of these witnesses told the author that after Tsafendas left his half-sister's house, he lived for a few weeks at Gavasiadis's house and for the remainder of the nine months he spent in Pretoria, he lived in a rent-free apartment provided by Nick Vlachopoulos (Gavasiadis's house was also owned by Vlachopoulos). Eintracht, Pnefma and Gavasiadis agreed that Tsafendas never stayed anywhere else.⁴¹⁸⁶

⁴¹⁸² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 5

⁴¹⁸³ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴¹⁸⁴ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴¹⁸⁵ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴¹⁸⁶ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

TSAFENDAS NOT PAYING PART OF THE RENT

On 28th August, 1964, he went to stay at a boarding house in Beira, and there he was often seen with a Bible in his hand. On 8th October, 1964, he left Beira without having paid for part of his board and lodging.⁴¹⁸⁷

The above statement is correct, but by telling only half the story, it implies that Tsafendas fled to avoid paying his bill, and this was not the case. Stelios Marangos, the owner of the boarding house, testified to the police that Tsafendas “stayed at his lodgings from 28 August 1964 to 8 October 1964. He was unemployed and had only paid his lodgings for the period 28 August to 28 September. When he left, he said he was going to look for work at the firm that lays the pipeline from Beira to Rhodesia.”⁴¹⁸⁸ Tsafendas had obviously told Marangos what his plans were and his landlord clearly did not view him as some kind of absconder.

According to Nick Papadakis, who lived in the boarding house, and Tsafendas's childhood friend Andreas Babiolakis, Tsafendas told Marangos that he would leave as soon as his money ran out, but Marangos insisted he should stay. When Tsafendas eventually left, his intention was to get a job on the Beira-Rhodesia pipeline, but instead he found work with the Hume Pipe Company in Gondola.⁴¹⁸⁹ However, soon after he started there, he was arrested by the Portuguese Public Security Police and accused of preaching “under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique's independence.”⁴¹⁹⁰

Tsafendas was kept in custody for three months before being freed on January 26, 1965.⁴¹⁹¹ He then managed to secure work as an interpreter at Beira docks, but he was dismissed for urging the Mozambican workers to strike in protest at their working conditions.⁴¹⁹² On March 5, 1965, he left Mozambique for Durban.⁴¹⁹³

⁴¹⁸⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 16.

⁴¹⁸⁸ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴¹⁸⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴¹⁹⁰ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴¹⁹¹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA; *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 19.

⁴¹⁹² Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴¹⁹³ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

It is not known to the author whether Tsafendas eventually gave Marangos what he owed him – his travels, incarcerations and periods of unemployment must have made contact difficult - but there is abundant evidence that Tsafendas always paid his debts. Peter Pappas, the owner of a café which Tsafendas frequented in Durban, said, “When his luck was out, I sometimes gave him a free meal, but when he started work he paid me.”⁴¹⁹⁴ One day, John Emmanuel Marvis, a Greek friend in Beira, lent Tsafendas twenty escudos and Tsafendas repaid him a few days later.⁴¹⁹⁵ Some of his friends in Mozambique, including Costas Poriakis and Andreas and Giangos Babiolakis, voluntarily gave him money to travel from Beira to Durban. About a month later, Tsafendas paid back the money, even though they had insisted they did not want it back.⁴¹⁹⁶

MRS. MANNING

*During October, 1965, he hired a room at No. 7, Prince Street, Vredehoek, from a Mrs. Manning. There his neighbours complained that he would come to fetch water in their kitchen and spill it on the floor, with the result that he was given notice to vacate the room.*⁴¹⁹⁷

The above statement, made to the Commission by Manning, is correct, but the Report distorts the picture by omitting her opinion of Tsafendas. She testified in full that:

“He rented Room 3 next to the Ferreiras. It was a serviced room but I found him making his own bed. When he came to me he was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. I thought him to be a Greek. For a few weeks he attracted no unfavourable attention, until Mrs Ferreira came to me to complain that he was a nuisance. She said he was going into her kitchen to fetch water and that he was spilling water on the floor... During his stay, I regularly inspected his room. I also spoke to him... From his general appearance, he appeared to be a businessman. When he paid me, he had a bundle of notes and I took him to be a man of means.”⁴¹⁹⁸

⁴¹⁹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, ‘Tsafendas: In the Eyes of A Friend’, 14 September 1966.

⁴¹⁹⁵ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

⁴¹⁹⁶ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Costas Poriakis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

⁴¹⁹⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 45.

⁴¹⁹⁸ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

It is clear that Manning was favourably impressed by Tsafendas; he made his own bed though he did not have to, he was well-spoken and dressed well. However all these positive comments are omitted from the Report and once again the only negative reference is recorded.

DURBAN MEN'S HOME

*On 21st June, 1965, he moved into the Durban Men's Home, Durban, where he lived until 24th August, 1965. At this home he expressed himself strongly against the South African Government and in favour of Communism.*⁴¹⁹⁹

This part is examined in the "Political Activities and Ideology" section.

PATRICK O'RYAN

In Chapter II C, Paragraphs 47, 48, 55 and 56, Tsafendas's time at Patrick O'Ryan's house is mentioned. Tsafendas stayed at his house for about five months (November 1965-April 1966), and remained close to O'Ryan up to his arrest. Tsafendas considered O'Ryan the best person he ever met and the best friend he ever had. Although he stayed there for five months there and was very close to O'Ryan and his family, only limited information is used from his statement.

During his time off he also stayed with Mr. O'Ryan. He never paid the O'Ryan's any board.

*Mr. O'Ryan never gained the impression that there was anything seriously wrong with him. He did tell them, though, about the tapeworm which he was supposed to have. Sometimes he called it a snake, and said that he had to feed it constantly.*⁴²⁰⁰

*According to Patrick O'Ryan, Tsafendas was strongly opposed to the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal.*⁴²⁰¹

Patrick O'Ryan, who knew Tsafendas better than the other witnesses and considered him to be his best friend, a feeling Tsafendas reciprocated, made several positive statements about his character, but none of them was mentioned in the Report, while the fact that he did not pay any board was included. It is true that Tsafendas did not pay for his board. However,

⁴¹⁹⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 32.

⁴²⁰⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 55.

⁴²⁰¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 56.

he frequently bought food for the household and toys and sweets for the children. When O’Ryan asked Tsafendas not to do this because he thought it made him look bad, Tsafendas continued to bring food and sweets but told the children they were bought by their dad and himself. Young Reuben O’Ryan, a son of Patrick, said about Tsafendas, “We all loved him ... he was an adorable man ... he was the answer to our prayers. We were poor and he brought food to our house.”⁴²⁰²

Patrick O’Ryan had testified that he had formed a “deep liking” for Tsafendas and that he “had confidence in him... He was a very kindly man. In my experience of him he had a good heart ... I never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind,” or that he “was mentally disturbed.” He also found him to be “well-spoken and had good vocabulary.”⁴²⁰³ None of these is included in the Report.

O’Ryan had also testified that Tsafendas “was against the state policy of both South Africa and Portugal” and that he “labelled the apartheid policies as unfair.”⁴²⁰⁴ He later described Tsafendas as getting “excited” when he talked about politics and saying that Dr. Verwoerd was a tyrant who was oppressing his people, that he was “Hitler’s best student” and that if he (Tsafendas) ever get hold of him “he would bash his skull.” O’Ryan did not tell the police about Dr. Verwoerd being a tyrant or about bashing his skull as he believed it would be bad for Tsafendas.⁴²⁰⁵ For more about O’Ryan and his relationship with Tsafendas see his testimony at the Summary Trial Chapter. The Report’s comment that O’Ryan did not think that there was something seriously wrong with Tsafendas is discussed in the ‘Mental State’ section of this chapter.

⁴²⁰² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Reuben O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

⁴²⁰³ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴²⁰⁴ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴²⁰⁵ Patrick O’Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

MRS. GROVES

*In April, 1966, he moved in as a boarder with Mrs. E. M. Groves at No. 57, Milton Road, Observatory, Cape Town, but because the other boarders were dissatisfied with his behaviour, he was asked to leave the boarding-house.*⁴²⁰⁶

The above statement is correct, but it is misleading because once again important information has been omitted. Firstly, it is not revealed that Groves was a former nurse in a psychiatric hospital and therefore experienced with schizophrenics. Tsafendas boarded with her for six to seven weeks and her opinion of him was bound to be scientifically more acceptable than that of the non-medic Johnston who spoke to Tsafendas for all of twenty minutes. His opinion about Tsafendas's mental state is included in the Report, hers is not. Referencing her professional experience, Mrs. Groves said of Tsafendas, "He was completely normal. I was a nurse and worked in lunatic institutions. He was a normal person to the best of my knowledge."⁴²⁰⁷

It is true that the other boarders were unhappy with aspects of Tsafendas's behaviour, but the Commission fails to say why. According to Mrs. Groves' statement: "D. Tsafendas was a very good eater. He mastered many languages and behaved properly. Besides his rough table manners, I have nothing against him. He was completely normal. I received complaints that he was argumentative and towards me he said that we Afrikaners are a backward nation. It was clear that he had nothing good towards Afrikaners. For the sake of my other tenants, I asked him to leave my place."⁴²⁰⁸

Jacobus Bornman, Tsafendas's roommate at Mrs. Groves's house, testified that "Tsafendas's conversations were always about women and politics. He never talked about anything else. Tsafendas was dissatisfied with conditions in R.S.A and he has often criticized the government, his exact words I don't remember, but it seemed to me that he had a grudge against Dr. Verwoerd. He stood up a lot for the Coloureds."⁴²⁰⁹ Thus, the dissatisfaction with Tsafendas was apparently due to his argumentativeness and his antipathy towards Afrikaners, something he never hid. However, by not revealing the reason for the boarders' dissatisfaction, the Commission leaves the reader with the wrong idea; that it was probably

⁴²⁰⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 58.

⁴²⁰⁷ Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴²⁰⁸ Elizabeth Magdalene Groves statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴²⁰⁹ Jacobus Johannes Bornman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

because of his mental state or his aggression.

JACOBUS BORNMAN

*Mr. Bornman, who occupied the same room as Tsafendas, stated that Tsafendas did not show any signs of being mentally abnormal. He was good-natured, but had messy habits. His topics, of conversation were politics and women. He was strongly opposed to the policy of the Government. He read only English-language newspapers and was sometimes upset by what he had read. At times he passed the remark that the Government was doing so much for the Coloureds that it would be better for him to be a Coloured.*⁴²¹⁰

Bornman was Tsafendas's roommate in Mrs. Groves's house for six to seven weeks. The above comment about Tsafendas being 'good-natured' is the only wholly positive statement about Tsafendas in the entire Report. Although the Commission allowed two positive comments from Bornman – that Tsafendas was good natured and showed no signs of mental abnormality – they seem meagre in comparison with what was missing. The most important omission was that Tsafendas voluntarily gave money to Bornman and then refused to take it back. Bornman said about the incident: "on one occasion I had no money and then Tsafendas gave me five cents. I later wanted to return the money to him, but he would not take it."⁴²¹¹ Tsafendas is described by the Commission as a beggar, always asking for help and money, taking advantage of people and never thanking anyone for what they did for him, but this was hardly something a beggar would do. The omission is not unexpected. To include this example of his generosity would have raised questions as to whether Tsafendas was really the sort of hopeless person that emerged from the summary trial.

Bornman had also characterised Tsafendas as "a friendly and plausible person," adding that, "during the time I lived with Tsafendas, his behaviour was normal... I regarded him as a normal and very intelligent person... According to my observation, Tsafendas was a gentle person. He was neat on his person, but his eating habits were not up to scratch. He was messy." That the Commission omitted the comment about Tsafendas's intelligence is not that important as even the psychiatrists testified to his intelligence at the trial, along with several other witnesses. However, in stating that Tsafendas had "messy habits," the Commission is guilty of a misleading generalisation. Bornman used the word "messy" to refer to Tsafendas's

⁴²¹⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 58.

⁴²¹¹ Jacobus Johannes Bornman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

eating habits and not to his general appearance and behaviour. In fact he said that Tsafendas was a neat person. This omission is important as Tsafendas was portrayed in the summary trial as a dirty person with dirty clothes; not at all the same as being merely a messy eater.

In its totality, Bornman's statement was one of the most positive about Tsafendas. However, by its selective evisceration, the Commission managed to downplay it significantly. Bornman's comments regarding Tsafendas's ideology are examined in the section 'Political Activities and Ideology' of this chapter.

MRS. SCOTT

During June and July, 1966, he had his meals with Mrs. Scott at No. 42, Chamberlain Street, Woodstock. There he acquired the nickname of "The Pig" on account of his bad table manners. In her opinion he was normal. On one occasion he passed the following remarks in Mrs. Scott's presence when a possible job in South West Africa was mentioned:

I cannot go to South West Africa. I have a job to do here before I go back.

*He told one of the boarders that he had obtained a position in South West Africa, but that he would first take a post at the Houses of Parliament for two months.*⁴²¹²

Mary Cathleen Scott was Greek, married to a White South African. She often cooked Greek food and many Greeks would visit her house to eat.⁴²¹³ Scott told the police that Tsafendas was "very poorly mannered" and she named him "The Pig," but she "never got the impression that he could be mentally unbalanced," indeed she thought that he "appeared to be perfectly normal."⁴²¹⁴

Pamela Abrahams, a South African, often visited Scott's house to eat, along with her Greek boyfriend and future husband, Panagiotis Peroglou. She said Tsafendas was very well mannered, especially with women. Neither she nor her boyfriend recalled him having bad manners or being nicknamed "The Pig" by Scott. In fact, according to Abrahams, "Tsafendas was a gentleman. He would always get up from the table to greet you and he always offered you his seat or went to find you a seat... he was certainly very well mannered."⁴²¹⁵

⁴²¹² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 67.

⁴²¹³ Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

⁴²¹⁴ Mary Cathleen Scott statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴²¹⁵ Pamela Abrahams in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

Panagiotis Peroglou was a good friend of Scott but he does not remember that she ever complained about Tsafendas's manners or called him a pig. He was very surprised to hear such comments, with which he disagreed. Peroglou remembers Tsafendas as being "very well mannered, especially with women and elderly people..." he was "very talkative and friendly" and "he had a lot of respect for the women. He would bring them a chair or he would offer his chair." Peroglou said Tsafendas was "well educated, especially about Greece's history and Christianity."⁴²¹⁶ Peroglou and Abrahams associated with Tsafendas for about three months and Peroglou said they "never got the impression that he might be insane. He never did or said anything to make us think he was insane. He was definitely sane." The couple do not remember Tsafendas talking politics.⁴²¹⁷ Peroglou was questioned by the police but his statement was not found in the archives. There is no mention of him in the Report.

Elias Constantaras, another Greek who knew Tsafendas very well, was also friendly with Scott and often ate at her house. He was surprised to hear that she called Tsafendas a pig and says she never did so in front of him. He does not remember Tsafendas's eating habits and thinks if they were so bad, he would have remembered. What he did remember was Scott complaining to him two or three times that Tsafendas talked politics persistently at the table in front of her boarders and she suspected him of being a Communist. According to Constantaras, Scott was afraid of Tsafendas talking in that way and she asked him to tell Tsafendas to stop. Constantaras did so and though Tsafendas was not happy that Scott did not tell him herself, he complied with her request.⁴²¹⁸

Constantaras remembers Tsafendas discoursing on history. "He knew a lot about Greek and world history." Tsafendas "was anti-colonialist and anti-apartheid; he described Dr. Verwoerd as 'Nazi' and 'Hitler's best student' and the white South Africans as Nazis. He [Tsafendas] believed that Dr. Verwoerd was doing to the Blacks what the Nazis did to the Jews."⁴²¹⁹ Constantaras and Peroglou were questioned by the police but their statements were not found in the archives.

Stratis Vamvarapis, another Greek, lodged with Mrs Scott at the same time as Tsafendas and knew him for about a year. He found Tsafendas to be a "strange man - strange as a character, not mentally strange. He was very argumentative and was getting easily crossed when he disagreed with people." Initially, Tsafendas had little to say, but became

⁴²¹⁶ Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

⁴²¹⁷ Pamela Abrahams and Panagiotis Peroglou in a personal interview, 6 June 2016.

⁴²¹⁸ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

⁴²¹⁹ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

more talkative as they grew to know each other, though he never discussed politics with him. Tsafendas never appeared to be schizophrenic or insane and he never heard him mention a tapeworm. He recalls him eating a lot but does not remember if his manners were messy and he never heard Mary Scott call Tsafendas "The Pig."⁴²²⁰

MRS. THEYSER

*He left Mrs. De Vos's house on 30th June, 1966, and moved into a room with Mrs. Theyser at No. 48, Devon Street, Woodstock. There he was also given notice and left on 30th August, 1966.*⁴²²¹

Theyser had also testified that she "never got the impression in any way that he might be mentally unbalanced. To me he appeared a quite normal person."⁴²²² As usual, the Commission omitted this positive statement.

CONCLUSION

⁴²²⁰ Stratis Vamvarapis in a personal interview, 31 May 2016.

⁴²²¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 66.

⁴²²² Alice Mary Theyser statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Tsafendas is portrayed by the Commission as a bad lodger in many ways. Although some of the issues mentioned are true, the overall portrayal is inaccurate. The Commission omitted all the positive remarks about him, including those about his character and his mental state, but included anything remotely denigratory. The most important omissions are those about Tsafendas's personality, especially the fact that he gave money to Bornman when the latter had none and then refused to take it back, as well as the comments made by Bornman and by O'Ryan. Finally, a word on the language the Commission invariably employs when it describes Tsafendas or his activities: this is probably best described as verging on the contemptuous.

TSAFENDAS'S HOSPITALIZATIONS AND MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS

The Report refers extensively to Tsafendas's hospitalizations and the medical examinations he underwent throughout his life. Let us examine what was included in the Report and what was omitted.

TSAFENDAS'S FIRST HOSPITALIZATION

*While in detention in the United States of America, Tsafendas showed symptoms of mental disorder and was admitted to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital.*⁴²²³

This is the first reference to Tsafendas being hospitalized and the first to refer to "mental disorder." What is significant is that his symptoms occurred "while in detention." The experience of mental disorder while incarcerated will recur many times in Tsafendas's story, becoming almost a trademark in his life. Although Tsafendas manages his workaday life perfectly well and no-one notices anything wrong with him, whenever he is arrested, he appears to suffer from mental problems and is quickly released. In later life, Tsafendas declared openly that he faked madness in order to be released, and this claim is validated by the records. For example:

In January 1952, Tsafendas was arrested in Lisbon after security reports from Lourenço Marques advised the Portuguese authorities that he was a half-caste, a Communist and an anti-colonialist under suspicion of "unclear activities" during his time in Mozambique.⁴²²⁴ "During his interrogations he gave signs of having some sort of mental disability, which was confirmed by the Hospital do Ultramar." He was subsequently released.⁴²²⁵

In November 1964, in Mozambique, Tsafendas was arrested by the Portuguese Public Security Police and accused of preaching "under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique's independence."⁴²²⁶ He was detained in police cells for fourteen days in the custody of Inspector Horacio Ferreira, who testified to the South African police that

⁴²²³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 3.

⁴²²⁴ *Diario Popular*, 'E Conhesido em Lisboa o Assassino do Dr. Verwoerd', 9 September 1966.

⁴²²⁵ PIDE Report regarding Tsafendas, 5 May 1956. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴²²⁶ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

Tsafendas was “normal” and he regarded him “as a very intelligent person.”⁴²²⁷ After two weeks, due to the seriousness of the charges and because of Tsafendas’s police record, he was handed to the PIDE for further interrogation. He spent the next two and half months in detention, interrogated regularly by PIDE. There, suffering from a harsh regime of imprisonment and interrogation, Tsafendas again showed “symptoms of mental illness” and was released.⁴²²⁸

Furthermore, each time he is arrested in the United States for contravening the immigration laws, the result is the same. Yet only three of the two hundred witnesses who were interviewed by the Commission and the police about Tsafendas expressed doubts as to his sanity as a free man. Surely this should have rung alarm bells with the Commission.

GRAFTON STATE HOSPITAL REPORT⁴²²⁹

The Commission includes several extracts from the report of this hospital, including statements which Tsafendas made to the doctors to convince them that he was mad. Most importantly, it repeats the following crucially important reference from the Grafton report:

Tsafendas’s faking mental illness

“He faked mental illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings of ships.”⁴²³⁰

That Tsafendas had pretended mental illness at least once is a hugely important revelation. Yet it is reproduced in the Report as a run-of-the-mill observation of no particular relevance. Assuming the Commission felt the question of his deceit could not be ignored, it nevertheless offered no comment or elaboration and posed no questions. Did the Commission not ask Tsafendas about the incident?

More important is why this information was not used at the summary trial. The Grafton document must have been given to the State by the police as it was also given to the Commission. Surely, the fact that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in the past was worth

⁴²²⁷ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, File 1/5. FILE Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

⁴²²⁸ Letter of Francisco Bartolomeu da Costa Lontrão to the Subdirector of the PIDE in Lourenço Marques, 19 January 1965. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Alberto Henriques de Matos Rodrigues conclusion to the Subdirector, 23 January 1965. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴²²⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 10.

⁴²³⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 10.

raising at the trial, where the defence was claiming he was mentally ill and the State was supposedly trying to prove otherwise. Would not such information have been extremely useful to those who examined Tsafendas, had they known of it?

This was not the only time Tsafendas simulated illness to get out of trouble, and the police and presumably the Commission, knew it. At least six witnesses from the *Eleni* tanker testified to the South African police on the 12th of October that Tsafendas had told them he faked mental illness to avoid call-up into the Portuguese army.⁴²³¹ Tsafendas had told the same thing to several other witnesses though they were not questioned by the South African police.

However, the fact that Tsafendas was exempted from serving in the Portuguese army was known to the South African police because it was mentioned in PIDE's reports. No reason was given for Tsafendas's exemption, but it would have been very easy for the Commission to find out. Exemption from service in the Portuguese army was granted only to persons with physical or mental defects. Since Tsafendas was not physically defective, the Commission must have deduced that his exemption was due to reasons concerning his mental state. No mention of this incident is made in the Report.

Evidence of a different sort of malingering by Tsafendas came from Antony Maw, the former Honorary Consul for Greece in Lourenço Marques. He told the South African police when he was questioned on the 7th of September that Tsafendas had claimed "illness" when he was not allowed to disembark from a ship on arrival in Lourenço Marques.⁴²³² Maw's statement was found in the archives and therefore it was known to the Commission, but no mention of this incident appears in its Report. Several witness told the author that on the occasion Maw referred to, Tsafendas pretended to be suffering from appendicitis so as to be taken off the ship to a hospital in Lourenço Marques.

It is clear that Tsafendas had thought this through. It would not have helped him to pretend madness since the probability was that he would be banned from landing. However, with an apparent acute appendicitis, it was likely he would be rushed to a hospital ashore. Although Maw does not specify the illness claimed by Tsafendas, his appendicitis trick was known to almost every Greek in Lourenço Marques and it seems highly unlikely that the

⁴²³¹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴²³² Antony Maw statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub File: 1/8. NASA

Commission and the South African police did not hear about it. No fewer than seven Greeks who were interviewed by the author Andreas Babiolakis, Mary Eintracht, Helen Grispos, Ira Kyriakakis, George Liberopoulos, Nick Papadakis and Katerina Pnema - knew the story and said that most if not all of the city's Greek population knew it, too.⁴²³³

The hearing of voices

The Commission's Report also contains extracts from the Grafton Hospital report regarding Tsafendas's diagnosis, including a statement that "he hears voices coming through the radiators." The psychiatrists at the summary trial asked Tsafendas if he heard voices. Tsafendas replied in the negative, knowing full well that hearing voices was often used by people pretending to be crazy. When Tsafendas claimed to hear voices in the radiators it was 1946 and he had little knowledge or experience of hospitals. Years later, he told Father Minas Constandinou that the first times he was hospitalized he pretended to hear religious voices like "Joan of Arc." However, he was found to be lying by the psychiatrists and thereafter adopted something different - the tapeworm. He said "everyone hears voices or pretends to be Napoleon, but who would ever suspect anyone who believes he has a tapeworm?"⁴²³⁴ He never used the voices trick again.

TSAFENDAS'S HOSPITALIZATION IN HAMBURG

*At the beginning of 1954 he was treated at the Tropen Krankenhaus in Hamburg for a stomach complaint. According to documents received from Germany, he alleged at that time that his trouble was due to a tapeworm. He is said to have claimed that the worm had been troubling him since 1937. No such worm was found and he was discharged.*⁴²³⁵

On 11th February, 1955, Demitrios Tsafandakis was admitted to the psychiatric section of the Ochsenzoll⁴²³⁶ Hospital, Germany. The diagnosis was "mixed psychoneurosis psychosis." In

⁴²³³ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 May 2016; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; George Liberopoulos in a personal interview, 6 July 2014; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015.

All of the above witnesses, apart from Father Minas, were living at the time in Mozambique and heard about it. Father Minas was told about it by Tsafendas himself in the mid-1990s. Henk van Woerden in the *Mouthful of Glass* also describes the same scene (2000: 70), presumably because he was told about it by Tsafendas.

⁴²³⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁴²³⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraphs 25.

⁴²³⁶ The correct spelling is Ochsenzoll.

*the copious notes the hospital made at that time, his allegation that he had a tapeworm was mentioned repeatedly. He is said to have alleged that the worm caused stomach-ache, and that he could hear it at times. During February, 1955, he also attempted suicide by swallowing twenty sleeping-pills. A priest of the sect to which he belonged, an American, visited him at the above-mentioned hospital. This visitor told one of the doctors that Tsafendas had deserted during the war, hardly ever worked, wandered from country to country and that he did not trust him. On 6th June, 1955, he was discharged from the hospital. Apparently the paranoiac ideas had ceased.*⁴²³⁷

While all the above information is correct, it tells only half the truth. On each occasion, Tsafendas admitted himself to the hospital, including when he allegedly attempted to commit suicide. The issue of the suicide has been examined extensively in the previous chapter, and would not be discussed here again. There is a big difference between someone walking into a hospital complaining that he is ill and seeking admission, and being taken there by others who have detected a health problem. The fact that Tsafendas personally presented himself at these hospitals is not mentioned in the Report, though surely this was something that would arouse curiosity in any investigator.

A further point is that Tsafendas was diagnosed as suffering from, and treated for, depression, not schizophrenia. This, too, goes unmentioned in the Commission's Report. Two concluding diagnoses made at the Hamburg hospital: Dr. Bieser, a senior physician, labelled Tsafendas's condition as "*mixed – pictured phasic psychose*,"⁴²³⁸ and Dr. Nachtwey, a psychiatrist, diagnosed "*endogenous depression, mixed-picture*."⁴²³⁹

TSAFENDAS'S MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS FOR HIS PERMANENT RESIDENCE APPLICATION

*In his application for permanent residence Tsafendas stated, inter alia, that he had been a sailor during the previous five years, that he had never before applied for permanent residence in South Africa, that he had never been deported from any country, and that he did not suffer from any mental disease. A medical certificate stating, inter alia, that he was not in any way mentally defective was attached to his application.*⁴²⁴⁰

⁴²³⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraphs 26.

⁴²³⁸ Dr. Bieser and Dr. Schmidt-Janssen report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 7 June 1955. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

⁴²³⁹ Medical Bulletin of Dimitrio Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

⁴²⁴⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 3.

The above information is correct, but omits the fact that Tsafendas had been examined by two state doctors and issued with two medical certificates stating that he was perfectly fine, physically and mentally. This was known to the Commission. On November 11, 1963, Tsafendas was seen by Dr. C. Been and was found “not to be mentally or physically defective in any way,” and “generally in a good state of health.”⁴²⁴¹ On November 14, 1963, Tsafendas was examined again in reference to his residence application by Dr. A.C. McDonald, who wrote “a favourable report.” A certificate for permanent residence was subsequently issued based in part on the two doctors’ reports.⁴²⁴² If Tsafendas was as described by the medical experts in the summary trial – unable to follow a conversation for more than fifteen minutes, with disjointed speech and blocked thoughts - would not one or both of these two doctors have noticed?

SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS

On 16th March, 1965, he was employed by the South African Railways and Harbours as a shed attendant at R90 per month. He was examined medically and nothing was found to be wrong with him.

*In a written statement in connection with this examination he stated, inter alia, that he had never had any nervous or mental disease.*⁴²⁴³

This is one of ten times that Tsafendas was medically examined between November 1963 and September 1966 and found to be perfectly healthy. He withholds the fact that he has been hospitalized several times and that he has a “fixation with a tapeworm.” Obviously, Tsafendas knew he would not get the job if he mentioned anything of the sort. Although only eighteen months into the future Tsafendas would be declared a schizophrenic with serious thought disorder, such a condition was not spotted by the doctor who examined him for the railways position.

It is important to mention here that Garnet Muller, Tsafendas’s supervisor at this job, had given a statement to the police which was in the Commission’s possession. Muller had “observed Tsafendas to possess intelligence above that of the average person who is likely to

⁴²⁴¹ Demitrio Tsafendas medical certificate issued by Dr. Been for the Aliens Act, 1937. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

⁴²⁴² Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

⁴²⁴³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 26.

accept a position with the little responsibility which is attached to that of shed attendant.”⁴²⁴⁴
Once again, a positive statement about Tsafendas is omitted.

DR. KOSSEW'S EXAMINATION

*On 17th June he was examined by Dr. Kossew, the district surgeon, whose finding was that he was suffering from a serious form of schizophrenia.*⁴²⁴⁵

The Report goes into great detail about Tsafendas's other medical examinations, but here simply states that he was diagnosed as suffering from a serious form of schizophrenia. It offers no further information about Dr. Kossew's examination. Once again, the Commission has omitted significant information, most importantly why Tsafendas was examined by Dr. Kossew, a district surgeon, not a psychiatrist. On February 3, 1967, the same question was asked in the House of Assembly by MP J.O.N. Thompson. The Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions replied that “Tsafendas applied for a veteran's pension. As he was under sixty years old, evidence was required in terms of section 3 of the War Veterans' Pension Act, 1962, that he was unable, owing to infirmity of mind or body, to undertake regular work.” The Minister said that although Tsafendas was diagnosed as schizophrenic and therefore was eligible for the pension, his application was eventually rejected “on the grounds that he had not rendered war service as defined in the Act.”⁴²⁴⁶

This explanation as to why Tsafendas was examined by the district surgeon was important and should not have been omitted from the Report. Tsafendas had to be found unfit to do any work in order to qualify for the pension and that is how he was judged. However, as we have seen, whenever Tsafendas wanted to be found fit to work, he always proved to be so. On at least three occasions in the previous two years (Marine Diamond Corporation, City Tramways and South African Railways), he was examined by doctors and pronounced fit for the work he was seeking. He was also found to be perfectly healthy when examined by Dr. Been and Dr. A.C. McDonald for his residence permit.⁴²⁴⁷ This must have been spotted by the Commission and is most likely why the information about this examination was omitted.

⁴²⁴⁴ Garnet Vincent Muller statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴²⁴⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 69.

⁴²⁴⁶ House of Assembly, Question No. 17. 3 February 1967. K150, Vol. 12, File: Social Welfare and Pensions, NASA.

⁴²⁴⁷ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

It is possible that the Commission failed to make the connection between the examinations. However the fact that Tsafendas was found perfectly sane and capable of working when he wanted to be so found, but the exact opposite when he wished to be ruled incapable must have struck the Commission as strange, at the least.

The Commission also omits significant information about the actual examination, for example the fact that it lasted only “a little bit longer” than ten minutes, and that Dr. Kossew arrived at his diagnosis simply by accepting what Tsafendas told him.⁴²⁴⁸ It also fails to state that Dr. Kossew made the diagnosis of schizophrenia after Tsafendas told him that in the house where he lived people were being killed off by poisoned food, a remark the doctor took for an illusion. However that meant that Tsafendas at the time nurtured two delusions: that he had a tapeworm inside him and people were being murdered by food poisoning. As Professors Alban Burke and Tuviah Zabow and Mr. van Zyl told the author, professional opinion held that it was almost impossible for a person to have two delusions at the same time.⁴²⁴⁹ The weaknesses of this diagnosis must have been evident to anyone who had studied the case or followed the summary trial, yet the Commission failed to raise any questions and simply stated the bald facts in its Report.

The reliability of Dr. Kossew’s examination is considered in detail in the Summary Trial Chapter and will not be discussed again here. For more about that subject see the comments on Dr. Kossew’s testimony in the chapter mentioned above.

OTHER MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS OF TSAFENDAS INCLUDED IN THE REPORT

*On 16th March, 1965, he was employed by the South African Railways and Harbours as a shed attendant at R90 per month. He was examined medically and nothing was found to be wrong with him. In a written statement in connection with this examination he stated, inter alia, that he had never had any nervous or mental disease.*⁴²⁵⁰

On 12th November, 1965, he applied for a position as a bus conductor with City Tramways, Cape Town. Once again he was examined medically and nothing was found to be wrong with

⁴²⁴⁸ Dr. Ralph Kossew testimony at Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966: 88. K150, Vol. 10, File: Union of S.A. NASA.

⁴²⁴⁹ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

⁴²⁵⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 33.

him. He stated, inter alia, that he had never had a nervous breakdown.⁴²⁵¹

In February, 1966, he was treated at Groote Schuur Hospital for an obstruction in the nose and for nose bleeding. In April, he had a nose operation. He was in-hospital from 18th to 22nd April, 1966, and on 17th May, 1966, he was declared to be cured.⁴²⁵²

The next place where he sought employment was the Marine Diamond Corporation in Cape Town. On 13th January, 1966, he was examined by this company's medical officer and nothing was found to be wrong with him. Once again he declared that he had never had any mental or nervous disease.⁴²⁵³

Dr. S. Michelson, a specialist physician, examined Tsafendas in the Neurology Department of Groote Schuur Hospital on 3rd June, 1966. Tsafendas told him that he was unable to find any employment, and attributed this to his headaches and the fact that he was a "Jack of all trades." In addition to headaches, he complained of dizziness and a poor memory. The physician found that no serious, organic defect was perceptible in the nervous system, and considered the headaches to be "of migrainous nature."⁴²⁵⁴

The Commission has included in its Report some of Tsafendas's medical checks, especially those which took place in connection with his job applications. These examinations could not be ignored since everyone knew that a job-seeker needed to be medically examined and found fit in order to secure employment with those companies. If these examinations had not been mentioned, a major question would have arisen as to how Tsafendas, a schizophrenic, managed to get work and whether he was examined.

Furthermore, the above examinations give birth to the question: How did none of these doctors notice that Tsafendas could not function on a reasonable level, was unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, suffered from thought-disorder and spoke in a disjointed manner, as evidence at the trial claimed? It is evident that Tsafendas was found physically and mentally healthy when he needed to be, as with his two medical examinations for permanent residence status. However, those mentioned above were not the only times Tsafendas was medically examined and found to be perfectly healthy.

MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS OF TSAFENDAS OMITTED FROM THE REPORT

⁴²⁵¹ Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death, Chapter II C, Paragraph 49.

⁴²⁵² Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death, Chapter II C, Paragraph 60.

⁴²⁵³ Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death, Chapter II C, Paragraph 53.

⁴²⁵⁴ Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death, Chapter II C, Paragraph 64.

As we have seen, the Commission omitted from its Report the two examinations in connection with Tsafendas's application for permanent residence. It also failed to note the following six medical checks, taking the total of omissions to eight:

- Dr. Been, the doctor who examined him for his permanent residence applications later examined Tsafendas again “for burns on his body whilst employed at Pooles” in 1964. Nothing about his mental state was noted.⁴²⁵⁵
- On September 25, 1965, he was examined by Dr. G.C. Baker and nothing was reported about his mental state.⁴²⁵⁶
- On February 25, 1966, Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by I. Eisenberg, a registrar on the Ear, Nose & Throat Department, who did not observe anything mentally wrong with him.⁴²⁵⁷
- On April 18, 19, 26 and May 3, 1966 Tsafendas was examined at Groote Schuur Hospital by Dr. Leon Goldman, a consultant ear, nose and throat surgeon. He did not observe anything mentally wrong with him and discharged him as “fit” on May 17, 1966.⁴²⁵⁸
- From April 19, 1966 to May 15, 1966, Tsafendas was under the medical supervision of Dr. Leon Solomon at Groote Schuur Hospital, suffering from “a deviated nasal septum and epistaxis,” and underwent surgery on his nose. Dr. Solomon during this period did not report any mental disability and found Tsafendas to be fit to return to his work at Marine Diamond Corporation. Dr. Solomon examined him again on June 7, 1966, and again did not notice anything mentally wrong with him.⁴²⁵⁹
- Finally, Dr. T.A. Darby examined Tsafendas on the evening of the assassination but did not report anything to be wrong about his mental state.⁴²⁶⁰

Tsafendas's Hospitalization in Beira

⁴²⁵⁵ Dr. Been statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴²⁵⁶ Dr. G.C. Baker Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. No date. K150, Vol. 6, File: 4, NASA.

⁴²⁵⁷ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴²⁵⁸ I. Eisenberg Statement. RE: Demitrio Tsafendas. GS.H. 65/014-181. N.d. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴²⁵⁹ Dr. Leon Solomon's medical report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA; Medical certificate issued by Dr. Solomon for the Employment Insurance Act, 1946. 7 June 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: 1/1 Departement van Arbeid. NASA.

⁴²⁶⁰ Dr. T.A. Darby. Statement re: Demitrio Tsafendas. G.S.H. NO. 65/014-181, 6 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Another of Tsafendas's hospitalizations not mentioned in the Report or at the summary trial is that at the Government Hospital in Beira in 1964. The Commission was aware of this development since Tsafendas had mentioned it to the police in his statement of the 19th of September⁴²⁶¹ and Lt.-Colonel P.J.B. van Wyk also noted it in his report. Furthermore, Col. van Wyk had then taken the "necessary steps" and "formally applied" to obtain a copy of Tsafendas's medical report covering this hospitalization.⁴²⁶² It must have been a simple formality to obtain the document since the Portuguese authorities had provided all of Tsafendas's medical reports from Portugal, and by then it would have been in the possession of the South African police. However, the author cannot know for a fact whether Lt.-Col van Wyk eventually received the report as no other reference to it was found in the national archives.

This hospitalization was important since it was the last time Tsafendas was admitted for a mental condition before he was arrested. Given that the South African authorities contacted hospitals in the United States for Tsafendas's records during the 1940s and in Europe for details of those in the 1950s, it is natural they contacted Beira, too. It was his most recent hospitalization and it must have been the easiest to contact since it was in Mozambique. The Portuguese authorities had happily shared with the South African police Tsafendas's medical records from his time in Portugal. They would surely have seen no problem providing one from Mozambique.

However, no mention of the hospitalization is made in the Commission's report. A clue might be found in the circumstances surrounding this incident. When the Portuguese Public Security Police arrested Tsafendas he was accused of pretending to be a religious missionary, while in reality preaching "under the guise of religion in favour of Mozambique's independence."⁴²⁶³ While in custody, Tsafendas was asked by the police if he had "dedicated himself to preach as a missionary and, under the guise of this same religion, advertised in favour of Mozambique's independence."⁴²⁶⁴

Since he was apparently involved in a so-called missionary activity and because he carried Bibles and other religious literature as cover of his activities, Tsafendas came up with

⁴²⁶¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴²⁶² South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴²⁶³ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴²⁶⁴ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

an idea that neatly fitted the situation. He pretended to be Christ's apostle, Peter, and quoted the Christian scriptures at length. The trick worked and he was transferred to the Government Hospital in Beira for mental examination. Once again, he had managed to convince the Portuguese that he was mad but harmless, and he was soon released.⁴²⁶⁵

The author does not know for a fact whether the South African police received Tsafendas's medical file from the Government Hospital in Beira, but it seems highly unlikely that they managed to get his file from every one of his hospitals around the world but this one. Furthermore, Lt.-Col van Wyk had already applied for this report, therefore it must have been in the police's possession. A number of mostly bureaucratic reasons can be adduced as to why this particular hospitalization was omitted from the Commission's report. What looms over all, however, is the likelihood that the Commission suppressed the information, not wanting to reveal that, tapeworm apart, Tsafendas, two years before the assassination, while also in custody, also believed he was Saint Peter. If this was revealed, the question would have been, why was such an important issue never brought up at his summary trial?

At the same time, if this information had become known, another major issue would have been raised, certainly by the psychiatrists and psychologists who would have read the Commission's Report. This is how was it possible that for Tsafendas to believe he had a tapeworm for almost thirty years, then for this to be replaced by the conviction that he was Saint Peter, only for the Apostle to be ousted by his belief that boarders in the house where he was staying were being poisoned to death and finally for the tapeworm to return and take up residence. Professors Alban Burke and Tuviah Zabow and Mr. van Zyl told the author it was highly improbable, effectively impossible, for a person's delusions to come and go like this or to have multiple delusions at the time.⁴²⁶⁶ This issue is discussed in detail in the Summary Trial Chapter.

Evidence Regarding Tsafendas's Hospitalizations

The Report lists a series of hospitals where Tsafendas was reported to have been admitted. Some of the names are taken from Tsafendas's statements to the South African police and some from what Tsafendas told the doctors in Grafton State Hospital. No evidence has been

⁴²⁶⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

⁴²⁶⁶ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 4 April 2016; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016; Reyner van Zyl in a personal interview, 28 November 2016.

found in the archives or elsewhere substantiating that Tsafendas was indeed hospitalised as stated, except for his word. Naturally, Tsafendas had a very good reason to exaggerate his hospitalisations, but this does not mean that he was not hospitalised as he stated. What is surprising is that the Commission accepted his word, apparently without making any effort to double-check Tsafendas's statements.

CONCLUSION

The Commission included in its Report Tsafendas's medical examinations for various job applications, knowing such checks were standard practice by the companies concerned. Seven other examinations are omitted, including two conducted by two state doctors for Tsafendas's permanent residence application. On the other hand, the examination by another state doctor, Dr. Kossew, who found Tsafendas to be a schizophrenic, although he was not a psychiatrist and examined him for a little bit more than ten minutes, is included. Still, none of the ten doctors who examined Tsafendas during the previous two and a half years before the assassination saw any sign of Tsafendas's alleged problems as set out at his summary trial.

Of great importance is the revelation by the Commission that Tsafendas had faked mental illness while in the United States. This is something that no-one mentioned in the court, although it must have been known to the State as the relevant medical report was in the possession of the South African police a month before the trial started. However, another time Tsafendas faked mental illness, in Portugal in order not to serve in the Portuguese army, is omitted, though it is possible that this information was withheld by the police and not given to the Commission.

Although the Commission goes into detail with Tsafendas's overseas hospitalizations, the most recent one in Mozambique in late 1964 is omitted. What makes this strange is that this hospitalization was known to the Commission, and the South African police were almost certainly in possession of the Beira hospital's records concerning Tsafendas. Then, why has it been omitted? The author can only speculate, but the fact that Tsafendas had pretended to be Saint Peter while he was in the custody of PIDE before being taken to the hospital suggests that this was the reason for the omission. It would have sounded strange, especially to psychiatrists and psychologists, if it had become known that Tsafendas, apart from allegedly believing he had a tapeworm since 1935, two years before the assassination he also believed he was Saint Peter.

TSAFENDAS AND THE FEMALE SEX

One gains the impression that he was unacceptable to the female sex. Neither the Whites nor the non-Whites would have anything to do with him. In Durban he tried to become more closely acquainted with a woman who belonged to his church, but she would have nothing to do with him.

*During May, 1966, he met a non-White, Sybie Barendilla, at one of the church services. He wanted to visit her as well, but she was not agreeable.*⁴²⁶⁷

The Commission's "impression" of Tsafendas's relations with women is wrong and reads like an attempt to portray him as some kind of unsavoury outcast. The Report refers to only two contacts with females, an unnamed woman in Durban and Sybie Barendilla. The woman in Durban was Helen Struthers. She told the Commission that Tsafendas visited her at her house. She did not know him but she invited him in because, like her, he was a member of the Christian Church. Tsafendas stayed in the house for an hour. Struthers said, "He asked if he could see me again, apparently to promote a personal relationship, but I rejected his request and I also rejected to correspond with him." She never saw him again.⁴²⁶⁸

As for Sybie Barendilla, this is an extract from her statement:⁴²⁶⁹

"During about May, 1966, I again met him on a bus when I was returning to work after lunch. He remembered me, spoke to me and said he was on his way to Town to buy a pair of shoes. He enquired how my uncle was in America. I do not know how he came to know that I had an uncle in America and I did not ask him. The next day after this incident he walked past the shop where I was employed. He paused in the door, waved to me and walked on. The following day he came into the shop and bought a chocolate. I got the impression that he wanted to talk to me, but I cut him short and carried on with my work. On a public holiday, I think the 11th of July, 1966, he came to my house and enquired for me. My sister opened the door and spoke to him. He was insistent to see me, but my sister put him off. I heard the conversation and told my sister that I did not want to see him."⁴²⁷⁰

It is clear from Barendilla's and Struther's statements that Tsafendas made an

⁴²⁶⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 41.

⁴²⁶⁸ Helen Struthers statement to the COE, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

⁴²⁶⁹ Her full statement is available at Chapter 6.

⁴²⁷⁰ Sybie Barendilla statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

approach to them and they were not interested. It should be recalled here that both women were members of the Christian Church and most of the Church's members who were questioned after the assassination sought to belittle and distance themselves from Tsafendas. It is very possible, though there is no evidence to prove it, that Barendilla and Struthers adopted such a stance. Even if Barendilla and Struthers were truly not interested in Tsafendas's advances, that does not make Tsafendas anathema to all women. There cannot be many men who have not been rejected at some time in their lives, which does not mean they are generally "unacceptable to the female sex."

Helen Daniels claimed that she was disappointed when meeting Tsafendas face to face and since he did not make any attempt to establish a relationship with her, it seems clear the disappointment was mutual. However, the fact that Tsafendas was recommended to Helen Daniels by fellow members of their Church is significant. She was a preacher and a highly respected member of the Church and it seems most unlikely that her co-religionists would suggest Tsafendas as a husband and urge her to meet him unless they held him in high esteem. The fact that she went to great lengths to communicate with Tsafendas suggests that what she had heard about him could only have been good.

Apart from the rejections above, there is no evidence that Tsafendas was the sort of person described by the Report as unacceptable to women. Indeed, the report from the Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital in Hamburg in 1955 says that Tsafendas, upon his discharge, was picked up by a female friend who planned to accommodate him.⁴²⁷¹ Although it is not stated who this friend was, it is unlikely a woman would meet a man out of hospital and give him accommodation unless they were in a relationship. The Commission makes no reference to this woman when it refers to this hospitalization in Chapter II B, Paragraph 26. Light has been shed on the situation by Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis who met Tsafendas at the time in Hamburg. He said the woman was a young German Communist who did have a relationship with Tsafendas.⁴²⁷² While the Commission was almost certainly unaware of this information, it knew of the Hamburg hospital report but still made no reference to the woman mentioned.

The Commission was also aware of the fact that Tsafendas had his first sexual encounter in 1936, since it is mentioned in the Grafton State Hospital report which was in the

⁴²⁷¹ Ochsenzoll Hospital report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1, Sub-file: 1/8. NASA.

⁴²⁷² Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

Commission's possession. However, there is no mention of it in the Report.⁴²⁷³ According to Tsafendas's family, Tsafendas had a relationship with a Mozambican girl named Stella, who he saw for more than a year in the mid-1930s. It is very likely she was the one with whom he had his first grown-up sexual experience.⁴²⁷⁴ It is unlikely that the Commission knew anything of Stella, but it certainly knew that a certain female in 1936 found Tsafendas acceptable for a serious sexual encounter and omitted it from the Report.

Although the author is not in position to know Tsafendas's score card, he certainly had at least six serious girlfriends in his life. They were also from a range of ethnic backgrounds. The woman from Mozambique, Stella, was Black; then there was a White Jewish woman around 1940 in South Africa;⁴²⁷⁵ a White Greek woman in Greece sometime in the late 1940s,⁴²⁷⁶ a Portuguese woman, probably White, in Portugal in the 1950s;⁴²⁷⁷ a White Communist woman in Germany, also in the 1950s;⁴²⁷⁸ and a Turkish Muslim woman in Istanbul in 1961. The Turkish woman wanted to marry Tsafendas, but neither was willing to convert to the other's religion, and anyway, Tsafendas wanted to go back to Africa.⁴²⁷⁹

Indeed, according to many who knew him, Tsafendas was far from unacceptable to the female sex. The following views were gathered by the author, and obviously were not known to the Commission. Fotini Gavasiadis, who saw Tsafendas virtually every day for nine months in 1963-4 when they were flatmates, and then neighbours, while they also worked together, told the author: "Dimitris was adorable. He was a very sweet and kind man. He did not have a girlfriend at the time, but that was due to the fact that he was not interested in any particular woman as far as I could tell, not because he was unacceptable. He was tall and well-built; he was quite impressive."⁴²⁸⁰

Alexandra Vaporidis knew Tsafendas for some seven months in Istanbul in 1961. She said Tsafendas was "not particularly handsome, but I would definitely not call him

⁴²⁷³ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

⁴²⁷⁴ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴²⁷⁵ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴²⁷⁶ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; van Woerden, *A Mouthful of Glass*, p. 139.

⁴²⁷⁷ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁴²⁷⁸ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Efthimios Eleftheriadis in a personal interview, 27 January 2011.

⁴²⁷⁹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 4 November 2015; van Woerden, *A Mouthful of Glass*, p. 139.

⁴²⁸⁰ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

unacceptable to women. A lot of ladies in the church asked me about him. He then met a Turkish woman and they fell in love. I know some ladies were quite disappointed.”⁴²⁸¹ Father Nikola Banovic, who knew Tsafendas for seven months in Istanbul in 1961, sharing accommodation with him for four of those months, strongly rejected the claim that Tsafendas was “unacceptable to women.” He told the author:

“There were some ladies, mostly I must say, older ladies, who were interested in him, but he was not interested. I told Dimitris and he said ‘they are too old for me.’ This Turkish lady I told you about fell in love with him, although she was a Muslim and he was a Christian and a Greek! His relationship with her caused quite a stir in the Greek community in Istanbul.”⁴²⁸²

Ira Kyriakakis, Helen Grispos and Andreas Babiolakis knew Tsafendas from childhood. Kyriakakis said that her sister Alice was in love with Tsafendas when she was at school, but Tsafendas was then in a relationship with Stella. She described him when he was younger as a “tall, handsome man.” She said, “He put on some weight when he was older, but he was still handsome.”⁴²⁸³ Babiolakis said Tsafendas was very popular with girls while a teenager in Mozambique.⁴²⁸⁴

Helen Grispos told the author:

“[Tsafendas] was of a certain type, unique, that made him attractive to women. I used to like him when we were in Mozambique. He was not like the other teenagers of the time. He was very-well-read and seemed sophisticated and different, at least to me! He was not like Alain Delon, but he was not ugly either. He would not stand out in the crowd for his beauty, but he was certainly attractive to women, at least to some women, especially after you get to know him.”⁴²⁸⁵

Katerina Pnema, his half-sister, told the author how Tsafendas had courted a Jewish girl who was their sister’s best friend at the time:

“He wrote her several notes and my sister would deliver them. He was shy and wouldn’t let us know what he was writing, but the girl would later tell my sister! I can’t remember what he was saying, but I think it was just how beautiful she is and things like this!

⁴²⁸¹ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

⁴²⁸² Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

⁴²⁸³ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

⁴²⁸⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

⁴²⁸⁵ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

He sent her many notes with my sister as the courier. Eventually, we all went out one day and she fell in love with him and started going out with him.”⁴²⁸⁶

Pnefma dismissed the Commission’s comment as quite wrong. However, she added that Tsafendas’s appearance changed markedly after he acquired his metal teeth:

“He did these teeth, and when he came up to my poor brother-in-law’s, and when we saw him, I tell you, he looked like a monster. All his mouth was stainless steel or whatever it is. One day I was listening to the wireless, and you know how funny things happen. A woman was talking and she said, after Tsafendas committed the crime, ‘Do you know, he came to the shop...’ he came to her takeaway. And she said, ‘When he came in and he smiled at me, I got such a fright.’ And he went apparently a couple of times, but I think she was afraid of him. The way she talked, she didn’t want him near her shop... All our children got such a fright when they first saw his teeth, but then they got used of him and they liked him very much.”⁴²⁸⁷

Irene Michaletos, who knew him very well for more than a year (1964-1965), when he often visited her house in Beira, also mentioned the issue with the teeth. She told the author:

“To tell you the truth, when I first saw him, I was a little scared of him. He had a frightening face. He was not ugly at all, he just had these metal teeth that were really scary. He was tall and big; he looked like this villain from the James Bond movie [Jaws in *The Spy who Loved Me* and *Moonraker*]. When I saw the movie many years later, he immediately reminded me of Dimitris. But when you got to know him you could see that he was a gentle giant, a very kind-hearted man.”⁴²⁸⁸

Tsafendas’s first cousin, Mary Eintracht, who grew up with him in Mozambique and Egypt, told the author that “Dimitris had some conquests, but also some rejections, like happens to most men. Women were not falling to their feet for him, but there were quite a few who were interested in him; I don’t think he have any particular difficulty finding a girlfriend.”⁴²⁸⁹

It is blindingly clear from the above statements that far from being unacceptable to women, Tsafendas had a number of acknowledged, serious relationship, and it is more than

⁴²⁸⁶ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴²⁸⁷ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴²⁸⁸ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

⁴²⁸⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

likely for a man who travelled far and wide, that there were others. While the Commission was unaware of most of the above information, it only had the evidence of three rejections on which to base its statement that Tsafendas was unacceptable to the female sex. The statement was a matter of opinion and wildly inaccurate. In addition, in the evidence held by the Commission, Daniels testified that Tsafendas was recommended highly to her by her friends, there was a reference in Grafton State Hospital report to Tsafendas having sex with a girl when he was a teenager, while the Ochsenzoll Krankenhaus Hospital report mentions a woman who picked him up from the hospital when he was released to take him to her house.

PART II: SPECIFIC INCIDENTS AND OTHER ISSUES

THE ELENI

One of the most important elements in the Commission's Report concerns the *Eleni*, a Greek tanker which arrived in Cape Town for repairs on the 24th of July 1966 and remained docked there until the 3rd of September 1966, leaving just three days before Dr. Verwoerd's assassination.⁴²⁹⁰ The Commission discusses the *Eleni* in Chapter II C, Paragraphs 77-87, in greater detail than anything else in its Report. Those eleven paragraphs pay particular attention to claims that Dr. Verwoerd's death had been rumoured at the ship days before it occurred, but they omit signals as to how this might have come about, as well as significant details relating to Tsafendas, his background and his activities.

In the course of his work as a commission agent for a men's clothes outfitter, Tsafendas visited the tanker on a daily basis, often taking his meals there, and quickly became friendly with the crew, most of whom were Greeks. He was comfortable talking to the men because, like him, they were not South Africans; more importantly, some were Communists, with whom he felt very much at home.

Tsafendas testified to the police in his two statements of the 11th and the 19th of September, that he visited the *Eleni* every day that she was docked in Cape Town. The crew's testimonies were therefore important in determining Tsafendas's movements in the days before the assassination. Furthermore, Tsafendas testified that he had bought a gun from two members of the crew and was planning to escape on board the *Eleni*. Of particular interest to the Commission were the Dr. Verwoerd death rumours. Reginald Robert Maile, a South African security guard on the *Eleni*, told the police that three days before the assassination he was asked by Maria Kokkinidou, a woman who often visited the *Eleni*, where her son worked on a temporary basis, "Is Dr. Verwoerd dead?" Edmund George Stollenkamp, the ship's night watchman, was also involved in these exchanges about Dr. Verwoerd being dead. Because of these rumours, the *Eleni* played a prominent role in the police investigation.

According to the Commission's Report, the crew of the *Eleni* were questioned by the South African police on 12th October 1966 in Venice, Italy, where the vessel was then docked. The *Eleni* had a crew of thirty-eight men, thirty-four of them Greek, and almost every one of them was questioned, but as already stated, only four of their statements were

⁴²⁹⁰ Michael N. Fountotos statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

found in NASA. The four were the captain of the *Eleni*, Michael Fountotos, Nicolas Mavronas, Emanuil Mastromanolis and Constandinos Kokkinidis, the temporary hire. Of the four, only Mastromanolis had associated frequently with Tsafendas. A further note was found in the archives referring to Dimitris Zafiriadis, a crew member who had become close to Tsafendas. However, the document was not an official statement, since Zafiriadis had refused to give one, merely a note containing some remarks by him. What happened in this particular round of questioning in Venice, and what the crew told the author are examined in detail in the Investigation Chapter, and will not be discussed again here.

“IS DR. VERWOERD DEAD?”

Eight paragraphs in the Report, 80-87, deal with Dr. Verwoerd’s death being discussed at the tanker three days before the actual assassination. The Commission asked Major Rossouw:

COMMISSION: Another thing is that there is a lot of evidence that on the Friday morning BEFORE the murder people had been running back and forth screaming to one another that Dr. Verwoerd had been murdered – are you aware of this?

MAJOR ROSSOUW: Yes I am aware of that ...⁴²⁹¹

Although the Commission referred to “a lot of evidence,” its Report contains very little of this evidence and fails to explain what happened. This is the description according to the Commission’s Report:

80. Another visitor to the Eleni was a Mrs. Kokkinidou, a widow. Both she and the Captain originally came from Kilimnos, Greece. She was accompanied by Mr. Nicolai Christodoulos, a bachelor who lodges with her. Her son Constantinos Kokkinidou had started work on the Eleni in August, 1966.

On the morning of 3rd September, 1966, the ship had to be moved, and for this reason the gangplank was drawn up. The night watch, Stollenkamp, stood on deck because he was unable to get off the ship, and the morning watch, Maile, stood on the quay. The latter had a copy of the Cape Times with him. Near Mr. Stollenkamp stood Constantinos Kokkinidou. On the quay Mrs. Kokkinidou and Mr. Cristodoulos stood a short distance from Mr. Maile. As there are some discrepancies in the versions of what exactly happened then, the account of each of these five persons is given. Four gave oral evidence and a statement was received from Constantinos Kokkinidou.

⁴²⁹¹ Major Daniel Jacobus Rossouw testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

81. *Mr. Maile said that Mrs. Kokkinidou asked him: “Is Dr. Verwoerd dead?” He says that he then called spontaneously to Stollenkamp and asked whether Dr. Verwoerd was dead.*

82. *Mrs. Kokkinidou says that her son shouted to her from the deck and asked whether she had heard the news that Dr. Verwoerd was dead. When she asked him who had said so, he pointed to Stollenkamp and said that the man with the newspaper—Maile—had said so. She says that she then asked the man with the newspaper whether Dr. Verwoerd was dead, and he explained that Stollenkamp had misunderstood him.*

83. *Mr. Christodoulos confirmed Mrs. Kokkinidou’s evidence.*

84. *Constantinos Kokkinidou stated that the night watch said to them “Do you know what? Dr. Verwoerd has been killed.” When he asked him who had said so, he (the night watch) pointed to the morning watch. He then told his mother, Mrs. Kokkinidou, that Dr. Verwoerd had been killed. His mother was upset, and he asked the night watch how Dr. Verwoerd had been killed. The night watch in turn asked the morning watch, and when the latter had replied, the night watch told Constantinos that he (the night watch) had misunderstood the morning watch. He then conveyed this to his mother. Mrs. Kokkinidou understands a little English and apparently no Afrikaans. The two watchmen had spoken Afrikaans to each other, while the Kokkinidous had spoken in Greek!*

85. *Stollenkamp says that Maile told him that Dr. Verwoerd was dead. He gave him to understand that it was in the newspaper. He then asked the young man standing next to him (it must have been Constantinos) whether he had heard that Dr. Verwoerd was dead. The young man then spoke to his mother, and then Maile told her that Dr. Verwoerd was not dead.*

86. *It is impossible to establish with any certainty exactly what was said. However, there is no doubt that Dr. Verwoerd’s death was mentioned on that morning three days before his death. What makes these incidents more than a coincidence is the fact that this was said at the ship which was visited daily for almost 40 days by the man who killed Dr. Verwoerd, where he bought a pistol and tried to buy a knife which he wanted to use —according to at least one statement made by him subsequently—to kill Dr. Verwoerd. The fact that Dr. Verwoerd’s death was mentioned at that ship was probably more than pure coincidence.*

87. *The Commission must emphasize, however, that none of the five persons who took part in the conversation that took place that morning is suspected of any complicity. As has already been stated, the Commission had the opportunity of questioning four of them in person. The police report on Mrs. Kokkinidou and Mr. Christodoulou is favourable. What could have happened is that the discontented crew of the Eleni might, on the numerous occasions when they condemned the State's colour policy, have wished for Dr. Verwoerd's end. Something of this kind could have had a profound effect on the feelings of resentment Tsafendas already had. It might also have been that Tsafendas had on some occasion or other intimated that it was his intention to murder Dr. Verwoerd, and that for obvious reasons those who heard this do not now wish to make any admission in this regard.*

The Commission fails to shed any light on these apparently confused exchanges and the conclusions in its Report are entirely speculative. It does not clarify how the rumour started, it simply guesses that the disgruntled *Eleni* crew wished Dr. Verwoerd dead and that Tsafendas was somehow sparked into action as a result. Crucially, while the witnesses' version of events is represented perfectly accurately, what is missing is what was said by the seamen, who are not named in the Report.

The Commission states that the mention of Dr. Verwoerd's death was "*probably more than pure coincidence,*" but its whole treatment of the case is superficial to say the least. If it was more than a coincidence, this suggests that there were people prior to the assassination who were expecting it. However it appears that the Commission failed to investigate this important matter any further. The most astonishing thing is that the South African police were well aware of what happened and what was said on the *Eleni*, but none of this is mentioned in the Report.

A further puzzling point about the Commission's handling of the issue is that Tsafendas's opinion about how Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed is not mentioned. Although it seems that he is asked to explain about the gun, no reference is made to what he said, if he said anything, to the Commission about such an important issue. It seems that the Commission, which interviewed him twice, either did not ask him to explain or simply suppressed his answer. It seems inconceivable that the Commission would not ask Tsafendas such an important question, especially since he was the person most likely to have an explanation of what happened. If Tsafendas was asked, his most likely reaction would have been to tell the truth, as he had done with the police regarding his motive for and planning of the assassination. This was that he had characterised a hypothetical assassination of Dr.

Verwoerd as morally justifiable because he was a dictator who was oppressing his people. Thus, the Commission would have had a good reason to hide his answers. However, we are not in position to know for certain whether the Commission asked Tsafendas such a question, It simply seems surprising that his side of the story is not heard, although he gave evidence twice to Judge van Wyk.

One of the four statements by the *Eleni* crew which were found in the National Archives of South Africa was that of Constandinos Kokkinidis⁴²⁹² (his correct name, not Kokkindou as in the Report). The Report gives the impression that no-one else from the crew was asked about the incident. However, nine of the twelve seamen who were interviewed by the author and were questioned by the police in Venice, clearly remember being asked whether Tsafendas had mentioned anything about killing Dr. Verwoerd. Five of them, Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Kantas and Vasilakis, stated to the author that they had told the police that Tsafendas had spoken of a hypothetical assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. He had characterised such an act as morally justifiable because Dr. Verwoerd was a dictator and a tyrant.⁴²⁹³

However, Tsafendas never said that he intended to kill the Prime Minister himself. A sixth seaman, Grigoris Pouftis, was present at this conversation, but he is unsure whether he told the police about it.⁴²⁹⁴ Mastromanolis, whose statement was one of the four found in the archives, was asked about it, but there is no mention of his answer in the statement. However, he had no knowledge of the conversation at the dockside and had told the police so, which is probably why there is no mention of it in his statement.⁴²⁹⁵

The six seamen mentioned above freely explained to the police the circumstances of the conversation about a hypothetical assassination, at which they were all present. They said Tsafendas had spent the evening before the *Eleni* weighed anchor on board the vessel as he often did with some of his friends in the crew, among them Billis, Kantas, Alachiotis, Kambouris, Vasilakis, Pouftis, Xexenis and Zafiriadis. Xexenis asked Tsafendas if, during his wanderings in Africa, he had met Ioannis (Jean) Karageorgis, a Greek man who, on October 13, 1961, assassinated Prince Rwagasore, the first elected President of independent Burundi. Xexenis was from the same village as Karageorgis, but he had never met him. The other crew members were unaware of this event, so Tsafendas and the seaman told them what had

⁴²⁹² His statement is available in Chapter 5.

⁴²⁹³ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁴²⁹⁴ Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009.

⁴²⁹⁵ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

happened. Tsafendas fiercely condemned the assassination, stating that Karageorgis was hired by the Belgian colonialists and was rightly executed because Rwagasore had been popularly elected.⁴²⁹⁶

A discussion about assassination ensued and the conversation extended to assassinations such as John F. Kennedy's in 1963 and that of King George I of Greece in 1913. Tsafendas argued that if Karageorgis had assassinated Dr. Verwoerd, it would have been justifiable, a tyrannicide, because South Africa's Prime Minister was a tyrant and a dictator who was oppressing his people. This, he said, did not apply to Prince Rwagasore, who was democratically elected.⁴²⁹⁷

Some thirty years after the assassination, Tsafendas repeated to Fathers Ioannis Tsaftaridis, Minas Constandinou and Spiros Randos his belief that assassinating Dr. Verwoerd was justified because he was a tyrant and a dictator.⁴²⁹⁸ This was exactly what he told the seamen three days before the assassination. Tsafendas had also characterised Dr. Verwoerd as a tyrant, dictator and "Hitler's best student" to some of the sailors and to several other witnesses prior to the assassination. All of this confirms the sailors' testimony that they heard Tsafendas using such words.

Billis, Kantas, Alachiotis, Kambouris and Vasilakis are positive that they told the police about this conversation. Pouftis, although present at the conversation, cannot remember whether he told the police about it, but he assumes that he did.⁴²⁹⁹ Mastromanolis, Tsabouniaris, Speis and Perselis all remember being asked whether Tsafendas said anything about killing Dr. Verwoerd and replied 'no' since they were not aware of the conversation.⁴³⁰⁰ The question posed by the police was a perfectly natural one since they knew Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed on board the tanker. However, there is no mention

⁴²⁹⁶ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴²⁹⁷ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴²⁹⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

⁴²⁹⁹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴³⁰⁰ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; Emanuil Tsabouniaris in personal interview with the author, 14 June 2016.

in the Report of Tsafendas's discussion of various assassinations nor that he had characterised a possible assassination of Tsafendas as tyrannicide and morally justifiable.

The author cannot know for certain how the dockside exchanges as described in the Report started. The crewmen suggested to the author that Kokkinidis may have been at the table when the assassination discussion took place, or more likely nearby, since he did not fraternise with Tsafendas nor with the men there at the time. It is possible that Kokkinidis overheard snippets of the discussion and misunderstood them, passing them on a few hours later at the dockside. The men who spoke to the author all believe this is the likeliest explanation.

All of the thirteen sailors interviewed by the author and met Tsafendas in Cape Town stated emphatically that he never indicated that he intended to kill Dr. Verwoerd and that none of the men ever "wished for Dr. Verwoerd's end," as the Report proposed. These facts render the Commission's conclusion entirely wrong. Those who participated in the discussion about "justifiable assassinations" maintain that this was the only time that a conversation close to that described in the Report took place, indeed the only time that Dr. Verwoerd's "death" was discussed. What adds strength to the argument that the assassination discussion started the rumours is that it took place a few hours before the dockside exchanges involving Kokkinidis and his mother, her lodger and the security guards. Although there cannot be 100 per cent certainty that the "death" rumours started in the way suggested above, it is a much more plausible hypothesis than that suggested by the Commission, involving crewmen's discontent somehow pervading Tsafendas's psyche.

Nevertheless, the main issue here is not how the rumours began but the fact that at least five witnesses testified to the police that Tsafendas had characterised a hypothetical assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as justifiable and as tyrannicide, just three days before the actual assassination, and of this the Report makes no mention at all. The Commission was right that it was more than a coincidence that Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed before he died. There could be no other explanation. However, the Commission failed to report accurately on the incident and how it occurred and instead attempted superficially to reconstruct the events and present a feasible scenario while admitting that it was "impossible to establish with any certainty exactly what was said." This should not have been the case as the police had all the evidence about what happened and what was said on the *Eleni*.

The author is not in position to know whether Judge van Wyk suppressed the seamen's evidence about the "justifiable assassination" discussion or whether the police withheld that information from the Commission. The fact is that this crucial development is missing from the Report. It would have contradicted what was heard at the summary trial and presented an entirely different picture of Tsafendas and his motive.

THE PURCHASE OF THE GUN

One Nicholas Mavros, a galley boy on the Eleni, alleges in a statement made on 12th October, 1966, in Venice on or about 26th or 27th August, 1966, that Tsafendas told some of the crew on board the Eleni that he wished to buy a pistol or knife, that he could obtain a position at a hotel at £2,000 and that he needed such a weapon for his protection. They regarded him as "foolish" and decided to play a trick on him by selling him a small pistol which they looked upon as a toy.

Subsequently they did sell it to him for 30 dollars. Of this, Mavros received 20 dollars and one Emanuel Mastromanolus⁴³⁰¹, the boatswain, ten. The latter confirmed this statement. This transaction must have taken place on or after 1st September, 1966, since, according to a statement made by a bank, Tsafendas bought 80 dollars on that date. On 3rd September, the day on which the Eleni sailed, Tsafendas came to claim his money back because the pistol was not in working order. (It was in fact a gas pistol.) They refused, however, to pay anything back. Tsafendas complained that he was a poor man and that he had had to work a whole week for the 30 dollars.

Michael N. Fontatis, the Captain of the Eleni, says in a statement that Tsafendas came to him on 3rd September, 1966, to complain about this, but that he refused to have anything to do with the matter. He considered Tsafendas (childish, mentioning as an example Tsafendas's offer to find an engineer to repair the ship—a job which cost £30,000.⁴³⁰²

The first point to make is that the name of the person who sold the gun to Tsafendas was Mavronas, not Mavros; the Commission misspelled it. It was Mavronas who stated to the police that "we regarded him as foolish and decided to joke with him." That was his statement alone, not an opinion shared by other crew members. According to thirteen sailors who were interviewed by the author and who knew Tsafendas well, no-one considered him to be foolish; on the contrary, all spoke highly of him. Their statements can be found in the

⁴³⁰¹ The correct spelling is Mastromanolis.

⁴³⁰² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 78.

Eleni section in the Investigation Chapter.

Vasilis Perselis, the steward on the *Eleni* and a good friend of Mavronas, stated to the author that Tsafendas told them he was working at a hotel and needed a firearm for protection and to “scare people off” because he was living in a rough area. Michalis Vasilakis, a stoker, confirmed Perselis’s statement. Nikolas Kambouris and Emanuil Mastromanolis stated to the study that they do not remember Tsafendas saying anything about a hotel, but they remember him saying he needed a gun to “scare people off” because he was living in a rough area; he never said he was looking for a real one.⁴³⁰³

In interviews with the author, seven seamen, Nikolaos Billis, Georgios Kantas, Ilias Kokkinos, Vasilakis, Kambouris, Mastromanolis and Perselis, declared that Mavronas’s claim that they “decided to joke” with Tsafendas was untrue. In fact, initially they all thought that Mavronas’s weapon was real, since this is what he told them. They said Mavronas, who was only seventeen years old at the time, was showing off his gun unaware himself that it was just a gas pistol. Many of the crew were also fooled, as the pistol looked real.⁴³⁰⁴ Kambouris was the first to discover that the gun was not authentic. He believed Mavronas was fooled by the person who sold the gun to him.⁴³⁰⁵ Mastromanolis claimed that he only realised the weapon was fake when he suggested that Mavronas should sell it to Tsafendas for a quick profit. Mavronas then admitted that the gun was not real, after he had been told by Kambouris, but he still offered to sell it to Tsafendas on grounds that it would be “good enough to scare people off.”⁴³⁰⁶

The rest of the Report’s account is accurate: Tsafendas went back to the ship and asked Mavronas and Mastromanolis for his money back, but they said that they had charged him only thirty dollars instead of the original eighty because the pistol was just a gas gun.

CREW’S “DISSATISFACTION” WITH THE COLOUR POLICY

Reginald Robert Maile was a morning watch on the Eleni while it was in Cape Town harbour. He says the crew were most dissatisfied about the colour policy of the Government.

⁴³⁰³ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁴³⁰⁴ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁴³⁰⁵ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014.

⁴³⁰⁶ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

*They wanted to bring Coloured women on board, but were not allowed to do so.*⁴³⁰⁷

Thirteen men who were with the *Eleni* in Cape Town all deny that any of the crew were dissatisfied because they were not allowed to bring Coloured women on board. They dismiss Maile's claim out of hand, describing it as ridiculous and stating that whoever wished to have sex with Black women simply went ashore and did so; no-one was the least bothered about the Act, it was simply ignored. After all, the men had easy access to White women in Cape Town and being seamen and travellers, they did not view sex with Black women as a unique or an especially sought-after experience.⁴³⁰⁸

None of the sailors remembers discussing the issue with Maile, but they accept that they might have said something about the Act because Maile was constantly warning them that sex with Coloured women was illegal. Tsafendas had given them the same caution but two of the men, Vasilakis and Kambouris, said that Maile reminded them whenever they went ashore to "stay away from non-White women," indeed from Black people. The men did not trust Maile because he was South African and it is possible that they complained about the Act to cover up the fact that they were having sex with Black women anyway.⁴³⁰⁹

The crew were not "dissatisfied" about apartheid, they were angry, and this was not due to the proscription against Coloured women, but to their discovery of how Blacks were treated. According to the seamen, Tsafendas had asked them spend as little money as possible in South Africa in order not to contribute to the apartheid economy and to show them what apartheid was really like, he took a group to a township in Cape Town. The sailors were shocked at the conditions they witnessed. It was then that some of the crew made the comment mentioned by Tsafendas in his statement to the police, that the South Africans "should be taught a lesson," and which prompted Mastromanolis to state repeatedly that they "need a good whipping."⁴³¹⁰

⁴³⁰⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 79.

⁴³⁰⁸ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; D. Lallis in a personal interview, 19 June 2015; E. Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; V. Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; I. Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015; D. Stavrianos in a personal interview, 18 January 2015; E. Tsabouniaris in personal interview with the author, 14 June 2016; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁴³⁰⁹ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁴³¹⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

OMISSIONS REGARDING THE ELENI FROM THE REPORT

Tsafendas's talk about justifiable assassination is not the only incident involving the seamen that is omitted.

Tsafendas's being a Communist and his participation in the Greek Civil War

That Tsafendas was a Communist was stated to the South African police by at least six men - Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Kantas, Pouftis and Vasilakis. Some of the crew often joined him in singing Greek Communist songs on board, but they did not mention this to the police, as they did not want to reveal themselves as Communists too.⁴³¹¹ The most important thing the six men told the police was that Tsafendas had participated in the Greek Civil War on the side of the Democratic Army of Greece, the military wing of the Greek Communist Party.⁴³¹² As we have seen in the Investigation Chapter, Mavronas also testified to this, but he was probably misunderstood by the policeman who questioned him. However, there is no mention in the Report of Tsafendas joining in the war. Tsafendas's role in the Greek Civil War is examined in detail in the "political activities and ideology" section of this Chapter and in his Biography.

The Visit to a Township in Cape Town

This important event goes unmentioned in the Commission's Report. The visit was disclosed to the police in Venice by at least five men –Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Kantas and Vasilakis.⁴³¹³ Two more, Mastromanolis and Pouftis, do not remember if they told the police about it, but believe they probably did.⁴³¹⁴ Ilias Aspras was not interviewed by the author, but he was among those who visited the township and the men believe that he must have also

⁴³¹¹ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴³¹² Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴³¹³ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴³¹⁴ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009.

testified to that effect. Dimitris Zafiriadis was in Tsafendas's party, but he refused to give the police any statement.⁴³¹⁵

The seamen spoke about their onshore visit because they believed the police would have found out about it anyway. What they concealed was Tsafendas's purpose – to show them the living conditions of Black South Africans, and the fact that he urged them to not spend their money in South Africa because of apartheid. They told the police they behaved simply as tourists. There is no hint in the seamen's statements that Tsafendas organised the visit for political reasons, but even as it was, the visit did not see the light of day in the Commission's Report.

Spitting Gesture

On one occasion, Michalis Vasilakis brought a local newspaper on board which had Dr. Verwoerd's photograph on one page. When Vasilakis pointed to the picture, Tsafendas directed a spitting gesture at the floor, a classical Greek demonstration of contempt. Vasilakis, Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris and Pouftis all said they told the police about this incident. Kantas and Perselis remember the incident but are not sure if they told the police.⁴³¹⁶ However, no mention of this small, but significant demonstration of Tsafendas's opinions is made in the Report. Some thirty years later, when Tsafendas was in hospital, Father Minas Constandinou showed him a newspaper photograph of Dr. Verwoerd, and Tsafendas repeated the spitting gesture.⁴³¹⁷

Tsafendas and the Portuguese Army

As we have seen, a politically significant event in Tsafendas's life, which was given to the police by the crew, was Tsafendas saying he had "played the fool" in order to avoid service in the Portuguese Army. At least six men testified to this: Alachiotis, Billis, Kambouris, Kantas, Pouftis and Vasilakis, while it is very likely Perselis and Aspras did so, too.⁴³¹⁸ This was very

⁴³¹⁵ Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴³¹⁶ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; V. Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴³¹⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁴³¹⁸ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal

important information since the Commission was aware that Tsafendas had also faked mental illness while in the USA. Knowing he had done it for a second time would have certainly raised eyebrows about whether Tsafendas was faking mental illness again, for a third time. However, the account of his act was suppressed.

Tsafendas's Plan of Escape

Tsafendas told the police that his initial plan was to hide in the *Eleni* after shooting Dr. Verwoerd, then sail away in the tanker the next day. That is why initially he planned to carry out the assassination on the evening of September 2, only a few hours before the *Eleni*'s scheduled departure.⁴³¹⁹ This was highly significant information because it demonstrated that the assassination was carefully planned and not an impulsive act. Not only did the Commission ignore the escape plan, it omitted the reasons that Tsafendas went then ahead with the assassination, knowing that he had no chance of escape. This issue is discussed in the "assassination" section of this chapter.

TSAFENDAS AS DESCRIBED BY THE CREW AND OTHERS ASSOCIATED WITH THE *ELENI*

Although Tsafendas visited the *Eleni* every day for forty-two days up to three days before the assassination, none of the seamen's opinions or those of others connected to the *Eleni* are mentioned in the Report. The Commission included comments about Tsafendas's character by people who scarcely knew him, such as James Johnston who had spent a total of twenty minutes talking to him, but omitted the words of many who knew him far longer. Of particular value must have been the views of crewmen who chatted with Tsafendas shortly before the assassination, yet they are not included. The following are comments made to the police by non-crew members who knew Tsafendas at the *Eleni*:

- Neville Judson worked with Tsafendas for Mike's Outfitters for forty-two days in July and August 1966, frequently driving him to the *Eleni*. He told the police that he "never in no way got the impression that he (Tsafendas) could be mentally deranged. He appeared

interview, 11 January 2012; V. Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴³¹⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

to be a normal man with normal reasoning powers” and “a very friendly way of talking.”⁴³²⁰ His comments were omitted from the Report.

- Reginald Robert Maile, a security guard on the *Eleni*, who testified about the “Is Dr. Verwoerd dead?” issue, also told the police that he saw Tsafendas every day for forty-two days and he “never got the impression that he could be mentally defective. He was sober, polite and perfectly normal” and “on very friendly relations with the crew.”⁴³²¹ His comments were omitted from the Report.
- Peter Protoulis was a supplier of foodstuffs to the *Eleni*. He claims that he testified to the police and to the Commission, but only his statement to the police was found. However, his name was found in the schedule list for interviews of the Commission and he was listed to give evidence on October 12. Protoulis told the author that he never heard Tsafendas say anything to suggest he was less than sane. He is certain that he was sane. Furthermore, he was “very impressed by the way he was dressed. He always wore a suit and very often a tie and a hat. I never show him wearing the same clothes two days in a row.”⁴³²²

Below are extracts from the statements of the eleven seamen who told the author that they were questioned in Venice and whose statements were not found in the archives. This is how they remember Tsafendas and is approximately what they believe they told the police. Their full interviews with the author are available in the Investigation Chapter.

Cleanthes Alachiotis remembers telling the police the “truth and everything that had happened,” apart from singing Communist songs and the fact that Tsafendas had asked them to spend as little money as possible in South Africa. He did mention the visit to the township. When asked if Tsafendas had said anything about the Prime Minister, Alachiotis replied that Tsafendas “did not like him much and called him ‘Hitler’s best student.’”⁴³²³ Alachiotis was ready to mention the “Hitler” remark because he believed, as they all did, that the police must have known about it since Tsafendas used the expression so often and so widely.

Alachiotis clearly remembers being asked if Tsafendas had said anything about killing Dr. Verwoerd. He assumed that the policeman was referring to the conversation on the *Eleni*’s last night in Cape Town when Tsafendas argued that it would be justifiable to kill Dr. Verwoerd because he was a tyrant, while the murder of Prince Rwagasore was to be

⁴³²⁰ Neville Judson statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

⁴³²¹ Reginald Robert Maile statement to the police, 27 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die ‘Eleni.’ NASA.

⁴³²² Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 3 August 2016.

condemned because he was a democratically elected President. Therefore, Alachiotis told the whole story to the policeman, who showed great interest in it. Asked for his opinion about Tsafendas, Alachiotis could not remember exactly what he told the police, but believes that he must have told them he was a “harmless man, good-hearted, a quiet man ... very polite and well-mannered ... he seemed 100 per cent normal” as this is the way he remembered him. He also told the police that Tsafendas had told the crew that “he had played the fool with the Portuguese army in order not to serve his military duty... that he had joined the Communist army in the Civil War.”⁴³²³

Panteleimon Aspiotis does not remember the details of what he told the police, but presumes he told them most of what he remembered about Tsafendas. What he did not mention was fishing for lobster because Tsafendas had told them “not to tell anyone because it was illegal.” He remembers the issue about the gun, but he had nothing to do with it. Aspiotis maintains that Tsafendas “was perfectly fine” and this is what he told the police when asked about his character, that, “He was like any other person. He was definitely not insane. Him? Insane? No, definitely not! I wasn’t expecting such a question because the man was not mad.”⁴³²⁴

Nikolaos Billis remembers “everything ... I told them everything I knew. I was terrified. This was a serious case. You couldn’t mess around with it.” He mentioned Tsafendas’s mad act to avoid service in the Portuguese army and explained to the policeman that it was “common in Greece.” He also told the police that Tsafendas was a Communist and against apartheid, though he does not remember the details of what he said. He said Tsafendas frequently talked about politics, but he did not understand him since he had no knowledge or interest in the subject.

Billis also mentioned the trip to the township and claimed they had gone there for touristic reasons, to see where the Black people lived. He also remembers being asked if they discussed politics with Tsafendas and what his impression of him was. He does not remember being asked whether Tsafendas had served in any army, but he definitely told them about his mad act with the Portuguese. He also told the police that Tsafendas had told them that he had fought in the Greek Civil War with the Communists. Billis also told the police about their discussion regarding justifiable assassinations after he was asked whether Tsafendas had

⁴³²³ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010.

⁴³²⁴ Panteleimon Aspiotis in a personal interview, 6 June 2015.

mentioned anything about killing Dr. Verwoerd.⁴³²⁵

Nikolas Kambouris remembers that “the only thing I did not say was that we sang Communist songs ... I told them that he spat towards the Prime Minister’s picture ... yes, I certainly mentioned the ‘Hitler’s best student’ comment - this is something almost every one of the crew had heard.” Kambouris was asked to explain what Tsafendas meant with the remark about Hitler and Dr. Verwoerd but did not know what to say. He eventually said perhaps Tsafendas meant that Dr. Verwoerd had studied in Germany and Hitler was his tutor, avoiding any further supposition.

When the policeman asked if Tsafendas had said anything about killing the Prime Minister, Kambouris assumed, like the rest of the crew, that he was referring to Tsafendas’s claim that killing Dr. Verwoerd would be tyrannicide. Kambouris had to explain in detail to the policeman what tyrannicide was and Tsafendas’s theories about it. “I had to explain the whole thing and how it was in ancient Greece ... the policeman was very interested in this. I told him though that Tsafendas did not say he was going to kill the Prime Minister; just that it would have been justifiable if someone does.”

Kambouris also said about Tsafendas, “he did not look mad to me and certainly did not act like a madman. He never said or did anything to make me think he was a madman, he seemed perfectly fine.” He believes that he must also have told the police that Tsafendas had expressed his wish to go and live in Cuba. He described how Tsafendas told them he had fought in the Greek Civil War with the Communists. What he did not mention was Tsafendas urging them to avoid spending money in South Africa, that Tsafendas had given him a book, ‘*Ten Days That Shook the World*,’⁴³²⁶ which was banned in South Africa, that they fished for lobster and sang Communist songs.⁴³²⁷

George Kantas remembers “Tsafendas calling White South Africans Nazis. I told him everything I knew. We all told them everything, everything. We couldn’t take a chance and hide something. We did not tell them we were singing Communist songs together because it was only five or six of us and no-one else knew about it... I did not tell him that Tsafendas asked us to boycott South Africa and not spend any money there. Was I crazy to say it?”

⁴³²⁵ Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011.

⁴³²⁶ John Reed’s book ‘*Ten Days that Shook the World*,’ published in 1919, is a first-hand account of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia.

⁴³²⁷ Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014.

Kantas does not remember what exactly he said about Tsafendas's personality, but he remembers him as a "very well-read and well-mannered man who knew a lot about politics and history," and he presumes this is what he told the police. When the policeman asked Kantas if he thought Tsafendas was "normal," he replied, "Yes, perfectly normal." He remembers going to the township and assumes he told the police but he cannot be certain. He remembers Tsafendas saying he wanted to live in "socialist Cuba," but he doesn't remember if he mentioned this to the police. He is certain that he mentioned Tsafendas's mad act to dodge the Portuguese Army, and that he had joined the DSE during the Greek Civil War.

Like everyone else, Kantas was asked if Tsafendas had said anything about killing the Prime Minister. He is sure he said that Tsafendas called Dr. Verwoerd "Hitler's best student," and that he believed it would be justifiable for someone to kill him because he was a tyrant. He does not remember telling the policeman about the spitting incident, which he had forgotten until it was mentioned to him by the author, but he presumes that he did.⁴³²⁸

Vasilis Perselis remembers the interview very well, "I was asked about the gun and told them he asked me for a pistol for self-protection because he lived in a rough area, so I referred him to Manolis [Mastromanolis] and to Nikolakis [Mavronas]. I had nothing else to do with the gun issue after that."

Perselis says he was asked if he thought "there was something wrong with him [Tsafendas]." He does not recall his exact answer, but he remembers Tsafendas as being "a very clever man, not mad at all, one hundred per cent normal." He remembers Tsafendas telling him that he had got a job which was not paying him well and he had to wear a uniform. Perselis thought that it was in a hotel, not in the Parliament. Tsafendas had told him that he wanted to save money to go and live the rest of his life in Cuba, though he does not remember if he told the police this. He remembers Tsafendas being a Communist and considered him to be well-informed about Greek and world politics and history.⁴³²⁹

Grigoris Pouftis is certain that he told the policeman about his mad act with the Portuguese Army and that Tsafendas served in the DSE during the Greek Civil War. Pouftis also told the policeman that Tsafendas was a Communist who despised the South African Prime Minister and mentioned both the spitting gesture and the remark that Dr. Verwoerd was 'Hitler's best student.' What he did not reveal for sure was that they had sung Communist songs together.

⁴³²⁸ Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012.

⁴³²⁹ Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015.

Pouftis remembers being asked if Tsafendas said anything about killing the Prime Minister. “I told him ‘God no; he never said anything like this.’” As for the “justifiable killing” conversation, he remembers it vaguely but cannot remember whether or not he told the policeman. Also, he remembers going to the township, but doesn’t remember if he told the police. Pouftis does not remember being asked about Tsafendas’s mental state, but his own memory is of “an ordinary man, soft-spoken, knowledgeable and passionate about politics.” He remembers Tsafendas telling him he wanted to go and live in Cuba, but he doesn’t remember if he said that to the police.⁴³³⁰

Ioannis Speis did not associate much with Tsafendas but he spoke to him from time to time and saw him every day on the *Eleni*. He does not remember everything he was asked but he recalls being questioned about Tsafendas’s character and asked his opinion of him. He believes that he told the police approximately the following: “I never noticed anything wrong with him; he was very talkative and friendly.” Speis considered Tsafendas to be “a proper gentleman.” He was familiar with hawkers selling their wares on ships but thought Tsafendas “did not look like other hawkers.” He saw him as “a proud, intelligent man with lots of dignity. He never asked for anything from the crew and was always prompt with our financial dealings.” Speis knew that Tsafendas had taken some of his crewmates to a township, but he had not gone along. However, he was one of those to whom Tsafendas demonstrated how to fish for lobster, but he did not reveal that to the police.⁴³³¹

Dimitrios Stavrianos does not remember exactly what he was asked and what he told the police. He remembers Tsafendas, but he did not associate with him very much and therefore thinks he could not have told the police a lot about him. He remembers Tsafendas as a “normal man; very well-dressed and well-mannered” who “did not show any signs of being mentally disturbed. He never behaved like a mad man or said anything to suggest that something might be wrong with him. None of us ever thought that he could be mad.”⁴³³²

Emanuel Tsabouniaris remembers the questioning very well. He was asked whether Tsafendas asked him for a gun or a knife. He replied that, “Tsafendas had seen I had a knife and asked me to sell it to him. I did not do so because I liked it and it was a souvenir.” The policeman then asked, “Do you still have it?” and he replied, “Yes.” Tsabouniaris said it was in his suitcase and offered to bring it for him, but the policeman replied, “No, that won’t be

⁴³³⁰ Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009.

⁴³³¹ Ioannis Speis in a personal interview, 12 July 2015.

⁴³³² Dimitris Stavrianos in a personal interview, 18 January 2015.

necessary.”

Although he does not remember exactly what he said, he presumes he told the police what he remembers about Tsafendas to this day:

“[Tsafendas was] a very funny and good hearted man, a very friendly, talkative and polite person, a true gentleman. Always very well-dressed and always very courteous. Everyone liked him. He was certainly perfectly fine, impossible to have been insane. Impossible! This man was definitely not insane. I could swear to God that he was not insane... He was always very prompt with our financial dealings, not like other hawkers who I or the other guys had met. He was completely different; he talked more like a teacher than a hawker. He used nice words and had excellent command of the vocabulary. He seemed like a very well-educated and knowledgeable man; a sophisticated man...

... The only thing I found strange was that his profession of a hawker did not match his character. He was very educated and very polite for a hawker. I always believed that something must be going on with this man, that he couldn't be just a hawker. I am sure he could have found a much better job. I thought that perhaps he could have a reason for doing this job; as a cover for something else, so he could walk freely around the harbour and aboard the ships. We discussed this with some of the guys and they also thought that there must be something happening with him. The thing that impressed me more was that he was very proud. He was doing the job with pride, not like a beggar or trying to make you buy in a sleazy way. He was a true gentleman.”⁴³³³

Michalis Vasilakis remembers telling “pretty much everything” he knew about Tsafendas. “The only things I remember not telling him for sure is that he sang partisan songs with us and he gave me this anti-apartheid book. None of us mentioned these things, not even those who had not participated in the singing but just knew about it.” He remembers telling the police that Tsafendas took them to the township but not whether that they had tea in a Black family's house. He told them that Tsafendas was a Communist who had also fought with the Communists in the Greek Civil War and he is pretty certain that he also told the policeman and that he had “played the fool” so as not to serve in the Portuguese army.

He remembers mentioning that Tsafendas had spat at Dr. Verwoerd's photograph – it was Vasilakis who showed him the picture - and called the prime minister “Hitler's best student.” The most difficult part of the interview was when he had to explain to the

⁴³³³ Emanuil Tsabouniaris in personal interview with the author, 14 June 2016.

policeman what tyrannicide was after telling him about Tsafendas's belief that Dr. Verwoerd's assassination would be justifiable because he was a tyrant. The interview lasted about thirty minutes and he spent at least half of it explaining the philosophy of tyrannicide as understood by the ancient Greeks.

He said that Tsafendas had "a very distinctive way of talking. It was slow, but very intelligent and sophisticated ... He was talking like a professor. It was more likely for us to not be able to follow him than him to follow us. We spent hours talking about politics and he was leading the conversation; none of us knew anything about apartheid at the time." He does not remember being asked about Tsafendas's mental state, but his own opinion is that he was "surely one hundred and ten per cent sane. There is absolutely no way Dimitri to have been mad. He definitely played mad to not be executed."⁴³³⁴

Emanuil **Mastromanolis**'s statement was found in the archives but he stated to the author that he told the police much more than appeared in his statement. As we have seen from his statement, the police interview with Mastromanolis appeared to focus solely on the gun, but he told the author that discussion of the pistol lasted only about five minutes and the rest of the time was spent answering questions about Tsafendas's character and activities.

Mastromanolis acknowledged that his statement found in the archives is accurate and was what he told the policeman. He claims, however, that he lied in saying he thought the gun was a toy, because he was actually "under the impression that Mavronas's pistol was a real one." He had heard from Perselis that Mavronas had just bought a gun while in Cape Town and he was given the impression that it was real since Perselis also assumed it was real. Mavronas, who was only seventeen, had boasted about buying the gun and believed it was authentic. He was very surprised when the crew told him that it was just a gas pistol because it looked and felt authentic.⁴³³⁵

Mastromanolis thought that Mavronas might be willing to sell it to Tsafendas for a quick profit and only found out that the gun was fake when he suggested this to the boy. Mavronas proposed selling the gun to Tsafendas anyway, since Tsafendas had told everyone he needed a pistol to "scare people off," not to kill anyone, and it could do such a job. Mastromanolis agreed reluctantly, considering it would meet Tsafendas's requirement for a weapon just "to scare people off". Mastromanolis claims that he couldn't have told the

⁴³³⁴ Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁴³³⁵ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

police he was willing to sell Tsafendas a real firearm, which was why he called it a toy while hiding his impression that it was real.⁴³³⁶

After the *Eleni* left Cape Town for Kuwait, according to Mastromanolis and Perselis, they and Mavronas discussed the issue of the gun's sale to Tsafendas. Their initial thought was that if they were asked, they would tell the police that they believed Tsafendas was looking for a fake gun, since he had told them that he only wanted to "scare people off." Eventually, they decided to say they intended to play a joke on Tsafendas as they believed he would not be able to tell whether or not the gun was real.⁴³³⁷

Mastromanolis was surprised and relieved when he realised that the policemen were less interested in the gun than in Tsafendas's activities and character. He said talk about the gun lasted no more than five minutes while the rest of the time was spent discussing Tsafendas. Very early in the questioning, he was asked about a comment which Tsafendas attributed to him in his statement, that "the South Africans need a good whipping." Mastromanolis was surprised and concluded that Tsafendas must have talked extensively to the police since this was something he had said after Tsafendas took him and some of the seamen to a township in Cape Town. He denied to the policeman making such a remark, but he admitted to the author that Tsafendas had told the truth to the police and that he did make such a statement after they left the township. Mastromanolis does not remember if he was asked or if he told the police about the visit to the township.⁴³³⁸

Mastromanolis does not remember everything he told the police, but he described Tsafendas as being a "normal, intelligent person." He remembered Tsafendas as "a kind man, very much into politics and very well-informed about what was happening around the world. I've met many men, all around the world, and some of them were mad. I can say for sure that this man was not insane. There was nothing ever to make me believe that he might be insane. It was impossible for him to have been insane," and he believes this is what he told the police. He clearly remembers the police asking if Tsafendas had said anything about killing Dr. Verwoerd. He had replied, "No, never. If he had said such thing, I would have gone to the police."⁴³³⁹

⁴³³⁶ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

⁴³³⁷ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016; Vasilis Perselis in a personal interview, 14 January 2015.

⁴³³⁸ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

⁴³³⁹ Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

THE MISSING STATEMENTS FROM THE *ELENI*

As we have seen, it is indisputable that witnesses' statements have gone missing from the Commission's record at the National Archives of South Africa. However, the crew of the *Eleni* gave vital information to the police about Tsafendas, and their missing statements are of great importance. This is what the police found out from the *Eleni* men:

- Tsafendas despised Dr. Verwoerd. He spat at a picture of him and denounced him as "Hitler's best student" because of the similarities between his national policies and those of Adolf Hitler.
- Three days before it happened, Tsafendas told the men that if Dr. Verwoerd were to be assassinated, such an act would be morally justifiable because Dr. Verwoerd was a tyrant and a dictator.
- Tsafendas was a passionate Communist and fought with the Communists in the Greek Civil War.
- Tsafendas constantly spoke about politics and strongly opposed apartheid.
- Tsafendas took some seamen to a black township in Cape Town to show them the hardships and injustices of apartheid.
- The crew of the *Eleni*, to a man, believed Tsafendas was perfectly sane; none had noticed anything wrong with him.

All of the above information was important to the Commission, especially Tsafendas's remark about justifiable homicide. This was of particular relevance, given that the Commission was trying to establish how Dr. Verwoerd's death came to be discussed three days before the assassination. However, none of this information is included in the Report. The information was also important to explain Tsafendas's motive, but it was not used for that purpose either.

The author cannot know whether these statements were suppressed by the Commission or were never given to the Commission by the police. Both withheld information in this case, so either alternative is possible. What makes the police the likelier culprit is that the Commission only used information for its Report from some of the four statements found in the archives and there is no mention at all of anything from the other statements. This suggests that the Commission was probably not in possession of any other

statements. However, if this was so, did the Commission not wonder what happened to the rest of the crew's statements?

Surely the Commission did not believe that the South African police went all the way to Venice to interview three sailors about the sale of the gun and one about rumours of Dr. Verwoerd's death. The Commission was aware that there were thirty-eight men in the tanker crew and any one of them could have had important evidence about Tsafendas or about why Dr. Verwoerd's death was being discussed. The Commission must have been aware of how thorough the police had been in their investigation, even questioning people who had not seen Tsafendas for many years or who had a very brief acquaintance with him, such as James Johnston.

The Commission must have wondered whether the sailors were asked if Tsafendas had said anything about murdering Dr. Verwoerd, or what they knew, if anything, about the prime minister's death being discussed at the tanker. These were crucial matters but only one of the thirty-eight-man crew seems to have been questioned about them. This must have seemed unthinkable to the legal mind of the Commission, yet it seems it made no move to seek answers. An independent conclusion must be that the Commission either accepted without question what it was given by the police or that it received the missing statements and suppressed them, as it did with much other evidence. Whether the police or the Commission were to blame is less important than the effect of the blackout, namely that the Commission presented a totally distorted picture of how the conversation regarding Dr. Verwoerd's death probably began, leaving hanging questions to which the *Eleni* crew had provided mostly plausible answers. At the same time, the Commission's Report also does not contain some other very important information taken from the crew, such as the township visit, Tsafendas's participation in the Greek Civil War and his spitting gesture. The issue of the missing evidence from the archives and the Commission's Report is discussed in the section "missing evidence and the role of General van den Bergh" of this chapter.

CONCLUSION

The Commission's description of events surrounding the *Eleni* is inaccurate, tendentious, lacking evidence in many crucial aspects and in parts wildly speculative; it is notable more for what it omits than for what it contains. The Report, as written, supported the proceedings of the summary trial and doubtless met with the approval of the government in its

determination to have Tsafendas proved insane and without a political motive. The Report lacked reference to the testimony of several *Eleni* crew members. Twelve men testified to the author that they and the rest of their colleagues who knew Tsafendas were all questioned by the police in Venice, yet only four statements from the thirty-eight-men crew were found in the national archives. Two other seamen who were not questioned by the South African police but were present when the questioning took place in Venice, confirmed this. However, there is no mention of what these people said in the Report.

The Report deals at length with the fact that rumours of Dr. Verwoerd's death were discussed on the *Eleni*. It is the most intriguing element of the Report. However, the Commission fails to give a solid answer or even a plausible explanation as to why this was so, speculating about the crew's discontent when hard evidence was available as to how the issue almost certainly arose. Several sailors had testified to the police that Tsafendas spoke of a hypothetical assassination of Dr. Verwoerd being morally justified since he was a tyrant and a dictator. This happened only hours before the dockside rumours about his death. The link was obvious. Yet the assassination talk is not mentioned by the Commission. Clearly talk of a morally justifiable assassination would contradict what was heard at the summary trial and was not what the authorities wanted the people to know.

Also omitted were the facts that Tsafendas had participated in the Greek Civil War with the Communists, that he considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator and Hitler's best student, that he spat in contempt upon seeing a photograph of Dr. Verwoerd and that he took some of the sailors to a poor, black township in Cape Town. Again, none of these things fitted with the portrayal of Tsafendas in the summary trial or the one that the Commission was trying to build.

The missing statements also contained important information about Tsafendas's character. Many of the sailors had spent time with him on every one of the forty-two days that he visited the ship, up to three days before the assassination. Tsafendas felt comfortable with the crew, partly because some of them were fellow Communists but also because they were not South Africans and were only in the country temporarily. None of the positive comments about Tsafendas contained in the men's statement are mentioned in the Report.

The author is not in position to know whether or how much information was available to the Commission. However, it is not of major importance whether it was the police of the Commission itself which withheld the information. What is important is that evidence was

suppressed and therefore the Report does not give an accurate account of what happened on the *Eleni* in the days preceding Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. The *Eleni* issue stands out as proof that important information was suppressed throughout the case against Tsafendas in order to depict him in an erroneous and disadvantageous light and to mislead the public regarding important aspects of the assassination.

THE VERGOS INCIDENT

Paragraphs 28 and 29 of Chapter II C deal with Tsafendas's physical fight with Nick Vergos. Vergos was described by the Commission as a key witness. On 12th October 1966, the front page of the *Daily Dispatch* announced "KEY WITNESS FOUND,"⁴³⁴⁰ while *The Cape Times* front-paged "IMPORTANT WITNESS TRACED."⁴³⁴¹ The Commission had appealed to the media for help in locating the fifty-four-year-old (or sixty-one-year old according to other reports) Greek-born Vergos, who was thought to have "vital information" regarding Tsafendas. Six hours after the appeal was issued, Vergos walked into the office of the *Rand Daily Mail* in Johannesburg.⁴³⁴² However, this important witness with "vital information" about Tsafendas, someone the Commission had spent much effort to locate, was not asked to testify at Tsafendas's summary trial. This is the Commission's Report of events involving Vergos:

His next employers were Messrs. Frazer and Chalmers, at Mandini, Zululand. There he worked as a fitter and turner from 19th April, 1965 to 19th May, 1965, when he was dismissed after a fight with a Greek, a certain Nicholas Vergos. In the fight Tsafendas sustained cuts on the arm and stomach, and he laid a charge of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm against Vergos.

On 12th May, 1965, the trial took place. Vergos testified that, since Tsafendas had knocked him down without any provocation, he had defended himself with his razor when Tsafendas attempted to assault him again. Vergos was found not guilty since the magistrate held the view that Tsafendas had been the assailant. Tsafendas was most dissatisfied with the verdict (Tsafendas was the interpreter).⁴³⁴³

After this fight Vergos told Mr. J. J. Botha, the Security Officer of the S.A. Pulp and Paper Industries, that Tsafendas was a dangerous communist. Mr. Botha says that he conveyed this information to the South African Police at Nyoni, but not one of the policemen who were serving there at that time has any recollection of this. Sergeant Fourie of Nyoni admits that Vergos told him that Tsafendas was a "communist bastard," but he regarded this as an insult and not as an accusation, and consequently made no report on the matter. Vergos confirmed that he had made this allegation, but could not really give any sound reason for his im-

⁴³⁴⁰ *Daily Dispatch*, 'Dr. Verwoerd: Key Witness Found', 12 October 1966: 1.

⁴³⁴¹ *The Cape Times*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry: Important Witness Traced', 12 October 1966: 1.

⁴³⁴² *The Cape Times*, 'Dr. Verwoerd Inquiry: Important Witness Traced', 12 October 1966: 1.

⁴³⁴³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 28.

putation. He said that he had based it mainly on the fact that Tsafendas could speak so many languages.⁴³⁴⁴

The Report gives Vergos's version of events and not Tsafendas's. However, it is evident from the statements taken by the police and the Commission that Vergos had not been entirely honest with the police nor in court about the incident. According to Christoffel van Vuuren, a security officer at the paper factory, Vergos was known to his fellow workers as "Nicky the Greek, with a razor."⁴³⁴⁵ Tsafendas said Vergos often played idly with a razor. Tsafendas also said Vergos was a fascist, a racist and a bully, especially towards the African workers. He would often order the Africans to run personal errands for him, such as fetching cigarettes. Tsafendas told Vergos to stop using them as his personal servants. For his part, Vergos told Tsafendas to stop talking to the workers about Communism and against apartheid; he said Tsafendas would get them all dismissed or arrested. However, Tsafendas ignored him and they often argued.⁴³⁴⁶

What was the reason for the fight? Tsafendas heard that Vergos had hired two African employees to do some work for him in his house, then refused to pay them, claiming that they had not done a good job. When they protested, he threatened them with the loss of their jobs and since the work they had done was illegal, they could not complain to the police or the company.⁴³⁴⁷ One day in the company canteen, Tsafendas told Vergos he should pay the two men. Vergos refused and swore at Tsafendas, who then slapped Vergos twice in the face; Vergos fell to the floor and the fight stopped and both men left the canteen.⁴³⁴⁸ Tsafendas went to his room, where Vergos appeared soon afterwards with a knife in his hand. Tsafendas told him "to get out," but Vergos slashed at him with the knife. Tsafendas said in his statement to the police, "He gave me one stab in my hand which was trying to ward off the

⁴³⁴⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 29.

⁴³⁴⁵ Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴³⁴⁶ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴³⁴⁷ Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴³⁴⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas's statement in the court regarding the incident, 14 May 1965. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van saak dossier Nyoni R.A.A. 14 May 1965. NASA; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

blow, then aimed another blow at my stomach. I jumped away and he only scratched me. I then pushed him away.”⁴³⁴⁹

In his testimony to the police, Vergos failed to explain why the dispute arose, saying Tsafendas attacked him out of the blue and for no reason and that he did not know him until then.⁴³⁵⁰ This was clearly a lie as Charles Edwin Woods, the men’s supervisor, testified that even before the fight, Vergos had asked him to get rid of Tsafendas because he was a “Communist.” Tsafendas, after the fight, told Woods that their argument was over politics,⁴³⁵¹ something he often argued about with Vergos. Although Woods testified that the cause of the fight was a political argument, the Commission omitted this information.

It was also before their physical fight that Vergos characterised Tsafendas as a “Communist bastard” to Jan Fourie, a sergeant of the South African police.⁴³⁵² This comment, plus the one Vergos made to Woods, contradict Vergos’s claim that he did not know Tsafendas before the fight. It also tends to confirm Tsafendas’s assertion that their arguments were about politics and the fact that he was a Communist. If these two men had no relationship or arguments before their physical fight, why would Vergos ask their supervisor to fire Tsafendas because he was a Communist or denounce him to the police as a “Communist bastard?”

Furthermore, according to Christoffel van Vuuren’s statement to the police, Tsafendas told him that he had an argument with Vergos and they got into a brawl, but he could not remember the specific reason for the fight. Van Vuuren then called Vergos out of the recreation club and on the way to his office “Vergos admitted that he assaulted Demetrios with a razor, because the latter tried to assault him with a knife.”⁴³⁵³ This is incompatible with the version Vergos gave to the police at the time. In that statement, which was found in the archives and therefore was in the Commission’s possession, he stated that Tsafendas had

⁴³⁴⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas’s statement to the police regarding the incident, 7 May 1965. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van saak dossier Nyoni R.A.A. 14 May 1965. NASA.

⁴³⁵⁰ Nicolas Vergos’ statement in the court regarding the incident, 14 May 1965. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van saak dossier Nyoni R.A.A. 14 May 1965. NASA.

⁴³⁵¹ Charles Edwin Woods statement to the police, 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴³⁵² Jan Johannes Albertus Fourie statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴³⁵³ Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

punched him three times in the face. He made no mention of a knife. Van Vuuren also told the police that Vergos said Tsafendas “was not Greek, but a Kaffir and a Communist.”⁴³⁵⁴

Nothing from van Vuuren’s statement is mentioned in the Report. Vergos also claimed in his statement that the razor he employed against Tsafendas was “sometimes used to sharpen a pencil or so.” Vergos further claimed that he passed in front of Tsafendas’s room and the door was open. Tsafendas saw him and asked him to come inside. Vergos went in and Tsafendas attacked him again, and it was then he produced the razor and slashed Tsafendas.⁴³⁵⁵

Tsafendas’s version in his statement to the police also fell short of the whole truth. He said, “Vergos entered the canteen swearing.” Tsafendas asked him to “behave himself” and then they fought.⁴³⁵⁶ Vergos could not give the cause of the fight because he had used two African workers illegally, and Tsafendas did not refer to this because the Africans would have been fired or even worse for doing illegal work.⁴³⁵⁷ In Tsafendas’s version to the police, Vergos and another man entered his room. Tsafendas asked them to get out and it was then that Vergos attacked him.⁴³⁵⁸

⁴³⁵⁴ Christoffel Johannes van Vuuren statement to the police, 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴³⁵⁵ Nicolas Vergos statement to the police regarding the incident, 7 May 1965. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van saak dossier Nyoni R.A.A. 14 May 1965. NASA.

⁴³⁵⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas’s statement in the court regarding the incident, 14 May 1965. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van saak dossier Nyoni R.A.A. 14 May 1965. NASA.

⁴³⁵⁷ None of the witnesses remembers what the two African workers had exactly done for Vergos.

⁴³⁵⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas’s statement to the police regarding the incident, 7 May 1965. K150, Vol. 3, File: Afskrif van saak dossier Nyoni R.A.A. 14 May 1965. NASA.

The author is not in position to know exactly what happened, but it matters a little. What is important is that Vergos had reported Tsafendas to the South African police as Communist before they fought, and that he characterised him as “the biggest Communist in the Republic,” and both statements were omitted from the Report. The Report states that Vergos told J. J. Botha, a security officer for S.A. Pulp and Paper Industries, that Tsafendas was a “dangerous Communist.” However, Botha also told the police that Vergos described Tsafendas as “the biggest Communist in the Republic of South Africa,”⁴³⁵⁹ however, this comment was omitted. Also missing is a statement by Mike Josias Germishuys, a sergeant in the South African Police at Mandini, that Vergos was “under the influence of alcohol at the time of the arrest,” i.e. after the fight.⁴³⁶⁰

Although the reason for the fight was not given by either Tsafendas or Vergos, it must have been known to the Commission, because, according to *The Cape Times*, the police on 9th September questioned several workers at the canteen where the fight took place.⁴³⁶¹ It seems unlikely that the workers failed to explain the situation to the police, however much some of them might have wanted to protect Vergos, who was still working there.

One absurd element in the Vergos/Tsafendas situation is the reason Vergos gave for concluding that Tsafendas was a Communist - that he spoke many languages, an explanation the Commission treated with sufficient seriousness to include in its Report. Were all multi-linguists Communists? The only significance attachable to Vergos’s comment is that if he knew Tsafendas could speak several languages, then he must have known him before they fought.

In later life, Tsafendas would proudly display the scar caused by “fascist and racist” Vergos’s razor and a second one on his hand which he said he received during a confrontation in London in the early 1960s with members of Oswald Mosley’s fascist Union Movement. He considered both scars to be badges of honour.⁴³⁶²

TSAFENDAS’S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GREEK COMMUNITY

⁴³⁵⁹ Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴³⁶⁰ Mike Josias Germishuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴³⁶¹ *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas in Brawl in Canteen’, 9 September 1966: 15..

⁴³⁶² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

*The Greek community did not accept him as one of them.*⁴³⁶³

This is a correct statement, but it is not explained and so gives a wrong impression, although the Commission was probably not sure exactly why the Greek community did not accept Tsafendas. Far from being a blot on his character, the fact that Tsafendas was not accepted by the Greek community was in his eyes a mark of honour. Most Greeks in South Africa co-operated enthusiastically with, or at least supported, the apartheid regime, usually for commercial reasons; some even contributed financially to the National Party.⁴³⁶⁴ The prominent human rights Advocate George Bizos, opposed apartheid and as a result was cold-shouldered by his compatriots and seen as an embarrassment and a traitor to the community.⁴³⁶⁵ Tsafendas was viewed in exactly the same way, or even worse. In Mozambique, too, the majority of Greeks supported the Portuguese colonialists because it was financially beneficial to them to do so.

After the assassination, the Greek communities in South Africa and Mozambique tried frantically to distance themselves from Tsafendas as far as possible. People who had never met Tsafendas and knew nothing about him speculated that he must have been insane and many declared that he was not even Greek.⁴³⁶⁶ Georgios Manidis, President of the Greek Community in Bloemfontein and a supporter of apartheid, said Tsafendas, though he had never met him, “must be insane. He does not represent the feelings of the Greeks of South Africa. Most of the Greeks in South Africa are supporters of Dr. Verwoerd.”⁴³⁶⁷ The Greek community in Pretoria was the first publicly to distance itself from this “infamous and reprehensible assassination.” A spokesman hastily declared that “the criminal was in no way attached to any religious or social Greek organisation and he was not recognized as a Greek.”⁴³⁶⁸

Tsafendas was well-known to the Greek community in Pretoria because of his family, but mostly because of an incident in a Greek Orthodox Church in Pretoria during a service. The Greek priest praised South Africa and its apartheid policy and attacked Communism and those opposing apartheid, enraging Tsafendas. His half-brother, Victor Tsafantakis, stopped him from interrupting the priest. However, when the time came for Communion, Tsafendas refused to take the sacrament or to kiss the priest’s hands, as was customary. Instead, he

⁴³⁶³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 6.

⁴³⁶⁴ Advocate George Bizos in *Live and Let Live*.

⁴³⁶⁵ *To Vima*, Γιώργος Μπίζος: “Υποφέρουμε Όπως Εσείς Στους Ολυμπιακούς”, 13 June 2010.

⁴³⁶⁶ *Eleftherotipia*, ‘Οι Έλληνες Φίλοι του Απαρτχάιντ’, 4 July 2010.

⁴³⁶⁷ *Kathimerini*, ‘Θλίμης Εις την Ελληνικήν Παρουσίαν του Γιοχάνεσμπουργκ’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁴³⁶⁸ *Noticias*, ‘Prosseguem As Investigações.’ 8 September 1966: 1.

argued quietly with the priest, saying he should be ashamed for praising apartheid. The priest politely replied that Greeks should not bite the hand that fed them in South Africa. Tsafendas said the Whites exploited the Blacks, but life for the majority of people was far from rosy. Members of the congregation then began protesting on behalf of the priest and denouncing Tsafendas. Tsafendas remained calm and finally his family managed to pull him away.⁴³⁶⁹

In Cape Town, a delegation of Greek leaders called on the John Vorster and assured him that Tsafendas was not of Greek origin and was not connected in any way with the Greek community in South Africa.⁴³⁷⁰ The leader of the Greek community in Johannesburg, Peter Paizes, said he was a personal friend and admirer of Dr. Verwoerd;⁴³⁷¹ he spoke of his “tremendous grief” and expressed “indescribable consternation” that the assassin apparently was partly of Greek extraction.⁴³⁷²

An unnamed person described as a “leading South Coast Greek businessman” gave an interview to *The Daily News* which represented the generally sycophantic attitude of local Greeks towards South Africa. He said, “When I arrived in South Africa some 15 years ago, I had holes in my shoes. With the help of the Government I was able to find employment, and within a matter of six years I had my own business and two cars. I am sure that I speak for all Greeks in South Africa when I say we never had it so good... we as Greeks have always had the highest regard for Dr. Verwoerd. He had done a great deal for us, allowed and given us every reason to want to be South Africans and succeed in business.”⁴³⁷³

Tsafendas never hid his political preferences; he was a Communist and an outspoken critic of colonialism and of apartheid. He frequently and publicly accused Greeks in South Africa and Mozambique of exploiting Black people and of being fascist and racist. He was known by the Greek community in Lourenço Marques as “The Red,” and he was arrested five times by the Portuguese because of his political ideas and activities.

Tsafendas usually avoided Greeks in the diaspora but he was happy to make friends with those who obviously did not share the obsequious Greek viewpoint, such as Fotini Gavasiadis, Irene Michaletos, Ira Kyriakakis, Elias Constantaras, George Grispos and Nick Papadakis. For more about Tsafendas’s interaction with the Greek community in

⁴³⁶⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴³⁷⁰ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), ‘Vorster Gives Greeks Assurance’, 11 September 1966.

⁴³⁷¹ *To Vima*, ‘Η Δολοφονία Του Φέρβειρντ: Ελληνικής Καταγωγής Ο Δράστης’, 7 September 1966: 1.

⁴³⁷² *The New York Times*, ‘Grief Expressed By Leader of Greeks in Johannesburg’, 7 September 1966: 16.

⁴³⁷³ *The Daily News*, ‘S.A. Greeks Had High Regard for Dr. Verwoerd’, 8 September 1966: 9.

Mozambique and South Africa see Chapter 2.

HELEN DANIELS

While in Durban he received an offer of marriage in writing from Cape Town from Miss Helen Daniels, a Coloured missionary of his church. She had received his photograph from a certain Arendse in Benoni. After further correspondence he decided to go to Cape Town. A motorist took him as far as Port Elizabeth from where he travelled to Cape Town by train, arriving there on 28th August, 1965.⁴³⁷⁴

He immediately moved in with the Daniels family (Mr. and Mrs. Daniels and their daughter Helen).⁴³⁷⁵

Miss Daniels testified how he arrived at their home with a big hole in his jersey, and dressed untidily. Her brother fetched his luggage from the station. This consisted of a suitcase containing mainly dirty washing and another suitcase containing tools, pots and pans. She immediately lost all interest in him, and he never showed any interest in her either.

Miss Daniels testified further that he often complained of a headache, and that he could not understand why he was unable to find employment. At times he said incomprehensible things. At church services, particularly, no one could understand what he was saying. Sometime he bragged about the things he wanted to do. He told her about the court case against Vergos. His account to her was that he had knocked Vergos down and that Vergos came back with four Bantu and attacked and cut him with a razor.⁴³⁷⁶

DANIELS'S APPROACH TO TSAFENDAS

The Report describes Helen Daniels's relationship with Tsafendas as it was and not as her brother presented it at the summary trial and in the Press. It makes clear that it was Helen who approached Tsafendas and not the other way around, as the brother claimed, confirming that he had lied to the court. Helen Daniels had testified freely to that effect in her statement to the police on September 15, but the Attorney-General in the summary trial did not use her statement to challenge her brother's blatantly untruthful court testimony. Nevertheless, as so often, the Commission omitted from its Report details from Daniels's statement which set out

⁴³⁷⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 36.

⁴³⁷⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 37.

⁴³⁷⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 38.

events in a faithful light. These are extracts from her statement, while her full statement is available at Chapter 4.

“During April 1965 I was visiting friends in Boksburg. There I learned of Demitrio Tsafendas. It was told to me that they would want me to meet him, he’s a nice man. I never met him and later returned to Cape Town. When I was in Cape Town, I thought to correspond with him and wrote to my friends to find out his address ... Other friends of mine went on holiday to Durban and I then wrote a letter to Tsafendas and asked my friends to give this to him. Our preacher is in Durban and I hoped to trace Tsafendas through the church.

... I wrote my letter during the June holidays in 1965 and received a reply from him on July 10, 1965. I wrote in my letter that I would like to meet and wanted to marry him. His answer was that he wanted to meet me first before giving me a positive answer. I wrote to him again - four letters – all of which he answered. I sent him a picture, but he did not send me one in return. He sent word that he would come to Cape Town for our church conference - it would be in November 1965. I lived with my parents and on August 28, 1965 - he arrived at my parents’ house ... We had a spare room and gave him lodging.”⁴³⁷⁷

Helen Daniels was a highly respected minister in her Church and the way she heard about Tsafendas suggests that he, too, was highly thought of by their fellow church members. Patrick O’Ryan said that Tsafendas was described to him by a fellow church-goer as a “highly cultured gentleman, a very refined gentleman who speaks seven languages.”⁴³⁷⁸ It is clear that the members of the Church admired and respected Tsafendas before the assassination. The fact that Daniels went to considerable trouble to contact him, seeking his address, dispatching a letter with a friend, then sending him four more letters and a picture of herself, implies that she expected to meet a good man who had been warmly recommended by her friends.

TSAFENDAS’S DIRTY CLOTHES

The Report states that Tsafendas was dressed untidily, that his jersey had a hole in it and that he had dirty clothes in one of his suitcases. Helen Daniels’s brother, her sister-in-law and three other witnesses made similar statements at the summary trial. Nickolas Nel, who had an argument with Tsafendas when they worked at F.A. Poole Engineering, testified that he “had

⁴³⁷⁷ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

⁴³⁷⁸ Patrick O’ Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

a messy and dirty appearance,⁴³⁷⁹ landlady Wilhelmina de Vos described Tsafendas as “dirty,⁴³⁸⁰ and Gillian Clare Lieberman, personnel secretary at the Marine Diamond Corporation, told the police that Tsafendas had “dirty, sloppy clothes,⁴³⁸¹ although she had only seen Tsafendas at work, where rough clothes would be normal. On the other hand, most of the many witnesses questioned by the police and the Commission said Tsafendas was neat, clean and well-dressed. However, none of their statements made it into the Report. Those commenting on the issue included:

1. South African Police Col. van Wyk, who questioned people in Rhodesia and Mozambique who knew Tsafendas. He wrote in his report that Tsafendas “was always neatly dressed.”⁴³⁸²
2. Violet Irene Manning was Tsafendas’s landlady for almost two months in 1965. She told the Commission about Tsafendas: “It was a serviced room but I found him making his own bed. When he came to me he was well-dressed, well-spoken, and gave a good impression. From his general appearance he appeared to be a businessman. When he paid me, he had a bundle of notes and I took him to be a man of means.”⁴³⁸³
3. Ian Boswell testified that Tsafendas was “at all times neatly dressed and never gave the impression of being destitute.”⁴³⁸⁴
4. Gideon Cloete, an official at the Department of Labour, testified that Tsafendas “was neatly dressed and had a clean appearance.”⁴³⁸⁵
5. Jacobus Bormman, Tsafendas’s flatmate for six-seven weeks, stated that “according to my observation, Tsafendas was a gentle person. He was neat in his person, but his eating habits were not up to scratch.”⁴³⁸⁶
6. Pieter Benjamin Geldenhuys, employment officer at the Department of Labour in Cape

⁴³⁷⁹ Nikolaas Jacobus Nel statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴³⁸⁰ Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴³⁸¹ Gillian Claire Liebermann statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴³⁸² Col. van Wyk’s report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴³⁸³ Violet Irene Manning statement to the COE, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, File: 1/5. Subject: Suid Afrikaanse polisie. NASA.

⁴³⁸⁴ Ian James Murdock Boswell statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64. NASA.

⁴³⁸⁵ Gideon Jacobus Cloete testimony at Tsafendas’s summary trial, 19 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10. NASA.

⁴³⁸⁶ Jacobus Johannes Borman statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Town, interviewed Tsafendas twice. He told the police that Tsafendas was “neatly dressed” and he “never got the impression that there was mentally anything wrong with him or that he acted abnormally.”⁴³⁸⁷

7. Redvers Quintin Wakfer worked with Tsafendas for six weeks at the Power Station in Cape Town and testified that he was “neatly dressed.”⁴³⁸⁸
8. Edward Furness testified that Tsafendas “was well-dressed and appeared to be wealthy.”⁴³⁸⁹
9. Katerina Pnema, his half-sister, testified that Tsafendas “was well dressed and gave a good appearance,” although as far as she could see, he had no visible means of support.⁴³⁹⁰ She later stated that Tsafendas was always well dressed and she never saw him wearing dirty clothes except when he was coming back from work.⁴³⁹¹
10. Sidney Wiehand, a senior messenger at the House of Assembly was one of three messengers who interviewed and appointed Tsafendas. He said that in order to be hired, a messenger “must always be neat,” indicating that Tsafendas fitted that description.⁴³⁹²

In Europe, Horst Hartmann, senior personnel officer at the heavy engineering company Fries & Son in Frankfurt, where Tsafendas worked as a welder, said in a newspaper interview that was published by the South African press and was in the Commission’s possession, “He drove up here in a big, battered American car. He looked like a successful businessman. I thought he was more likely to apply for an executive job than as a welder. Well-dressed and well-mannered, he was extremely courteous, a very pleasant man...he made a good impression and he spoke good German, so I took him on.”⁴³⁹³

Furthermore, according to the testimony at the summary trial of Merle Daniels, Helen’s sister-in-law, the day Tsafendas arrived at their house, he immediately asked her to wash his clothes, which suggests that he was aware of their condition and was not habitually a dirty person. She also testified that Tsafendas’s clothes were always clean after that first

⁴³⁸⁷ Pieter Geldenhuys statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, Sub File: 1/1, Department of Labour. NASA.

⁴³⁸⁸ Redvers Wakfer statement to the police, 6 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub File: 1/5, Subject Suid Afrikaanse Polisie. NASA.

⁴³⁸⁹ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴³⁹⁰ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴³⁹¹ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴³⁹² Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

⁴³⁹³ *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Assassination A One Man’s Job – Says Vorster’, 8 September 1966: 1.

day.⁴³⁹⁴ Joyce Dick, one of Helen Daniels's best friends at the time, stated to the author that whenever she saw Tsafendas, "he was always very neatly dressed."⁴³⁹⁵ Reuben O'Ryan lived with Tsafendas in the same house for five months and kept in touch with him for another year and he also knew Helen Daniels well. He told the author Tsafendas "was always very clean and well-dressed, apart from when he was coming home from work. That was the only time I saw him wearing dirty clothes. He always wore nice clothes; he was a clean person and always shaved."⁴³⁹⁶ Stanley O'Ryan, Reuben's brother also remembers Tsafendas as "clean and well-dressed person."⁴³⁹⁷

The author asked seventy-one witnesses who knew Tsafendas about the way he was dressed. Only two of them, Andreas Babiolakis and Costas Poriadis, said that they once saw Tsafendas looking neglected and wearing a torn shirt. However, that was on the day he was released from jail in Beira in February 1965. Having just spent several days in a prison cell, wearing the same clothes every day and being beaten up, he could hardly have appeared otherwise. Both witnesses said this was the only time they saw Tsafendas looking less than perfectly dressed.⁴³⁹⁸ None of the rest said Tsafendas was of a dirty or neglected appearance. Indeed, the vast majority remembered him as dressing well and looking like a gentleman. It is not possible to reproduce here more than a hundred statements, but the following are representative of those who knew Tsafendas well:

1. Father Nikola Banovic in 1961, lived in the same house as Tsafendas for four months and in a house next door for another two or three months. He saw Tsafendas virtually every day and says he was "always a very clean person and well-dressed, wearing a different hat each day."⁴³⁹⁹
2. Allan O'Ryan lived with Tsafendas for five months at the same house and kept being in touch for another year. He remembers Tsafendas being always "very well-dressed. Firstly, he always went out in a suit. He had a grey striped suit that he always wore. He was always very smart when he left the house. That I picked up – that he always looked very business-like. He was never casual about his dress. And his hair, though it was crinkly, it was neatly brushed. He was always well-dressed and he seemed to be going on

⁴³⁹⁴ Marle Daniels's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴³⁹⁵ Joyce Dick in a personal interview, 6 August 2016.

⁴³⁹⁶ Reuben O' Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016.

⁴³⁹⁷ Stanley O' Ryan in a personal interview, 9 April 2015.

⁴³⁹⁸ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Costas Poriadis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

⁴³⁹⁹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

business or going out for the day. And even the people in the street got to know him and greeted him as a man of... you know, as a distinguished gentleman, because of the way he dressed.”⁴⁴⁰⁰

3. Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas’s first cousin, knew him since he was five years old, grew together in Mozambique and she spent a lot of time with him in Pretoria in 1963-4. She insists that Tsafendas was always well-dressed and clean. She was impressed by his suits and Tsafendas told her that most of them were bought in Europe. “He was always well-dressed, very often wearing a hat, and was a very clean person. “He was very fussy with clean hands when he was a child, and I think he was also like this when he grew up, but I can’t remember for sure.”⁴⁴⁰¹
4. Fotini Gavasiadis saw Tsafendas virtually every day for nine months in 1963-4. She told the author that it is “nonsense” to say Tsafendas was not well-dressed or dirty, that in fact he always very well dressed and clean. “Sometimes it took him longer than it took me to get ready, trying to find a more suitable hat or tie. He adored hats and ties. He never wore the same clothes for two days in a row and when it was hot he would even change twice per day. He adored hats and ties.”⁴⁴⁰²
5. Ira Kyriakakis, who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques and remained a lifelong friend, described as “absolutely absurd” claims that Tsafendas was not well-dressed and clean. “He was always very well dressed; since he was a child. He looked like a gentleman. He used to wear hats he had bought from all over the world. He loved hats and he must have had tens of them. He came back to Lourenço Marques in the 1960s and brought me a hat for a present from Lisbon.”⁴⁴⁰³
6. Helen Grispos was another who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques, and her mother was the best friend of Tsafendas’s step-mother. “He was always very well dressed, even as a child; his step-mother always looked after him. When he visited us in the 1960s, I remember he wore a big hat he said he had bought somewhere in Europe. I don’t remember what he was wearing, but I remember the hat. It was very distinctive. He was certainly well-dressed.”⁴⁴⁰⁴
7. Irene Michaletos met Tsafendas in 1964 in Beira and saw him often until 1965. She

⁴⁴⁰⁰ Allan O’ Ryan in a personal interview, 8 November 2019.

⁴⁴⁰¹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

⁴⁴⁰² Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

⁴⁴⁰³ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁰⁴ Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

- remembers him being “always well-dressed and clean.”⁴⁴⁰⁵
8. Antony and John Michaletos, Tsafendas’s cousins and sons of Artemis Michaletos, Tsafendas’s aunt and his father’s sister who brought him up in Egypt. They first met Tsafendas in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique. They both remember Tsafendas being “always well-dressed and clean.”⁴⁴⁰⁶
 9. Andreas Babiolakis knew Tsafendas since they were children and had lived in the same house as him in Beira for about two-three months. He finds the thought that he had a dirty and neglected appearance as “absurd.” He recalls that Tsafendas “had a shower every morning when he woke and in the evening when he returned from work. He believed that he sweated in the night, so he had one in the morning.”⁴⁴⁰⁷
 10. Costas Chagios, a Cape Town café owner, knew Tsafendas for more than a year as a frequent patron of his café. He remembers Tsafendas as being “always well dressed and clean.”⁴⁴⁰⁸
 11. Alexandra Vaporidis knew Tsafendas for about six months in Istanbul. She was impressed by his many hats and remembers that a lot of people commented about how neatly Tsafendas dressed. “I remember him coming to the church always wearing a tie.”⁴⁴⁰⁹
 12. Peter Protoulis was a supplier of foodstuffs to the tanker Eleni. He met Tsafendas on board and says, “I was very impressed by the way he was dressed. He always wore a suit and very often a tie and a hat. I never show him wearing the same clothes two days in a row.”⁴⁴¹⁰
 13. Elias Constantaras met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town and knew him up to his arrest. He recalls Tsafendas being well dressed and clean, often wearing suits and hats.⁴⁴¹¹
 14. Peter Peroglou and his wife Pamela Abrahams ate at the same place as Tsafendas for two or three months in 1966 and they remember him as always well dressed and very courteous.
 15. Nick Augustides is the son of the owner of Mike’s Outfitters in Cape Town, for whom Tsafendas worked on commission for about two months in 1966. He knew Tsafendas for

⁴⁴⁰⁵ Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

⁴⁴⁰⁶ Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

⁴⁴⁰⁷ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

⁴⁴⁰⁸ Costas Hagios in a personal interview, 24 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁰⁹ Alexandra Vaporidis in a personal interview, 23 August 2015.

⁴⁴¹⁰ Peter Protoulis in a personal interview, 3 August 2016.

⁴⁴¹¹ Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015.

three-four months and remembers him as “a well-dressed man.”⁴⁴¹²

16. Miltiades Kaldis knew Tsafendas for about a year, having met him in 1965 in Cape Town. He remembers him “looking clean and well-dressed.”⁴⁴¹³

17. The thirteen *Eleni* crewmen were impressed with the way Tsafendas dressed. He told some of them that most of his suits were bought in Europe a few years ago and that he had not bought any new clothes since he returned to South Africa.⁴⁴¹⁴

Personal appearance is a subjective matter. What is sloppy and dirty to one person may be casual and comfortable to another. It is germane that Tsafendas was a poor man, who often lived in basic lodgings, possibly without the facilities to wash his clothes, while the kind of jobs he did, welder and fitter, would require rough working attire. The fact is only the four people – Helen Daniels, Nel, de Vos and Lieberman - out of the two hundred the police and the Commission interviewed testified that Tsafendas wore dirty clothes. The vast majority not only disagreed, but stated that Tsafendas was neatly dressed, but the Commission omitted their statements.

TSAFENDAS'S STATE OF MIND

The Report contains several matters which were not mentioned by Daniels in her statement to the police, suggesting that they must have been from her testimony to the Commission, which was not found in the archives. One must assume that it was there that she spoke of Tsafendas saying incomprehensible things, talking about the Vergos fight and boasting about his future plans. Certainly, she did not mention anything like that in her statement to the police. On the contrary, she testified that: “besides his messy ways, I did not notice anything abnormal about him. There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal. His stories about travelling abroad were interesting.”⁴⁴¹⁵

Although the Report does not say that Daniels thought there was something wrong with Tsafendas's mind, it also does not carry her statement saying the direct opposite (“There was never any indication that he was mentally abnormal”). Indeed it seems to hint at something wrong with Tsafendas by including the reference to his saying “incomprehensible

⁴⁴¹² Nick Augustides in a personal interview, 19 February 2016.

⁴⁴¹³ Miltiades Kaldis in a personal interview, 12 March 2016.

⁴⁴¹⁴ Kleanthis Alahiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴⁴¹⁵ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

things” and baffling fellow believers by the way he talked in church. Since Daniels said nothing like this to the police, she presumably made these remarks to the Commission.

The question is what were the “incomprehensible things” Tsafendas spoke about. Patrick O’Ryan said in his statement to the police that Tsafendas spoke against apartheid, but he “did not encourage him, because we advocate the Biblical idea of subservience to a Government ...” He said Tsafendas’s “spiritual view seemed confused, but he was not spiritually or mentally disturbed.”⁴⁴¹⁶ Far from subservient, Tsafendas believed that the Church should be revolutionary, help the people and fight against injustice; it should not support the powerful and the rich. He argued that the first Christians had rebelled against the Roman Empire and that the Church in South Africa and in Mozambique, because it had much power, should help in the people’s fight against apartheid and for the independence of Mozambique.⁴⁴¹⁷

Some members of the Christian Church were not happy with Tsafendas’s ideas, because they adhered to the idea of subservience to Government. The Commission was in possession of O’Ryan’s statement but nowhere in its Report does it mention Tsafendas’s “conflict” with the Christian Church, nor explain the matter of the “incomprehensible things.” Once again, the Report has included all that is negative about Tsafendas while omitting the positive. The Commission ignored Daniels’s statement about Tsafendas’s mental state. This testimony was important as it directly contradicted that of her brother and sister-in-law at the summary trial. The omission resulted in a skewed perspective of Tsafendas.

⁴⁴¹⁶ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁴¹⁷ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

TSAFENDAS IN THE USA

Chapter II B of the Report (paragraphs 1-12) starts with Tsafendas in the USA. Mostly, it deals with his hospitalizations and his violations of immigration laws there. Almost all of this information is taken from a file on Tsafendas held by the US Immigration authorities which was given to the South Africans on September 16, by the American embassy in Cape Town. This file also contained the Grafton State Hospital report, which has been used extensively to reconstruct Tsafendas's movements while in the USA.⁴⁴¹⁸

An important issue here is that vital information has been omitted from the Commission's Report. On September 9, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Cape Town received a secret telegram from the South African embassy in Washington, DC. It stated that a "very reliable source with first-hand knowledge" informed the embassy that the US Immigration authorities had a file on Tsafendas. That Tsafendas's file contained "full particulars" of his time in the United States, including the Grafton State Hospital report. The telegram stated that Tsafendas "is understood to have shown under psychiatric treatment that he was unstable though not (not)⁴⁴¹⁹ insane, but type of man who would easily be used as instrument of Communist or hostile organizations. Impression of US Immigration people at the time was that he had been manipulated and was under influence of someone or some organization. He was subsequently deported to Europe."⁴⁴²⁰

It is indisputable that the Commission was in possession of this telegram, since it was found in the Commission's files deposited at the national archives, yet the Commission ignored it. Here is a prime example of the Commission picking and choosing evidence to suit its purpose. The Report goes into detail concerning the unlikeliest rumours attached to Tsafendas – for example that he was wanted for murders and assaults in various countries –⁴⁴²¹ but it makes no mention of a crucial belief regarding Tsafendas's mental state held by the US Immigration authorities. This was no rumour, but the considered opinion of American governmental officials who had dealt with Tsafendas for five years. The US Immigration authorities knew that Tsafendas had been hospitalized and that he had faked mental illness. Their opinion must have been taken after due consideration and must surely have been worth

⁴⁴¹⁸ Letter of the USA Embassy in Cape Town to the South African Security Branch, 3 October 1966. Correctional Service. Subject: Demitrio Tsafendas. File: 80/0043 A123 Vol. 1. NASA.

⁴⁴¹⁹ This is exactly how it appears in the telegram. There is a second 'not' within brackets.

⁴⁴²⁰ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

⁴⁴²¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 43.

examining by the Commission if only because those authorities had dealt with Tsafendas for several years, longer than any other official body connected with him.

Furthermore, in Chapter IV, Paragraph 4, the Commission says:

“There were also speculations that Tsafendas might have undergone brainwashing overseas in the process of which he was instructed to murder Dr. Verwoerd. The Commission could find no evidence to justify such a finding.”

The Commission then goes on to explain why this could not have happened; the explanations are perfectly logical and the study agrees with this part of the Report, which will be examined in detail later. What is surprising is that the Report refers vaguely to “speculations” about brainwashing while ignoring the opinion of the US Immigration authorities that Tsafendas was the “type of man who could easily be used as instrument of Communist or hostile organizations” and that “he had been manipulated and was under influence of someone or some organization.”⁴⁴²² This certainly suggested at least a possibility of brainwashing.

The fact that this information did not come from just anybody, but from the South African embassy in the United States and that it quotes the US Immigration authorities is certainly worth stating and investigating. That is especially so when, as we will see, the Commission is happy to investigate numerous rumours about Tsafendas which are patently fictitious. However, to introduce a diplomatic telegram containing an official US opinion into open debate would have strengthened rumours that Tsafendas might not have been schizophrenic, after all, that he might even have been part of a Communist plot. Clearly such speculation was not in the interests of the Commission or the State.

⁴⁴²² Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 09/09/1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

TSAFENDAS IN PORTUGAL IN 1949

In 1949, Tsafendas arrived in Portugal for the first time and was promptly arrested. The Report states: “*Apparently the Portuguese authorities would not accept Tsafendas’s refugee passport, nor his claim that he was a Portuguese subject, the result being that he was arrested at the border post Barca d’Alva on 8th February, 1949. It appears that he was afterwards detained for a long time.*”⁴⁴²³

The issue of this arrest and detention has been discussed earlier in this chapter.

TSAFENDAS AND THE PORTUGUESE ARMY

In Chapter II B, Paragraph 19, shortly after the incident mentioned above, the Report says:

“*After it had been ascertained that Tsafendas was a Portuguese subject, he appeared on 6th February, 1950, before the Military Board of Inspection in Portugal and was granted exemption from military service.*”

The above information, also taken by the Commission from a PIDE report given to the South African police,⁴⁴²⁴ is a drastically telescoped version of what happened in regard to Tsafendas and military service. According to a PIDE report that was not given to the South African police, it was while Tsafendas was held in Aljuba Prison that the Portuguese authorities discovered that he had not completed compulsory military service in the Portuguese Army. He was taken to Machine-Gun Regiment 1 in Lisbon,⁴⁴²⁵ where he was brought before the Military Board of Inspection. Tsafendas stated that he had been rejected by a recruiting board in Mozambique because his mother was a Coloured woman. Investigators replied that there was no racial discrimination in Portuguese East Africa, that everyone must serve and therefore he must complete his service.⁴⁴²⁶

⁴⁴²³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 17.

⁴⁴²⁴ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966.

⁴⁴²⁵ Letter of the Director of PIDE to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 4 November 1961. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁴²⁶ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

The Portuguese authorities contacted the colonial administration in Lourenço Marques and were told that Tsafendas was not a deserter, that he had attended his interview for military service and had indeed been rejected because his mother was Coloured.⁴⁴²⁷ However, the law had changed since then and now every male Portuguese citizen was required to serve in the military. Thus, even if he was not a deserter, he was required to complete military service.⁴⁴²⁸ Tsafendas “did not want to serve a dictatorship”⁴⁴²⁹ and with no avenue of escape, he pretended to be mad. Psychiatrists who examined him were convinced that he was mad and he was officially exempted from military service.⁴⁴³⁰ He was required to pay military taxes for exemption in the sum of 1,200 Portuguese escudos and his situation in Portugal was legalized.⁴⁴³¹

The detailed explanation of the military service issue was omitted from the two PIDE reports given to the South Africans. However, the fact that Tsafendas had pretended to be mad in order not to serve in the Portuguese army was known to the South African police since at least six people had so testified when they were questioned.⁴⁴³²

TSAFENDAS AND HIS FAMILY

*His relatives in South Africa and Rhodesia are regarded as good, law-abiding citizens. The stepmother, a brother, a sister-in-law and a brother-in-law gave evidence before the Commission. All of them made a favourable impression. According to persons who know the family in Pretoria, they were not exactly taken up with this member of the family.*⁴⁴³³

*... the fact that his family did not really accept him...*⁴⁴³⁴

⁴⁴²⁷ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT

⁴⁴²⁸ Letter of Tsafendas to the Ministrao du Ultramar, 27 October 1962. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁴²⁹ *The Cape Argus*, ‘Brainwashed in Jail Held Man Told *Argus*.’ 7 September 1966: 3.

⁴⁴³⁰ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴⁴³¹ Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁴³² Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Grigoris Pouftis in a personal interview, 28 November 2009; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁴⁴³³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 6.

⁴⁴³⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter III, Paragraph 3.

The Commission here suggests that Tsafendas was not popular with his family and later in Chapter III while discussing his motive it claims that he was “not really accepted” by them. Both statements are inaccurate and the Commission was in possession of considerable evidence to the contrary. Admittedly, the Commission held five statements that supported its claim. The first was from Katerina Pnefma who had testified that she had “very little or nothing to do with him during her lifetime” and that she considered him to be “a disgrace to the family.”⁴⁴³⁵ Hendrik van Loggenberg, a friend of the family, told the police that Tsafendas “was not welcome among his own people and they cast him out.”⁴⁴³⁶ Gladstone Dunn said in court that Tsafendas had told him that “he could not get on with his family and that they did not want to have anything to do with him.”⁴⁴³⁷ Caroline Barbeau had testified that Tsafendas “liked to pity himself, saying that his family did not want him, but at the same time he never thanked one for any kindness shown him.”⁴⁴³⁸ Interviewed by the police, John Marvis said Tsafendas had told him that his family did not want anything to do with him because his mother was Coloured.⁴⁴³⁹

It is not true that Pnefma had very little to do with Tsafendas in her lifetime and she admitted to the author that she tried to distance herself as much as possible from him when questioned by the police. In fact, she had corresponded regularly with Tsafendas since he left South Africa in 1942. She travelled from Rhodesia to Pretoria at Christmas 1963 along with her two little children so that she could meet him after not seeing him for twenty-two years. She then invited him to Rhodesia to meet her husband whom he did not know and she found him a job in Beira in 1964.⁴⁴⁴⁰ Clearly Pnefma had considerably more to do with her half-brother than she told the police.

It is true though that Pnefma considered him to be “a disgrace to the family,” which she still believes. However, this was because of his political activities, his arrests and bannings, which became widely known among her fellow Greeks. She felt directly insulted as a family member when Tsafendas criticised a boss who had employed him at the personal

⁴⁴³⁵ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁴³⁶ Hendrik Johannes van Loggenberg statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁴³⁷ Gladstone Dunn statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁴³⁸ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Dimitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁴³⁹ South African Police report regarding the activities of Dimitrio Tsafendas in Mozambique and Rhodesia. 20 September 1966. K150, Vol 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁴⁴⁰ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

request of Pnema's husband. The Commission was not aware of any of these things and thus considered her statement to the police as valid.

Dunn's statement is partly accurate. Tsafendas's family was not very happy with his behaviour after he came back from Europe. They had helped him enter South Africa illegally only to discover that he had brought with him banned anti-apartheid and Communist literature. The incident in the church where he argued with the priest angered and embarrassed family members. That public row in a church, along with his refusal to throw away the banned literature and his noisy voicing of his political opinions caused friction between Tsafendas and his stepmother and half-brother.

As for Marvis's comment, this might have been made by Tsafendas out of frustration or on the spur of the moment. It was not mentioned by any of the scores of witnesses interviewed by the police and the author. The seventy-one witnesses interviewed by the author all denied any suggestion that Tsafendas felt rejected by his family because his mother was Coloured. They insisted that the only tension between Tsafendas and members of the family stemmed from his political ideas and activities.

In the case of Hendrik Johannes van Loggenberg, he had testified that he occasionally ate at Marika's house while Tsafendas ate there too, also that Tsafendas sometimes was a guest at his house.⁴⁴⁴¹ The fact that Tsafendas was welcomed to the table at his family's house and that he was also invited to van Loggenberg's home suggests that Tsafendas's relationship with the family could not have been exactly as van Loggenberg suggested. It is quite possible that van Loggenberg, being a good friend of Marika, might have tried to provide additional evidence distancing the family from Tsafendas, knowing that this was what they had done.

However, apart from the above statements, no other evidence in the Commission's possession supported its claim regarding Tsafendas's relationship with his family. On the contrary, there was considerable contradictory evidence. First and most important, the Commission was aware that Tsafendas's stepmother, half-brother and his wife, and his brother-in-law travelled by car from Pretoria to Lourenço Marques to meet him and then took him back to South Africa. This was a generous, indeed a courageous gesture, given that Tsafendas was a Communist and banned from entering South Africa, and they knew this. What is more, Vlachopoulos begged and convinced J.J. van den Berg, the passport official at

⁴⁴⁴¹ Hendrik Johannes van Loggenberg statement to the police, 8 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

the South African embassy in Lourenço Marques, to turn a blind eye to the fact that his brother-in-law was on the South African government Stop List and issue him with a visa.⁴⁴⁴² Although this was probably not known to the Commission, such an act is not something a family would risk for someone they did not care about.

Marika Tsafantakis told the Commission that “Tsafendas was favoured over the other children and sent to Middelburg because Portuguese children could only receive a proper education either there or in Swaziland.”⁴⁴⁴³ The fact that Tsafendas was favoured over the other children and was sent to study in South Africa was confirmed to this study by his cousin Mary Eintracht and his half-sister Katerina Pnefma. They said Tsafendas’s father was adamant that Dimitris should be the one to go and study as he was his first child and he could not afford to send the others, too. Marika had not objected.⁴⁴⁴⁴ This is hardly something a family will do for a child they do not accept.

Marika also told the Commission that Tsafendas “had grown up as one of her children.”⁴⁴⁴⁵ Her statement is confirmed by several witnesses and their testimonies were all in the Commission’s possession. Katerina Pnefma, his half-sister had also made a similar statement to the police; she said that growing up with Tsafendas “to all intents and purposes it was understood” by “her and her brother and sisters” that “he was a member of the family... his complexion was such – as also his manner – that he passed as a European.”⁴⁴⁴⁶

Guglielmo Conte, a friend and business partner of Tsafendas’s father, who also knew Tsafendas from the day he was born, explicitly denied in an interview with the *Rand Daily Mail* that was in the Commission’s possession, that Dimitri was estranged from his family.⁴⁴⁴⁷ Costas Michaletos, who knew Tsafendas from infancy and was his father’s best friend, told the police that “Dimetrios Tsafantakis grew up with his half-brothers and sisters and was always treated as part of the family.”⁴⁴⁴⁸ A Confidential Report from the Special

⁴⁴⁴² Eleni Vlachopoulos in *Live and Let Live*; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁴³ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴⁴⁴⁴ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁴⁵ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴⁴⁴⁶ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁴⁴⁷ Goldstein, ‘Tsafendas Timid and Puny As A Boy’, *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 September 1966.

⁴⁴⁴⁸ Costas Michaletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali said shortly after the assassination and after having questioned people who knew Tsafendas: “It is also reliably reported that the Tsafandakis family hold a good reputation among the Greek community and there are suggestions that Michael Tsafandakis made a big mistake in attempting to raise his illegitimate son as a full member of his family.”⁴⁴⁴⁹

In addition to this evidence, the Commission was aware that Tsafendas upon his return to Pretoria had stayed for a few days at his half-sister’s house and that her husband Charles Nissiotis hired him to work at their café-shop.⁴⁴⁵⁰ Although this was not known to the Commission, Charles Nissiotis took Tsafendas on at his café so that he could show he was employed and domiciled on his application for permanent residence while he even gave him a letter stating that he was his “guarantor” and would be financially responsible for him while in South Africa.⁴⁴⁵¹

After he moved out of his half-sister’s house, Vlachopoulos, his brother-in-law offered him a rent-free apartment he owned, but which was not immediately available. Then, Fotini Gavasiadis, Vlachopoulos’s twenty-five year old sister, and her husband Markos invited Tsafendas to stay with them until the apartment became available. Thus, Tsafendas spent the next few weeks at their house. When Vlachopoulos’s apartment became available, Tsafendas duly moved in. Tsafendas remained in this apartment for eight months. Nick Vlachopoulos also offered work to Tsafendas at his café-shop. Tsafendas worked there, but did it for free as a return because he was given the rent-free apartment by him. When Tsafendas was in Mozambique, he asked Vlachopoulos to help him sell some of his furniture. When the furniture was sold, Vlachopoulos gave the money to Marika and she sent them to him.⁴⁴⁵² All these are hardly the things a person would do for someone who was not exactly taken up by his family. Indeed they are things one would do when one cares and wants to help someone.

Others who told the author that the Commission’s conclusion was inaccurate included such members of Tsafendas’s family as his half-sister Katerina Pnema, his cousins Antony

⁴⁴⁴⁹ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁴⁵⁰ Charles Nissiotis statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁵¹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁵² Nick Vlachopoulos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

and John Michaletos, Irene Michaletos, John's wife, his first cousin Mary Eintracht and Nick Vlachopoulos's sister, Fotini Gavasiadis.⁴⁴⁵³ People who were very close to Tsafendas, like Ira Kyriakakis, Andreas Babiolakis, Helen Grispos, and Nick Papadakis also stated to this study that the Commission's statement is inaccurate.⁴⁴⁵⁴

On a point of fact, the Commission stated that Tsafendas's "stepmother, a brother, a sister-in-law and a brother-in-law gave evidence before the Commission." This is true only up to a point because Tsafendas's two half-sisters, Eleni Vlachopoulos and Evangelia Nissiotis, also gave evidence to the Commission. According to the Commission's interview transcript with "Tsafendas's family," both women gave evidence along with the rest of the family on the 21st of October. Their names in the transcript of their testimony appear as Mrs. Nissiotis and Mrs. Vlachopoulos.⁴⁴⁵⁵

It is true that Tsafendas was not very close to his half-brother Victor or his half-sister Evangelia, largely because of his politics. However he was close to Katerina, and very close to his half-sister Eleni and to his stepmother Marika. Above all, he worshipped and was adored by his father.⁴⁴⁵⁶ Family relationships are often like this and we should also remember that Tsafendas had not seen his family for twenty-two years although he regularly corresponded with all of them. He sent postcards, letters and even presents on a regular basis to all the family, especially to his father, stepmother and Eleni. He wrote to his father every month and often telephoned him.⁴⁴⁵⁷

Therefore, to say that the whole family was cool to him is a huge exaggeration. It is true that after the assassination Tsafendas's family distanced themselves from him and from his political ideas and activities, claiming they knew nothing of them. This was natural under the circumstances, but no family member ever said did not accept him, as the Commission claimed. It is noteworthy that the Commission omitted most of the evidence which contradicted the claim in its Report.

⁴⁴⁵³ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John and Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁵⁴ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

⁴⁴⁵⁵ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴⁴⁵⁶ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴⁴⁵⁷ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

TSAFENDAS'S EMPLOYMENT WITH HIS FAMILY

*One of his brothers-in-law said in evidence that shortly after Tsafendas's return, he employed him to assist his wife (Tsafendas's half-sister) in their cafe. After two days, however, she dismissed him because he was too lazy.*⁴⁴⁵⁸

The person who gave this evidence was Charles Nissiotis, who was married to Evangelia, Tsafendas's half-sister. Tsafendas was indeed employed for a very short time at Nissiotis's café shop, but the reason he was dismissed was entirely different to the one mentioned here, though this was probably not known to the Commission. Shortly after he arrived in Pretoria, Tsafendas began working at his brother-in-law's café.⁴⁴⁵⁹ A couple of days later, a Sunday, Tsafendas, along with everyone from his family, attended a Greek Orthodox Church service. At the end of the service, the Greek priest spoke briefly. He welcomed a family newly arrived from Greece and went on to praise South Africa and its policy of apartheid for the opportunities they gave to people to come and work there, offering them a better life than anywhere else in the world. He then attacked Communists and other "enemies" of the country.⁴⁴⁶⁰

Tsafendas was enraged and only his half-brother Victor stopped him from interrupting the priest. However, when the time came for Communion, Tsafendas refused to take the sacrament or to kiss the priest's hands, as was customary. Instead, and despite the efforts of Nick Vlachopoulos and Victor Tsafantakis, he started arguing quietly with the priest. He said a priest should not get involved in politics and that he should be ashamed for praising apartheid. The priest was polite and replied that Greeks should be grateful for South Africa's hospitality and that they should not bite the hand that fed them. Tsafendas said the Whites found things easy in South Africa because they exploited the Blacks, but life for the majority of people was far from rosy. By this time, other members of the congregation had come forward to see what was happening and began protesting on behalf of the priest and

⁴⁴⁵⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 6.

⁴⁴⁵⁹ Charles Nissiotis statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁶⁰ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

denouncing Tsafendas. However, Tsafendas remained calm throughout, supporting his views. Finally, his family managed to pull him away from the priest.⁴⁴⁶¹

Returning home, Tsafendas was rounded upon by his family for speaking out in public. Marika complained that he had embarrassed them all in front of everyone in the church and the whole Greek community would now hear about it. Tsafendas apologised for putting them into a difficult position and promised to keep his mouth shut from now on. However, Evangelia, fearing that they would lose their Greek customers over the church incident or that Tsafendas might start arguing with their customers, asked him to stop working at their café.⁴⁴⁶²

The Commission's biggest omission is that Tsafendas had worked for nine months at the Proclamation Café of Nick Vlachopoulos, his other brother-in-law. Tsafendas worked voluntarily at the café because Vlachopoulos had given him a rent-free apartment. Tsafendas was so good at the job that Vlachopoulos offered him a permanent position with good wages, but Tsafendas refused. He did not want to take any money after accepting the free apartment. He worked full-time at the café when he was unemployed and part-time when he was at F.A. Poole Engineering.⁴⁴⁶³ It is possible that the Commission was not aware of this fact.

TSAFENDAS'S FAMILY ABOUT THE TAPEWORM

*He (Tsafendas) said nothing to them (the family) about his alleged worm.*⁴⁴⁶⁴

This is a very important statement. It was stated in court during his summary trial that Tsafendas had a tapeworm since he was a small boy, that his step-mother was aware of its existence and was even indirectly responsible for it. Dr. Cooper had testified before the court that Tsafendas had the tapeworm since 1935 or 1936⁴⁴⁶⁵ while Dr. Muller and van Zyl testified for 1936,⁴⁴⁶⁶ a time when Tsafendas lived with his parents. Louise O'Ryan, one of the witnesses for the defence, testified as follows: "... he told me that a while back, when he was a little boy, about six feet of it came down. The doctor gave him something and six feet

⁴⁴⁶¹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁶² Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁶³ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015.

⁴⁴⁶⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 6

⁴⁴⁶⁵ Dr. Harold Cooper's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA

⁴⁴⁶⁶ Dr. Hendrik Muller's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA; Reyner van Zyl's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

of it came down. He was sitting on a bucket. And then he fainted on the bucket, and his mother removed it and she destroyed it, and since then nothing has ever come down.”⁴⁴⁶⁷ The above testimony was not challenged in court by the Attorney-General despite the obvious contradiction as Tsafendas was eighteen or seventeen when he first found out about the tapeworm according to the doctors, and a little boy according to Louise O’Ryan. As already clarified, O’Ryan was referring to Tsafendas’s stepmother, not his mother, from whom he was separated when he was a few months old.⁴⁴⁶⁸

Tsafendas lived constantly with his family until July 17, 1937,⁴⁴⁶⁹ but according to the Commission, Tsafendas never mentioned anything about a tapeworm to the family during all those years. It seems highly unlikely that a young boy could believe he had a tapeworm inside him but not ask his parents for help. More importantly, Tsafendas’s stepmother denied that the incident described by Louisa O’Ryan ever took place. The Commission’s transcript from the evidence given by the stepmother Marika and the other family members says:

*“Tsafendas never talked to the family about his tapeworm. According to them, he was definitely not insane.”*⁴⁴⁷⁰

Tsafendas’s half-sister Katerina Pnema and first cousin Mary Eintracht, who lived under the same roof as Tsafendas at the time, both told the author that the incident involving Marika never took place and that Tsafendas would have certainly told his parents if he believed he had a tapeworm. Marika insisted until she died that Tsafendas was perfectly sane and that he had invented the tapeworm story so as not to be executed. Every member of his family said the same thing; no-one believed that Tsafendas really thought he had a tapeworm.⁴⁴⁷¹

The Commission’s Report does not mention that Marika denied what was stated in court. Certainly it was not the Commission’s responsibility to deal with what happened at the summary trial, but the obvious fact that Tsafendas had lied about the origins of the tapeworm should surely have been mentioned.

TSAFENDAS’S VISIT TO HIS HALF-SISTER IN UMTALI

⁴⁴⁶⁷ Louise O’ Ryan’s testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁴⁶⁸ See Louisa O’Ryan’s testimony in Chapter 5.

⁴⁴⁶⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 17.

⁴⁴⁷⁰ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴⁴⁷¹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

*During this period he also visited his half-sister at Marandellas. He asked her for money, but she would have nothing to do with him and refused to help him.*⁴⁴⁷²

In a personal interview with the author, Katerina Pnefma, the half-sister in question, described the Commission's statement as inaccurate, but she acknowledged that it was what she had told the police. The Commission cannot therefore be blamed for accepting her words. Pnefma did not have a very close relationship with Tsafendas; they had completely different personalities and often argued over politics, but nevertheless they both cared for each other.

When Tsafendas visited Pnefma and her husband Gerry, it became quickly obvious to them that he was as dedicated as ever to Communism and to the fight against colonialism. An argument arose when Tsafendas denounced Greeks and other Whites in Rhodesia for taking advantage of Blacks. Pnefma clearly remembers her half-brother saying he was "disgusted" by what he had seen and by the way the indigenous people were treated. As for money, Pnefma said Tsafendas did not ask her for cash or any other assistance. She does not recall exactly what she told the police, but she admits that she may have said he asked for money and she spurned him in order to distance herself from him as far as possible and to demonstrate that they were not close. She insists that Tsafendas never asked her, and as far as she knew, anyone else in the family, for money. "He asked me a couple of times to help him get a job, but never for money. He was too proud to ask me for money, but he would ask for help to get a job."⁴⁴⁷³

Although Tsafendas did not ask for assistance in Rhodesia, presumably because he did not need it, he did so just a few months later. Shortly after he was released from the prison in Beira where he was detained for conducting subversive propaganda for the independence of Mozambique, Tsafendas contacted Katerina and her husband. He was unemployed and asked if they could help him get a job in Mozambique. Tsafendas thus demonstrated that he was close enough to his half-sister to ask for a favour despite their political disagreements. Katerina, although unaware of his latest imprisonment, showed that she cared for her half-brother by helping to get work for him. Gerry Pnefma was friendly with the manager of a dock in Beira and persuaded him to hire his brother-in-law as an interpreter.⁴⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁴⁷² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter III C, Paragraph 14.

⁴⁴⁷³ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁷⁴ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

However, Tsafendas lasted only a few days before being dismissed for urging the Mozambican workers to strike because of their working conditions. Tsafendas also denounced the manager and the company as “capitalists exploiting the workers.” The manager told Gerry Pnefma that the “only reason he did not call the police was that he did not want to cause his family problems.” He urged his friend not to help Tsafendas again because he was a dangerous Communist who could get him into trouble. Katerina Pnefma did not reveal this episode in her statement to the police and the Commission was probably unaware of it.⁴⁴⁷⁵

TSAFENDAS AND HIS HALF-SISTER KATERINA PNEFMA

*On another occasion Tsafendas was most upset because, he said, he had received a letter from his sister in Rhodesia telling him that she was going to Beira for a wedding, but that she did not wish to see him at all since he was a disgrace to the family.*⁴⁴⁷⁶

This part is accurate, but other incidents in Tsafendas’s life of which the Commission was probably unaware provide necessary clarification. Pnefma remembers the wedding in question and confirmed in an interview with the author that she told Tsafendas she did not want to see him because he was an embarrassment to the family. This was after Tsafendas was dismissed from the job at the dock in Beira that she and her husband had helped him obtain. Furthermore, Pnefma had learned in the interim of Tsafendas’s arrests by the Portuguese Security Police and that he had spent three months in prison. Pnefma considered Tsafendas as an embarrassment throughout her whole life, which she believes he then ruined by the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd.⁴⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁴⁷⁵ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁴⁷⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 22.

⁴⁴⁷⁷ Katerina Pnefma in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

TSAFENDAS BEFORE THE COMMISSION

TSAFENDAS'S FIRST APPEARANCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION

On 25th October, Tsafendas gave evidence before the Commission. The Commission was aware that he was quite knowledgeable about mental disorders—he also admitted to the Commission that he had read fairly extensively on the subject in order to determine what was wrong with him—and therefore adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him. It is clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act.

The Commission was able to form only a lay opinion on his mental condition, and that was—after two hours' questioning—that he was not mentally normal. He was certainly not the practically normal person described by Mr. Hartford, but apparently more normal than he was when some of the psychiatrists interviewed him.

He answered all the questions freely. At times, especially at the beginning, he stuttered slightly, sometimes he was vague, incoherent, and evasive, but otherwise his answers were logical and well formulated.

He explained that he wished to buy the pistol and knives for self-protection. He tried to relate how four Bantu had attempted to rob him on a bus one day, and that he had seen a "skolly" stab another with a knife. This evidence was given laboriously. However, he stated of his own accord that he had not yet told the Police this, and explained that he had only just remembered it. He also said that he had not deliberately planned to kill Dr. Verwoerd, but that he had been taken by a sudden impulse to do so. When he was told that he must have had the impulse when he had hidden the knives on his person, his reply was that this had been done only five minutes before the assault. To the question whether he was sorry for himself, he replied fairly promptly in the affirmative; but when he was asked whether he in any way regretted what he had done, he evaded the question by saying that the whole affair was like a dream and that he was the centre round which everything revolved. He showed no signs of remorse. When he was asked whether he was against apartheid, he replied that he was in favour of separate development, but that he was against the laws prohibiting sexual intercourse between the various groups. He utterly denied ever having been in Russia. He said that the only occasion on which he had communicated with a Russian Embassy was when he had made enquiries about permission to go to Berlin.

He denied that he had told Mr. Vercuiel that he would murder Dr. Verwoerd. He explained that Vercuiel had persecuted him. Vercuiel dismissed practically all English-speaking persons and that was the reason why he was dismissed.

He denied that he had ever tried to canvass support in London for an uprising in South Africa. His efforts, he said, were confined to Portuguese territories.

As far as the ladies with whom he had boarded and by whom he had been given notice are concerned, he explained that they were disappointed because he was not interested in them and then started a campaign against him. He stated that he sometimes took liquor, especially a buchu brandy, because it calmed down his worm or serpent for a few days. Extracts from his evidence were submitted to Dr. Wolpowitz of the Stikland Hospital as well as to Dr. A. B. van der Merwe of Stellenbosch, and both found indications of schizophrenia in the evidence.⁴⁴⁷⁸

Tsafendas gave evidence to the Commission for the first time on 25th October, 1966, five days after Judge Beyers found him unfit to stand trial. At this time, he was waiting for Vorster's decision as to his future, since he was now considered to be the State President's patient. Before we examine Tsafendas's evidence, it must be noted that his statement, not only the typed version of his remarks, but also the Dictaphone recording, are missing from the National Archives. Exactly same thing happened with the account of his second appearance before the Commission on 11th November, 1966. Therefore the author is not in position to know precisely what Tsafendas told the Commission and can only rely on what is in its Report. It should also be noted again that Tsafendas's original statement to the police and to General van den Bergh on the night of the assassination has also gone missing.

The Report starts its account of Tsafendas's evidence to the Commission with a very significant statement in which it accepts that Tsafendas is capable of pretending to be mad:

“The Commission was aware that he was quite knowledgeable about mental disorders—he also admitted to the Commission that he had read fairly extensively on the subject in order to determine what was wrong with him—and therefore adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him. It is clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act.”

The Commission then simply describes what Tsafendas said in his evidence without using Tsafendas's own words. It is germane to recall that in outlining his movements prior to

⁴⁴⁷⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

the assassination, the Commission had used large excerpts from Tsafendas's statement, thus providing an obviously more authentic perspective. The Commission, conceding that its viewpoint was not an expert one, found Tsafendas to be "more normal" than he was when examined by the psychiatrists, but still not a "practically normal person." Tsafendas gave evidence for two hours, during which time the Commission found his answers to be logical and well formulated. This contradicts Dr. Cooper's diagnosis that Tsafendas was unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, as well as Dr. Aubrey Zabow's opinion that he suffered from thought-disorder.

The Commission here does not write anything about Tsafendas's motive, although he must have been asked about it. After all, this was arguably the most crucial, question of all: why he killed Dr. Verwoerd. However, the Commission makes no reference to it. Although the Commission devotes an entire chapter to this question – Chapter III: Demitrio Tsafendas's Motives – even there, no clear motivation is elucidated.

Nevertheless, the Commission has mentioned here something very important, namely that Tsafendas did not show any remorse for killing Dr. Verwoerd. The conclusion must be that the Commission avoided asking the obvious question about motive or that it suppressed the answer because it contradicted the summary trial's conclusion, that Tsafendas killed Dr. Verwoerd because of a tapeworm. After all, Tsafendas had already told the police his motive – that killing Dr. Verwoerd might lead to a change in the policy of apartheid. It is very possible that Tsafendas even repeated his statement, as he did often thirty years later, and the Commission killed it as it did with the statement to the police when dealing with the motive issue in the relevant chapter. Three decades later, Tsafendas still felt no remorse about the assassination. When asked by Fathers Ioannis Tsafaridis and Minas Constandinou if he ever regretted his action, he replied, "No, no, no, not even for a moment, never, never. I did the right thing. He was a dictator, he created apartheid ..." Indeed, he said he would have regretted not doing it. He said he believed apartheid would soon collapse with Dr. Verwoerd out of the way and he did not expect it to last so long without him. Nevertheless, he maintained that he did not regret his action.⁴⁴⁷⁹

The fact that Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed at the *Eleni* three days before the assassination is not mentioned at all. As we will see later in this chapter, although the Commission has dedicated a substantial amount of space to the issue, it makes no reference at

⁴⁴⁷⁹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

all to Tsafendas's version of how come the issue of Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed then. Did the Commission not ask Tsafendas if he had any idea how Dr. Verwoerd's death came to be discussed on board the tanker? After all, he was the man who laid the plans as to how and when he would kill Dr. Verwoerd. The Commission has speculated about the origins of the incident and after seeing the statements of some of those who were involved in the exchanges, it had the opportunity to ask the most important witness of all about the issue. However it seems that either Tsafendas was never questioned on the matter or his response was suppressed. It is possible that, if asked, Tsafendas would have volunteered a theory as to how Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed three days before he died, namely that his discussion of a hypothetical assassination of Dr. Verwoerd which he had with some of the crew on board the *Eleni* was overheard by someone, misunderstood and passed on as a fact.

Another issue that goes unmentioned is that of the references which helped Tsafendas get the job in Parliament. Tsafendas's access to Dr. Verwoerd was a huge security lapse and the Commission had gone to great lengths to find out what went wrong. Sydney Wiehand, one of the messengers who appointed Tsafendas, told the Commission that Tsafendas had supplied references but he could not recall the specifics. Did the Commission not press him as to who provided the references? The messenger referred to "a school." A little further investigation would surely have disclosed that one reference came from Limasollu Naci, the most prestigious private college in Istanbul, where Tsafendas taught English for six months. However, such a revelation would have been incompatible with the Court's portrayal of Tsafendas.

The Commission did, however, permit reference to one instance of political activity by Tsafendas. It stated that he denied "that he ever tried to canvass support in London for an uprising in South Africa. His efforts, he said, were confined to Portuguese territories." Of course, Tsafendas would not have admitted that he tried to rally support for South Africa as he was still hoping to be transferred to a hospital, thus he could not deviate from what was said about him in the court.

The Report concludes that Tsafendas's statement to the Commission was given to two doctors and both found signs of schizophrenia in the evidence. Since the statement is not in the author's possession, it cannot comment authoritatively about it. However, it is very possible that Tsafendas deliberately included some "delusional" thoughts in his evidence so

as to maintain his act. Neither of Tsafendas's statements to the police contain any sign of schizophrenia, as Professors Alban Burke and Tuviah Zabow confirmed.⁴⁴⁸⁰

Professor John Dugard said about the first and main statement that it "completely confirms the view that Tsafendas was not insane. It reads like a very normal story of a politically informed person, angry with apartheid and Dr. Verwoerd, determined to make a change, with nothing to lose personally. Really an incredible statement which was carefully concealed."⁴⁴⁸¹ Although the Report mentions nothing else of significance, it seems unlikely that this is all that was discussed with Tsafendas over a period of two hours.

TSAFENDAS'S SECOND APPEARANCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION

*On 11th November, 1966, the Commission interviewed Tsafendas again. His condition was appreciably better than on the previous occasion. He understood everything well, and gave his answers fairly promptly, which, with one or two exceptions, were logical and to the point.*⁴⁴⁸²

The Commission Report devotes only forty words to Tsafendas's second appearance, the forty words set out above, which contain not a single reference to what Tsafendas said. His own account of his appearance has also gone missing, therefore the author is not in position to know what was discussed.

CONCLUSION

Although Tsafendas gave evidence twice to the Commission, the Report contains very little of what he said and this not in Tsafendas's words but in those of the Commission. The most important issue, why he killed Dr. Verwoerd, remained unanswered. It seems highly unlikely that the Commission failed to ask Tsafendas why he killed Dr. Verwoerd, but still nothing is mentioned about it. Either the Commission did not ask the most important question of all, or it asked and did not like the answer and so made sure it did not see the light of day. The Commission does not mention the tapeworm, clearly distancing itself from it. However, if

⁴⁴⁸⁰ Professor Alban Burke in a personal interview, 12 April 2016; Professor Tuviah Zabow in a personal interview, 11 April 2016.

⁴⁴⁸¹ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

⁴⁴⁸² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 19.

Tsafendas did mention it, the Commission would surely have included it in the Report in line with its generally negative approach to Tsafendas's character and actions.

The motive is not the only issue to go unexamined. The Dr. Verwoerd death discussion on the *Eleni* is ignored, as is the question of Tsafendas's job references. Any unbiased Commission of Inquiry would have attempted to find answers to these fundamental questions, especially since the person most likely to have the answers, Tsafendas himself, was available. The outstanding questions were:

- What was Tsafendas's motive? Why did he kill Dr. Verwoerd?
- What happened on the *Eleni*? How did it come about that Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed three days before he died?
- Which reference did Tsafendas use to get the job in the House of Assembly?

If Tsafendas was asked about these issues and gave an explanation suitable to the Commission, van Wyk would almost certainly have included his answers, as it did with the issues of his appointment to the Parliament and Vercueil. That there are no comments from Tsafendas suggests that he was either not asked, or that his answers were suppressed by the Commission. As we have seen, the Commission certainly suppressed the evidence Tsafendas gave to the police as well as important evidence given about him by witnesses, so it cannot be ruled out that Tsafendas's answers, too, were simply made to disappear.

THE ASSASSINATION

EXPERT STABBER

*The doctor who carried out the post-mortem examination informed the Commission that there were no grounds for the rumour that the wounds had been inflicted by an expert stabber. He described them as quite ordinary. The Commission had the opportunity of inspecting all the photographs showing the position and extent of the wounds and is in agreement with this opinion.*⁴⁴⁸³

Dr. E.L. Fisher, a psychiatrist and a United Party MP, the first doctor to treat Dr. Verwoerd after Tsafendas's attack in Parliament, told *Die Vaderland* the day after the assassination that "it was clear that the assassin must have received training in the art of handling a knife. Each time the knife slipped through the ribs showing that it was not handled haphazardly as a usual stabbing would be carried out."⁴⁴⁸⁴ Furthermore, the *Dagbreek*, the newspaper on which Dr. Verwoerd was chairman, reported on September 11 that, "Medical doctors have also maintained that the way in which the stabbing was done attest to the attacker being an expert in using a dagger. The first thrust of the dagger was to the neck, in order to force the victim to raise his arms, and so open access to the heart. The second blow used the flat part of the dagger pushed between the ribs into the heart and twisted inside. The third and fourth blows were pushed into the lungs with the same precision."⁴⁴⁸⁵

The author agrees here with the post-mortem and the Commission. Firstly, Dr. Fisher was a psychiatrist, not an expert on knife wounds. It seems highly unlikely that he was able to determine the path of the knife and the damage it caused purely by observing the visible wounds. Secondly, Dr. Verwoerd's injuries could be seen for only a few minutes when his shirt was torn open and his torso partly bared before his body was removed. Further, most of the doctors' efforts during this period were aimed at reviving the Prime Minister by mouth-to-mouth and artificial respiration. As far as the author can establish, Dr. Fisher mentioned expertise in knifing handling only to *Die Vaderland* and not to any of the other newspapers he spoke to. As for the unnamed doctors who were quoted by *Dagbreek*, on which Dr. Verwoerd was chairman, it seems that they were able to form such an opinion by simply reading at the description of the stabbing and it seems highly unlikely to have been present.

⁴⁴⁸³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 12.

⁴⁴⁸⁴ Crowd and Revo, *The Pattern of Assassination*, p. 20.

⁴⁴⁸⁵ *Dagbreek*, 'Tsafendas Het vir V.V. in Persie Gewerk', 11 September 1966.

Even if they were present at the stabbing, they could not have been any of the doctors who treated Dr. Verwoerd as none of them made such statement apart from Dr. Fisher.

As for Tsafendas stabbing Dr. Verwoerd first in the neck, this was the natural thing to do. Dr. Verwoerd was seated at his desk and with his hands in front of him, a posture which made impossible for anyone to aim at the heart. Thus, for anyone approaching from the front, the neck was the most obvious and accessible target. A serious wound in the neck and throat area, however, could well prove fatal. Tsafendas's second target was the heart. Verwoerd by now had opened his arms, exposing a target area for Tsafendas. In terms purely of physical efficiency, Tsafendas's actions were normal.

Tsafendas could not be considered an "expert stabber," whatever that is, but he was certainly familiar with knives. His father would often hand-craft knives when he worked at Iscor Iron and Steel Works while one of Tsafendas's favourite possessions was a bayonet, which was given to him by his grandmother Katerina.⁴⁴⁸⁶ More importantly, all or most partisans of the DSE during the Greek Civil War possessed bayonets or at least knives. Tsafendas had received some basic training in guerrilla warfare from his comrades, so it is possible that he had learned how to use a bayonet or a knife, though he never said anything to that effect.

TSAFENDAS'S STATEMENT TO MAJOR ROSSOUW ON SEPTEMBER 11

The whole of Paragraph 15 in Chapter II D is taken from Tsafendas's statement to Major Rossouw on the 11th of September. It is used to describe how Tsafendas applied for the job in the House of Assembly and how he planned and carried out the assassination. The inclusion of his statement here shows that Tsafendas was perfectly able to describe the assassination and what happened before it. In court, Dr. Cooper, Dr. Sakinofsky and Dr. Zabow had testified that Tsafendas was unable to tell them what happened before and during the assassination.

⁴⁴⁸⁶ Michael Vlachopoulos in a personal interview, 14 April 2016.

TSAFENDAS ABOUT GETTING AWAY AFTER THE ASSASSINATION

*I deny that I am a Communist. I am a Christian and I believe in the Bible. I did not think I would get away after murdering the Prime Minister. I did not care what happened to me.*⁴⁴⁸⁷

The issue of Tsafendas denying being a Communist has been discussed in Chapter 4 so it will not be considered again. As to his other comments, the Commission mentioned his statement that he “did not care what happened to me,” but omitted what came next, a declaration of his motive. Tsafendas made the comment in the statement used by the Commission. He told Major Rossouw on 11th September:

*“I did not care about the consequences for what would happen to me afterwards. I was so disgusted with the racial policy that I went through with my plans to kill the Prime Minister.”*⁴⁴⁸⁸

Then on 19th September, Tsafendas said to Major Rossouw:

*“I never thought about hiding if I had to do the job with a knife. I didn’t have much of a chance of getting away when using a knife. I didn’t care much and didn’t give it a second thought that I would be caught. I just happened to do it that way. I always had a grudge against the South African Government on account of its racial policies and I hated Dr. Verwoerd because he was a foreigner - a Hollander.”*⁴⁴⁸⁹

These statements reflect Tsafendas deep political convictions and determination, something that it is not evident in the Commission’s Report. By reducing his passionate explanation to the bald, eight-word phrase, “I did not care what happened to me,” the Commission manages to suggest the assassination was almost a whim by a man without a motive and unaware of the consequences.

TSAFENDAS’S ESCAPE PLAN?

Tsafendas did not have an escape plan for the assassination, but this was only because the weapon he decided to use would almost certainly make flight impossible. He had definitely planned to get away when he worked out his initial assassination strategy, to shoot Dr.

⁴⁴⁸⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 15.

⁴⁴⁸⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁴⁸⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Verwoerd. He aborted this plan when he was not able to get a pistol and decided to use a knife instead. He told Major Rossouw regarding his escape plan:

TSAFENDAS: I was going to find refuge on the tanker, the *Eleni*, which I knew was sailing to South America. My plans were, however, upset when I could not get the right pistol. The boat sailed on the Saturday before the Tuesday on which I stabbed the Prime Minister.

MAJ. ROSSOUW: Did you know that the *Eleni* had sailed before you attacked, the Prime Minister? If so, what were your plans to get away?

TSAFENDAS: Yes, I knew the ship had already left. I never thought about hiding if I had to do the job with a knife. I didn't have much of a chance of getting away when using a knife. I didn't care much and didn't give it a second thought that I would be caught...⁴⁴⁹⁰

Tsafendas's initial plan to shoot Dr. Verwoerd and escape on the *Eleni*, was also mentioned at his summary trial.⁴⁴⁹¹ His intention had been to shoot Dr. Verwoerd during a function at Parliament organized by the Parliamentary correspondents.⁴⁴⁹² He was listed to work as a waiter at the event, which Dr. Verwoerd was scheduled to attend. The function was set for Friday, September 2, the evening before the *Eleni's* scheduled departure. In the event, Dr. Verwoerd did not attend the party,⁴⁴⁹³ but Tsafendas had already aborted his plan because of his inability to find a pistol.⁴⁴⁹⁴ This issue is also discussed under 'Escape Plan' in "*The Eleni*" section.

⁴⁴⁹⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁴⁹¹ Dr. Harold Cooper's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 17 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁴⁹² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁴⁴⁹³ Fred Feinauer statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁴⁹⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

TSAFENDAS'S RECLASSIFICATION

*On 30th August, 1965, he applied as Demitrio Tsafendas to the Regional Representative of the Department of the Interior to be reclassified as a Coloured person. He gave the reason that he regarded himself as a Coloured and that he wished to marry a Coloured. On 1st September, 1965, he made a sworn statement in support of his application.*⁴⁴⁹⁵

The above statement, although almost certainly correct, is a direct contradiction of a memorandum written on 3rd of October by Attorney-General van den Berg, who led the case for the State at Tsafendas's summary trial. The following is an extract from it:

*"According to a statement in my possession, there was never any question of a marriage between him and the Coloured woman, Helen Daniels, from Belleville South. Information from Home Affairs files indicates that he applied for reclassification as a Coloured because he wanted to apply for a business licence in a Coloured area."*⁴⁴⁹⁶

The Home Affairs files which van den Berg referred to were not found in the archives nor was anything discovered relating to Tsafendas's application regarding his reclassification. The only information about this matter comes from witnesses' statements, including that of Tsafendas. All agree with the Commission and disagree with the Attorney-General. What is important here, however, is not the reclassification or Tsafendas's motive behind it, but that the Attorney-General was not in possession of all the evidence gathered by the South African police. It is obvious that the Attorney-General and the Commission gave contradictory statements on the same issue and the most likely reason for this was that not all the evidence gathered by the police was given to them.

In addition: After the assassination there were rumours that Tsafendas killed Dr. Verwoerd because he was barred from marrying a Coloured girl because of the Immorality Act. Years later, Father Minas Constandinou asked Tsafendas if these rumours were true. Tsafendas smiled and dismissed the stories. He said that if he wanted to marry a Coloured girl he could have taken her to Mozambique where it was legal to marry her, or to Cuba, where he was planning to move and live the rest of his life.⁴⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁴⁹⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 39.

⁴⁴⁹⁶ Detailed information for a Memorandum regarding Demetrio Tsafendas by Attorney-General W.M. van den Berg, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, Subject: Beweerde Omkoperij. NASA.

⁴⁴⁹⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

TSAFENDAS'S SUMMARY TRIAL (Chapter II D, Paragraph 17)

The Commission dedicates a paragraph to the summary trial, but gets an important fact wrong. It states that Patrick O’Ryan and his wife, among others, testified to Tsafendas’s “peculiar behaviour.” In fact, O’Ryan, when asked about Tsafendas, told the court that he “never got the impression that something was wrong in his mind,” or that he was “mentally disturbed.”⁴⁴⁹⁸

The Commission then refers to four psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas and testified at the trial: Dr. Cooper, Dr. Zabow, Prof. van Wyk and Dr. Macgregor. Surprisingly, Dr. Sakinofsky is omitted. The Report then states that Dr. Muller, a specialist physician, also examined Tsafendas and found that he had no tapeworm. However, Dr. Muller only spoke to Tsafendas, he did not physically examine him.

TSAFENDAS'S MOTHER

*According to information supplied to the South African Consul-General in Lourenço Marques, his mother is still alive and is living in the Bantu quarter of Lourenço Marques.*⁴⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁴⁹⁸ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁴⁹⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 6.

No such evidence was found in the archives. However, the Portuguese press and later the South African reported this claim about Tsafendas's mother as a fact.⁴⁵⁰⁰ Tsafendas always maintained, as is also stated in the Report, that his mother died when he was a boy. That is what he was told by his father and by members of his mother's tribe,⁴⁵⁰¹ while he had also obtained her death certificate which stated that she had died on January 12, 1927.⁴⁵⁰² The author has not been able to resolve this contradiction or to discover anything further about Tsafendas's mother, but it seems rather unlikely that someone in the Registrar of Births and Deaths in Lourenço Marques would have produced a fake death certificate and that all these people lied.

TSAFENDAS'S NAME

Both Tsafendas's name and surname underwent changes from time to time in the course of his life, besides which he was known to some people by the nicknames of MIMIS and MIEMIE. The other first names and surnames which he used from time to time are as follows:

First names: DEMETRIO, DIMITRIO, DIMITRO, DEMETRIOS, DEMITRIUS and JAMES.

Surnames: TSAFANDAKIS, TSAFENDAKIS, TSAFANTAKIS, TSAFENDOS, TSAFENDIS, TSAFANTAKIS and WILLIAMS.⁴⁵⁰³

Although Tsafendas's father, Michalis, used the surname Tsafantakis, the family's original name was Tsafendas and Dimitri was aware of this from a very young age. A change in nomenclature had occurred more than a hundred years earlier when Crete was under Ottoman occupation.⁴⁵⁰⁴ The rebellious activities by the Cretans were causing the empire much trouble, so the Ottoman overlords ordered that "akis," a suffix indicating smallness, as in a child, should be added to every Cretan name. It is customary in Greece for a boy named Nicholas to become Nicholakis to his family and friends; Georgios would be Georgakis and Dimitri-Dimitrakis. However, the Ottomans' intention was to humiliate and mock the

⁴⁵⁰⁰ *Dagbreek*, 'Kleurlingmoeder in Haglike Omstandighede', 11 September 1966; *Diario de Lisboa*, 'A Mae de Dimitrio Ainda Vive Nos Arredores de Lourenço Marques', 8 September 1966; *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Tsafendas' Mother Still Alive', 9 September 1966; *Diario de Lisboa*, 'Localizada a Mae de Tsafendas', 13 September 1966.

⁴⁵⁰¹ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁵⁰² 'The history of the person who inflicted the fatal wounds to the late Dr. Verwoerd' drafted by Col. McIntyre, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Subject: Leer W.D. 10/10/4102 der Stafendas. NASA

⁴⁵⁰³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 4

⁴⁵⁰⁴ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

rebellious Cretans by suggesting they were little people of no account. The Cretans were furious and opposed the change, but the rule of the occupiers prevailed.⁴⁵⁰⁵

Hearing this story, Dimitri asked his father to change the family name back to Tsafendas. Michalis sympathised but said that would be difficult since everyone knew him as Tsafantakis and that was how his name appeared in official documents.⁴⁵⁰⁶ A few years later, however, Dimitri went ahead and changed his own surname to Tsafendas. The date of the change is uncertain. In all available official documents up to the 1950s, he appears as Tsafantakis.

⁴⁵⁰⁵ Apostolakis, "Cretan Family Names".

⁴⁵⁰⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

Finally, Tsafendas often deliberately registered himself with a slightly different name so that his past would not be traced, using such spellings as Stafendas, Tsascadeskis, Tsafedis etc. This was not difficult as he was in possession of a birth certificate written in Greek. Whenever he produced it to someone, he would just replace one or few letters from the certificate but would still make it look like his proper name. For example, the name was written as “*Τσαφαντακης*,” so he would keep the Greek letters that are similar to English letter like T, a, t, k but substitute some of the others with false letters, for example, Tcamaftakus etc.⁴⁵⁰⁷ Tsafendas sometimes gave James as his Christian name. This is an anglicised form of Dimitri often used by Greek people outside of their home country. Dimitri can also become Jimmy or Jim. An Italian friend of Tsafendas in Beira always called him Jimmy.⁴⁵⁰⁸

TSAFENDAS SEXUALLY ASSAULTED

*Tsafendas alleges that in 1927 he was violated by a member of his family. He says that he did not tell anyone of this, and it is not possible, therefore, to check this allegation.*⁴⁵⁰⁹

Despite exhaustive research, the author has not been able to establish whether or not such an incident took place. In 1946, in Grafton State Hospital, Tsafendas spoke about his sexual life and past sexual “traumas,” all of which he invented, but he did not mention being raped or assaulted. Tsafendas brought the rape story up with Dr. Cooper when the psychiatrist examined him for the defence at the summary trial, but he also spoke of it to the police in his statement of September 12, 1966, claiming that his step-mother persuaded her brother to rape him when he was a boy in Lourenço Marques. It is not possible to know what, if anything, occurred on this occasion. What is almost impossible to believe is that his step-mother asked her brother to violate her stepson and that Tsafendas really believed such a thing happened. He did speak negatively about his relationship with his step-mother to various psychiatrists, but never to anyone else. On the contrary, he often described how loving she was and how she treated him as her own child. What is more, Tsafendas never spoke about the alleged rape to anyone else, though the embarrassment attaching to such a story might have been a restraining factor.

⁴⁵⁰⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁴⁵⁰⁸ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016.

⁴⁵⁰⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II A, Paragraph 9.

A key to the conundrum might lie in a statement Tsafendas made in later in life, that two claims were necessary to make an “insane act” look real and convince someone you are mad:

- a. To have a family history of insanity and
- b. To have a childhood trauma.⁴⁵¹⁰

This could explain why Tsafendas said negative things about his step-mother to the psychiatrists, but not to the police, since at the time, he was not trying to prove he was insane. It is very possible that Tsafendas spoke of the alleged rape to the police because he knew he might need to pretend madness to avoid torture or worse as a consequence of killing Dr. Verwoerd. If a mad act became necessary, having a childhood trauma in his past would add authenticity.

TSAFENDAS IN ISTANBUL

*The next country he visited was Turkey. It appears that he was there during the second half of 1961 and the beginning of 1962. He was employed for two months as a teacher of English.*⁴⁵¹¹

The Commission statement that Tsafendas was employed as a teacher of English in Turkey was well known, having been reported by South African newspapers within two days of the assassination.⁴⁵¹² The Commission merely touches on the fact, gives no details, fails to mention the name of the school, although it was aware of it, and shortens the length of Tsafendas’s stay. Tsafendas did not work for two months, but for about five-six months. The Commission wishes to sidestep the question that would have been raised if it was known that Tsafendas worked for five-six months as a teacher at the best private language college in Turkey, namely, how could a schizophrenic unable to follow a conversation for more than fifteen minutes, with thought-disorder and a disjointed way of speaking manage to secure a job of this sort and keep it for so long? This is a very important part of the Report and it is examined in the section ‘The Limasollu Naci’ of this chapter in the ‘Employment’ section.

TSAFENDAS IN RUSSIA?

⁴⁵¹⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

⁴⁵¹¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 37.

⁴⁵¹² *Daily Dispatch*, ‘Tsafendas Taught English in Turkey’, 8 September 1966: 1; *The Cape Times*, ‘Tsafendas Taught Turks English’, 8 September 1966; *The Daily News*, ‘Tsafendas Seen As ‘Mystery Man’’, 8 September 1966: 17.

*If Tsafendas ever visited Russia, it must have been during the years 1961 or 1962. As will appear from this report, there are witnesses who allege that he intimated on certain occasions that he had in fact been to Russia and that he could speak Russian. Tsafendas denies that he has any knowledge of this language, or that he has ever visited Russia. The evidence in this connection is not strong, and it is not possible to base any definite finding on it.*⁴⁵¹³

The author has not been able to establish whether Tsafendas ever visited Russia since the evidence is contradictory and not conclusive for either option. However, it seems more likely that he did not go there. However, if he did visit Russia, it could certainly not have been in 1961 and was highly unlikely to have been in 1962.

Tsafendas often sent postcards from abroad and sometimes photographs of himself in a foreign town or city. His half-sister, Katerina Pnema, told the author that she thinks she received a letter from Tsafendas from Russia, but she is not 100 per cent sure. She is quite certain, however, that it came from the Eastern Bloc and could have been from Bulgaria. It was certainly a letter and not a photograph or postcard, she said, as she would have remembered it. She also does not recall Tsafendas ever telling her that he visited Russia.⁴⁵¹⁴

Tsafendas's other half-sister, Eleni Vlachopoulos, stated in *Live and Let Live* that Tsafendas had visited Russia, but she did not say how she knew this.⁴⁵¹⁵ Pnema suggested that it may have been because of correspondence she received or from talks they had afterwards among the family. She said it is also possible that her sister confused Russia with Bulgaria. Furthermore, Tsafendas once sent his father a gift of a miniature Katyusha rocket, the weapon used widely by the Soviets during the Second World War. However, this was certainly in the 1950s when his father was still living with Tsafendas's step-mother and before they separated.⁴⁵¹⁶ It is also obvious that Tsafendas could have acquired the toy rocket anywhere in Europe. Finally, Gordon Winter claimed that General van den Bergh had evidence that Tsafendas visited Russia, but he withheld this information from the Commission and from his report on Tsafendas.⁴⁵¹⁷ However, he did not specify what his evidence was.

⁴⁵¹³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 38.

⁴⁵¹⁴ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁵¹⁵ Eleni Vlachopoulos in *Live and Let Live*.

⁴⁵¹⁶ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁵¹⁷ Gordon Winter to David Beresford, 8 September 1998. From David Beresford's personal collection.

Tsafendas always talked about the countries he visited and none of the seventy-five witnesses interviewed by the author recalled him saying he had been to Russia. Such was his talkative character, they said that if he had been, he would at least have told the people close to him. However, some of these witnesses did not rule out that Tsafendas might have told them and they forgot. Tsafendas spoke at length over a period of more than ten years to the priests who visited him in prison and in hospital. He told them about his life from the day he was born, including several confidential information such as the truth about the tapeworm. However, none of the priests remembers Tsafendas telling them he had been to Russia.⁴⁵¹⁸ It seems unlikely that Tsafendas would talk in detail about his life and journeying and omit Russia. His close first cousin, Mary Eintracht, who got numerous letters and postcards from him is certain that she never received any from Russia and that he never told her he had been there.⁴⁵¹⁹

As far as the author can establish for certain, the only country in the then Communist Eastern Bloc which Tsafendas visited was Bulgaria. The probability is that he was never in Russia, but if he was, it was certainly not in 1961 and was probably not in 1962, when his movements are fully accounted for. He was in Jerusalem on January 20, 1961⁴⁵²⁰ and spent the next five months in the area before travelling through Lebanon and Syria by bus; he crossed the Taurus mountain range and reached Ankara in May 1961 and stayed there for a month.⁴⁵²¹

Around June 1961, Tsafendas arrived in Istanbul and remained there until December 1961. He then went to Bulgaria and spent Christmas and New Year's Eve in Greece. In January 1962 he visited Crete and at the end of the same month arrived in Brindisi, southern Italy.⁴⁵²² He arrived in Rome on February 8, 1962⁴⁵²³ and by the end of the month he was in Lisbon, having travelled by train.⁴⁵²⁴ Sometime in June or July 1962, Tsafendas was in London. It is unknown how long he stayed in Britain but he was certainly back in Lisbon in

⁴⁵¹⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

⁴⁵¹⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

⁴⁵²⁰ Report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, proc. 518/15/55. Co. 334. 6 April 1961. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁵²¹ Confidential Report of the Ministerio Dos Negocios Estrangeiros regarding Dimtri Tsafendas, proc. 518/15/55. Co. 367. 20 October 1961. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁵²² Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁵²³ Seccao Consular Report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 10 February 1962. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁵²⁴ Confidential PIDE report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas, No: 3.699-G.U, 13 November 1962. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

October 1962.⁴⁵²⁵ He then remained in Portugal until October 1963 when he returned to Mozambique.⁴⁵²⁶

All of this makes it extremely difficult for Tsafendas to have gone to Russia during the two years mentioned by the Commission, 1961 and 1962. The only possible window was between February 1962 and October 1963, when he was in Portugal. However, Tsafendas spent the first few months in Lisbon in the Albergue da Mitra (Hostel Mitra) before visiting London in June or July 1962. He was back in Lisbon probably in July or in August, and on October 27, 1962, he visited a police station in Lisbon in an attempt to have his exile from Mozambique ended.⁴⁵²⁷ He did not succeed and in November, 1962, he made yet another application for entry to South Africa, which he submitted to that country's embassy in Lisbon.⁴⁵²⁸ Therefore the only possible time that Tsafendas could have visited the Soviet Union in 1962 is between September-October. However, Tsafendas was informed about his adored father's death sometime in August or September 1962 and became desperate to get back to South Africa to visit his grave. Thus, it seems rather unlikely that he would travel to Russia when he was trying desperately to get back to South Africa.

⁴⁵²⁵ Eleni Vlachopoulos in *Live and Let Live*.

⁴⁵²⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁵²⁷ Letter of a police agent to the Ministry of Interiors regarding Tsafendas's exile. 30 October 1962.

PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁵²⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 40.

In addition, PIDE, who kept a close eye on Tsafendas while he was in Portugal and was aware of his travels as he was using a Portuguese passport, makes no mention of any such travel to the Soviet Union. In those years, the Iron Curtain was impenetrable. Tsafendas could not just slip over the border as he did in South Africa, thus he would have needed a visa. These were extremely difficult to get and if issued, usually took a long time. Tsafendas never told any of the witnesses he met in 1963 and were interviewed by the author that he had visited Russia the year before, while he did however state openly that he had been to Bulgaria. If he was happy to mention Communist Bulgaria, he would presumably have felt no constraint about speaking of the Soviet Union. Tsafendas invariably travelled by train or by boat as he was afraid of flying, and anyway he could not afford plane tickets. This suggests that if he travelled to the Soviet Union it would probably have been by train, an extremely long voyage and one he was most unlikely to have undertaken in 1962 due to lack of time.

That Tsafendas visited Russia cannot be ruled out, but if he did so, this may have happened sometime between 1954 and 1959 when he was travelling in West Germany, Sweden and Denmark, countries which were physically closer to the Soviet Union. That, however, is supposition and there is not any evidence that Tsafendas entered Russia during this period.

As for Tsafendas being able to speak Russian, this depends on one's definition of speaking a language. According to his half-sister, Katerina Pnema, Tsafendas picked up some Russian from Soviet sailors in Lourenço Marques in the 1930s and by reading a Russian dictionary. As far as the author can establish, he knew enough words and phrases to enable him to communicate on a basic level with the occasional Russian he came across, but he could not hold a fluent conversation in the language. Finally, although Tsafendas was an accomplished linguist, he never listed Russian as one of his languages.

TSAFENDAS'S TEETH

*On 9th October 1964, he re-entered Rhodesia at Umtali. In Umtali he tried to buy a farm, but since it appeared that he had no money, no transaction took place. He also said that the silver fillings in his teeth had been done in Russia (To the Commission he stated that he had obtained these in Turkey).*⁴⁵²⁹

⁴⁵²⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 18.

The statement regarding Tsafendas's teeth is inaccurate. Several witnesses said Tsafendas told them that the dental work had been done in Bulgaria.⁴⁵³⁰ None of the witnesses interviewed by the author stated that the teeth were made in Russia or in Turkey. Most of them did not know which country was involved, but those who mentioned a country, mentioned Bulgaria. Father Nikola Banovic also stated that when Tsafendas left Turkey for Bulgaria he did not have new silver-type teeth. What is more, Tsafendas went to Sofia, Bulgaria, to visit his DSE comrade from the Greek Civil War who happened to be a dentist. All these strands of information strongly suggest that Tsafendas had his teeth fixed in Bulgaria, very likely by his dentist comrade. Since Tsafendas did not have the silver teeth while in Turkey up to December 1961, obviously he had them made sometime afterwards. It is highly unlikely that Tsafendas visited Russia between December 1961 and October 1963 when he returned to Mozambique as his movements throughout this period are accountable through PIDEs reports. This again, makes Bulgaria and very likely his dentist comrade as the most likely answers.

However, the Commission's reference to Russia is not unjustified, since two people had mentioned Russia in this context. Spiros Raftopoulos, whose shop in Umtali was twice visited by Tsafendas, said in a statement to the police that "Tsafendas told him that he had them done while he was staying in Russia."⁴⁵³¹ And *The Umtali Post* reported on September 9, that Tsafendas visited a café in Umtali in about October 1964. The lady owner was curious about his teeth and she quoted Tsafendas as saying they were false teeth which were made for him when he visited Russia.⁴⁵³²

It is highly unlikely that Tsafendas would lie or be confused as to where his teeth were fixed. The probability is that both Raftopoulos and the café lady confused Bulgaria with Russia. Andreas Babiolakis said that for most people in Africa, especially old people, "Bulgaria and Russia were like the same, as it was for every country in the Eastern Bloc. If you were saying Bulgaria it was like saying Russia!"⁴⁵³³ As for why Tsafendas told the Commission that he had the teeth done in Turkey, a plausible theory is that he did not want to

⁴⁵³⁰ For example, Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015 and several others.

⁴⁵³¹ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁵³² *The Umtali Post*, 'Assassin Was Seen in Umtali', 9 September 1966: 1.

⁴⁵³³ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

reveal that he had been in the Eastern Bloc nor expose his connection with his dentist comrade.

TSAFENDAS'S CAPE ARGUS INTERVIEW

*In July 1966, Tsafendas had a long interview with Mr. Hartford of the Cape Argus. They had already met at the beginning of the year when Tsafendas came to enquire whether there was any news of the so-called freedom fighters of Mozambique. He described himself as a rebel from Mozambique. Mr. Hartford thought that he might be able to provide material for a magazine article and asked him to return later for an interview. This interview was postponed a few times until it took place sometime in July. It lasted about 75 minutes. Tsafendas recounted inter alia, how he had entered the Union illegally in 1936. He made no secret of his strong anti-Portuguese feelings, but did not utter a word against the South African Government. He complained, inter alia, that he still suffered from headaches as a result of the treatment he had been given by the Portuguese in Lisbon after the war. Mr. Hartford's impression was that Tsafendas was normal; he had no reason to believe that he was mentally defective. This witness had listened to the evidence in the Supreme Court on Tsafendas's condition after the death of Dr. Verwoerd, and his impression was that his condition must have deteriorated since the interview for, when he interviewed Tsafendas, the latter spoke fluently without any noticeable gaps in the conversation. He added, however, that after he had heard the evidence, it occurred to him that Tsafendas had in fact sometimes evaded his questions, but not to such an extent as to arouse his suspicions about his mental condition.*⁴⁵³⁴

Hartford's statement to the Commission was not discovered in the archives, but his name was found among those listed to give evidence on the 4th of November. Hartford spent seventy-five minutes with Tsafendas for his interview and got the impression that Tsafendas was "normal; he had no reason to believe that he was mentally defective... he spoke fluently without any noticeable gaps in the conversation." This contradicts Dr. Cooper's evidence that Tsafendas was unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes and that he spoke in a disjointed manner.

The Commission states that Hartford, after hearing what was said at the summary trial about Tsafendas, formed the impression that "his condition must have deteriorated since the interview." He also concluded that Tsafendas had evaded questions during the interview. The

⁴⁵³⁴ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 75.

Commission does not seem to have pursued the suspected evasions, perhaps because it was obvious that Tsafendas would choose what to answer when discussing such sensitive political matters as Portuguese rebels and Mozambique's independence, with their security implications. The author cannot know exactly what questions were raised in the interview, but certainly Tsafendas would not have been able to give answers to many and naturally evaded them. Suppose he had been asked on what grounds he received amnesty and was allowed back to Mozambique after twelve years in exile? He could hardly have replied, "I pretended to be mad!" Then, if Hartford asked how he avoided service in the Portuguese military, could he possibly have given the same answer?

TSAFENDAS AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

*Tsafendas often attended services of his church at private homes in Durban. Some of the members of the same faith testified that he saw himself as an outcast, that he was always pitying himself, but that he never showed any gratitude for anything that was done for him.*⁴⁵³⁵

*At church services, particularly, no one could understand what he was saying.*⁴⁵³⁶

The Report refers to "some" church members criticising Tsafendas, but only one such statement was found in the Commission's archives. This does not mean it was the only one, since other similar statements might have gone missing. However, this statement, by Caroline Barbeau, contained all the references quoted by the Report. She said of Tsafendas that "he liked to pity himself saying that his family did not want him, but at the same time he never thanked one for any kindness shown him."⁴⁵³⁷ It seems evident that in referring to "some members," the Commission was actually referring only to Caroline Barbeau. Her testimony has been examined in the Investigation Chapter.

Barbeau's was the only statement from the two hundred people who were interviewed by the police and the Commission and whose statements were found in the archives which described Tsafendas in negative terms. It seems extraordinary that none of the other two hundred expressed similar views if Tsafendas behaved as Barbeau claimed. None of the seventy-one witnesses who were interviewed by the author agreed with Barbeau's

⁴⁵³⁵ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 35.

⁴⁵³⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II C, Paragraph 38.

⁴⁵³⁷ Caroline Barbeau statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

characterisation of Tsafendas; in fact, all denied that Tsafendas was as she portrayed. It is noteworthy that the Christian Church, of which Barbeau was a member, sought to distance itself from Tsafendas and discount its links with him after the assassination.⁴⁵³⁸ Many of the Church's members were questioned by the police⁴⁵³⁹ and the negative attention this brought them, along with the fact that Tsafendas was a member of the sect, made them feel deeply embarrassed. They felt it reflected badly on their Church and like the Greek Community in South Africa, tried to distance themselves and the Church from Tsafendas.⁴⁵⁴⁰

Merle Daniels, also a member of the Church, admitted during Tsafendas's summary trial that she "would like to protect the name of the Christian Church."⁴⁵⁴¹ When Peter and Helen Daniels (the woman who asked Tsafendas to marry her), were interviewed by *Post* journalist Gordon Winter, they asked him not to mention that Helen was a preacher for the Christian Church because it "would bring disgrace" on the Church.⁴⁵⁴² Like most local Greeks, some members of the sect sought to disown Tsafendas in order to protect their reputation. It is more than coincidence that Barbeau and James Johnston, both members of the Church, were the two of the three witnesses of the two hundred questioned by the police and the Commission to speak negatively about Tsafendas.

At least some of the Church's members, before the assassination, had a very high opinion of Tsafendas. Patrick O'Ryan said that Tsafendas was described to him by a fellow member of the Church as a "highly cultured gentleman, a very refined gentleman who speaks seven languages."⁴⁵⁴³ Others spoke well of Tsafendas to Helen Daniels and recommended him as her husband. This was significant because Helen, as a preacher, was highly respected by the Church. Her co-religionists would have never recommended someone who was as described by Barbeau.

The second derogatory reference by the Commission - that no-one could understand Tsafendas at church services - was probably taken from Helen Daniels's testimony which sought to show Tsafendas as an outsider. It is likely that what the church people could not understand was Tsafendas's viewpoint concerning the role of the Church in modern society.

⁴⁵³⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013; Reuben O'Ryan in a personal interview, 15 April 2016; Father Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

⁴⁵³⁹ *Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), 'Tsafendas's Brothers are Quizzed', 18 September 1966: 18: 5; *The Observer*, 'Police Question S. African Sect', 18 September 1966: 2.

⁴⁵⁴⁰ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013; Father Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

⁴⁵⁴¹ Marle Daniels testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁵⁴² Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes; Gordon Winter in a personal interview with Dr. James Sanders on behalf of the author, 19 August 2016.

⁴⁵⁴³ Patrick O'Ryan in *A Question of Madness* - this part is available in the rushes.

Tsafendas had clashed with the Church leaders because they advocated “the Biblical idea of subservience to a Government,” including to the governing National Party and its policy of apartheid, a stance which he hotly disputed.⁴⁵⁴⁴ The only member of the Christian Church to reveal this to the police was Patrick O’Ryan.⁴⁵⁴⁵

⁴⁵⁴⁴ Richard Poggenpoel in a personal interview, 30 July 2013; Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

⁴⁵⁴⁵ Patrick O’ Ryan testimony on Tsafendas’s summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA.

CHAPTER III: DEMITRIO TSAFENDAS'S MOTIVES

Chapter III of the Commission's Report deals exclusively with Tsafendas's alleged motives. The following is the whole chapter:

1. *In determining Tsafendas's motives, we must bear in mind that we are not dealing with a normal person.*

2. *The finding that he was mentally disordered at the time of the examination by the Supreme Court, Cape Town, in October 1966, is accepted without any reservation.*

It is probable that at all material times he was not mentally normal, but there may be some difference of opinion as to the degree of disorder.

3. *His unhappy childhood, his discovery that he was an illegitimate child and that he was not White, the fact that his family did not really accept him, as well as that to all intents and purposes he knew no fatherland, that practically no country would have him, and all the other knocks and blows referred to in his history, undoubtedly inflicted severe psychological damage.*

4. *Whatever the causes were, there can be no doubt that he was a maladjusted, rejected, frustrated, feckless rolling-stone. He is boastful, selfish, unscrupulous and crafty.*

5. *Although there were exceptions, he almost invariably displayed strong feelings against the present South African; Government. During the Second World War, he was a member of the Communist Party in South Africa; in England, he made contact with extreme leftists, and even tried to find support for an uprising against the present Government in South Africa. It is probable that while he was working in the House of Assembly his interest in politics and his condemnation of the present Government became more intense.*

The discontent of the crew of the Eleni about the Immorality Act probably had a profound effect on his already receptive mind.

6. *It may be that the idea of murdering Dr. Verwoerd had already occurred to him when he realized that he might secure a post in the House of Assembly, but it is probable that the idea obtruded itself more strongly in his mind only when he started working in the House of Assembly and realized that it was within his power to, commit such a deed. It is unlikely that*

it already existed when he had the interview with Hartford in July 1966, for, if he had had such intentions then, he would not have divulged the facts about himself, including the fact that he was a rebel from Mozambique.

7. *In the clouded mind of this outcast, who was a complete failure, whose life meant practically nothing to him, was born a cunning plan to make use of his power to destroy the head of a Government which he hated.*

8. *When he bought the pistol on the Eleni, the plan to kill Dr. Verwoerd must already have existed.*

His explanation to the Commission that he had bought the pistol and knives for self-defence is unacceptable.

His statement to the Commission that the assault was not planned, but that he had experienced a sudden impulse immediately before the assault was made, does not tally with the facts.

9. *Even if he was mentally disordered on 6th September, 1966, it is clear that when he bought the knives that morning he knew what he was doing, and knew what he was planning to do.*

He concealed the knives carefully and had enough self-control to wait his chance. Unaided, without a false move, with cunning timing and with unerring purpose he executed his plan.

ANALYSIS OF THE CHAPTER

Chapter III of the Report purports to explain why Tsafendas killed Dr. Verwoerd and is thus of critical importance to the Commission's designated task, as outlined in its terms of reference, namely "*to enquire into and submit a report on all aspects relating to the death of the late Dr. the Honourable Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd which the said commission deems to be in the public interest.*" Yet what is arguably the most significant of these aspects, Tsafendas's motivation, is dealt with in one of the Report's shortest chapters, a mere nine paragraphs, most of which are devoted to a negative and largely inaccurate portrayal of Tsafendas's character. Only two obscurely worded paragraphs, both of them suppositional, address the question of motivation. Anyone reading this chapter might conclude that Tsafendas had no real motive for his action, since only hatred for the Government is mentioned, along with some vague speculation as to what might have triggered his hand. The greater part of the chapter is used to denigrate Tsafendas with a series of negative and unfounded characterisations, as well as to note the "severe psychological damage" it alleged he had suffered.

The Report sounds convincing in presenting Tsafendas as someone without a clear motive. Ellison Kahn, Professor of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand, wrote in 1968, just two years after the Report's publication, that "the van Wyk Commission had searched in vain for an indisputable motive."⁴⁵⁴⁶ Professor Kahn's observation seems correct based on the contents of the Report, as this is the impression that the Commission wanted to give. However, in reality it is wrong, as Tsafendas had given perfectly clear and logical political reasons for the killing; the Commission, although very well aware of this, simply omitted them. Therefore, it was natural that someone, just like Professor Kahn, who was not aware of Tsafendas's statements, would have been given the wrong impression by the Report.

The Report also states clearly that it "accepted without any reservation" the finding of the Supreme Court that Tsafendas "was mentally disordered at the time of the examination," before adding that "it is probable that at all material times he was not mentally normal, but there may be some difference of opinion as to the degree of disorder." However, earlier in its Report, the Commission had admitted that it had "adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him" as it was "clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently

⁴⁵⁴⁶ Kahn, Jr., *The Separated People: A Look at Contemporary South Africa*, p. 163.

intelligent to put on a fairly good act.”⁴⁵⁴⁷ Advocate George Bizos, Professor John Dugard, Attorney Krish Govender and Judge Zak Yacoob believe that it was “impossible” for the Commission to contradict the Court’s verdict about Tsafendas and that its Report, no matter what evidence it had in its possession, was going to be along the same lines as the Court’s verdict and the way Tsafendas was presented in the Court.⁴⁵⁴⁸

Paragraph 5 of the Commission’s Report says:

“[Tsafendas] almost invariably displayed strong feelings against the present South African Government... it is probable that while he was working in the House of Assembly his interest in politics and his condemnation of the present Government became more intense. The discontent of the crew of the Eleni about the Immorality Act probably had a profound effect on his already receptive mind.”

Paragraph 7 says:

“In the clouded mind of this outcast, who was a complete failure, whose life meant practically nothing to him, was born a cunning plan to make use of his power to destroy the head of a Government which he hated.”

The tentative nature of the Commission’s conclusions is reflected in the use of the words “probable” and “probably” in the first quoted paragraph, and in the entirely subjective nature of the second, which claims to read Tsafendas’s mind as to his intentions and their causes.

What cannot be ignored is that Tsafendas had made it perfectly clear why he killed Dr. Verwoerd in statements he gave to the police and that these statements were in the possession of the Commission. He told the police that he killed the Prime Minister because he was “disgusted with his racial policies” and hoped that by killing him “a change of policy would take place.”⁴⁵⁴⁹ There could hardly be a clearer exposition of the fundamental political reason – to secure a change of policy – which prompted him to act as he did. Committing an act which aims for political change is the perfect definition of a political act. In addition, in his first statement to the police, Tsafendas declared that he “wanted to see a government representing all the South African people.” He said, “I do not think the Nationalist

⁴⁵⁴⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

⁴⁵⁴⁸ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016; Attorney Krish Govender in a personal interview, 12 May 2017; Justice Zak Yacoob in a personal interview, 18 September 2017.

⁴⁵⁴⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Government is representative of the people and I wanted to see a different government.”⁴⁵⁵⁰ In his second statement, he testified that “I always had a grudge against the South African government on account of its racial policies and I hated Dr. Verwoerd because he was a foreigner – a Hollander.”⁴⁵⁵¹ His reference to Dr. Verwoerd being a foreigner has already been discussed and was one of the many misrepresentations at the summary trial.

The Commission’s cherry-picking approach to written and oral evidence to suit its purposes goes beyond turning a blind eye to the above-mentioned aspects of Tsafendas’s statements. In the Report’s Chapter II D, Paragraph 15, the Commission has no hesitation in making extensive use of Tsafendas’s account from his statement to the police of his movements prior to the killing and of the killing itself. However, the Commission does not use Tsafendas’s own words from the same account to explain his motive. Is there a better way of explaining a person’s motive than by using his own words and his own explanation. Obviously the Commission could not have used Tsafendas’s own words, especially the fact that he was “disgusted” with Verwoerd’s “racial policies” and of his hope of a “change of policy”, because they did not sound like the words of a madman and did not match the picture it was trying to build, and were completely opposed to the picture that was painted during the court proceedings. More importantly, they flatly contradicted what was heard in the court about his motive and they did not fit with the picture of him that emerged from the summary trial.

Furthermore, no mention is made of more significant statements where at least five witnesses, Cleanthes Alachiotis, Nikolaos Billis, Nikolas Kambouris, Georgios Kantas and Michalis Vasilakis, testified to the South African police that Tsafendas had characterised any assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as justifiable because he was a tyrant and a dictator; and this was just three days before the assassination.⁴⁵⁵² Another witness, Edward Furness, told the police that Tsafendas was willing to do “anything that would get the South African regime out of power.”⁴⁵⁵³ Neither of these statements was referred to in the Commission’s Report.

⁴⁵⁵⁰ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁵⁵¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁵⁵² Cleanthes Alachiotis in a personal interview, 29 September 2010; Nikolaos Billis in a personal interview, 12 June 2011; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 16 January 2016.

⁴⁵⁵³ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Although Tsafendas appeared twice before the Commission, no mention is made of the most obvious question of all: Why did he kill Dr. Verwoerd? He must surely have been asked by the Commission, and if he was (it is impossible to know for certain because accounts of his testimony have disappeared), his reply is not recorded. Therefore, what did Tsafendas say when called twice before the Commission?

Significantly, the Report makes no reference to the tapeworm, which was adduced at the summary trial as the reason Tsafendas killed Dr. Verwoerd. Had Tsafendas mentioned the tapeworm in his evidence to the Commission, Judge van Wyk, probably ought to have mentioned it; after all, he was ready to include other negative or absurd references to Tsafendas while omitting all the positive ones. The conclusion must be that, as with the police, Tsafendas made no mention of the tapeworm when he testified to the Commission.

Tsafendas also seemed to be aware that his act would have a positive impact to some people in South Africa. Major Rossouw, in evidence to the Commission, said: "When I originally questioned him, I accused him of being a horrible murderer. To which he answered, 'That is what you think but the world thinks differently!' At a later stage, I asked him whether he regretted his deed yet and he answered that he did feel remorse and that he was very sorry about what he had done."⁴⁵⁵⁴

Tsafendas's initial reaction seems to reflect his belief that many in South Africa would have applauded the assassination. As for feeling remorse at a later stage, the likelihood is that this remark was a gesture of appeasement to the police who had been torturing and beating him systematically since his apprehension. Statements by Tsafendas at the time and over subsequent years demonstrate that he never regretted killing Dr. Verwoerd. Thirteen days after the assassination, he told the police he "thought it was the right thing to do,"⁴⁵⁵⁵ and the Commission reported that "he showed no signs of remorse" during its deliberations.⁴⁵⁵⁶

Several witnesses who knew Tsafendas very well like Ira Kyriakakis, Costas Poriazis, Father Nikolas Banovic, Katerina Pnema, Helen Grispos, Fotini Gavasiadis, Nick Papadakis, Mary Eintracht, John and Antony Michaletos, Nick Augustides and Andreas Babiolakis stated to the author that Tsafendas was a passionate Communist who considered Dr.

⁴⁵⁵⁴ Major Daniel Rossouw testimony to the COE, 14 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

⁴⁵⁵⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁵⁵⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

Verwoerd to be a tyrant, a dictator, and “Hitler’s best student.”⁴⁵⁵⁷ Tsafendas kept characterising Dr. Verwoerd with those words as long as thirty years after the assassination.⁴⁵⁵⁸ Describing Verwoerd as “Hitler’s best student” was a trademark characterisation of South Africa’s Prime Minister by Tsafendas and one which he used constantly. Tsafendas also constantly employed two particular words to describe Verwoerd: “tyrant” and “dictator.” He considered that Verwoerd was a “tyrant” because he was oppressing South Africa’s Blacks, and a “dictator” because he was elected by the Whites only; since the country’s majority Blacks did not have the vote, Verwoerd was not democratically elected in Tsafendas’s view, and was in essence a dictator.⁴⁵⁵⁹

Andreas Babiolakis told the author that Tsafendas never made an attempt to hide his detestation for colonialism and apartheid. Tsafendas told Babiolakis one day that “Verwoerd and [Portuguese Prime Minister] Salazar are fascist dictators and should be executed like Mussolini.”⁴⁵⁶⁰ Costas Poriakis told the author that Tsafendas was “a political animal. The most politicized person I’ve ever met” and that “there was fire in his eyes when talking politics, especially about the struggle for the independence of Mozambique and other countries in Africa. He was clearly pro-violence [for political reasons].”⁴⁵⁶¹ Six years after the assassination, Tsafendas proudly told anti-apartheid activist and Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter Alexander Moumbaris, a fellow prisoner in Pretoria Maximum Security Prison, “I got τον Νταή τους” (“their tough guy” or “their champion,” but in a pejorative sense).⁴⁵⁶²

Sometime in 1994, when Tsafendas was in Pretoria Prison hospital and apartheid had collapsed, Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis asked him, “Why did you do it, Mr. Tsafendas [kill Verwoerd]?” Tsafendas told the priest that he considered Verwoerd to be “a dictator and a

⁴⁵⁵⁷ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Costas Poriakis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁵⁵⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴⁵⁵⁹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Elias Constantaras in a personal interview, 11 April 2015; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Nikolas Kambouris in a personal interview, 17 January 2014; Georgios Kantas in a personal interview, 11 January 2012; Antony Michaletos in a personal interview, 2 May 2016; John Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016; Nick Papadakis in a personal interview, 11 May 2016; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Michalis Vasilakis in a personal interview, 17 March 2016.

⁴⁵⁶⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

⁴⁵⁶¹ Costas Poriakis in a personal interview, 5 April 2016.

⁴⁵⁶² Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

tyrant” and that because he was the “brains behind apartheid,” he hoped his death would lead to the collapse of that racist policy. He knew everything would not be transformed overnight, but he hoped Verwoerd’s “removal” would be a stepping stone towards the end of apartheid.⁴⁵⁶³

Tsafendas denounced the slain Prime Minister as a “monster” and an “evil person,” and set out in detail the steps Dr. Verwoerd had taken to establish his iron rule and earn his title, “the architect of apartheid.” Tsafendas told Bishop Ioannis that “Verwoerd was a dictator and a tyrant who oppressed his people. People were like slaves. He created apartheid... Even if you had lived here, you would not have been able to tell of its real extent [of apartheid] unless you had lived with Coloureds and Blacks. People were like slaves, they were only living to serve the Whites. Verwoerd did that. He was a monster, almost as bad as Hitler. I call him ‘Hitler’s best student’ because he copied some of Hitler’s Nurnberg Laws and applied them to the Blacks here ... Verwoerd would have done to the Blacks what Hitler did to the Jews if he did not need them to serve the Whites.”⁴⁵⁶⁴

Tsafendas then argued that his act was morally justifiable because Verwoerd was a tyrant and a dictator. He said that since he had the opportunity to rid the world of such monster, it was his “duty,” his “social responsibility” to do so, a “tyrannicide.” Tsafendas also argued that if he had not acted, his guilt would have equalled that of Verwoerd, because any person who is aware of a crime and does not intervene, or worse allows it to continue when he has the power to end it, is as guilty as the criminal himself. Father Minas disagreed with all this and reminded him that he had killed a man and that was unacceptable and a mortal sin, no matter who the person was and what he had done. Tsafendas then put this question to Bishop Ioannis and Father Minas,

“Every day, you see a man you know committing a very serious crime for which millions of people suffer. You cannot take him to court or report him to the police, because he is the law in the country. Would you remain silent and let him continue with his crime, or would you do something to stop him?”⁴⁵⁶⁵

⁴⁵⁶³ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴⁵⁶⁴ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴⁵⁶⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

Both priests replied that they would have wanted to stop the crime but they would not have killed a person to stop it. Tsafendas said, "Then you would have been as guilty as Dr. Verwoerd." The debate went on and on, but Tsafendas refused to accept that he was wrong, producing arguments and counter-arguments to support his contention. He even used examples from history where tyrants and dictators were executed by the people. He characterised the killings of the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and of Reinhard Heydrich, Gestapo chief and one of the architects of the Holocaust, as justifiable and as tyrannicides.⁴⁵⁶⁶

Sometimes, Tsafendas, in the presence of the priests, would proudly make a stabbing gesture and denounce Dr. Verwoerd yet again as "Hitler's best student." He told them that at first, he intended to kidnap the Prime Minister and offer to exchange him for political prisoners. When he realised that this was not possible, he considered placing a bomb in Parliament to kill all the MPs. However, he dismissed this idea because journalists and other innocent people and the only "good" MP, Helen Suzman, could also have died.⁴⁵⁶⁷ Tsafendas always referred to his killing of Dr. Verwoerd as "the execution." He refused to use the word assassination. When the priests referred to "the assassination," Tsafendas would invariably correct them, saying, "the execution!"⁴⁵⁶⁸ Tsafendas also always maintained to Liza Key that he had killed Dr. Verwoerd for political reasons; because he was an "immoral man" and "disagreed with his policies" as he specifically told her.⁴⁵⁶⁹

Henk van Woerden told *Carte Blanche Interactive* in 2001 that when he asked Tsafendas why he killed Verwoerd, he replied, "I didn't like the man, I dislike what he's doing to the country, I don't agree [sic]. It was politically motivated." Van Woerden also stated that "the records that I have looked at suggest without a doubt that at the time he murdered Verwoerd, he was completely *compos mentis*."⁴⁵⁷⁰

⁴⁵⁶⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴⁵⁶⁷ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴⁵⁶⁸ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

⁴⁵⁶⁹ *A Question of Madness*; Liza Key in a personal interview, 6 April 2015.

⁴⁵⁷⁰ Harris, "Arranging Prejudice: Exploring Hate Crime in Post-Apartheid South Africa", p. 28.

OTHER PARTS OF THIS CHAPTER**Paragraphs 1-2: Tsafendas's Mental State**

The Commission immediately refers to Tsafendas's mental state, claiming flatly that he is not a normal person and stating that it accepts the Supreme Court's finding of mental disorder. It then lists reasons, which it says "*undoubtedly inflicted severe psychological damage*" on Tsafendas (Paragraph 3).

The Commission heard 105 witnesses and it seems that only Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos questioned Tsafendas's mental state, testifying that "at times his conversation was confused" and her impression was that "he was mad."⁴⁵⁷¹ However, she had given a completely different statement to the police, saying she "considered him to be a completely normal person."⁴⁵⁷² We cannot know why de Vos told the Commission something totally different to what she told the police. Perhaps she was influenced by what she had heard in court. The fact is that no-one else said anything about Tsafendas not being a normal person. On the contrary, whoever commented on his mental state said he was perfectly normal. This is discussed in detail in the section 'Mental State' of this chapter. This was the same with the one hundred and fifty people questioned by the police, all of whose statements were in the Commission's possession. Only three of these witnesses, Barbeau, Martincich and Johnston, testified negatively about Tsafendas's mental state and both their statements and reliability have been discussed extensively in the previous chapter.

Paragraph 3: The "causes" that "undoubtedly inflicted severe psychological damage" on Tsafendas

His unhappy childhood, his discovery that he was an illegitimate child and that he was not White, the fact that his family did not really accept him, as well as that to all intents and purposes he knew no fatherland, that practically no country would have him, and all the other knocks and blows referred to in his history, undoubtedly inflicted severe psychological damage.

⁴⁵⁷¹ Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death, Chapter II C, Paragraph 65.

⁴⁵⁷² Wilhelmina Sophia de Vos statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

The entire paragraph is inaccurate or distorted and clearly part of an attempt to support the idea that Tsafendas was mentally disordered. The Commission did not have a psychiatrist among its ranks but boldly set out factors it claimed affected Tsafendas's mind. More importantly the Commission did not have in its possession, as far as the author could establish based on the documents found in the NASA, any evidence to support such a conclusion. On the contrary, evidence found clearly shows a different Tsafendas.

His Family did not Really Accept him

The Commission claims that Tsafendas's family did not really accept him. That is quite wrong and the Commission held ample evidence suggesting the exact opposite. However, it chose to ignore the many oral and written statements witnessing to the contrary. The issue has been discussed earlier in this chapter, so it will not be examined again.

Unhappy Childhood

It is wholly wrong to claim that Tsafendas had an "unhappy childhood." None of the two hundred or so witnesses who were questioned by the police or the Commission said anything to that effect and no other evidence has been found to justify such a claim. None of those who knew Tsafendas from childhood made any such comment. On the contrary, Dr. Samuel Schmahmann, a classmate in his school at Middleburg, giving his memories shortly after the assassination, recalled Dimitri as "a popular boy and not the least introverted... I particularly remember him singing a Greek song at a school concert," he said. "He was very funny and had us all in stitches."⁴⁵⁷³

Another schoolmate, William Mare Volbrecht, a psychologist who was questioned by the South African police at the same time, testified that "At that stage Tsafendas was seen as white and there was never anything that pointed to someone regarding or treating him as a non-white or to him being discriminated against. I cannot remember whether he was ever guilty of misconduct; he was never a loner and mingled freely with us."⁴⁵⁷⁴ Tsafendas's

⁴⁵⁷³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Boyhood Days of Tsafendas', 8 September 1966.

⁴⁵⁷⁴ William Mare Volbrecht statement to the police, 3 October 1966. K150, Vol 3, File Verklaring deur Majoor Venter. NASA.

stepmother, Marika, told the police that Dimitri's "association with other children at this stage [in childhood], was good."⁴⁵⁷⁵

In addition, Tsafendas was always treated as a full-member of the family and there was never the slightest indication that this was not the case. Marika testified to the Commission that Tsafendas "had grown up as one of her children."⁴⁵⁷⁶ Katerina Pnema made a similar statement to the police shortly after the assassination. She said that growing up with Tsafendas "to all intents and purposes it was understood" by "her and her brother and sisters" that "he was a member of the family... his complexion was such – as also his manner – that he passed as a European."⁴⁵⁷⁷

The Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali shortly after the assassination questioned several Greeks who knew Tsafendas. It wrote in its confidential report to the South African police, "It is also reliably reported that the Tsafandakis family hold a good reputation among the Greek community and there are suggestions that Michael Tsafandakis made a big mistake in attempting to raise his illegitimate son as a full member of his family."⁴⁵⁷⁸

Guglielmo Conte, a very good friend and business partner of Tsafendas's father, who knew Tsafendas from the day he was born, explicitly denied in an interview with the *Rand Daily Mail* that was in possession of the Commission, that Tsafendas was not accepted by his family.⁴⁵⁷⁹ Costas Michaletos, who knew Tsafendas from infancy and was his father's best friend, told the police that "Dimetrios Tsafantakis grew up with his half-brothers and sisters and was always treated as part of the family."⁴⁵⁸⁰ All this information was known to the Commission

Helen Grispos was a near neighbour of Tsafendas and grew up with him in Lourenço Marques. Her mother, was Marika's best friend and her future husband, George, was one of Tsafendas's best boyhood friends. She described Tsafendas to the police as "well-mannered

⁴⁵⁷⁵ Marika Tsafantakis statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁵⁷⁶ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

⁴⁵⁷⁷ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁵⁷⁸ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 13 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁵⁷⁹ Goldstein, 'Tsafendas Timid and Puny As A Boy', *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 September 1966.

⁴⁵⁸⁰ Costas Michaletos statement to the police, 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

and intelligent”⁴⁵⁸¹ and made no comments about his childhood. However, in a personal interview, she dismissed the claim of an unhappy childhood. She remembers Tsafendas playing every day in front of her house with the other children and sometimes taking her, along with his stepsisters, to the beach in Lourenço Marques to teach her how to swim.⁴⁵⁸²

First cousin Mary Eintracht told the author that “it is a lie if someone says that Dimitri had an unhappy childhood. A big lie. He was full of life as a child. Very happy, friendly, very lively. He was very, very naughty, but just as some children are, especially boys, but nothing bad.” Eintracht also agrees that Tsafendas mixed freely with children of all races and never had an issue with his colour or identity.⁴⁵⁸³

Ira Kyriakakis, who grew up with Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques, was asked by the author if Tsafendas had an unhappy childhood and replied, “No, this is a mistake. Dimitri was very happy as a child. I don’t remember ever seeing him being unhappy. He was like all the other children, playing in the street, chasing each other. I remember he liked a lot playing hide and seek. He once hid in the top of a tree, just close to where I was. I never thought of looking up there as it was too high and I did not think that he would have climbed up there. He liked climbing trees.”⁴⁵⁸⁴ Andreas Babiolakis, another childhood friend, also disagreed about Tsafendas having an unhappy childhood. “That’s nonsense,” he said, “Dimitris was what we say the life of the party. He was full of energy and life. Absolute nonsense that he was unhappy.”⁴⁵⁸⁵

His younger half-sister, Katerina Pnefma, dismissed the Report’s comment as a “lie.” She told the author:

“Dimitri was a very happy but also a naughty child. He would spend all the time that he was not at school playing around the house. He loved playing. My mother had to go out in the street and scream his name to him to come back to the house when it was getting dark. He would always come home with dirty clothes from playing, but my mother did not mind; next day she would give him clean clothes again ... he loved the sea. He would often go there for swimming. He was an excellent swimmer. He taught all of us and many other children how to swim, even the little blind boy I told you before ... while there was light, Dimitri would spend

⁴⁵⁸¹ Confidential Security Report of the Special Branch of the British South African Police in Umtali, Subject: Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd. 10 September 1966. K150, Vol. 3, Sub file: 1/5. NASA.

⁴⁵⁸² Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013.

⁴⁵⁸³ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

⁴⁵⁸⁴ Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015.

⁴⁵⁸⁵ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016.

his time out of the house, playing with other children. Sometimes, he would come to the house only to eat. Every evening though or when it was dark, he would spend it reading a book. He always read a book before he went to sleep. As far as I can remember he was reading every day ... he was like any other child I knew, it is a lie to say that he was unhappy.”⁴⁵⁸⁶

The facts are that Tsafendas was nurtured lovingly by his family while the one element that would have made him appear separate or different, the knowledge of his parentage, was withheld from him out of consideration for his feelings. The most important witness to his childhood happiness is Tsafendas himself, who always spoke very fondly of his family and his childhood to several witnesses, including Liza Key, David Beresford, and Fathers Nikola Banovic, Minas Constandinou and Michalis Visvinis and Bishop Ioannis Tsafataridis.⁴⁵⁸⁷

Illegitimate Child and not being White

Tsafendas learned that he was illegitimate not as a small boy but when he was seventeen, thus at an age when the discovery would affect him less. That said, he was disturbed to discover that Marika was not his mother. He was unhappy that he never met his real, half-African mother, but he was not concerned, as the Commission claimed, that he was not White. According to the Commission, Marika testified that *“Tsafendas only learned that he had coloured origins when he looked for work at the aircraft factory. He had grown up as one of her children. He was depressed after he had learned about this, but never said anything about it.”*⁴⁵⁸⁸ Her statement is confirmed by several people who associated with Tsafendas at the time.

Mary Eintracht, Tsafendas's first cousin who had grown up with him in Egypt and Lourenço Marques, knew him extremely well. She was in Lourenço Marques when Tsafendas found out about his parentage. She said, “He was not the least bothered about the fact that his real mother was Black, I don't think he cared at all about it, but he was devastated that he did not meet her. That made him very sad, he was really very sad about

⁴⁵⁸⁶ Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015.

⁴⁵⁸⁷ Dimitri Tsafendas in *A Question of Madness*; Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Liza Key in a personal interview, 6 April 2015; Bishop Ioannis Tsafataridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017; Father Michalis Visvinis in a personal interview, 11 July 2015.

⁴⁵⁸⁸ COE report regarding visit to family members of Demitrio Tsafendas, Pretoria, 21 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, Sub file: 5, Subject: Algemeen. NASA.

it.⁴⁵⁸⁹ His stepsister, Katerina Pnema, and childhood friends Andreas Babiolakis, Helen Grispos and Ira Kyriakakis, who were also around at the time, agree with the above statement. Tsafendas never said anything to them about his mother being Black, but he was devastated that he had not met her.⁴⁵⁹⁰ Tsafendas sometimes expressed his sadness that he never met her to Father Minas Constandinou who visited him prison and the hospital for about ten years.⁴⁵⁹¹

All the above witnesses and everyone interviewed by the author said that Tsafendas never had an issue with colour – other people's or his own. He considered that all people were equal and had equal rights and he freely associated and played with Black and White children. He had a Black girlfriend named Stella when he was a teenager awhile his best friends were White Greeks, like George Grispos and John Michaletos and Black Mozambicans like Manuel and the blind boy. He later also had both Black, Coloured and White friends, including girlfriends. Tsafendas was certainly saddened that he did not meet his birth mother, as most people would be, and he sometimes expressed his sorrow about it. However, there is no evidence that it inflicted severe psychological damage on him, as the Commission claims.

No fatherland

The Commission claimed that Tsafendas “*knew no fatherland (and) that practically no country would have him,*” and that these factors inflicted severe psychological damage on him. This, too, is wrong. Tsafendas was passionate about the country of his birth, Mozambique, which he considered to be his fatherland. He spent the first twenty years of his life there and then was exiled due to his anti-colonialist and Communist beliefs and activities. He was a passionate and devoted partisan for the independence of Mozambique. Tsafendas, even in exile, was more passionate, active and caring for the cause of Mozambique's independence than many who lived permanently in Mozambique itself. How passionate and devoted is evident from a confidential letter which the Chief Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon sent to the Sub-Director of PIDE in Mozambique, just two days after the assassination. The senior officer instructed his subordinate that any “information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for

⁴⁵⁸⁹ Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014.

⁴⁵⁹⁰ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Helen Grispos in a personal interview, 22 January 2013; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 29 March 2015.

⁴⁵⁹¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

the independence of your country should not be transmitted to the South African authorities, despite the relations that exist between your delegation and the South African Police.”⁴⁵⁹²

Although this letter and the wider extent of Tsafendas's involvement in the fight for Mozambique's independence were not known to the Commission, several significant factors were. They included the following:

- A PIDE report which said that “PIDE characterised Tsafendas as a “partisan for the independence of Mozambique”⁴⁵⁹³ and admitted that “it is true that one finds in him an obvious spirit of revolt in relation to the Portuguese Administration, and favouring the independence of Mocambique.”⁴⁵⁹⁴
- That he was “arrested on several occasions after creating public disturbances including shouting pro-Communist and anti-Portuguese slogans.”⁴⁵⁹⁵
- That he had spent three months in jail in Beira after he was accused of “making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses.”⁴⁵⁹⁶
- That he wanted to see a “Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the Mother nation.”⁴⁵⁹⁷
- Tsafendas himself had also admitted to the Commission that he had attempted to recruit people for an uprising in Mozambique.⁴⁵⁹⁸

As for the Commission's comment that “practically no country would have him,” this is misleading and inaccurate. Tsafendas was banned from entering Mozambique and South Africa due to his politics. Although angered that he was not able to live in these countries, where he had family, he considered his banishment as an honour, proud to be an enemy of fascist regimes. Far from being bitter or mentally affected, Tsafendas was happy to take what

⁴⁵⁹² Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁵⁹³ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁵⁹⁴ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁵⁹⁵ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁵⁹⁶ PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT; Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁵⁹⁷ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁵⁹⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32.

he saw as an honourable political stance against these two countries.⁴⁵⁹⁹ Father Nikola Banovic discussed the subject of Tsafendas's exile extensively with him while they lived together in Istanbul. Tsafendas told him, "When your enemies are banning you, that means that you are on a good path/road"⁴⁶⁰⁰ [a Greek expression, meaning you are doing something good, you are progressing well].

Tsafendas was not banned from any other country. He was deported from the United States, but this was after he had lived there for five years, and this was again because of his Communist beliefs. In Britain, he failed to get a residence permit, but he was able to live and work in other countries, which he did extensively, in Portugal, Germany, Greece and Turkey for example.

Paragraphs 4 and 7: Tsafendas's Character

The Commission devotes two paragraphs (4 and 7) to a series of negative and unfounded characterizations of Tsafendas's personality, omitting most of the positive statements in its possession while using every critical one. The parade of denigration – that he was maladjusted, rejected, frustrated, feckless, boastful, crafty and so on - suggests an attempt to belittle him as much as possible in people's eyes. Every characterization used by the Commission here was examined and dismissed as inaccurate in this chapter, in the 'Tsafendas's character according to the Commission' section. However, even if all of the Commission's negative characterizations of Tsafendas were true, they were irrelevant to his motives. A man could have all the characteristics mentioned yet still hold strong political principles. At the end of the day, Tsafendas volunteered clear political reasons for killing Dr. Verwoerd which were omitted from the Report.

⁴⁵⁹⁹ Andreas Babiolakis in a personal interview, 19 March 2016; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Mary Eintracht in a personal interview, 9 October 2014; Ira Kyriakakis in a personal interview, 27 March 2015; Katerina Pnema in a personal interview, 30 March 2015.

⁴⁶⁰⁰ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

Paragraph 5: Tsafendas's Political Activities and Ideas

Here, the Commission acknowledges some of Tsafendas's political activities and ideas, but the five lines it devotes to them scarcely scratch the surface of his interests. Among the very important facts missing are that he was exiled from Mozambique because of his Communist and anti-colonialist activities, his participation with the Communists in the Greek Civil War, his arrests and imprisonments by the Portuguese because of his anti-colonialist and Communist activities in Mozambique, his association in London with leading anti-apartheid activists such as David Gardener, Solly Sachs and Canon John Collins. That he considered Dr. Verwoerd to be a dictator and a tyrant and had expressed his willingness to do anything to get the South African regime out of power are also omitted.

The Commission then speculates that the "discontent" felt by the crew of the *Eleni* might have affected Tsafendas's mind. The issue of the crew's alleged "discontent" has been discussed and explained in the previous chapter and has clearly been misunderstood by the Commission. The crew, most in their early twenties, had no idea what apartheid was when they arrived in South Africa and it was Tsafendas who "enlightened" them. He asked the men to boycott South Africa's economy by spending as little money as possible and he took some of them to a township in Cape Town to see for themselves the hardships of apartheid. As a result, the crew became upset about the race-based policy of apartheid; Mastromanolis said that the South Africans need "a good whipping" and Zafiriadis commented that the South Africans "should be a taught a lesson." Thus, it was Tsafendas's exposure of apartheid that affected the crew rather than the crew's discontent affecting Tsafendas, as the Commission believed.

As for the claim that the crew's discontent was about the Immorality Act, this too was wrong. All of the thirteen *Eleni* crew who were present in Cape Town and were interviewed by the author dismissed the Commission's claim out of hand, pointing out that whoever wanted to, had sex with Black women; no-one was bothered about the Act, it was simply ignored. After all, the men had easy access to White women in Cape Town and being seamen and travellers, they did not view sex with Black women as a unique or sought-after experience.

Paragraph 6: The Idea to Kill Dr. Verwoerd

This paragraph focuses on when Tsafendas decided to kill Dr. Verwoerd. It is entirely speculative, using phrases such as *it may be ... it is probable ... it is unlikely ...* However, Tsafendas had clearly told the police how and when he had got the idea to kill Verwoerd: “some days after I started working in the House of Assembly, all kinds of thoughts came to my mind about murdering the Prime Minister. I saw an opportunity of shooting the Prime Minister from the lobby ...”⁴⁶⁰¹ Furthermore, as we have seen several times, he had also perfectly clearly explained the reasons that led him to this decision.

Paragraph 7: A Possible Motive?

This paragraph states in its entirety:

“In the clouded mind of this outcast, who was a complete failure, whose life meant practically nothing to him, was born a cunning plan to make use of his power to destroy the head of a Government which he hated.”

Again, the Commission characterizes Tsafendas in a negative fashion while attempting to explain why he killed Dr. Verwoerd. Although there is no mention of the tapeworm and the Commission admits that Tsafendas hated Dr. Verwoerd, the subject is never elaborated.

As for Tsafendas “the complete failure,” let us examine how much of a failure Tsafendas was. He was a teacher. He gave free English lessons for six months to Greek and Turkish students in Istanbul (1961) and on two different occasions (1935-1939 and 1964) did the same for poor children in Mozambique. He became an active member of the British anti-apartheid and anti-fascist movements, participated in demonstrations and smuggled anti-apartheid literature into South Africa. By standing up for his political beliefs, he was exiled for twelve years from Mozambique, while in Portugal he was prosecuted, arrested, imprisoned and tortured. He actively protested against Portugal’s forced cotton policy and toured villages in Beira trying to raise awareness of the independence cause and for this

⁴⁶⁰¹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

suffered further imprisonment and torture.⁴⁶⁰² He joined the Greek Communist Party and fought with its military wing, the DSE, during the Greek Civil War.⁴⁶⁰³

He developed a list of political objectives and worked tirelessly at a hands-on level to achieve his goals of independence for Mozambique and political change in South Africa. He wanted “to create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned civil disobedience and anything that would get the South African regime out of power.”⁴⁶⁰⁴ He smuggled anti-apartheid literature into the country, urged visitors not to spend money which would boost the apartheid economy and finally killing the man he believed had “created apartheid” and was “the brains behind apartheid”⁴⁶⁰⁵ in the hope that this would bring about a change of policy.⁴⁶⁰⁶

Tsafendas fearlessly told PIDE agents who interrogated him that he wanted to see “a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the Mother-nation,” adding that he was strongly in favour of the independence of Mozambique.⁴⁶⁰⁷ The fact that the Director-General of PIDE in Portugal instructed the Sub-Director of PIDE in Mozambique that “information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of your country should not be transmitted to the South African authorities,”⁴⁶⁰⁸ implies that Tsafendas was politically significant and no useless failure. That PIDE deliberately hid his detailed file from the South African authorities implies that he was far from just a “daydreamer” or a failure and all these were the actions of a practical man with practical aims who had achieved much in his life.

As for being an outcast, this is also untrue. His relationship with his family and the Greek community is discussed in the relevant sections of this chapter. His contribution and interaction with society at large is also well documented in his biography and throughout the whole study. For example, an outcast is unlikely to volunteer to teach children without remuneration, as Tsafendas did in Mozambique and Turkey.

⁴⁶⁰² PIDE Confidential Report regarding Demetrio Tsafendas: no: 2707/64/SR, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁶⁰³ Father Nikola Banovic in a personal interview, 21 August 2014.

⁴⁶⁰⁴ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁶⁰⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Father Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 19 July 2015.

⁴⁶⁰⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁶⁰⁷ PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁶⁰⁸ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

Paragraph 8: The Assassination Plan

This paragraph concerns Tsafendas's reported answers to the Commission's questions regarding the pistol and the assassination plan which the Commission describes as unacceptable and where Tsafendas seems to have lied. However, Tsafendas had given accurate and perfectly reasonable explanations of these issues to the police on at least two occasions and the Commission was aware of this. For example, the Commission says that "*His explanation to the Commission that he had bought the pistol and knives for self-defence is unacceptable.*" However, Tsafendas had told the police that he bought the pistol in order to shoot Dr. Verwoerd.⁴⁶⁰⁹

The Commission itself had written in Chapter II D, Paragraph 1, that "*According to a statement made by Tsafendas, he wished to buy the pistol in order to shoot Dr. Verwoerd. When he was unable to obtain a pistol, he decided to use a knife.*" Thus, even if Tsafendas gave the answers he did to the Commission, was he not questioned about his previous statement to the police? Obviously, Tsafendas's statement to the police made more sense than his answer before the Commission and had all the appearances of truth. The Commission was in position to know that as it had his police statement in its possession.

More importantly, the Commission accepted Tsafendas's account to the police regarding his movements prior to the assassination and the sale of the pistol when dealing with his movements before the assassination and the killing itself. That is why it used a lengthy extract from Tsafendas's statement to the police to describe the events. However, when it comes to the issue of motive, the Commission uses the false statement Tsafendas gave to the Commission and not the truthful one he gave to the police. It seems that the Commission preferred to use the lie rather than the truth in order to discredit Tsafendas.

Paragraph 9: The Assassination

The final paragraph of the Chapter deals with the assassination and no reference to motive is made.

⁴⁶⁰⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

CONCLUSION

Although this chapter is headed "Demetrio Tsafendas's Motives," very little is adduced as to why Tsafendas killed Dr. Verwoerd. The greater part of the nine-paragraph chapter is dedicated to presenting Tsafendas in a wholly negative way, with unfounded and tendentious characterizations clearly intended to discredit and belittle him. Some paragraphs speculate about what might have triggered Tsafendas's act, when Tsafendas had already explained to the police in detail his reasons for the killing.

Despite the Report's efforts to present Tsafendas as mentally disordered, there is no mention of the tapeworm, whereas at the summary trial the tapeworm was said to have played a major part in the assassination. However, Tsafendas had never mentioned the tapeworm to the police, nor apparently did he mention it to the Commission, thus making it impossible for Judge van Wyk to include such a reference in his Report.

The main conclusion of the chapter is that Tsafendas killed Dr. Verwoerd because he hated the government. While it is true that Tsafendas hated the government, the specific reasons for his action, although known to the Commission, were not mentioned, namely that he believed Dr. Verwoerd to be a dictator and not the real representative of all the South Africans, that he was "disgusted" with his "racial policies", and that he hoped a change of policy would take place after the assassination. These were the reasons he gave to the police and, as many as thirty years later, to three separate witnesses, Fathers Spiros, Ioannis and Minas. Although known to the Commission, the reasons were not included in the Report because they were incompatible with what was heard about him in court.

In omitting Tsafendas's own words, the Commission misrepresented his motives, obviously because his lucid, three-point explanation did not sound like the words of a madman, as the Commission wished to represent him. This chapter offers one of the clearest indications that the Commission did not want to give the real answers to the questions it posed but like so many other commissions of inquiry during apartheid, sought simply to present a picture that was convenient for and favoured by the government.

CHAPTER IV: WERE THERE ACCOMPLICES?

*The Commission could find no evidence which could justify a finding that there were accomplices. The probability is that it was the act of Demitrio Tsafendas and of no one else.*⁴⁶¹⁰

The study agrees with the Commission and its analysis of all the issues mentioned in this chapter. However, some aspects need to be enlarged upon.

TSAFENDAS RECEIVING LARGE SUMS OF MONEY (Paragraph 3)

The Commission's conclusion – that there was no confirmation Tsafendas received large sums of money – is correct. Clearly, if Tsafendas possessed a great deal of money or was a paid assassin, he could have bought the gun from the *Eleni* crew as soon as he wished, without waiting until he was paid at the end of the month. Its price, 80 US Dollars, was not a huge sum for the average working South African, but it was a lot for a relatively poor man like Tsafendas.

BRAINWASHING (Paragraph 4)

“There were also speculations that Tsafendas might have undergone brainwashing overseas in the process of which he was instructed to murder Dr. Verwoerd. The Commission could find no evidence to justify such a finding. On the contrary, the weight of evidence indicates very strongly that Tsafendas did not come to South Africa with any such purpose...”

Again, the study agrees with the Commission, that there was no evidence Tsafendas was brainwashed to kill Dr. Verwoerd. If a foreign agency or power had done so, they would surely have provided him with a weapon or the money to buy one. Tsafendas had to wait until he was paid at the end of the month so that he could buy a pistol from the *Eleni* crew, having asked them already for a knife. Furthermore, Tsafendas only got the job in the Parliament, and thus access to Dr. Verwoerd, as a result of a chance encounter; it was not planned. As for brainwashing, consideration of Tsafendas's life and political development rules this out. His embrace of Communism and leftist politics in general, especially his unconcealed anti-colonialist stance in Mozambique, go back to the late 1930s. His abhorrence of South African

⁴⁶¹⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter IV, Paragraph 2.

apartheid and its architect, Dr. Verwoerd, emerged in the early-mid-1950s when he became eager to take up arms against apartheid in a meaningful way. Since 1959, he had made clear that he would do “anything that would get the South African regime out of power.”⁴⁶¹¹

It seems highly unlikely that some mysterious power “programmed” Tsafendas in 1959 or sometime before he returned to South Africa to kill Dr. Verwoerd and that he waited so many years to do it. Had he been so programmed, he would probably have made his move soon after he returned to South Africa in 1963. He lived for nine months in Pretoria when Dr. Verwoerd was also there, but Tsafendas made no move against him. In fact, he left after nine months for Mozambique, intending to live the rest of his life there. What thwarted this dream was being twice arrested and imprisoned by the Portuguese police. Seeing only a future of persecution in Mozambique, Tsafendas returned to South Africa in 1964. Finding himself in Cape Town was chance, something that would not have happened had Helen Daniels not written, asking him to marry her.

The Commission received several letters from ordinary citizens offering theories as to how a schizophrenic managed to get a job in the House of Assembly. Some suggested, without evidence of any sort, that Tsafendas was pretending to be insane to avoid the gallows, while others (see below) argued that Tsafendas was brainwashed. All of these letters shared two factors: a) none of the authors knew Tsafendas or anything about him except what they had read in the newspapers, and b) none of them offered even the slightest evidence to support their theories.

ALLAN LOMAS (Paragraph 7)

⁴⁶¹¹ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

Lomas’s story sounds very like the scene at the *Eleni* shortly before it sailed from Cape Town, with someone asking about Dr. Verwoerd’s death before the assassination took place. The Commission seems to dismiss the story and it is probably correct to do so. Lomas initially claimed his wife was with him when he was asked about Dr. Verwoerd, but then he did not allow the police to speak to her. More importantly, she later denied knowledge of any such incident or that she was present.

The author interviewed Mr. Lomas but he was unable or unwilling to shed more light on the incident, perhaps in part due to his advanced age. He told the author that the incident was “not like this,” meaning as it was presented in the newspaper, and that it was “a misunderstanding.” When asked what he meant, Lomas simply repeated that it was a “misunderstanding” and did not elaborate further. Lomas declined to discuss the matter further and continued to repeat that it was “a misunderstanding” and that it was “not like this.”⁴⁶¹²

THE “BRAINWASHING” CONSPIRACY THEORY

I am of the firm belief that no one should waste their time trying to rebuff a conspiracy theory that has no supporting evidence and is based simply on assumptions and intuitions. A theory must be proved, or at least be backed with enough evidence to make it plausible, before one attempts to rebut it. In the brainwashing case, just like the rest of the conspiracy theories regarding Tsafendas, no one has ever produced any evidence to support the theory; it is based entirely on people’s imaginations. However, let us examine it, as I would like everything that has been said about Tsafendas to be examined.

Before examining the theory that Tsafendas had been brainwashed, it is important to consider the mindset of the Western world at the time. It was during the 1960s that two of the world’s most infamous assassinations took place, that of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 and his brother, Robert, in 1968. Both then and long afterwards, conspiracy theorists argued that the assassins, Lee Harvey Oswald and Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, were brainwashed into committing the murders. According to these theories, Oswald’s mind was moulded by Soviet intelligence during the eighteen months he spent in the Soviet Union between 1959 and 1961, while Sirhan was influenced similarly by the CIA in the United States. However, not a scrap of evidence has ever been adduced to support these theories, which are based entirely on speculation.

⁴⁶¹² Allan Lomas in a personal interview, 12 December 2014.

What is germane is that the Cold War was in full flow at the time and international suspicions rampant - perfect conditions for a hugely popular movie on the subject of brainwashing. The novel, *The Manchurian Candidate*, by Richard Condon, was published in 1959 and released as a film in 1962. It presumed to show how the mind of an American POW during the Korean War is programmed by the Communists to assassinate an American presidential candidate. The publication of the book and in particular the release of the film spawned a multiplicity of conspiracy theories concerning assassinations by brainwashed killers, all fuelled by the paranoia of the time.

How did the Tsafendas brainwashing rumour start? In the atmosphere then prevailing, such a development was probably inevitable. Specifically though in Tsafendas's case, the culprit was L. Ron Hubbard, the founder of the Church of Scientology. Hubbard had opened several offices of his organization, the Hubbard Association of Scientologists International (HASI), in South Africa in the 1960s and had publicly expressed his support for Dr. Verwoerd and his policies. Hubbard was also racist, believing that Blacks' intelligence was too low to become useful members of his organization. In 1966, he wrote a letter to Dr. Verwoerd, warning him that “a dangerous situation might exist in his vicinity.” The Prime Minister wrote back and thanked him. However, after the assassination, Hubbard claimed he became “*persona non grata* in South Africa.” This was after Hubbard publicly insinuated that Tsafendas was a Communist spy who had been incited by psychiatrists to assassinate Dr. Verwoerd in order to overthrow the government.⁴⁶¹³ However, Hubbard produced no evidence for his bizarre theory. The brainwashing theory would come again to prominence after the collapse of apartheid firstly by Dr. Allan Bird. How is discussed in the next section.

Hubbard was not at the time the only member of the Church of Scientology to make such a claim about Tsafendas. John Browning McMaster, a member of the HASI in Durban, sent an affidavit and a memorandum to the Commission of Enquiry on October 12, 1966. His letter began, “I am a South African and support unswervingly the current Policies of this Government of South Africa at this time.” McMaster had a BA degree in Psychology and Political Philosophy and said in his letter he had also studied under the “direct training of L. Ron Hubbard, the Founder.” McMaster then wrote, “In February 1966, I emerged as the first Clear in the World and have since Toured both America and South Africa as such. A Clear is a person free from all reactive dictates of the subconscious mind and a product of the Technologies of Scientology. The fact that I am South African is of pride to me and I wish in

⁴⁶¹³ Jones, *Psychiatry, Mental Institutions, and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*, p. 157-161.

all sincerity to have my country benefit from anything and everything that I have learned and can contribute. I have therefore compiled the attached memorandum.”⁴⁶¹⁴

In his five-page memorandum, McMaster referred to the security measures of his organization, which, he said, were so effective no Communist could penetrate them, and he suggested that the Government should adopt these measures. McMaster presented scientology as an enemy of Communism and said HASI had developed a successful programme for identifying Communists. He claimed that the organization had been using these methods “over the years with increasing success, in order to eliminate any Communistic Element from our organisations. The success and survival of our organisations bears testament to the fact that our Security measures against Communism are very effective. It is with sincere concern for the effects Communism has already generated in our Country, the Republic of South Africa, that the above memorandum is respectfully submitted.”⁴⁶¹⁵

Claiming that Tsafendas was brainwashed by Communist agents, McMaster wrote that “in a Scientology Organisation, it is very unlikely that such a man would have remained employed for longer than a couple of days.” In urging the Government to adopt scientology’s measures, he noted that they were very “economical.”⁴⁶¹⁶ However, like his leader, McMaster offered no evidence as to how, where and when Tsafendas was brainwashed.

Scientology’s allegations of a Communist conspiracy involving psychiatrists and brainwashing did not stop with Tsafendas. In 1968, Hubbard stated that the World Federation of Mental Health was “an ideal tool for furthering international Communist causes and is well used for this purpose.” Going further, he claimed that the National Council for Mental Health in South Africa, which belonged to the World Federation of Mental Health, as well as South African psychiatrists, were also part of a conspiracy, not only against the South African government but against scientology, too.⁴⁶¹⁷ Despite the total lack of proof, Hubbard’s absurd conspiracy claims found support among some people who later reproduced them.⁴⁶¹⁸

On April 20, 1972, the brainwashing theory resurfaced in the South African press, more specifically through *Die Vaderland*. Dr. Willie Visser, a psychologist from Port Elizabeth, claimed that Tsafendas had assassinated Dr. Verwoerd “quite possibly” under

⁴⁶¹⁴ John Browning McMaster affidavit to the COE. 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 4. NASA.

⁴⁶¹⁵ John Browning McMaster memorandum to the COE. 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 4. NASA.

⁴⁶¹⁶ John Browning McMaster memorandum to the COE. 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 6, File: 4. NASA.

⁴⁶¹⁷ Jones, *Psychiatry, Mental Institutions, and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*, p. 160-162.

⁴⁶¹⁸ For a detailed account of Hubbard’s theory and the reasons behind it see Tiffany Fawn Jones (2012) *Psychiatry, Mental Institutions, and the Mad in Apartheid South Africa*.

duress from intensive brainwashing and after strong-hypnotic suggestions. Like Hubbard, Dr. Visser did not produce any evidence to prove his contention, although he admitted that this was just a theory about something which might “quite possibly” have taken place.⁴⁶¹⁹

Three years later, ignoring Dr. Visser’s caution that his argument was purely theoretical, B.M. Schoeman in *Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd (The Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd)* accepted it as fact and asked questions such as where, when and by whom was Tsafendas brainwashed. The publications of Schoeman and Visser brought the brainwashing theory to the surface again and it was promoted eagerly by conspiracy theorists who conveniently overlooked the fact that there was not a single piece of evidence to support such a claim, except proceeded from the two men’s imagination. Then, in 1992, Jaap Marais, a leading adherent of the theory that Tsafendas was sane and part of a wider plot, argued that Dr. Visser’s theory had found a strong response in professional circles.⁴⁶²⁰ However, Marais did not provide any evidence to support his claim.

Despite all of the above, there is an important omission by the Commission’s Report which, if it had become known to the conspiracists, would certainly have further fuelled their brainwashing theory. On September 9, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Cape Town received a secret telegram from the South African embassy in Washington, DC. The telegram stated that a “very reliable source with first-hand knowledge” had informed the embassy that the U.S. Immigration authorities had a file on Tsafendas. The file contained “full particulars” of Tsafendas’s time in the United States. The telegram also said about Tsafendas that “He is understood to have shown under psychiatric treatment that he was unstable though not (not)⁴⁶²¹ insane, but type of man who would easily be used as instrument of Communist or hostile organizations. Impression of U.S. Immigration people at the time was that he had been manipulated and was under influence of someone or some organization.”⁴⁶²²

Presumably, the Commission, although aware of this telegram since it was found in the Commission’s records in the National Archives, omitted it so as not to add fuel to the brainwashing and Communist organizations theories, but also to avoid reference to Tsafendas’s mental health i.e. “not insane.” Just imagine what would have happened if Hubbard, Marais, Schoeman, Visser and company had known of this telegram. Another

⁴⁶¹⁹ Schoeman, *Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd*, p. 64-67.

⁴⁶²⁰ Marais, *Die Era van Verwoerd*, p. 204.

⁴⁶²¹ This is exactly how it appears in the telegram. There is a second ‘not’ within brackets.

⁴⁶²² Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Washington to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 4, Sub file: 1/8. NASA.

significant factor that the conspiracy theorists missed regarding Tsafendas was that the Chief of Psychological Warfare Operations for the CIA at the time was George Joannides, a fellow Greek! Had they been aware of this, the fact would certainly have been claimed as “further evidence” that Tsafendas had been brainwashed.

In 1992, twenty-six years after the assassination, Dr. Allan Bird, a South African Professor of Neurology at the University of the Witwatersrand and a private practitioner, suggested in his autobiography *Bird on the Wing* that Tsafendas, as well as David Pratt (his “theory” about Pratt will be discussed in Chapter 7), might have been brainwashed by Dr. Solomon (Solly) Jacobson.⁴⁶²³ He stated that Tsafendas was hospitalised in Brighton, where Dr. Jacobson, a South African psychiatrist, anti-apartheid activist and member of the SACP, was practising. Dr. Jacobson had treated David Pratt, and Dr. Bird suspected, or more precisely, assumed, that he might also have treated Tsafendas. Although this was merely a suspicion by Dr. Bird, based on no factual evidence at all, let us examine his theory.

Dr. Bird is completely misinformed about Tsafendas and gets all the basic facts wrong. He says that Tsafendas was sent to the Valkenberg mental hospital for observation during the judicial proceedings after the assassination.⁴⁶²⁴ That is wrong. Tsafendas was never sent to any hospital for observation, as we have seen. Dr. Bird then says that during Tsafendas’s summary trial “corroborative evidence was provided that he had been detained in mental hospitals in Britain for some years. The last was at Brighton.”⁴⁶²⁵ This is completely false as no such evidence was produced at the summary trial. The hospitals in Britain mentioned were St. Pancras in London and the Whitecroft on the Isle of Wight; a plethora of other evidence from the British authorities, the South African police, PIDE and Tsafendas himself confirms that while in England, Tsafendas was hospitalized in these two hospitals; no others are mentioned. The hospitalizations in these two hospitals had lasted a few weeks, not “some years”. More importantly, both hospitalizations had taken place in 1959, at which time, according to Dr. Bird himself, Dr. Jacobson was in South Africa and so could not have treated Tsafendas. Although Tsafendas returned to England in 1962, again he could not have been treated by Dr. Jacobson as at that time he was in South Africa.⁴⁶²⁶ Furthermore, no reference to a hospitalization in 1962 is made by the South African police, PIDE, the British authorities or Tsafendas himself.

⁴⁶²³ Bird, *Bird on the Wing*, p. 210-220.

⁴⁶²⁴ Bird, *Bird on the Wing*, p. 213.

⁴⁶²⁵ Bird, *Bird on the Wing*, p. 213.

⁴⁶²⁶ Piet Swanepoel in a personal interview, 6 April 2016.

Indeed, even the dates given by Dr. Bird prove that Tsafendas and Dr. Jacobson never met. According to Dr. Bird, Dr. Jacobson left South Africa a few days after the Rivonia arrests on July 11, 1963. Six weeks after he left South Africa, still according to Dr. Bird, Dr. Jacobson returned to the country to sort out some of his personal affairs. Thus, even if he only stayed in South Africa for a couple of days, he could not have returned to England until the end of August 1963; and this of course does not mean that he immediately started working. In August and September of 1963, Tsafendas was in Lisbon, where the Portuguese government gave him amnesty and permission to return to Mozambique.⁴⁶²⁷ A few weeks later, in October 1963, he sailed to Mozambique from Portugal.⁴⁶²⁸ PIDE, who held a detailed, 130-pages file on him, do not mention anything about a visit by Tsafendas to England in 1963, nor do the British or the South African authorities, and there is no record of Tsafendas himself mentioning such a visit to anyone. Furthermore, Tsafendas was in such a poor financial situation at that time that the Portuguese government’s social services paid the fare for his voyage to Mozambique.⁴⁶²⁹ This makes it highly unlikely that he had the money to buy a ticket to England. Furthermore, even in the highly unlikely event that he did return to England, Tsafendas could hardly have undergone a brainwashing programme from Dr. Jacobson in the few days before he sailed to Mozambique.

On the basis of dates and his information alone, Dr. Bird’s theory is untenable. Nevertheless, let us examine some other aspects. Both PIDE and South African police reports, along with British official reports and Tsafendas’s own statements to the police, say that he was admitted to two hospitals in Britain, the Saint Pancras in London and the Whitecroft on the Isle of Wight, both in 1959. All these reports say the same thing and none of them mentions Brighton. According to the medical records, none of the doctors who treated Tsafendas in these hospitals was named Jacobson. None of the above sources mentions Tsafendas being in Brighton, while Tsafendas never spoke of being anywhere in England other than London and the Isle of Wight. It seems highly unlikely that the British authorities would have missed a hospital where Tsafendas was admitted in England. It seems equally unlikely that Tsafendas would remember all of the hospitals where he was admitted

⁴⁶²⁷ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁶²⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁶²⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

apart from the one in Brighton. Dr. Bird’s theory contains several other inaccuracies that are not worth examining further, since his fundamental claim is palpably wrong.

Furthermore, according to Dr. Jacobson’s biography by the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh, he never worked in a hospital in Brighton; after he moved to England, he worked at the St. Francis Hospital in Haywards Heath in West Sussex, where he remained until his retirement in 1973.⁴⁶³⁰ However, this could perhaps be a slight misunderstanding by Dr. Bird as Haywards Heath is 23 kilometres from Brighton (East Sussex). Finally, it is also worth mentioning that Dr. Bird claimed that he later revealed his suspicions to Brigadier Johan Coetzee,⁴⁶³¹ but he never mentioned them to the Commission of Enquiry into Dr. Verwoerd’s death. The Commission and Prime Minister John Vorster had publicly asked everyone with information, no matter how trivial, to come forward and present it to the Commission; the fact that this could be done anonymously also ensured that the witnesses could not be threatened. Thus, the question is, why Dr. Bird failed to raise his suspicions with the Commission at the time?

The brainwashing claims become even more dubious with the knowledge that Tsafendas had contemplated other actions against apartheid which did not involve killing Dr. Verwoerd. Two of these were bombing the House of Assembly or sabotaging the pipeline that transported oil from South Africa to Rhodesia. In later life and after apartheid had continued for many years, Tsafendas wondered whether he could have delivered a greater strike against racial politics by blowing up the pipeline instead of killing Dr. Verwoerd, since that would have damaged the economies of both racist regimes. He believed he could have pulled off the job easily because he knew how to make bombs and, since he had worked on the pipeline, where to place them. He was confident he could have got away because he was intimately familiar with the area. However, when he was presented with “an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity” to rid South Africa of Dr. Verwoerd, he knew he could not ignore it.⁴⁶³² Finally, as stated earlier, Tsafendas found himself in Cape Town by chance and this would not have happened had Helen Daniels not written, asking him to marry her.

⁴⁶³⁰ Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, “Dr Solomon (Solly) Jacobson, FRCP Edin.” Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. Retrieved from <https://www.rcpe.ac.uk/obituary/dr-solomon-solly-jacobson-frcp-edin>

⁴⁶³¹ Bird, *Bird on the Wing*, p. 214.

⁴⁶³² Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

*Report of the COE
Theories*

The “Lomas Affair” and Other Conspiracy

THE LOMAS INCIDENT AND OTHER CONSPIRACY THEORIES

Soon after the Lomas incident became known and even before the Commission had published its report, several people took it as proof that Tsafendas was not insane but a committed Communist and the assassination was a plot by his Communist co-conspirators. For example, in October 1966, the *Rhodesia and World Report* wrote that the Lomas affair was proof that the assassination was “in preparation and expected;” it said, “this is not the action of a mad man, but that of a dangerous conspiracy; and we can guess who are the people and forces behind it.”⁴⁶³³

The Commission’s Report failed to convince everyone that Lomas was an unreliable witness and that he probably invented the incident. Instead, a range of doubters saw the Commission’s explanation as inadequate, even suspicious. Some openly questioned the handling of the incident and its dismissal, while others saw it as a sign that unknown parties were involved in the assassination. J.J.J. Scholtz, in 1967, was one of the first who wrote a book about the assassination, *Die Moord op Dr. Verwoerd (The Murder of Dr. Verwoerd)*. He referred to the incident but was one of the few who chose not to criticise the Commission.⁴⁶³⁴ B. M. Schoeman, in 1975, in *Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd (The Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd)*, did not appear convinced by the Commission’s explanations and characterised the incident as “odd.”⁴⁶³⁵

The greatest sceptic was Jaap Marais, who openly criticised the Commission’s explanation and expressed doubts about its conclusion. Marais referred at length to the Lomas incident on two occasions, in his 1992 book *Die Era van Verwoerd (The Era of Verwoerd)*⁴⁶³⁶ and his 1994 pamphlet *The Founders of South Africa*. In 1994, he wrote:

“So, also in Europe (or Britain) there was some indication of an anticipated assassination of Dr Verwoerd. The Commissioner, instead of dealing properly with this as a most extraordinary event, gave a superficial account of enquiries made by someone (unnamed) at the SA Embassy in London. The Commissioner left the million dollar question unanswered: how is it possible that such a newspaper report could have been published on the day of the assassination if there had not been some prior anticipation that an attempt on Dr Verwoerd’s life would be made? The Commissioner instead took it on him to discredit the man who gave the information to the newspaper merely on the evidence of an unnamed

⁴⁶³³ Sheldon, ‘The Pattern of Assassination. The Continuing Pattern’, p. 3.

⁴⁶³⁴ Scholtz, *Die Moord op Dr. Verwoerd*, p. 120-123.

⁴⁶³⁵ Schoeman, *Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd*, p. 58-60.

⁴⁶³⁶ Marais, *Die Era van Verwoerd*, p. 203-204.

official who had described this person as someone who ‘did not make a good impression’, which is completely irrelevant to the matter of how the man concerned could have raised the question of assassination of Dr Verwoerd four days before the actual assassination. These two apparently unrelated occurrences (author’s note: here he refers to the *Eleni* and the “‘is Verwoerd dead’ incident”) shortly before the assassination irresistibly suggest a widely-planned action, about which some information had been leaked, either accidentally or intentionally.”⁴⁶³⁷

Piet (Petrus) Cornelius Swanepoel, a former BOSS agent, throughout the years extensively and thoroughly investigated most of the conspiracy theories that came to light regarding Dr. Verwoerd’s assassination and David Pratt’s attempt at killing him, especially Dr. Bird’s theory. He never discovered any evidence to support any of them: “not even the slightest, not even a tiny indication.” On the contrary, he stumbled upon several items of evidence that contradicted them and proved them to be false. In 2007, Swanepoel wrote accurately in his book *Really Inside BOSS: A Tale of South Africa’s Late Intelligence Service* that “the sad thing about Dr. Verwoerd’s assassination is that it created the setting for irresponsible people to construct conspiracy stories, with this murder as the central theme.”⁴⁶³⁸ Swanepoel characterised all these theories to the author as “a waste of time” and “nonsense”, concocted by “right-wing freaks” or “irresponsible people” “who “wanted to attract attention”⁴⁶³⁹ Nevertheless, in order to put all additional conspiracy theories to rest, they will be discussed in the final chapter.

The remainder of this chapter does not require further scrutiny and the study agrees with the Commission’s conclusions.

⁴⁶³⁷ Marais, *The Founders of the New South Africa*, p. 14-16.

⁴⁶³⁸ P.C. Swanepoel, *Really Inside BOSS: A Tale of South Africa’s Late Intelligence Service (and Something about the CIA)*, (Pretoria: Published by the Author, 2007), p. 66.

⁴⁶³⁹ Piet Swanepoel in a personal interview, 6 April 2016.

CHAPTER V: THE PERMIT FOR TEMPORARY SOJOURN

This chapter of the Report deals at length with the fact that J. J. van den Berg, passport control officer at the South African embassy in Lourenço Marques, issued a permit for temporary sojourn to Tsafendas despite Tsafendas's name appearing on the Department of the Interior's Stop List. Van den Berg claimed that he had checked the list under 'S' and not 'T', which the Commission found “unacceptable” as an excuse. It concluded that this was “a clear case of neglect of duty.” What the Commission did not know was that van den Berg was convinced by Nick Vlachopoulos, Tsafendas's brother-in-law, and John Michaletos, Tsafendas's uncle who knew van den Berg personally. For a detailed account of the case and what happened to van den Berg see Chapter 4 of this study.

CHAPTER VI: THE PERMIT FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE

THE PERMIT

The Commission deals here with Tsafendas's permit for permanent residence in South Africa. It focusses mainly on procedural matters and how once again the fact that Tsafendas was on the Stop List went unnoticed. The permit issue is also discussed in Chapter II C, paragraphs 1-5. There it is stated:

"In his application for permanent residence, Tsafendas stated, inter alia, that he had been a sailor during the previous five years, that he had never before applied for permanent residence in South Africa, that he had never been deported from any country, and that he did not suffer from any mental disease ... A medical certificate stating, inter alia, that he was not in any way mentally defective was attached to his application."

Everything in Report's Chapter VI and the reference in Chapter II C regarding the procedure to get the permit appears to be accurate, but there are two very important omissions. The first is that Tsafendas attended three interviews with three different officers of the Department of Immigration and made a very favourable impression on all of them. That is why he was granted the permit.⁴⁶⁴⁰ This is significant in view of the evidence by the psychiatrists at the summary trial that Tsafendas was unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, that his speech was disjointed, he was unable to function on a reasonable level, and he suffered from thought-blocking and thought disorder. If Tsafendas was really like this, how did he manage to convince three different civil servants that he was perfectly fine?

Even if it is objected that these three men were not doctors of medicine, the response is that Tsafendas was also examined by two state doctors for the permit and they, too, found him to be perfectly healthy. The following covers the second omission by the Commission: although the Report refers to a medical certificate stating that Tsafendas was not mentally defective, there were in fact two certificates, both issued by the state doctors after they examined him. On November 11, 1963, Tsafendas was examined by Dr. C. Been for his

⁴⁶⁴⁰ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

permanent residence application and was found “not to be mentally or physically defective in any way,” and “generally in a good state of health.”⁴⁶⁴¹ Dr. Been would later examine Tsafendas again “for burns on his body whilst employed at Pooles.” Again, nothing about his mental state was noted.⁴⁶⁴² On November 14, 1963, Tsafendas was examined again in reference to his residence application, this time by Dr. A.C. McDonald, who wrote “a favourable report.” A certificate for permanent residence was subsequently issued.⁴⁶⁴³ If Tsafendas was as described by the doctors in the summary trial, would one of these two doctors not have noticed something, such as his alleged inability to follow a conversation or his thought-blocking?

This chapter goes into great detail concerning the permit process, but in omitting Tsafendas’s examination by two state doctors, the Commission once again ignores facts which contradict or raise questions concerning evidence heard at the summary trial. Surely the fact that two state doctors found Tsafendas not to be mentally defective was too important a matter to be eschewed, despite the Commission’s evident wish to present Tsafendas in the opposite light.

LIMASOLLU NACI

An important factor in this chapter is the publication of the name of the college where Tsafendas worked in Istanbul, the Limasollu Naci, although it is misspelled here as Limasolla Nace College. The name appears to be written on a note, presumably by the official in the Department of the Interior who interviewed Tsafendas. The fact that the College’s name is given proves that it was known to the Commission and to the authorities. However, it appears that no enquiries were made about it.

⁴⁶⁴¹ Demitrio Tsafendas medical certificate issued by Dr. Been for the Aliens Act, 1937. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

⁴⁶⁴² Dr. Been statement to the police, 30 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁶⁴³ Memorandum about the application for permanent residence in terms of the Aliens Act from Demetrio Tsafendas, drawn up by the Secretary for Immigration, n.d. K150, Vol. 4, File: 1/7, Departement van immigrasie. NASA.

CHAPTER X: THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

This chapter deals at great length with the way Tsafendas was appointed as a messenger in the House of Assembly. Five of Tsafendas's colleagues were interviewed by the Commission and the police and none of them said anything negative about Tsafendas or his mental state; he was described as an ordinary, normal man. Three of the employees interviewed Tsafendas for the position of messenger and all five worked with him for more than one month.

The Report states in Paragraph 12,

“The Commission is satisfied that the interview these three persons had with Tsafendas did not differ materially from other interviews they and their predecessors had with applicants over the years. The Commission is also satisfied that there was nothing in Tsafendas's behaviour from which it could be inferred that he was mentally disordered, or that there was any indication that he might become dangerous.”

The Commission deals extensively with the interview and how Tsafendas was appointed, but there is no reference to his work as a messenger. It was claimed at the summary trial that his work was unsatisfactory and that he was unable to do even a menial job like the messenger's. However, none of Tsafendas's five colleagues in the Parliament had anything negative to say about him or his mental state or his work abilities; on the contrary, he was described as a normal person, just like any other working there.

The most important omission from Chapter X concerns the references which Tsafendas used in order to get the job. The Commission specifically asked Sydney Wiehand, one of the senior messengers who interviewed Tsafendas, about references. This is the exchange between the Commission and Wiehand:

COMMISSION: And did he have any references?

WIEHAND: He had some references. There was one —

COMMISSION: What were these references?

WIEHAND: They were from different firms -

COMMISSION: Pardon?

WIEHAND: From different firms. One or two of them. I just can't remember how many,

Sir-

COMMISSION: One or two?

WIEHAND: Yes, and then he had one - I think it was from a school — where he went to school, somewhere in Natal or the Transvaal. I can't remember, Sir. There's such a lot that I see.⁴⁶⁴⁴

Tsafendas later said that he had used the reference from the Limasollu Naci College in Istanbul in order to get the job.⁴⁶⁴⁵ Although the language college reference was not specifically named by the messengers, it seems highly unlikely that it was not found by the police among Tsafendas's belongings. It also seems an obvious question for the Commission to ask Tsafendas what references he used to get the job, especially since the messengers did not remember. However, it cannot be excluded that the Istanbul reference was never found by the police or seen by the Commission.

If it was found, however, would it have been mentioned? Many awkward questions would have followed: What was this college? How did Tsafendas get an outstanding reference from the best language college in Istanbul? How did he get a job as a teacher of English there? How did he keep the job for six months? All of this when he is supposed be a hopeless, certifiable schizophrenic without a hope of cure.

⁴⁶⁴⁴ Sydney William Wiehand testimony to the COE, 5 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Uittreksels uit Getuienis. NASA.

⁴⁶⁴⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

CHAPTER XI: THE POLICE

This chapter deals mostly with the files on Tsafendas and General van den Bergh's and Vorster's initial claim that the police had no file on Tsafendas. It turned out that the police had four files on Tsafendas and the general was initially misinformed or deliberately lied. Naturally, the Report attributes the police "mistake" to an innocent misunderstanding.

A SHORT SYNOPSIS OF OTHER ISSUES DISCUSSED IN THE REPORT

The Commission, in addition to investigating Tsafendas's life and movement, also inquired into matters of travel documentation and Parliamentary security, criticised certain procedures and individuals and issued a series of recommendations.

Regarding travel, it highlighted two failures. The first was that Tsafendas, a Portuguese, was allowed to enter South Africa, initially on temporary terms but thereafter for permanent residence, despite the fact that his name appeared on an official Stop List. The second concerned a delay of many months in processing an order for Tsafendas's deportation, something the Commission said could have been done in an hour.

The Report criticised officials in the Department of the Interior and on the Immigrants Selection Board for not noticing that Tsafendas had been named on the Stop List when in July 1964, he applied for a travel visa and when he returned nine months later. As for the deportation issue, it pointed out that on December 14, 1965, a high official of the Department of the Interior recommended that the Minister of the Interior should consider deporting Tsafendas, and that the Minister signed the necessary warrant on August 9, 1966.⁴⁶⁴⁶

On September 1, 1966, the Ministry typed a letter to the police requesting service of the warrant but by September 6, the day Tsafendas assassinated Dr. Verwoerd, it had not been sent off. The Commission stated: "Under all these circumstances, it is clear that the delay from 14th December 1965 to 6th September 1966 is indefensible... one senior clerk would not have required longer than an hour to draw up all these documents."⁴⁶⁴⁷ Subsequently in departmental disciplinary proceedings, two officials were found guilty of negligence in carrying out official duties, the one being reprimanded and the other admonished.

The Commission made three recommendations:

- A work-study be carried out into the organization and methods of the Department of the Interior;
- A list be compiled of anyone who had received treatment for mental disorders, such as Tsafendas, because "it is probable that a large number of assassinations, if not the majority, are committed by mentally disordered persons;"

⁴⁶⁴⁶ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter IX, Paragraph 7.

⁴⁶⁴⁷ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter IX, Paragraph 7.

- Consideration be given to whether medical practitioners should be obliged to submit to the Commissioner of Mental Health the names of patients who might become a danger to others.⁴⁶⁴⁸

As for Parliamentary security, the Commission dismissed the system for hiring temporary messengers as “hopelessly wrong.” This responsibility devolved upon the Chief Messenger, assisted by senior messengers, with reference to the Sergeant-at-Arms if doubts were raised as to an applicant.⁴⁶⁴⁹ The system created unnecessary risk, the Report said.⁴⁶⁵⁰ However, it acknowledged that since the assassination, there had been drastic changes in security measures. These were the best possible and had been adopted by the Committee on Standing Rules and Orders.

⁴⁶⁴⁸ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter X, Paragraphs 18, 19, 20.

⁴⁶⁴⁹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter X, Paragraph 12.

⁴⁶⁵⁰ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter X, Paragraph 17.

Report of the COE
Bergh

Missing Evidence and the Role of General van den

MISSING EVIDENCE AND THE ROLE OF GENERAL VAN DEN BERGH

As stated at the beginning of this chapter and was discussed extensively in Chapter 4, it is indisputable that several statements by witnesses who testified to the Commission and to the police, along with other evidential items, are missing from the National Archives of South Africa. The missing evidence includes material collected by both the Commission and the police. The Commission had access to its own evidence when it was sitting, so obviously it went missing afterwards. As for the police evidence, the author cannot know whether or not this was given to the Commission and therefore exactly when it went astray.

Sixty-four of the 105 statements given directly by witnesses to the Commission cannot be traced. Among statements given to the police which are missing are those by Patrick O’Ryan and the crew of the *Eleni*. These were supposedly in the Commission’s possession during the proceedings. Furthermore, the Commission stated that:

*“Evidence was submitted to the Commission that Tsafendas had tried to recruit people to take part in an uprising in South Africa. He admits that he did in fact try to recruit people for an uprising, but says that his aim was confined to the Territory of Mozambique.”*⁴⁶⁵¹

However, no such evidence was found in the archives. It seems inconceivable that the Commission would invent such a statement. After all, it was the Commission which suppressed knowledge of Tsafendas’s political activities. It would hardly then make up a story testifying to Tsafendas’s political activities.

While we must accept that the statements of those who testified before the Commission disappeared after the proceedings ended, we cannot be certain that all the evidence collected by the police was given to the Commission. There is no mention in the Commission’s Report of the statements collected by police from the *Eleni* seamen, except for the four whose statements were found in the archives. Therefore, it is very possible that their statements were never given to the Commission. However, it is also perfectly possible that the statements were supplied to the Commission, which simply suppressed them. After all, the Commission had suppressed important evidence that was certainly in its possession. The author is therefore not in a position to know with certainty which party suppressed the evidence. However, what is more important than the answer to this question is the fact that evidence was suppressed in order to misrepresent Tsafendas and his reasons for the assassination.

⁴⁶⁵¹ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd’s Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32.

The following incidents supports the theory that the Commission was responsible for a few, but not all, of the omissions from its Report, while the police also withheld some evidence. On 30th October 1966, *The Post* revealed that Tsafendas had joined the South African Communist Party in 1938. The article was written by Gordon Winter, a journalist of *The Post* but also an agent of the Security Police and a good friend of van den Bergh. Van den Bergh was not at all happy about the revelation and asked Winter to downplay it. Winter said about the incident: “HJ [General van den Bergh] was unhappy about that aspect. He enjoyed the rest of the story, but that one aspect he was unhappy about, and that’s why he called me to Pretoria and said, ‘Do a deflation job here. Knock it down. He was an ineffective Red. He was just a procession man. They just used him to pad the numbers in the demos. Okay, Gordon?’ I said, ‘Yes, fine.’”⁴⁶⁵²

This incident is indicative of how van den Bergh operated and demonstrates how anxious he was to conceal or dismiss Tsafendas’s Communist activities. The SACP reference was not the only one. When Winter gave evidence to the Commission that Tsafendas had been in contact with some Russian seamen off Walvis Bay, this did not appear in the Commission’s Report, apparently because of General van den Bergh’s intervention. Winter told Liza Key about the incident:

“Another good example of how they closed up, closed ranks, and wiped out all trace of any suggestion that Tsafendas had been a successful communist or a keen communist was that I investigated a story in which I satisfied myself that Demetrios Tsafendas was in contact with Russian seamen on boats off Walvis Bay. There is no doubt about this whatsoever. And I gave evidence to the Commission of Enquiry, run by Judge van Wyk, into the reason and cause of death of Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd. I gave evidence to that commission, and my evidence was – quite easily for me to prove – that Tsafendas *had* been in contact with Russian seamen off Walvis Bay. It’s not a big story today. It’s not important whether he was or not. It’s not important that he could speak Russian with those people, whether haltingly or not ... So I satisfied myself that Tsafendas had been in contact with Russian seamen. That doesn’t mean anything. But in the ‘reds under the bed’ scared atmosphere of South Africa, that’s a big story. I thought it was a great story...

Now, all this is a long histoire; it’s nonsense; it’s not important whether it’s true or not. Whether Tsafendas was in contact with Russian seamen – who gives a stuff? My

⁴⁶⁵² Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness*; Gordon Winter in a personal interview with Dr. James Sanders on behalf of the author, 19 August 2016.

question to you is to ask the commission why that story didn't appear in the report issued by Judge van Wyk. No mention. I later found out why. HJ [General van den Bergh] told me he didn't want it in the report. 'No connection with red seamen, no way, we don't want that. He's a madman. No connection. No connection.'"⁴⁶⁵³

Winter also told David Beresford about the incident:

"I also wish to stress that H. J. van den Bergh made quite sure that my evidence to the Commission of Inquiry in Verwoerd's death (that I had discovered that Tsafendas had definite links with Russian seamen and that Tsafendas spoke Russian) was completely (and illegally) eradicated from the minutes of that Inquiry."⁴⁶⁵⁴

Winter's oral evidence before the Commission was accompanied by two personal written and sworn statements and supported by statements made by two of his colleagues on *The Post*, Mogamet Isaacs and Gordon Tobin. This evidence can be seen earlier in this chapter. No mention of it is made in the Commission's Report.

In 1976, van den Bergh asked Winter to visit Tsafendas in prison and write a propaganda article knocking down claims by *The Observer* newspaper in London that Tsafendas was being tortured in jail.⁴⁶⁵⁵ Winter agreed and visited Tsafendas several times, developing a good relationship with him, which was not surprising since he was Tsafendas's only visitor, apart from David Bloomberg who visited him twice in ten years. Winter repeated that Tsafendas was a one-time member of the South African Communist Party, although this had been revealed ten years earlier and the Commission had even written about it. Winter thought it was old news and water under the bridge, but again van den Bergh was unhappy that it was mentioned. Winter told David Beresford of the *Guardian* in 1998 about the incident:

"I believe Pretoria did not want there to be any suggestion whatsoever that Tsafendas was clever, or programmed, or politically affiliated in any way. As I explained to Liza and Sylvia when they filmed me in London, H J van den Bergh was horrified when I wrote that story in *The Citizen* stating that Tsafendas had joined the South African Communist Party in Johannesburg in 1939 which HJ van den Bergh then told me to 'water down' by writing a follow-up article in which he [van den Bergh] described Tsafendas as being an ineffective Red, and was just used as a crowd fodder in marches etc. All HJ wanted the public to believe

⁴⁶⁵³ Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness*.

⁴⁶⁵⁴ Gordon Winter to David Beresford, 8 September 1998. From David Beresford's personal collection.

⁴⁶⁵⁵ The incident is examined in Chapter 6.

was that Tsafendas was totally mad and that if he managed to get out of Death Row he would definitely kill again.”⁴⁶⁵⁶

This is how van den Bergh described Tsafendas in the article:

“It is true that Tsafendas joined the CPSA in the late 1930s, but he was completely ineffective as a member of the Party because he never really appreciated what communism was all about. He was totally incapable of converting other people to the communist cause and that is why they merely used him to fill the ranks whenever a street procession was mounted.”⁴⁶⁵⁷

As for the concealment of evidence, it would not have been the first time General van den Bergh and the South African police had withheld important evidence from the judicial process. In March 21, 1960, after the Sharpeville massacre, a police unit including van den Bergh, then a captain, swooped on the hospitals where wounded demonstrators were taken and removed any corpses which showed evidence of injuries caused by illegal dum-dum bullets. Evidence concerning the use of such bullets and the ammunition rounds issued was conveniently “lost” or “misplaced” by the police. The police lied, hid and fabricated evidence to cover up their use of the dum-dums,⁴⁶⁵⁸ which, under van den Bergh’s supervision and orders, proved quite effective.⁴⁶⁵⁹

After the massacre, van den Bergh was sent to the Baragwanath hospital, where policemen under his command dragged wounded people from their beds, manacled them and transported them to Boksburg Prison. There they were stripped naked, sprayed with water and ordered to dress again in their same, often blood-stained clothes. They were forced to wear unwashed for months afterwards to demonstrate what happened to “agitators.”⁴⁶⁶⁰ Judge Wessels, the sole member of the Commission of Inquiry into the Sharpeville Massacre, appointed van den Bergh to determine who shouted “shoot” and who fired the first shots that wounded peaceful demonstrators. Naturally, van den Bergh “failed” to discover the guilty parties.⁴⁶⁶¹

Since van den Bergh and other police officers were able to lie, hide and fabricate evidence in 1960, they were certainly capable of doing so again six years later, especially

⁴⁶⁵⁶ Gordon Winter to David Beresford, 8 September 1998. From David Beresford’s personal collection.

⁴⁶⁵⁷ Winter, ‘Tsafendas was Ineffective Red-Van den Bergh’, *The Citizen*, 26 October 1976.

⁴⁶⁵⁸ Martin, *Justice Ignited: The Dynamics of Backfire*, p. 13.

⁴⁶⁵⁹ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 147-8; 154-6.

⁴⁶⁶⁰ Frankel, *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*, p. 194-195.

⁴⁶⁶¹ Report of the Sharpeville Commission, p. 154; Roux, *Time Longer than Rope: A History of the Black Man’s Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*, p. 408.

since the Commission could not know what evidence the police had gathered. It was certainly easier to suppress paper documents than remove corpses and wounded casualties from a hospital. Since van den Bergh was keen to discount Tsafendas's adherence to Communism, it is natural to assume that he would also want to conceal the fact that Tsafendas had fought with the Communists in the Greek Civil War and that he had once characterised a hypothetical assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as justifiable, both political acts of greater importance than simply being a Communist Party member. Clearly, it was very easy to withhold evidence when the witnesses concerned did not give evidence to the Commission, and van den Bergh had all the statements in his possession. That would also explain why the statements from the *Eleni* went missing.

Playing fast and loose with unwelcome evidence was made much easier for van den Bergh just three years later, in 1969, when he and Prime Minister Vorster dreamed up the General Law Amendment Bill, whose notorious Clause 29 authorised the Prime Minister or his nominee (General van den Bergh, of course) to prohibit oral or written testimony before any court or statutory body if they considered such evidence or document would be "prejudicial to the interests of the state or public security." This meant that the police and the security forces could conceal or ensure the unavailability of any document or evidence which might threaten their interest.⁴⁶⁶² Thus, if Tsafendas's case had taken place in 1969, van den Bergh would have been in his rights to block unwelcome evidence. Not that it stopped him from doing so earlier, as, for instance in the Commission of Enquiry into the Sharpeville massacre.⁴⁶⁶³

The case of James Lenkoe, a Lesotho national living in Johannesburg, can also be used to demonstrate how Section 29 may be employed in the interests of the authorities. Mr. Lenkoe, thirty-five, was arrested on the night of March 5, 1969, and was dead five days later. Warders at the inquest said he was found hanging by a belt from the window of his cell in Pretoria Local Prison. His wife could not identify the belt; she said he was not wearing one when arrested and he had left his only belt at home. Major J.T. Swanepoel denied that detainees were ever given electric shock treatment, but Dr. Alan Richards Moritz, a noted American pathologist, testified that a lesion on Mr. Lenkoe's toe was an electrical burn.⁴⁶⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁶² International Defence and Aid Fund, *BOSS: The First Five Years*, p. 11.

⁴⁶⁶³ International Defence and Aid Fund, *South Africa: The BOSS Law*, p. 7-8.

⁴⁶⁶⁴ Bernstein, *South Africa: The Terrorism of Torture*, p. 30-31; International Defence and Aid Fund, *'Resettlement' – The New Violence to Africans*, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1969), p. 7-8.

Mrs. Lenkoe announced her intention to sue the Prime Minister, the Minister of Police and Major Swanepoel for damages arising out of her husband's death. However, since Section 29 prohibits the giving of evidence "prejudicial to the interests of the State or public security," either of the Ministers can issue a certificate preventing evidence of Lenkoe's interrogation or discussion of the cause of his death. Such a procedure may also be used to stop civil actions seeking damages from the police for alleged assault. A factor affecting government thinking may be the rise in such actions, from 76 in 1966 to 117 in 1968. Section 29 will prove particularly useful to the State in the case of inquests into the deaths of persons in detention, and in circumstances where detainees have been charged and wish to claim that confessions were extracted from them under torture.⁴⁶⁶⁵

Furthermore, in 1971, a security police agent and State witness against the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg in charges under the Terrorism Act was accused by Sydney Kentridge, the defence counsel, that he distorted and exaggerated his reports on the Dean.⁴⁶⁶⁶ Van den Bergh's readiness to interfere with evidence was demonstrated again in 1976, this time in his personal interest, when he instructed officials in the Ministry of Information to destroy all "unnecessary documentation" that would have disclosed his involvement in the "information scandal."⁴⁶⁶⁷

Gordon Winter claimed that it was General van den Bergh who omitted evidence from the Commission and downplayed Tsafendas's political activities, especially anything that had to do with Communism. Why? Winter's explanation to Liza Key seems entirely logical:

⁴⁶⁶⁵ Bernstein, *South Africa: The Terrorism of Torture*, p. 30-31; International Defence and Aid Fund, 'Resettlement' – *The New Violence to Africans*, p. 7-8.

⁴⁶⁶⁶ Stanely Uys, 'Agent Accused of Distorting Reports', *The Guardian*, 4 August 1971: 3.

⁴⁶⁶⁷ Sanders, *South Africa and the International Media, 1972-1979: A Struggle for Representation*, p. 62.

“It’s an embarrassment for him [van den Bergh] that this man who was a) dangerous, b) mad, c) Coloured, got a job at the House of Assembly, and HJ’s policemen or security... it doesn’t matter about going to work Pelindaba or whatever you call it, for a uranium base or whatever. This is not a Kruger Park ranger job; we’re talking about in the House of Assembly. It’s embarrassing for HJ, the supremo of intelligence, for his mob to allow this lunatic – if he was a lunatic – into the House of Assembly, and he then went in with two daggers. That’s some security. No wonder they wanted to keep it quiet ... if there was a political motive, it’s hardly pro-South Africa. And if it was a political motive, surely wouldn’t the Kremlin get some benefit from that? A nice bit of propaganda. You don’t want that. The reds under the beds in South Africa were the enemy. We don’t let them score victories. Think about it. Its common sense.”⁴⁶⁶⁸

It is also indisputable that documents from a number of important cases during apartheid have gone missing from the National Archives of South Africa. They include some 600 pages from Ahmed Timol’s original inquest records.⁴⁶⁶⁹ It is logical to assume in such cases that evidence was removed by or on behalf of persons who wished to conceal their involvement and possible misconduct. In Tsafendas’s case, it is not surprise that the statements which went missing were those he made which would have contradicted the Commission’s findings. In fact, it is surprising that two statements which contradicted both the Court’s and the Commission’s conclusions were found in the Archives. It seems that whoever removed the other evidence missed these two documents. That is hardly surprising when the total of relevant documents exceeded 10,000.

PUBLICATION OF THE COMMISSION’S REPORT

The report of the Commission was tabled in Parliament and published as a Blue Book (R.P. 16/1967) on 24th January 1967.⁴⁶⁷⁰ Immediately upon publication, the government bureaucracy came in for serious criticism, particularly the departments of Immigration and Interior, along with the police. An MP for the opposition United Party, Grant Hughes, accused the Minister of the Interior, Senator Johannes de Klerk,⁴⁶⁷¹ of incompetence and bungling, stating that in any other country he would be pressed to resign. Hughes said that of the three departments under fire, the Interior was most to blame. De Klerk conceded that

⁴⁶⁶⁸ Gordon Winter in *A Question of Madness*.

⁴⁶⁶⁹ Nicolson, ‘Timol Inquest: He Was Murdered But Culprits are Dead, Court Rules’, *Daily Maverick*, 12 October 2017.

⁴⁶⁷⁰ Ellison Kahn, ‘Constitutional and Administrative Law’, *Annual Survey of South African Law*, 1966, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁷¹ Father of F.W. de Klerk, the last apartheid President.

there had been negligence on the part of certain officials in his department, but his response was not accepted by the Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villers Graaff. He argued that de Klerk had tried to play down the seriousness of his department's negligence.⁴⁶⁷²

Another UP Member, J.O.N Thompson, asked what happened to the medical report on Tsafendas written by District Surgeon Dr. Kossew after he examined him on June 17. It was at this examination that Dr. Kossew diagnosed Tsafendas as schizophrenic. Thompson said, "Less than a fortnight later he was able to come into employment in this House. The Commission's Report did not reveal what happened to the report of the district surgeon."⁴⁶⁷³ In essence, the Report achieved its main goal, which was to back the court's verdict and to assure nervous South Africans that the assassination was the act of a schizophrenic without any political motive who acted entirely alone. It also presented Tsafendas in such an unattractive light as to ensure that he would find no sympathy from the public.

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MENTALLY DERANGED PERSONS AND RELATED MATTERS

The issues arising from the van Wyk Commission and the Tsafendas case led to the appointment of a further Commission of Inquiry, chaired by Judge Frans Rumpff, to look at the criminal responsibility of the mentally ill, and to make recommendations in the public interest. Its remit included investigating the effectiveness of current regulations on the judging of criminal cases involving the mentally ill; methods for preventing such persons from committing acts dangerous to others; and the extent to which such persons could be judged responsible for their actions.

⁴⁶⁷² *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Seriousness of Negligence Being 'Played Down'', 28 January 1967: 2.

⁴⁶⁷³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Report is Missing', 28 January 1967: 2.

In 1967, the Commission issued its report, which recommended, among other things, that the doctrine of “irresistible impulse” in criminal responsibility should be abolished in favour of a criterion involving inability to act in accordance with an appreciation of the wrongfulness of an act. Eventually, ten years later, this recommendation was adopted in the Criminal Procedure Act.⁴⁶⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁷⁴ S.A. Strauss, “The Person with Schizophrenia and Criminal Justice: Some Aspects.” *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (November 1996), p. 292; JH van Rooyen, Faye J Goldberg, and Norval Morris, “The Psychopath in South African Criminal and Mental Health Law.” *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (March 1976), p. 4.

SUMMARY OF THE COMMISSION'S REPORT

The report of the Commission played a very important role in creating the false picture of Tsafendas that persists until today. The stated duty of the Commission was “to enquire into and submit a report on all aspects relating to the death of the Prime Minister which were deemed to be in the public interest.” Anyone reading the Commission’s Report without specialist knowledge would probably consider it lucid, informative and even-handed. On most issues, it is also in accordance with what was heard during Tsafendas’s summary trial.

However, anyone cognisant of the evidence which the police and the Commission had in their possession, would conclude that van Wyk’s Report was no better, no fairer and no more accurate than Sharpeville or the other Inquiries discussed at the beginning of this chapter. In truth, it was worse because of the sheer amount of information it suppressed in order to portray Tsafendas’s personality and intentions in a negative light. As with several judicial inquiries, the van Wyk Commission concealed more than it revealed. Although the picture of Tsafendas contained in the Report was certainly more accurate than the one which emerged from his trial, it was nevertheless a travesty of the truth.

The Commission seemed to believe that apart from the stated official reasons of its existence, it also had the following duties:

- To confirm that Tsafendas had acted alone.
- To strengthen and confirm the notion that Tsafendas was mad and devoid of political motive.
- To belittle Tsafendas in such a way that the public would agree with the portrayal it had engineered.
- To absolve the police and the security forces of blame for letting Tsafendas get close to Dr. Verwoerd.

To achieve these aims, the Commission covered up any contrary evidence.

TSAFENDAS'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND IDEOLOGY

The Commission appears to be open and objective in disclosing some of Tsafendas’s political activities. It reports that he was a one-time member of the SACP, that he was engaged in Communist propaganda in Mozambique and South Africa and that he had strong feelings

against the Portuguese colonial rulers and the South African government. All this is correct, but merely skims the surface of Tsafendas's political involvements.

The Commission omits major facts, such as his association in London with leading anti-apartheid activists, the fact that he fought with the Communists in the Greek Civil War, his opinion about Dr. Verwoerd, and several of his arrests and prison sentences by the Portuguese because of his political activities. Furthermore, the Commission offers no new revelations since most of Tsafendas's political activities, for example that he was a former member of the SACP, had already been reported by the Press. Some revelations could probably not have remained hidden, e.g. that the police held four files on Tsafendas and not just one as originally stated, while others come across as attempts to show some objectivity so as to conceal more important facts.

It is noticeable that evidence available to the Commission revealing Tsafendas to be a politically involved person, a devoted and passionate Communist with a fully developed ideology is not the evidence which the Commission presents. The Commission downplays his political ideas and omits details of his activities. The extent of Tsafendas's desire to effect a change in South Africa's race policy is suppressed. Crucially missing, for instance, are that he wanted "to create a resistance to the regime of South Africa and mentioned civil disobedience" and his willingness to do "anything that would get the South African regime out of power,"⁴⁶⁷⁵ and that he wanted to see a "Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the Mother nation."⁴⁶⁷⁶ Most importantly, the Commission avoided using Tsafendas's own words to describe his political ideology, apparently because, honest, persuasive and coherent as they were, they did not fit with the idea of a madman.

TSAFENDAS'S PERSONALITY

The Commission's determinedly negative portrayal of Tsafendas could be fairly described as character assassination. It ignores any positive evidence about him, apart from one, whilst embracing everything it can find to his detriment. Some 200 witnesses were interviewed by the police and the Commission, of whom 44 made positive statements about Tsafendas's

⁴⁶⁷⁵ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁶⁷⁶ Vertaling. Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. K150. Vol: 6, File: 3. NASA; PIDE report: Information: Demitrio Tsafendas or Demetrio Tsafandakis. 7 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

character, 6 made negative statements and the remainder said nothing negative or positive. Thus, 22% of the statements were positive, 3% were negative and the remaining 75% neutral. However, the Commission used only 1 of the 44 positive comments; that is only 2.2% of the positive comments but 100% of the negative. It also presented some incidents in such a way as to give the wrong idea about the incident and about Tsafendas.

Judge van Wyk used a series of unfounded characterisations to portray Tsafendas which were incompatible with the evidence collected by the Commission and the police. It did this by suppressing and misrepresenting evidence in order to reduce Tsafendas to a shambling caricature of the person he truly was. If van Wyk were alive today, he would have great difficulty defending himself against a charge of defamation.

TSAFENDAS'S MOTIVE

A glaring loophole in the Commission's work is its failure to provide an explanation for Tsafendas's motive for the assassination. Although Tsafendas had made it perfectly clear to the police in his two statements that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he considered him to be a dictator and hoped his death would change national policy, these comments about motivation are omitted. Instead, the Commission speculates fruitlessly about Tsafendas's reasoning and what might have triggered his hand.

More importantly, in the chapter of the Report titled "Demetrio Tsafendas's Motives," the Commission dedicates most of the space to presenting Tsafendas as a rejected, frustrated, psychologically damaged product of an unhappy childhood, employing a series of wholly unfounded descriptions of him that were irrelevant to the question of motive. One area where the Commission distanced itself from the summary trial was in making no reference to the tapeworm story when discussing motives for the assassination. Once again, the Commission avoided using Tsafendas's own words to describe his motive, clearly because such an explanation did not fit with the idea of a madman.

TSAFENDAS'S MENTAL STATE

The Report seems to suggest that the Commission has some doubts as to the extent of Tsafendas's alleged insanity. It concedes that he was not as mad as portrayed at his trial and that he was clever enough to put on a good act. Still, it goes to great pains to press its case for

insanity. For instance, only 4 witnesses out of a total of about 200 questioned by the police and the Commission thought there was something mentally wrong with Tsafendas; that is 2% of the total. Using 3 of these 4 means the Commission used 75% of the negative statements. On the other hand, 51 witnesses out of the 200, this is the 25.5%, had commented that Tsafendas was perfectly normal, while the rest made no comment, obviously because Tsafendas seemed perfectly normal to them. However, the Commission only used 6 out of the 51 positive statements, thus only 11.7% of them. This is something that happened with every issue dealt by the Commission. All, or the vast majority of negative statements, are used, while the positive ones are ignored.

TSAFENDAS FAKING MENTAL ILLNESS

One very important revelation made by the Commission is that Tsafendas had faked mental illness while in the United States. This was a genuine disclosure since it was not brought up at the trial and had not been mentioned elsewhere. However, the incident is treated superficially and no elaboration is offered, while the Commission suppressed the fact that there was at least one other time when Tsafendas faked mental illness - when he pretended to be mad in order to not serve in the Portuguese army.

THE *ELENI*

One of the most intriguing parts of the Report concerned what happened on board the tanker *Eleni* and how it was that Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed there three days before he actually died. The Commission dedicated more space to this than to any other issue but failed to find an answer and in the end only speculated about what might have happened. Judge van Wyk could have saved himself much effort by using the evidence painstakingly collected by the South African police in Venice. They showed precisely what happened and the circumstances in which Dr. Verwoerd's death was discussed when Tsafendas characterised a hypothetical assassination of his as justifiable because he was a tyrant who was oppressing his people. This was not the only important omission concerning the *Eleni*. Also suppressed were the fact that Tsafendas took some of the crew to visit a township, and the details of his initial assassination plan, to shoot Dr. Verwoerd and escape by hiding and then sailing away on the *Eleni*.

CONCLUSION

Austin T. Turk, Professor of Criminology at the University of California, said about South Africa during apartheid that it may well have had “the world’s most elaborate legal structure for the repression of political resistance of all kinds.”⁴⁶⁷⁷ The van Wyk Commission and how it operated, as well as Tsafendas’s summary trial, are perfect examples of how right he was. As with so many Commissions of Inquiry during apartheid, the van Wyk inquiry concealed more than it revealed; it suppressed all the evidence which contradicted the verdict at Tsafendas’s summary trial and the picture of him which was presented to the court. Crucially, it sat on key evidence showing Tsafendas as a politically motivated person who killed Dr. Verwoerd because he considered him to be exactly what he was, a tyrant and a dictator and the brains behind apartheid, and further hoped that by killing him a change of policy would take place.

The primary aim of the Report was to dispel any suggestion that the assassination might have been part of a wider plot and that there might be serious political opposition to the apartheid regime, and it did this by presenting Tsafendas as a wandering lunatic who killed Dr. Verwoerd for no reason. By suppressing a great deal of evidence and massaging some that was presented, the Commission reassured the public and ensure there ensured and there would be no sympathy for Tsafendas and therefore no unfortunate reactions to his fate.

The Attorney-General at Tsafendas’s summary trial might not have had access to all the evidence gathered by the police and Judge Beyers himself was not even aware of it, but the same cannot be said about Judge van Wyk. He was in possession of a wealth of evidence making clear that Tsafendas was not as described at the summary trial. Nevertheless, he deliberately omitted much of it to present the distorted picture of Tsafendas that he required.

Professor John Dugard told the author about the portrayal of Tsafendas by van Wyk: “van Wyk was politically very much in favour of the government, so it would not surprise me at all that van Wyk decided either under pressure, but I suspect not under pressure, probably he just felt... and he was in touch with all the top National Party people, socially. He would probably have got the message that it was better, as far as the government was concerned, that Tsafendas be found to be insane. Politically, it was obviously better for the government to portray Tsafendas as someone who was insane, because they wished to be able to argue

⁴⁶⁷⁷ Turk, *Political Criminality: The Defiance and Defence of Authority*, p. 146.

that no sane person could kill Dr. Verwoerd – that anyone who killed Dr. Verwoerd must have been insane. So that was why I suspect that Judge van Wyk interpreted the evidence the way he did.”⁴⁶⁷⁸

Advocate George Bizos, Professor John Dugard, Attorney Krish Govender and Judge Zak Yacoob believe it is inconceivable that van Wyk would have contradicted Judge Beyers’ verdict under any circumstances, even if he had evidence pointing in an opposite direction. It would have been impossible for him to present Tsafendas and the assassination in a way that did not suit the government. That is exactly why he was chosen in the first place. They all agree that the Commission “clearly manipulated and concealed evidence [in its Report] in order to mis-portray Tsafendas and conceal his real motive for killing Verwoerd.”⁴⁶⁷⁹

The way the Commission of Enquiry into Dr. Verwoerd’s death was conducted is a perfect example of the argument about how such Commissions were manipulated to help the apartheid government; as such, the Commission should take its place of dishonour alongside other disgraced apartheid-era Commissions, such as those on Sharpeville, Soweto and Langa.

⁴⁶⁷⁸ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

⁴⁶⁷⁹ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017; Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016; Attorney Krish Govender in a personal interview, 12 May 2017; Justice Zak Yacoob in a personal interview, 18 September 2017.

CHAPTER 8

AFTERMATH AND CONCLUSION

AFTERMATH

TSAFENDAS'S TIME IN PRISON

The torture of Tsafendas did not stop after he left Caledon Square. He was physically and systematically abused in prison, first in Robben Island and then in Pretoria Central Prison, for many years after the assassination. Throughout most of his incarceration, the prison authorities went to great lengths to prevent Tsafendas from having any sort of contact with the other prisoners.

Anti-apartheid revolutionary Lionel Davis was imprisoned for seven years on Robben Island (1964-1971) and then spent another five years under house arrest (1971-1976). He was in Robben Island prison when Tsafendas was taken there in November 1966. He told the author: "We saw him [Tsafendas] on Robben Island because he was in the main cell block that was opposite where we were. He was in a single cell there and we were in single cells on the other side." Davis said that Tsafendas was "totally isolated," in an area where those who were punished were kept. As to how Tsafendas was seen at the time by his fellow prisoners, he told the author, "We all saw him as a hero. He was a hero in our eyes." Asked whether the ANC members also saw Tsafendas as a hero, Davis said, "All political, orchestrated political persuasions on the island, hailed him as a hero." Davis also stated that all his former comrades in the anti-apartheid struggle "still hail him as a hero."⁴⁶⁸⁰

Tsafendas himself has described how in Pretoria Central Prison, he was beaten, brutalised, and tortured, and his food contaminated by the warders' urine.⁴⁶⁸¹ He told David Beresford and Liza Key:

"It was very bad in prison. They used to hang people there next to my cell, half a dozen at a time ... six a week, mostly Coloureds from the Cape ... The warders ... they used to take me into a disguised locker of clothes ... and they used to put a straight-jacket on me and

⁴⁶⁸⁰ Lionel Davis in a personal interview, 8 April 2015.

⁴⁶⁸¹ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017; Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis in a personal interview, 23 January 2017.

then they used to punch me until I fell unconscious to the floor. Every morning the two officers used to come out in my dormitory, my room. I had to follow them. They took me out into the place and I had to walk. They wanted me to walk for exercise. Back. Long like this. And Potgieter followed me with a baton behind. He was a rugby player and used to beat me with club on the head. Mostly behind the head here. Blood used to come out. One men there stood up for me. He says, 'that's enough! That's too much.' One officer. I still remember him ... they used to take me into the laundry room where they kept their clean clothes and they used to beat me. Scale, see my weight and then I'd jumped down and they'd start punching, all around the room. I couldn't get away. Small laundry room ... then when I came out of the laundry room, I couldn't stand up straight. I couldn't walk straight. I had to bend from the waist-line down ... They used to take me into a locker of clothes and put a straight-jacket on me and then they punched me until I fell unconscious.⁴⁶⁸²

In December 1968, Bernard Mitchell, a former inmate in Pretoria Central was interviewed about his time in prison. He briefly mentioned Tsafendas, saying:

"They built a special cell – a flat they called it – for him [Tsafendas] in the death block in Pretoria Central Prison, where I was at the time. This mate of mine in the death wing told me they put a screen around the landing in front of the cell and 'exercised' Tsafendas there. A screw would stand in each corner and Tsafendas's exercise would consist of dodging their truncheons as they threw him from one side to the other. We used to exercise in the yard below his cell and you could hear him screaming."⁴⁶⁸³

Apart from the physical abuse, Tsafendas underwent the psychological torture of spending twenty-three years in a cell right next to the death chamber where the hangings took place. The apartheid authorities were at that time the world's "busiest hangman," executing about one hundred people per year. In order to cope with the "workload" and make the executioners' work easier, the authorities had erected a special gallows at Pretoria Central Prison which could hold a number of nooses, for occasions involving multiple hangings.⁴⁶⁸⁴ Tsafendas's cell was right next to this gallows.

Each execution, and they were frequent (on average two persons per week), involved at least a week of mental agony for Tsafendas because the condemned man was moved into

⁴⁶⁸² Tsafendas in *A Question of Madness*; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

⁴⁶⁸³ John de St Jorre, 'I Was Glad That Cancer Got Me Out of Vorster's Jail', *The Observer*, 1 December 1968:

7.

⁴⁶⁸⁴ Sachs, *The Violence of Apartheid*, p. 1.

the cell next door seven days before his due date. There then began physical preparations for the hanging, including testing of the mechanism which operated the trapdoors, a procedure which caused a loud creaking noise. The day before the execution, political prisoners and other condemned men on Death Row would begin to sing.⁴⁶⁸⁵ Tsafendas himself would weep and wail when the hanging took place, always at dawn. He was convinced that this was not just about torture: it was a warning of the fate that awaited him should he regain his “sanity”.⁴⁶⁸⁶

A vivid picture of how it must have been for Tsafendas spending years within earshot of men being hanged was offered by a fellow prisoner and anti-apartheid activist, Professor Renfrew Christie. He recalled that “we were also put as close to the gallows as possible... we listened to about three hundred hangings ... you would hear the sound of the trapdoors opening and half an hour later you would hear the sound of nails being driven with a hammer, which meant the people were dead and were being placed into coffins.”⁴⁶⁸⁷

During most of his twenty-three years next to the death chamber, Tsafendas was kept in solitary confinement for twenty-four hours a day, sometimes not allowed out of his cell at all, often left there for days without explanation; he was not in contact with any fellow prisoner and was not allowed access to newspapers, magazines or books, apart from the Bible; his guards urinated in his food and beat him daily, sometimes several times a day, and sometimes after putting him in a straightjacket so he was unable to protect himself.⁴⁶⁸⁸

In 1971, the issue of Tsafendas's treatment was raised by Professor Barend van Niekerk.⁴⁶⁸⁹ The Professor informed Progressive Party MP Helen Suzman and Justice Ludorf,⁴⁶⁹⁰ that “Tsafendas is being subjected to the cruellest possible treatment. Perhaps you

⁴⁶⁸⁵ Beresford, ‘Dr. Verwoerd’s Insane Killer Being Brutalised on SA Death Row: Cell Next to Gallows for 71-Year Old Prisoner’, *The Guardian*, 9 June 1989: 12; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Lucas Ledwaba, ‘My ANC: ‘We Were Put Close to the Gallows’’, *News 24*, 7 January 2012. Retrieved from:

<https://www.news24.com/Archives/City-Press/My-ANC-We-were-put-close-to-the-gallows-20150429>; Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017; Thornycroft and Lee, ‘Amnesty for Tsafendas?’, *Sunday Tribune*, 15 May 1994.

⁴⁶⁸⁶ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

⁴⁶⁸⁷ Ledwaba, ‘My ANC: We Were Put Close to the Gallows’’, *News 24*, 7 January 2012.

⁴⁶⁸⁸ Breyten Breytenbach in *A Question of Madness*; Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017; Mather, ‘Horror in Black and White’, *The Observer*, 1 August 1976: 17.

⁴⁶⁸⁹ (1939-1981) Prominent South African Law Professor. Passionate human rights activist and outspoken critic of apartheid.

⁴⁶⁹⁰ (1913-1982) Joseph Francis Ludorf. Member and strong supporter of the National Party. He had admitted being an officer of the pro-Nazi Ossewabrandwag during the Second World War (International Defence and Aid Fund, *South Africa: The BOSS Law*, p. 4). He was one of the judges in the Treason Trial but had to withdraw when the defence argued there was a conflict of interest and he could be prejudiced because he had represented the Government in 1954. He was a lawyer for the police when Harold Wolpe sought a court interdict to eject the

may raise the question of his treatment in the Justice vote. I think it is shocking that he should at all be detained in gaol, where he probably does not get the psychiatric treatment he needs.”⁴⁶⁹¹ The same year, A.M. Towert, a civil servant, informed Suzman that Tsafendas was kept in the “execution block at Central Gaol, Pretoria.”⁴⁶⁹² Suzman responded that it would be best if she raised the matter privately with the Minister of Justice and the Commissioner of Prisons, knowing that if she raised it in public, she “will simply get a flat denial.” She felt that by doing it privately, there was a “chance that something might be done.”⁴⁶⁹³

However, despite Suzman’s efforts, the torture did not stop, with claims of brutality as much ten years after the assassination. Tsafendas’s torture was also the subject of an article in the British Sunday newspaper, *The Observer*, on 1 August 1976. A former prisoner, Brian Price, claimed that Tsafendas “was treated with gross inhumanity and was a broken man.” He said that the guards urinated in Tsafendas’s food then forced him to eat it and he was routinely beaten and kicked. “For the first five years or so, the warders used to lay into Tsafendas. He was a plaything for sadists.”⁴⁶⁹⁴ The fact that Tsafendas was still being systematically tortured was confirmed by another two prisoners, anti-apartheid activists Alexander Moumbaris and Breyten Breytenbach, by two other unnamed prisoners and later by Tsafendas himself.⁴⁶⁹⁵

Breyten Breytenbach, convicted of sabotage and jailed for nine years,⁴⁶⁹⁶ who was with Tsafendas in Pretoria Maximum Security Prison in the mid-1970s, told Liza Key:

“[The warders] were martyring the man. There was no doubt about that ... throw out his food, throw it on the floor, walk in it, have him clean it up, throw a bucket of water on his

police from a meeting of the Congress of the People (Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, p. 29-30). He was the judge in John Harris’s trial. He found Harris guilty and he was hanged (David Beresford, *Truth is A Strange Fruit: A Personal Journey Through the Apartheid War*, Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2010, p. 326-341). Nevertheless, in the late 1960s, he protested against the BOSS’s methods and increasing power (International Defence and Aid Fund, *South Africa: The BOSS Law*, p. 4).

⁴⁶⁹¹ Letter to Helen Suzman from Professor Barend D. van Niekerk of Wits referring to the “cruellest” treatment being meted out to Dimtri Tsafendas in jail, 9 April 1971. Helen Suzman Papers 1944-2009. Mb2.10.1.5. University of the Witwatersrand.

⁴⁶⁹² Letter to Helen Suzman from A.M. Towert informing her that Tsafendas is held in the “execution block” at Central Gaol, Pretoria, 16 May 1971. Helen Suzman Papers 1944-2009. Mb2.10.1.5. University of the Witwatersrand.

⁴⁶⁹³ Letter from Helen Suzman to Prof. B.D. van Niekerk (Wits) who’d written to her saying that “Tsafendas is being subjected to the cruellest possible treatment.” 5 May 1971. Helen Suzman Papers 1944-2009. Mb2.10.1.6. University of the Witwatersrand.

⁴⁶⁹⁴ Ian Mather, ‘Horror in Black and White’, *The Observer*, 1 August 1976: 17.

⁴⁶⁹⁵ Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013; Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017; Thornycroft and Lee, ‘Amnesty for Tsafendas?’, *Sunday Tribune*, 15 May 1994; Tsafendas and Breyten Breytenbach in *A Question of Madness*.

⁴⁶⁹⁶ Abel, *Politics by Other Means: Law in the Struggle against Apartheid, 1980-1994*, p. 16.

floor and get him to dry it ... this seems to be a continuing and ongoing sport amongst the warders ... They felt personally responsible of called upon to punish him for what he had done. He was never going to be tried and he was never going to be executed ... were really egging one another on to see who could be the most awful. Some of them felt that they personally had to take it out on him for having killed Dr. Verwoerd. He had to be punished day after day ... 'you killed our leader' kind of thing ... although they themselves had never known Dr. Verwoerd, they were too much too young to be concerned with that ... but there was this kind of revenge ... generally using him as a punching bag." Breytenbach also confirmed that he had seen Tsafendas in a straight-jacket, but the warders told him that they put it on to him because he was "out of control."⁴⁶⁹⁷

Breytenbach also told Key:

"Under those circumstances ... one-is extremely sensitive to the slightest change in regime ... when you get your food late, when you get your food cold ... when they come to tip over your bed and you have to do it all over again ... And they used to do things like that all the time to him, throw out his food, throw it on the floor, walk in it, have him clean it up ... throw a bucket of water on the floor ... get him to dry it ... pour water on his bed ... And this seems to be a continuing and ongoing sport among the warders ... they were really egging one another on to see who could be the most awful. Some of them felt that they personally had to take it out on him for having killed Dr. Verwoerd. He had to be punished day after day... 'You killed our leader' kind of thing ... although they themselves had never known Dr. Verwoerd, they were too much too young to be concerned with that ... but there was this kind of revenge ... generally using him as a punching bag."⁴⁶⁹⁸

Alexander Moumbaris said about Tsafendas in 1980, "He was being buried alive. The warders beat him several times a day. Although he is not a sane man, the treatment he is getting for his illness is non-existent. He told me and this was corroborated that he was often put into a straight-jacket and his testicles twisted by warders."⁴⁶⁹⁹ In a personal interview with the author, Moumbaris clarified his reference in the *Guardian* to Tsafendas as "not a sane man." He said, "I couldn't tell otherwise. This is what they thought. If they knew he was sane, they would have killed him."⁴⁷⁰⁰

⁴⁶⁹⁷ Breyten Breytenbach in *A Question of Madness*.

⁴⁶⁹⁸ Breyten Breytenbach in *A Question of Madness*.

⁴⁶⁹⁹ Roger Omond, 'South Africans Demand POW Status', *The Guardian*, 22 January 1980: 7

⁴⁷⁰⁰ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

Two unnamed former inmates of Tsafendas told the *Sunday Tribune* that Tsafendas was “beaten and brutalised time and time again for his assassination of Dr. Verwoerd.”⁴⁷⁰¹ Advocate George Bizos told the author, “The information I got from Alex Moumbaris and others [fellow prisoners] regarding Tsafendas’s treatment in prison was enough to make one throw up.”⁴⁷⁰² Professor Renfrew Christie, an anti-apartheid activist who was sentenced for passing to the ANC important secret information on the apartheid government, including its nuclear development plans, was also an inmate at Pretoria Central Prison. He met Tsafendas briefly in the early 1980s. He told the author:

“I was left alone with Tsafendas for a very short time. He was shocked and his face, his hair, were bleached grey/white and he was clearly a man who had been through immense stress and he was, and the best word to use is, a ghost. Neither of us was expecting this meeting; I think one of the warders must have said, ‘This is Tsafendas.’ But I don’t know if I was identified although I think he understood that I was there for my opposition to apartheid and we had three sentences together, no more, as a greeting. He was a man sleep-walking and in great, great shock; distinctly distressed.

My sense is that these particular warders wanted to do him a favour and let him see some other person but I cannot say what their motive was... I believe that the warders who arranged this accident were trying to do him a favour, to let him see some other person, and they picked me. Maybe they thought I was friendly, I don’t know, but we said little more than, ‘Hello. How are you?’ Polite conversation and, of course, the warders were present and we could not say anything serious... I cannot say that the person I met was insane in any way, I can say he was deeply, deeply stressed and he looked like a ghost but that doesn’t make him insane, that makes him someone who’s been in solitary for fifteen or eighteen years or whatever the number is.”⁴⁷⁰³

⁴⁷⁰¹ Thornycroft and Lee, ‘Amnesty for Tsafendas?’ *Sunday Tribune*, 15 May 1994.

⁴⁷⁰² Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

⁴⁷⁰³ Professor Renfrew Christie in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

In 1989, Tsafendas was seventy-one, but still on Death Row and still being tortured, according to the British *Guardian*. The newspaper made a widely noted point that instead of being detained in a psychiatric hospital, as the law required for the mentally ill, he had been kept not only in a maximum security prison, but on Death Row.⁴⁷⁰⁴ In September 1989, after his health had seriously deteriorated, he was transferred to the low-security Zonderwater Prison in Cullinan.

AMNESTY EFFORTS

In July 1994, with his health having declined further, the ANC released Tsafendas from prison and he was transferred to the Sterkfontein Psychiatric Hospital in Krugersdorp. From 1966 to 1994, the only person who visited him – apart from the priests, a social worker, and the two brief visits by David Bloomberg – was one of his Shangaan students, who by the late 1980s had become the chief of his tribe. However, Tsafendas was not allowed to converse with his friend because the warders did not speak Portuguese or Shangaan.⁴⁷⁰⁵

On November 24, 1994, Jody Kollapen – then a lawyer with the organization Lawyers for Human Rights, and now a High Court Judge in Pretoria – who had been visiting Tsafendas in prison, attempted to secure an amnesty for him and have him released from the hospital. He wrote a memorandum to the new democratically elected regional government, stating that:

“Dimitrio Tsafendas has been South Africa’s longest serving prisoner... To our knowledge he was the only State President’s patient who was not held in a mental institution but in a prison and we have no doubts whatsoever that the reasons for that were purely political and were based on inflicting the maximum amount of suffering upon the man who killed the so called architect and grandmaster of apartheid ...

It remains my belief that Mr. Tsafendas should not die a lonely man in an institution but should spend the last years of his life in the company of people he knows and perhaps trusts ... In summation I believe that the man has served his debt to the society (if he owed a debt at all in the first place). His age and disposition certainly do not warrant him being held

⁴⁷⁰⁴ Beresford, ‘Dr. Verwoerd’s Insane Killer Being Brutalised on SA Death Row: Cell Next to Gallows for 71-Year Old Prisoner’, *The Guardian*, 9 June 1989: 12.

⁴⁷⁰⁵ Jody Kollapen memorandum regarding Dimitrio Tsafendas. 24 November 1994. Dimitri Tsafendas’s file in the Lawyers for Human Rights collection (AL3183). SAHA; Father Minas Constandinou in a personal interview, 6 February 2013.

in an institution and if it was possible to release him either to family or into an old age institution run by the State this might be the best approach to follow at the present time.”⁴⁷⁰⁶

The ANC government was willing to release Tsafendas, but because he was unable to look after himself, Kollapen attempted to find someone who could look after him after he was released. He personally contacted Tsafendas’s family, but they refused, claiming they were too old to look after him. Subsequently, Kollapen contacted the Greek community in Pretoria asking them to place Tsafendas in an old people’s home which was owned by the local Greek Orthodox Church. The Greeks refused, claiming that having Tsafendas living in their old people’s home would attract negative publicity for the local community and that could harm their business with a possible boycott by White South Africans. Kollapen then even asked the regional government to intervene with his family, suggesting that if the government “were to approach the family their response might well be different.”⁴⁷⁰⁷ Despite Kollapen’s endless efforts, the release of Tsafendas from the hospital did not materialise due to the fact that no one was willing to care for him.⁴⁷⁰⁸

THE TRC

⁴⁷⁰⁶ Memorandum of Jody Kollapen of Lawyers for Human Rights, 24 November 1994. Dimitri Tsafendas’s file in the Lawyers for Human Rights collection (AL3183). SAHA.

⁴⁷⁰⁷ Memorandum of Jody Kollapen of Lawyers for Human Rights, 24 November 1994. Dimitri Tsafendas’s file in the Lawyers for Human Rights collection (AL3183). SAHA.

⁴⁷⁰⁸ Judge Jody Kollapen in a personal interview, 16 April 2015.

Jody Kollapen was not the only jurist to take an interest in Tsafendas's case. In late 1996, Mr. Krish Govender, an anti-apartheid activist, human rights lawyer at the time and future Durban State Attorney and co-chairman of the Law Society of South Africa, submitted to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that Tsafendas's case should be "reviewed and investigated." Govender said that the purpose of his submission was to query how Tsafendas as "a State President's patient" could have landed up on Death Row for twenty-eight years. He said in his request that "all decisions, documents and material [regarding Tsafendas's case] must be reviewed and investigated thoroughly. He should be visited by members of the TRC urgently to reassure him that mechanisms for justice or him are taking shape. The public needs to be reassured about his safety, well-being and state of mind, before something happens to him."⁴⁷⁰⁹

It was a natural request since it was well-known how the legal system operated during apartheid. Professor John Dugard told the author that he, like many other South Africans, including jurists, "suspected that there was a political cover-up in the Tsafendas case."⁴⁷¹⁰ He also said of the judges in the case:

"I suspect that the government was very careful when it came to appointing judges to hear the Tsafendas case, and so that would explain why both Beyers and van Wyk were involved. They were certainly political persons and they owed their appointments to the government. Van Wyk was politically very much in favour of the government, so it would not surprise me at all that van Wyk decided either under pressure, but I suspect not under pressure, probably he just felt ... and he was in touch with all the top National Party people, socially. He would probably have got the message that it was better, as far as the government was concerned, that Tsafendas be found to be insane."⁴⁷¹¹

However, the then Chief Justice Michael Corbett,⁴⁷¹² ignorant of the facts about Tsafendas, rejected the suggestion and characterised it as "pointless and absurd," because of

⁴⁷⁰⁹ Liza Key letter to Dr. Meryl Vorster, 14 October 1997. Personal Collection of Liza Key.

⁴⁷¹⁰ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 8 September 2016.

⁴⁷¹¹ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

⁴⁷¹² Justice Michael Corbett (1923-2007) was appointed Chief Justice in late 1988 (Dyzenhaus, *Hard Cases in Wicked Legal Systems: Pathologies of Legality*, p. 163). In 1991, Justice Corbett served as co-chairman of the *Convention for a Democratic South Africa* (CODESA), a negotiating forum, which held negotiations between the apartheid government and anti-apartheid organizations such as the ANC and the South African Communist Party (Dyzenhaus, *Hard Cases in Wicked Legal Systems: Pathologies of Legality*, p. 40). He was supposed to retire from his position as Chief Justice in 1993, but the Cabinet asked him to stay on for another year; then Nelson Mandela and the Cabinet asked him to remain in his position until the end of 1996. Upon his retirement in 1996, President Nelson Mandela awarded him the Order of Meritorious Service. During the ceremony, Mandela said that Corbett's passion for justice and his sensitivity to racial discrimination were combined with

what he considered to be overwhelming evidence presented to the court regarding Tsafendas's mental health.⁴⁷¹³ Subsequently, as result of Govender's request, Liza Key, the researcher and filmmaker who had met Tsafendas and made a documentary about him, was asked by Govender and the TRC to make a submission on Tsafendas's behalf. Key brought some evidence to the TRC about Tsafendas that had not been known at the time, for example his statement to the police where he had given clear political reasons as his motives for killing Dr. Verwoerd. However, also thanks to Corbett, Tsafendas's case was not investigated further.

It should also be mentioned that Govender's request was part of a submission he had made to the TRC entitled "Injustice under apartheid judiciary," asking the Commission to investigate the judiciary's conduct under apartheid and calling for all judges who had held office prior to 1994 to be held accountable for their conduct before the Commission. It was an eminently reasonable request and something that should have already been done, as it was common knowledge that the South African legal system had been an integral part of the repressive machinery of the apartheid system.⁴⁷¹⁴ In addition, the TRC itself had revealed and exposed the inaccuracies and bias of some of the death inquests (for example into the Steve Biko case) and the Commissions of Inquiry (for example the Commissions about the Sharpeville Massacre and the Soweto uprising).

In addition, Govender's suggestion was supported by several legal bodies in South Africa, such as the Black Lawyers Association, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Legal Resources Centre and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers. These bodies argued that "lawyers and courts under apartheid, with very few and notable exceptions, had co-operated in servicing and enforcing a diabolically unjust political order ... Judicial independence was a myth that had been exploded in the daily experience of the courts."⁴⁷¹⁵

Because of Govender's submission, the TRC invited the legal community, including Chief Justice Corbett, to appear before it in a hearing.⁴⁷¹⁶ The Commission's invitation emphasised that the purpose of the hearing involving the legal community was not "to establish guilt or hold individuals responsible ... the hearing is an attempt to understand the

"intellectual vigour and clarity of thought". (Gerald Friedman, "A Tribute to Michael MacGregor Corbett", 124 *The South African Law Journal*, (2007), p. 667).

⁴⁷¹³ David Dyzenhaus, *Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves: Truth, Reconciliation and the Apartheid Legal Order*, (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2003), p. 37-44.

⁴⁷¹⁴ SATIS, *Political Trials in South Africa: Judicial Instruments of Repression*, p. 55.

⁴⁷¹⁵ Klug, "Review: Law Before and After Apartheid: Abel's Sociolegal Analysis", p. 658.

⁴⁷¹⁶ Dyzenhaus, *Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves: Truth, Reconciliation and the Apartheid Legal Order*, p. 37.

role the legal system played in contributing to the violation and/or protection of human rights and to identify institutional changes required to prevent those abuses which occurred from happening again.⁴⁷¹⁷

In the end, much to the Commission's dismay, not a single judge or magistrate accepted the invitation. Some judges, including Chief Justice Corbett, responded by sending memorandums. Corbett made it clear in his memorandum that although he was not speaking on behalf of the "judiciary as a whole," he had distributed his memorandum "among the present members of the Appellate Division" and that it bore "their endorsement."⁴⁷¹⁸ In his memorandum, despite all the previously quoted evidence about the judiciary, Corbett staunchly defended its record under apartheid; he praised the judges and said that the record of judicial decisions during apartheid was "generally" good,⁴⁷¹⁹ while he claimed that "the courts had no option but to apply the law as they found it, however unjust it might appear to be."⁴⁷²⁰ Finally, he "objected on practical and constitutional grounds" to Govender's suggestion that all judges and magistrates should be brought before the Commission.⁴⁷²¹

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the chairman of the TRC, Dullah Omar, the Minister of Justice, and other members of the Commission openly expressed their disappointment in the judges' and magistrates' behaviour. Archbishop Tutu said that given the importance of the occasion, the written submissions by some judges were not enough: they should have appeared in front of the Commission in person.⁴⁷²² The Commission's report said that "The failure of the judiciary to appear is all the more to be lamented when the historic significance of the Commission is considered, as well as its envisaged role in the transformation of South African society into a caring, humane and just one."⁴⁷²³ Advocate Clifford Mailer commented that "The truth is that few judges on the bench embrace the new culture of human rights and [they] are hostile to change."⁴⁷²⁴

⁴⁷¹⁷ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Four*, p. 95.

⁴⁷¹⁸ Dyzenhaus, *Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves: Truth, Reconciliation and the Apartheid Legal Order*, p. 37.

⁴⁷¹⁹ Dyzenhaus, *Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves: Truth, Reconciliation and the Apartheid Legal Order*, p. 37-53.

⁴⁷²⁰ Klug, "Review: Law Before and After Apartheid: Abel's Sociolegal Analysis", p. 658.

⁴⁷²¹ Dyzenhaus, *Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves: Truth, Reconciliation and the Apartheid Legal Order*, p. 37.

⁴⁷²² Iain Currie, "The Judiciary and Freedom of Speech in South Africa." In H.P. Lee (ed.), *Judiciaries in Comparative Perspectives*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 220.

⁴⁷²³ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Four*, p. 107.

⁴⁷²⁴ Guy Arnold, *The New South Africa*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), p. 15.

As we saw in Chapter 5, the TRC was very critical of the judiciary for its role during apartheid.⁴⁷²⁵ It said in its report about the judges' non-appearance that:

“The Commission has a good deal of understanding for the ‘collegiality’ argument, which says that the non-appearance by those judges willing in principle to appear will create greater mutual trust among the ‘old order’ and the ‘new order’ judges and so advance the cause of constitutional democracy. However, such benefits, if achieved in this way, are outweighed by the powerful symbolic effect of the judiciary showing themselves publicly and humbly to be accountable. For this is what the hearing was about and what the Constitution demands of a judiciary that is granted the onerous power of constitutional review. It is required that the judiciary display some sense of being able to balance its necessary and justifiable demand for independence with a measure of accountability to the South African nation it serves. The Commission deplores and regrets the almost complete failure of the magistracy to respond to the Commission’s invitation, the more so considering the previous lack of formal independence of magistrates and their dismal record as servants of the apartheid state in the past. They and the country lost an opportunity to examine their role in the transition from oppression to democracy.”⁴⁷²⁶

It seems improbable that Corbett was unaware of what was happening to the judiciary under apartheid, especially regarding the appointments and promotions of judges. Nevertheless, he took such a stance. Rather than being ignorant, it seems more likely that he was trying to protect the reputation of his professional community and of his former colleagues, after seeing how the reputations of other respected professional communities, for example the medical profession, had been shattered by the TRC’s exposure of their disgraceful conduct under apartheid.

Judge Corbett’s conduct during apartheid, when he served as a judge before he became a chief justice, could be characterised as disgraceful on at least two occasions when he disregarded international law and supported the apartheid government’s actions. Two Appellate Division rulings supported by Judge Corbett concerned provision of counsel for indigent accused and a State’s responsibility for its agents. In the first, the court rejected the right to counsel of accused people without assets, ignoring the stance of international and European human rights organisations that indigent accused were entitled to such

⁴⁷²⁵ Currie, “The Judiciary and Freedom of Speech in South Africa”, p. 219-220; Piet Meiring, *Chronicle of the Truth Commission: A Journey through the Past and Present into the Future of South Africa*, (Vanderbijlpark: Carpe Diem Books, 1999), p. 247-251.

⁴⁷²⁶ TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Four*, p. 107-108.

representation. The second case concerned the abduction of persons from Swaziland by South African security forces. It was common practice at the time for South African security forces and agents to abduct anti-apartheid activists from foreign territory and bring them back to South Africa for interrogation and torture in detention. However, unbelievably, the court, with the full support of Judge Corbett, ruled that the State bore no responsibility for the unauthorised acts of its agents, a decision which ran counter to international law.⁴⁷²⁷

In order to better understand the climate of the time, it should be noted that in 1996 one hundred White judges, including ten of the eleven on the Appeal Court (the exception was Justice Ralph Zulman),⁴⁷²⁸ most of them appointed by the apartheid government, came out against the nomination of Justice Ismail Mahomed and attempted to block his appointment as Chief Justice of South Africa, to succeed the retiring Corbett.⁴⁷²⁹ Justice Mahomed was the first Black judge to be appointed to the Supreme Court, and a member of the new Constitutional Court, and during his career had defended several leading figures in the anti-apartheid struggle. The White judges instead pushed for the nomination of Hennie van Heerden, a White judge and the most senior member of the Appeal Court. One of the most vocal opponents of Mahomed's appointment was Appeal Court Judge Joos Hefer – who, according to Advocate Clifford Mailer, had been “a champion of apartheid emergency legislation” in the late 1980s. Advocate Mailer accused the White judges of hypocrisy, reminding them that none of them had protested when “Mahomed had to finish his argument in one day at the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein, because if he stayed overnight he would break the Group Areas Act. Not a voice was raised in protest when the same apartheid laws prevented Mr Mahomed lunching with colleagues in the bar dining-room.”⁴⁷³⁰ Eventually, the White judges failed in their campaign and Nelson Mandela appointed Justice Mahomed as South Africa's Chief Justice. The *New York Times* characterised his appointment as “a momentous step towards transforming the country's justice system.”⁴⁷³¹ Furthermore, the Pretoria Bar, which refused to admit Black members, only made an apology for its racism in October 1997.⁴⁷³²

⁴⁷²⁷ Dugard, “The South African Judiciary and International Law in Apartheid Era”, p. 118-120.

⁴⁷²⁸ Soggot, ‘Battle Lines Drawn Over Chief Justice’, *Mail and Guardian*, 20 September 1996.

⁴⁷²⁹ Mary Braid, ‘SA Old Guard Blocks Black Judge’, *The Independent*, 23 September 1996.

⁴⁷³⁰ Braid, ‘SA Old Guard Blocks Black Judge’, *The Independent*, 23 September 1996.

⁴⁷³¹ Henri E. Cauvin, ‘Ismail Mahomed, 68: Led Post-Apartheid Court’, *The New York Times*, 19 June 2000.

⁴⁷³² TRC, *TRC Report: Volume Four*, p. 101.

If Chief Justice Corbett had not spoken against Govender's suggestion and the TRC had investigated Tsafendas's case in 1996, the Commission would have discovered the plethora of evidence found by the author in the National Archives of South Africa and in Portugal. Just this would have been enough to reveal the truth about Tsafendas and the assassination. In addition, the TRC had the means and the authority to have investigated the case even further by interviewing people who knew Tsafendas. This would have provided additional information about him, since many witnesses who knew him well, and were then still alive, had died by the time the author began its research. Thus, if the case had been investigated by the TRC, the truth about Tsafendas and the assassination would have had come to light then and not over twenty years later. In addition, Tsafendas would probably have been released from the hospital and would not have spent the last years of his life alone there.

This author, along with Advocate George Bizos, Professor John Dugard, Attorney Krish Govender, Advocate and TRC Commissioner Dumisa Ntsebeza and Justice Zak Yacoob, strongly believes that the current Minister of Justice should act upon the facts and evidence about Tsafendas's case, rather than ignoring them as Chief Justice Corbett did.

TSAFENDAS'S DEATH

On 7 October 1999, aged 81, Tsafendas quietly died in Sterkfontein, having been suffering from pneumonia. He was buried, and still lies, in an unmarked grave right next to the hospital.⁴⁷³³ Of the last 33 years of his life, he had spent 28 in prison and the other 5 in Sterkfontein, a high-security hospital. Adding to this the approximately 2 years he had spent in Portuguese prisons, this means that he had spent a total of 35 years in prison and had been free for only 46 years of his life.

⁴⁷³³ van Woerden, *A Mouthful of Glass*, p. 152-156.

ADDITIONAL CONSPIRACY THEORIES

Dr. Bird's, Dr. Visser's and Hubbard's brainwashing theories mentioned earlier were not the only conspiracy theories regarding Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. As with John F. Kennedy's assassination and the publication of the Warren Commission which named Harvey Lee Oswald as the sole assassin, Verwoerd's assassination and the subsequent Commission of Enquiry gave rise to a number of conspiracy theories. Despite Judge van Wyk's best efforts, not all South Africans were convinced that Tsafendas was a schizophrenic who killed Dr. Verwoerd because of a tapeworm. Some opponents espoused alternatives which were merely far-fetched, others which verged on the farther shores of lunacy. The purpose of examining some of these theories below, though it might appear a pointless exercise since none adduces any real evidence for their claims, is to put an end to all these theories, however obvious their general idiocy must be from the study anyway.

Setting aside the theories of brainwashing, Dr. Bird and Hubbard, examined earlier in this Report, one of the first published rejections of the official version of Dr. Verwoerd's assassination came in 1967 from Noel Crowd and Count Revo, in their book *The Pattern of Assassination*. The authors, clearly right-wing extremist Christians and anti-Semites, argued that Tsafendas was a trained assassin and part of a wider plot against South Africa. The only evidence they offered to support this claim was Dr. Fisher's opinion, and those of the unnamed doctors quoted by *Dagbreek*, that the wounds were inflicted by an expert knife handler. The authors appeared completely unaware of Tsafendas's statements to the police, of his political ideas or of his past political activism. Most of their book consisted of praise for Dr. Verwoerd and an anti-Semite tirade.

In order better to understand Revo's and Crowd's claim, it is important to know something about them, as well as the company which published their book. The authors were anti-Semite, anti-Communist, right-wing Christians who "specialised" during the 1960s in advancing "conspiracy theories" and authoring anti-Semitic hate books. Revo's titles included *Chance or Conspiracy* (1965) regarding Kennedy's assassination and a Jewish conspiracy, *Internationalism* (1965) about another alleged Jewish conspiracy, and *Senator Kennedy: Sinister or Sincere* (1968) yet one more anti-Semitic conspiracy. Crowd wrote the *Pseudo-Liberals Strategy of War* in 1964 and in 1965 the *Persecution of South Africa*, both

anti-Semitic and anti-Communist tirades allegedly exposing alleged Jewish and Communist plots against South Africa.⁴⁷³⁴

All of Revo's and Crowd's books, including *The Pattern of Assassination*, were published by Boomerang Publications, a publishing house in Pretoria which specialised in anti-Semitic hate literature with titles such as *Hard Facts about the South African Jewish Times* (1960) and *South Africa - Heart & Soul: The Start of a Breakthrough* (1965). Boomerang Publications propounded the belief that South Africa had been targeted by an international Jewish conspiracy whose ultimate aim was world domination. The company billed itself as the publishing representative of the Patriots Society for Race Friendship, which aimed to counter the alleged Jewish plan by study of the conspiracy.⁴⁷³⁵ Crowd's and Revo's Jewish and "Red" theories found a significant measure of acceptance in South Africa at the time and even today some South Africans refer to their books to support their argument for a Jewish conspiracy.

It should be noted that *The Pattern of Assassination* was not the only book in 1967 which dealt with Verwoerd's assassination. Also in 1967, J.J.J. Stoltz, who was also Verwoerd's biographer, published *Die Moord op Dr. Verwoerd*, in which he seemed to accept most, if not all, of the Commission's findings and conclusions. Stoltz made reference to the brainwashing theory, as well as the Lomas issue and the "Is Verwoerd dead?" question at the *Eleni*. More than simply reporting the Commission's observations without challenging them, Stoltz sought to confirm the Commission's findings with his own analysis.

In subsequent years, books such as B.M. Schoeman's 1975 work, *Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd*, and Jaap Marais's 1992 volume, *Die Era van Verwoerd*, questioned the claimed insanity of Tsafendas and the Commission's findings. Both books referred to incidents which they felt were "odd" or inadequately explained by the Commission, like Lomas and the *Eleni*. Marais wondered how the conversation about Verwoerd's death started in the *Eleni* since he found the Commission's explanation inadequate. However, Marais was unaware that the Commission, or the police, had suppressed the evidence about how the conversation started. Finally, both books also referred to the brainwashing theory and both authors, especially Schoeman, presented it as a real possibility.

Schoeman also claimed that Tsafendas was part of a wider Communist plot. He claimed that there was irrefutable evidence that Tsafendas was a member of M-Apparat, a

⁴⁷³⁴ Blog Rare Books.co.uk.

⁴⁷³⁵ Shimoni, *Community and Conscience: The Jews in Apartheid South Africa*, p. 72.

secret Communist organization of seamen and officials of seamen's unions affiliated with the Russian Navy spy service. Schoeman claimed that this information was made available to him in 1969, three years after Verwoerd's assassination, by Patrick Walsh, research director of Canadian Intelligence Publications (CIP), who visited South Africa that year. Schoeman also claimed that the US Congress and the Committee on Un-American Activities had investigated the M-Apparat in 1963 (This was known as the Albany investigation).

Schoeman's book offered purported background on M-Apparat, highlighting the fact that some prominent members, like Tony Ambatlios and George Scordas, were Greek. He claimed that Tsafendas was a close friend of Constantine Poulos, another Greek and allegedly a leader of M-Apparat in Canada. He claimed that in the Canadian Intelligence Publications office in Ontario there was a complete file with extensive information about Tsafendas, including details of his "operations" in the United States, as well as articles from American and Canadian newspapers proving that Tsafendas was linked to M-Apparat. Finally, Schoeman speculated as to how M-Apparat members might have assisted Tsafendas in the United States and elsewhere.

Let us examine Schoeman's claims. Firstly, the author of this study examined every single copy of two of the biggest Canadian newspapers of the time, *The Globe and Mail* of Toronto and the *Vancouver Sun*, between September 6, 1966 and October 30, 1966. None of the information mentioned by Schoeman appears in either of these two newspapers. It could be argued that the information was published on another date or by another newspaper. However, the Canadian print media gave very little space to Tsafendas and there were no reports about him from three or four days after the assassination until his summary trial. What's more, if such a report had appeared in another paper, it would almost certainly have been picked up by the two biggest newspapers. Using services which provide access to the world press, the author examined *everything* that had been written about M-Apparat and Tsafendas and ascertained that not a single newspaper published any of the claims made by Schoeman. In fact, there is not a single mention in the available literature or on the internet of the M-Apparat being an active organization after 1935.

A cursory study reveals that Schoeman is wrong about some of his "facts," which should have been easy to check. For example, the hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities (the Albany investigation) took place in 1953 and not in 1963 as he

claimed.⁴⁷³⁶ Schoeman also wrote that three Greeks, Constantine Poulos, George Scordas and Tony Ambatielos,⁴⁷³⁷ were named during the Committee's hearings as members of the organization. The fact is only Scordas was mentioned, named by Patrick Walsh. Importantly, several other members of the organization were named by Walsh, along with Communists who were active in the past in the USA. Tsafendas was not named. It seems unlikely, though not impossible, that Walsh forgot to mention Tsafendas, despite, according to Schoeman, filling a prominent role.

Let us now examine the man who claimed to have information about Tsafendas and M-Apparat. Patrick Walsh, a fanatical anti-Communist, was born in Quebec City, Canada, on March 17, 1916. In 1934, he spent a year in the novitiate of the Catholic order of missionaries, the White Fathers of Africa. During the Second World War, he served with the Canadian armed forces and participated in the Normandy landings in 1944. After the war, he spent four years "sailing on deep-sea ships all over the world." Upon his return to Canada, he worked as undercover agent for the Special Branch (later renamed Security and Intelligence) of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). According to Walsh, it was at "this stage that he began to realize the extent of Communist penetration in the trade-union movement" and he co-operated with the Provincial Police and the RCMP in "thwarting Communist violence in the Rouyn-Noranda area." Walsh held positions in a large number of organisations, including President of the United Veterans Branch of the Canadian Legion, Provincial Command Officer of the Canadian Legion in Quebec, Research Director of the Canadian League of Rights and National Secretary of the Canadian Friends of Rhodesia. In 1967, he stated that he had "spent thirty years of his life fighting the Communist conspiracy."⁴⁷³⁸

Regarding these organisations, the Canadian Friends of Rhodesia does not need explanation since the title says it all. The Canadian League of Rights was one of the most far-

⁴⁷³⁶ The full text of the hearings is available here:

https://archive.org/stream/investigationofc0102unit/investigationofc0102unit_djvu.txt

⁴⁷³⁷ Tony Ambatielos was a Greek seaman who emigrated to Great Britain in the 1930s and founded the Communist Federation of Greek Maritime Unions. After WWII, he returned to Greece, which was soon devastated by the Civil War. He was arrested in October 1947 and sentenced to death for his Communist and trade union activities, but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. He spent the next seventeen years in prison before being released in 1964, only to be re-arrested three years later by the military dictatorship in Greece (David Aaronovitch, *Party Animals: My Family and Other Communists*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2016, p. 123-125). He could not have been active with M-Apparat or any similar organization while in prison because conditions for political prisoners in Greece were very harsh. Detainees were closely watched and allowed minimal outside contact, making it virtually impossible for them to participate in any form of political activity.

⁴⁷³⁸ Patrick Walsh, *RCMP Security and Intelligence Against Communism in Canada*, (Ottawa: Canadian Anti-Communist Secretariat, 1967), p. 2.

right, anti-Semitic and anti-Communist organizations in Canada, led by an infamous fascist and anti-Semite, Ron Gostick, who was also founder of Canadian Intelligence Publications.⁴⁷³⁹ Walsh's membership of these two organizations pointed clearly to his political opinions.

Walsh's written and spoken words make it clear that he was a dyed-in-the-wool anti-Communist who believed that Communism was conspiring to rule the world. In 1967, using Canadian Intelligence Publications and the Canadian Anti-Communist Secretariat, he published a pamphlet entitled *RCMP Security and Intelligence Against Communism in Canada*. The pamphlet is dedicated by Walsh "To Mrs. Anne Neill⁴⁷⁴⁰ of Australia, and Mr. Gerard Ludi of South Africa, former undercover agents who risked their lives in the line of duty in order to expose the International Communist Conspiracy."⁴⁷⁴¹

Ludi was an agent of the South African secret service who managed to infiltrate the South African Communist Party and secure the arrests of many anti-apartheid activists. His cover was blown when he was required to testify in the trial of Bram Fisher as a state witness. Ludi testified to his meetings and chats with Fisher, thus contributing to the latter's conviction.⁴⁷⁴² Walsh claimed that his pamphlet exposed the infiltration of Communists in the Canadian public sector.⁴⁷⁴³

The pamphlet concluded with a section headed "Postscript to the Australian Edition" in which Walsh wrote:

"The truth will out some day and when that day comes, some of you Aussies will recall the pamphlet SPOTLIGHT ON RED SPY RINGS and we in Canada will recall another pamphlet, THE ARCHITECTS BEHIND THE WORLD COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY, that DARED to tell the truth BEHIND the Soviet spy rings while most of the communications media ranted about 'McCarthyism' instead of telling the facts to their readers."⁴⁷⁴⁴

⁴⁷³⁹ In 1954 Godstick wrote *The Architects Behind the World Communist Conspiracy* and argued that there was, as the title suggests, a Communist conspiracy to take over the world.

⁴⁷⁴⁰ Neill was an Australian widow who was a member of the Liberal and Country League and of the Women's Peace Council. She was later recruited by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation to infiltrate the South Australian Peace Council and the Communist party of Australia. She was successful and even attended the Peace Congress in Vienna and visited Moscow (Horner (*The Guardian*), 7 October 2014, 'Anne Neill: Australia's first secret agent invited behind the iron curtain.')

⁴⁷⁴¹ Walsh, *RCMP Security and Intelligence Against Communism in Canada*, no page number provided.

⁴⁷⁴² Sean Clingman, *Bram Fischer: Afrikaner Revolutionary* (2nd edition), (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2013), p. 319-323, 371.

⁴⁷⁴³ Walsh, *RCMP Security and Intelligence Against Communism in Canada*, p. 1-8.

⁴⁷⁴⁴ Walsh, *RCMP Security and Intelligence Against Communism in Canada*, p. 1-8.

In the event, none of Walsh's many conspiracy theories or prophecies came true because they were largely guesswork, supposition, wishful thinking or figments of his imagination.

As for Schoeman's claims regarding M-Apparat, Walsh indeed spoke about this organization to the Committee of Un-American Activities. He described it as a "worldwide international organization of top Communist agitators aboard ships and among the dock workers."⁴⁷⁴⁵ However, as far as the author can establish, M-Apparat was nothing like this. According to three eminent historians, Timothy S. Brown, Assistant Professor of History at Northeastern University, Boston, Mass., Eve Rosenhaft, Professor of German Historical Studies at the University of Liverpool, and James J. Ward, Professor of History at the Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pennsylvania, the M[ilitary]-Apparat was formed by the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) in 1920 as part of an extensive illegal organization established after the Second Comintern Congress held that year. It was the KPD's illegal, para-military wing set up to defend Communists from the violence of paramilitary organizations in Germany, but also to prepare its members for a possible armed uprising. Technical assistance from Moscow gave M-Apparat additional muscle but the organisation was cut back in 1923. In 1928-1929 the name was changed to A[nti]-M[ilitary]-Apparat, and it was dissolved in 1935.⁴⁷⁴⁶

Schoeman in his book offers a completely different account of the M-Apparat, about how it was created, how it operated and its aims and goals. None of the three historians named above mentions anything like this, suggesting that Schoeman got his facts wrong or knew things the historians missed. The author has researched this subject extensively and has not been able to find any reference to M-Apparat being active since 1935, apart from Walsh's theory. Professor James J. Ward told the author, "I think it unlikely that the *Apparat* would have been reconstituted during WW II, although a handful of former members may have participated in the establishment of the SED in the Soviet occupation zone in the first post-war years."⁴⁷⁴⁷ It seems rather unlikely that the organization was indeed active but only

⁴⁷⁴⁵ Archive.org, "*Investigation of Communist activities in the Albany, N.Y., area. Hearings*", (1953), retrieved from: https://archive.org/stream/investigationofc0102unit/investigationofc0102unit_djvu.txt

⁴⁷⁴⁶ Timothy Scott Brown, *Weimar Radicals: Nazis and Communists Between Authenticity and Performance*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016); Eve Rosenhaft, *Beating the Fascists? The German Communists and Political Violence 1929-1933*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); James J. Ward, "Terror, Revolution, or Control? The KPD's Secret Apparatus During the Weimar Republic." *Terrorism*, Volume 7, Issue 3, (1984), p. 257-297.

⁴⁷⁴⁷ Professor James J. Ward in a personal interview, 6 November 2017.

Walsh knew about it. Consideration of his other theories and far-fetched claims suggest this to be a very unlikely possibility.

As for Tsafendas, even if the organization did exist during WWII and in the 1960s, that does not mean he was a member. Tsafendas spoke at length and in great detail about his life to the Orthodox priests who visited him regularly in prison and in hospital. He had no problem telling them about joining the Communists of the DSE during the Greek Civil War and even spying on their behalf. Thus, it seems most unlikely that he revealed these and many other unknown aspects of his life but kept membership of M-Apparat secret. The author asked all the Communist sailors of the *Eleni* whether they were members of the M-Apparat or any Communist organization and they all strongly denied it. None of them had heard the name M-Apparat and could not even pronounce it. They pointed out that Communism and the Communist Party were illegal at the time in Greece and it was a serious offence to be a member of any Communist organization.

What makes Schoeman's claim regarding Tsafendas and the M-Apparat almost impossible of belief is Walsh himself and Canadian Intelligence Publications. Both seem to contradict Schoeman's claim that the company had a complete file on Tsafendas with his activities in the United States and Canada. Walsh wrote, co-wrote, or contributed forewords to several books about Communist conspiracies, all published by the Canadian Intelligence Publications, where he was the research director.

The publishing house did in Canada what Boomerang Publications did in South Africa. It published and distributed far-right, right-wing-Christian, anti-Semitic and anti-Communist hate literature, much of which warned of a Jewish-Communist conspiracy to take over the world. The company's titles included *The Architects Behind the World Communist Conspiracy*; *The Red Fog Over America*; *Hidden Government*; *No Wonder We Are Losing*; *The Yalta Betrayal*; *Zion's Fifth Column*; *The Real Communist Menace: The Canadian Royal Commission's Report on Espionage and Other Communist Activities in Canada*; *Student Power Movement & What is Behind it World Wide*; *The Battle for Canada*; *Canada's Watergate: The Story of Treason in Ottawa*; *The Moment of Truth*; *The World Council of Churches: - A Soviet-Marxist Catspaw in Africa?*; *Harvest of Fear, A Diary of Terrorist Atrocities in Rhodesia*. However, in none of these books is there any mention of Tsafendas. If the company really had a file on him, it would almost certainly have published it to support its claims of the Communist conspiracy since Tsafendas was indeed a Communist and had just assassinated South Africa's Prime Minister.

The briefest glance at some of the conspiracy theories in these books is enough to convince the serious reader that they cannot be taken seriously. For example, in *The Moment of Truth, The World Council of Churches: A Soviet-Marxist Catspaw in Africa?*, published in 1978, Ron Gostick repeated his claim of a Communist conspiracy to enslave the world. What was different about this pamphlet was Gostick's discovery of a new enemy, the World Council of Churches, which he claimed was a tool in the hands of the Soviets. He described the WCC as "little more than the ecclesiastical arm of the International Communist Conspiracy," which wanted to make all of Africa Communist. After Africa, it would be the turn of the rest of the world.⁴⁷⁴⁸

Gostick claimed that the WCC supported and funded "the most barbaric guerrilla-terrorist activities in Southern Africa, which have caused untold suffering and the death of thousands — mostly Blacks — including many children and our own Christian missionaries. This anti-Christian action of the WCC has become so outrageous that it is offensive to some of its own more fundamentalist or evangelical members. Yet, only last month, in addition to the \$85,000 the WCC recently gave the Red-controlled guerrillas attacking Rhodesia, a further \$125,000 was allocated to SWAPO terrorists operating as the Soviets' catspaw in South West Africa." He warned that "until Canadians in general, and the Christian Laity in particular, wake up and face the reality of this incredible betrayal, this policy of national suicide will continue. Therefore, this little booklet is a most timely addition to the Freedom arsenal." ⁴⁷⁴⁹

At the end of *The Architects Behind the World Communist Conspiracy*, published in 1954 (first edition in 1951), Gostick wrote:

"Nothing less than a Christian reawakening and a return to Moral Law can lay the basis of sound action to overcome this Anti-Christ onslaught upon Christendom. We of the West must begin to face up to the Truth, ugly though it may be. Anything less will spell disaster. May Almighty God, through His Holy Spirit, awaken, guide and direct His people in the salvaging and revitalizing of Christian Civilization. International Marxism is a Conspiracy. The quickest way to defeat a Conspiracy is to expose it to the light."⁴⁷⁵⁰

⁴⁷⁴⁸ Ron Gostick, *The Moment of Truth, The World Council of Churches: A Soviet-Marxist Catspaw in Africa?*, (Flesherton, Ont.: The Canadian League of Rights, 1978), p. 1-8.

⁴⁷⁴⁹ Gostick, *The Moment of Truth, The World Council of Churches: A Soviet-Marxist Catspaw in Africa?*, p. 1-2.

⁴⁷⁵⁰ Ron Gostick, *The Architects Behind the World Communist Conspiracy*, (Flesherton, Ont.: Canadian Anti-Communist League, 1954), p. 16.

Gostick then pleaded “after you have read this revelation of treason and subversion, send copies to friends, public officials and influential citizens throughout your community and province. Don’t break the chain – keep the revelation growing.”⁴⁷⁵¹

It is obvious from the above and from other publications by the same company that their aim was to spread the word about this alleged Communist conspiracy. Tsafendas, a Communist who assassinated a powerful world leader and who was allegedly a member of M-Apparat, would clearly have been an ideal figurehead for such a campaign. Yet Tsafendas receives no mention from the Canadian Intelligence Publications that according to Schoeman the company had a detailed file on him in its offices. It appears almost impossible that the company had a large file on Tsafendas and kept it to itself. Furthermore, if it did have such information, Walsh and the CIP would surely have alerted the South African authorities. After all, it was clear from Walsh’s dedication to Ludi and his membership of the Canadian Friends of Rhodesia group that he supported apartheid. Thus, if he had such information, it seems unlikely that he kept it to himself and Schoeman.

Despite the many egregious inaccuracies in Schoeman’s book, there are always people eager to believe in conspiracy theories and one, in this case, was Jaap A. Marais. In his book in 1992, Marais referred to the rumour about Tsafendas and M-Apparat.⁴⁷⁵² Without checking, Marais lifted the claim directly from Schoeman and almost copy-pasted it into his own book. That is evident from the fact that he makes exactly the same mistake as Schoeman in claiming that the Albany Investigation took place in 1963, when in reality, it was in 1953. Finally, in his 1980 book *Die Geldmag. SA se Onsigbare Regering*, Schoeman returned with another conspiracy theory and claimed that Dr. Verwoerd’s assassination, by the “Communist Tsafendas” was a key moment in the planning of the great internal and external financial powers to gain control of the South African economy.⁴⁷⁵³

It is worthy of note that in 1974, although he did not mention anything about Tsafendas, British journalist and political analyst Douglas Reed wrote in *The Siege of Southern Africa* that Poqo had sent out “an organized group” to kill Dr. Verwoerd, Vorster and Dönges. Reed claimed that the plan failed when the group was intercepted by the

⁴⁷⁵¹ Gostick, *The Architects Behind the World Communist Conspiracy*, p. 16.

⁴⁷⁵² Marais, *Die Era van Verwoerd*, p. 200-212.

⁴⁷⁵³ B.M. Schoeman, *Die Geldmag. SA se Onsigbare Regering*, (Pretoria: Aktuele Publikasies, 1980), p. 46.

police.⁴⁷⁵⁴ Significantly, Reed was also a well-known conspiracist and a fanatical anti-Semite who also believed the Jews were planning to take over the world.⁴⁷⁵⁵

In later years, with the arrival of the internet, more conspiracy theories came to light, one being that Tsafendas was a hired assassin, another that he was trained by MI6, while the Jewish, the Communist and the brainwashing theories remained prominent. A conspiracy theory which surprisingly found some appeal among white South Africans was put forward by Advocate P.J. Pretorius in his 1996 book *Volksverraad: Die Geskiedenis agter die Geskiedenis* (self-published in English the following year as *Sell-Out: The Truth Behind the History of South African Politics*). It carries the following blurb:

“For the first time, the White South Africans heard the truth about how they had been manipulated and brainwashed into giving their country to black Communist rulers. The handing over of the government to black rule had been carefully planned over many decades with the help of traitors among the Afrikaners. These traitors had been working hard behind the scenes, telling their people one thing, but doing and planning quite another. In this shocking book, Advocate P J Pretorius unmasks them all, calls them by their names and tells of their crimes against the unsuspecting Afrikaner nation. He names their accomplices among the CIA, as well as those in the NIS [National Intelligence Service] of South Africa. He leaves no stone unturned to get at the damning truth.”⁴⁷⁵⁶

Advocate Pretorius, a former NIS agent, claimed that the Verwoerd assassination was orchestrated by the Illuminati and Anton Rupert, while Happy Oppenheimer is described as the Illuminatie’s “kingpin” in South Africa.⁴⁷⁵⁷ Pretorius also claimed that Tsafendas was trained by Britain’s MI6 to assassinate Dr. Verwoerd and that he was paid R5,000 in cash. The inaccuracies in Pretorius’s book are so many and so obvious, it is difficult to know where to begin and therefore we will examine only some of those errors which pertain to Tsafendas.

According to Pretorius:

“Tsafendas in May 1960 told workers at Anton Rupert’s cigarette factory at Brits, Rothmans International, that he would kill Dr. Verwoerd should such an occasion arise. Tsafendas’ statement was relayed to Dr. Rupert shortly afterwards. Tsafendas was employed

⁴⁷⁵⁴ Douglas Reed, *The Siege of Southern Africa*, (Johannesburg: Macmillan South Africa, 1974), p. 111.

⁴⁷⁵⁵ Richard Thurlow, “Anti-Nazi Antisemite: The Case of Douglas Reed.” *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 18, No. 1, (1984), p. 23-34.

⁴⁷⁵⁶ P.J. Pretorius, *Sell-Out. The Truth Behind the History of South African Politics*, (Published by the Author, 1997), back cover.

⁴⁷⁵⁷ Pretorius, *Sell-Out. The Truth Behind the History of South African Politics*, p. 133, 170-175.

at Rothmans International in June 1960, and his employment was terminated formally in January 1962. Rupert never spoke to Tsafendas face to face. From February 1962, Tsafendas was unemployed but was paid from Rupert's financial sources. It is said that the idea to murder Dr. Verwoerd first took shape in March 1963 in the vicinity of Birmingham. Rupert called a meeting with four other persons, among them members of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), CIA and MI6. At that meeting it was resolved that Dr. Verwoerd was to be killed by an assassin, and Tsafendas was called in to do the deed. It was decided that Tsafendas would be trained by MI6, and that they would pay him once the deed was done...

Tsafendas's training by MI6 was done in two stages. The first stage was conducted in the vicinity of Kerkira in Greece, and rested mainly on hypnotic brainwashing. The spear was used as symbol to activate the murder. A drop of blood signified the time factor. When and where the second stage was conducted is not known. The emphasis during this stage was on the handling of weapons. In Cape Town on 9 June 1965 at about 21h30 Tsafendas was paid about R 5,000 in cash to murder Dr. Verwoerd. He was paid by an unidentified MI6 agent. As far as is known, he was transported in Rupert's car. Rupert himself was not present, but his chauffeur was. The chauffeur was not aware of the nature of the event.⁴⁷⁵⁸

Pretorius concluded that, "Although Rupert was the driving force behind Dr. Verwoerd's murder, the architect was the foreign Monetary Power."⁴⁷⁵⁹ Pretorius does not name sources for any of the above claims; instead, he asks the reader to take his word for granted, as he states at the beginning of his book: "I, the writer, stand by the contents of this book. I will only go back on my word if those who allege that this information is false, are willing to prove it through a serum test."⁴⁷⁶⁰

Let us examine some of the claims involving Tsafendas. Firstly, Tsafendas never worked for Rothmans. There is no such information in the PIDE file, in the COE's report, nor in the evidence collected by the South African police, including that provided by the British authorities regarding Tsafendas's time in England. Tsafendas himself never told anyone that he had worked for Rothmans and it is worth mentioning that he personally abhorred smoking and would move away from cigarette smokers to avoid the fumes.⁴⁷⁶¹

⁴⁷⁵⁸ Pretorius, *Sell-Out. The Truth Behind the History of South African Politics*, p. 170-174.

⁴⁷⁵⁹ Pretorius, *Sell-Out. The Truth Behind the History of South African Politics*, p. 175.

⁴⁷⁶⁰ Pretorius, *Sell-Out. The Truth Behind the History of South African Politics*, n.p.

⁴⁷⁶¹ Fotini Gavasiadis in a personal interview, 6 May 2015; Irene Michaletos in a personal interview, 16 April 2016.

What is incontestable is that in June 1960, Tsafendas was working, not for Rothmans in England, but at a tractor factory in Munich, Germany. Tsafendas stated as much in his statement to the South African police after his arrest and the PIDE file on him confirmed it, noting that on May 25, 1960, he was issued a temporary Portuguese passport in Munich. On June 30, according to several PIDE documents, according to Tsafendas himself and according to the Commission of Enquiry, Tsafendas began travelling through the Balkans to Egypt in an attempt to reach Mozambique by land. In Egypt, his passport expired and the Portuguese Consulate refused to renew it. However, he managed to obtain a refugee passport from the Red Cross and travelled to Beirut, Lebanon.⁴⁷⁶²

On January 20, 1961, Tsafendas presented himself at the Consulate-General of Spain in Jerusalem, requesting a visa for Israel as a refugee.⁴⁷⁶³ In June/July 1961, he found himself in Istanbul, where he remained until December 1961. Unless, PIDE, the Commission of Enquiry, the South African press, Tsafendas himself in his statements to the police and his friends, Father Nikola Banovic and Alexandra Vaporidis are all mistaken, these were Tsafendas's whereabouts, rendering Pretorius's statements false. Tsafendas lived for some seven months in Istanbul, four of them in Father Banovic's house where the two were in touch on a daily basis. Another witness, Alexandra Vaporidis, whose husband Father Agathagelos Vaporidis also associated with Tsafendas at the time, confirmed to the author that Tsafendas was in Istanbul at the time. Even the South African press had become aware that Tsafendas was in Istanbul in 1961 teaching English at a private college

As for Tsafendas's whereabouts in January 1962, these were also known to PIDE and to the South African authorities. According to Tsafendas's statement to the police, but also to PIDE's file, he was at that time in Crete. He then took a ferry to Piraeus, travelled by bus and ferry to Corfu, then boarded a seagoing ferry to Brindisi in southern, Italy.⁴⁷⁶⁴ He arrived in Brindisi, on January 31, 1962 and travelled to Rome, where on February 8, 1962, he called at the Portuguese Embassy. The embassy gave him an allowance of 6,000 lire and a Rome-Lisbon train ticket costing 26,000 lire to help him return to Portugal.⁴⁷⁶⁵ It is surely not possible that all these sources, especially PIDE's official documents from the Portuguese

⁴⁷⁶² Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁷⁶³ Report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, proc. 518/15/55. Co. 334. 6 April 1961. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁷⁶⁴ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁷⁶⁵ Seccao Consular Report regarding Dimitri Tsafendas, 10 February 1962. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

mission in Italy, could be mistaken about Tsafendas's whereabouts while Pretorius is correct, without providing a single piece of evidence to support his claim.

As for Tsafendas receiving a payment on June 9, 1965 in Cape Town, this could not have happened because Tsafendas was in Durban at the time. On May 7, 1965, Tsafendas was embroiled in a fight with Vergos in Mandini, a town about a hundred kilometres north of Durban.⁴⁷⁶⁶ Father Hanno Probst testified to the police that sometime in June he saw Tsafendas in Mandini with his hand bandaged from the fight with Vergos.⁴⁷⁶⁷ That must have been early June, as later that month Tsafendas moved back to Durban and from June 21, 1965 to August 24, 1965, he lived at the Durban Men's Home at 160 Queen Street. Two staff members of the Home, Kenneth Heugh Ross and Robert Harpur Smith, testified to the police after they checked their records that Tsafendas was there at the time.⁴⁷⁶⁸ It was also in June 1965, while he was in Durban, that Tsafendas received the first letter from Helen Daniels in Cape Town. They subsequently exchanged more letters.⁴⁷⁶⁹ According to Tsafendas himself, to Helen Daniels's statement to the police and to her brother Peter Daniels's testimony at Tsafendas's summary trial, Tsafendas arrived in Cape Town from Durban on August 28, 1965, travelling partly by train and partly hitch-hiking.⁴⁷⁷⁰

It seems highly unlikely that these three people are mistaken about the date of Tsafendas's arrival while Pretorius is correct, again without evidence. It is not impossible that Tsafendas could have travelled for one day from Durban to Cape Town, received the money from the MI6 agent and then returned to Durban. In such a case, however, why would he not stay in Cape Town to do the job? A final point: Tsafendas's financial situation was so bad at the time that he hitch-hiked free to Cape Town. Why would he go to all that trouble when he had in his possession the money the agent supposedly gave him? Pretorius's book contains several other unfounded claims both about Tsafendas and historical events in South Africa,

⁴⁷⁶⁶ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Johannes Jacobus Botha statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File Verklarings. NASA.

⁴⁷⁶⁷ Father Hanno Probst statement to the police, 9 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Father Hanno Probst statement to the COE, 13 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, NASA.

⁴⁷⁶⁸ Kenneth Heugh Ross statement to the police, 7 September 1966, K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA; Robert Harpur Smith statement to the police, 7 September 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas. NASA.

⁴⁷⁶⁹ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA.

⁴⁷⁷⁰ Helen Dorothy Daniels statement to the police, 15 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: VDSO 17/64, NASA; Peter Daniels's testimony on Tsafendas's summary trial, 18 October 1966. K150, Vol. 10, File: Trial, NASA; Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

but the author feels it is not necessary to examine them since it is clear that they have no basis in truth and are not worth taking seriously.

As was stated earlier, over the years, former BOSS agent Piet Swanepoel extensively and thoroughly researched most of the conspiracy theories that came out regarding Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. In his 2007 book *Really Inside BOSS: A Tale of South Africa's Late Intelligence Service*, Swanepoel accurately wrote that "the sad thing about Dr. Verwoerd's assassination is that it created the setting for irresponsible people to construct conspiracy stories, with this murder as the central theme."⁴⁷⁷¹ Swanepoel referred explicitly to Advocate P.J. Pretorius in *Really Inside BOSS* as being one of those "irresponsible people" who constructed conspiracy theories. He wrote in his book that Advocate Pretorius's claims

"are completely unfounded. His nameless sources are non-existent and the entire book, which refers to the 'Illuminati' on just about every page, is constructed on a falsehood. He claims the proof of the existence of the 'Illuminati' is to be found in Professor Carroll Quigley's book *Tragedy and Hope*. The truth, of course, is that the word 'Illuminati' appears nowhere in that book."⁴⁷⁷²

Swanepoel told the author that he came across "not even the slightest [evidence], not even a tiny indication" to support any of the conspiracy theories; on the contrary, he came across a plethora of evidence that contradicted them and proved them to be false. He characterised all the theories to the author as "a waste of time" and "nonsense", concocted by "right-wing freaks" or "irresponsible people" who "wanted to attract attention."⁴⁷⁷³

Conspiracy theories as to Verwoerd's assassination continued to appear in later years, especially on the world wide web when that became available, but also occasionally in books. The most popular theory, as always, was of a Jewish and/or Communist conspiracy. What may have added to this belief was the fact that four members of Tsafendas's defence team were Jewish (Bloomberg, Dr. Kossew, Dr. Sakinofsky and Dr. Zabow) as was Dr Jacobson, a fact highlighted by Dr. Bird's theory. Many of the theories developed in later years took elements from the older ones or simply re-presented them as facts because Schoeman or Marais wrote about them. It is pointless to continue analysing these writings since none of them provides any supporting evidence. Worse, the authors prove not to have even the most

⁴⁷⁷¹ Swanepoel, *Really Inside BOSS: A Tale of South Africa's Late Intelligence Service (and Something about the CIA)*, p. 66.

⁴⁷⁷² Swanepoel, *Really Inside BOSS: A Tale of South Africa's Late Intelligence Service (and Something about the CIA)*, p. 67.

⁴⁷⁷³ Piet Swanepoel in a personal interview, 6 April 2016.

basic knowledge of Tsafendas's life, political ideas or political actions before the assassination.

Ironically, none of the conspiracy advocates seemed to be aware that Tsafendas's great-grandmother was Jewish, although this would doubtless have been seen as further evidence of a complicated Judaic plot. Many similar theories purporting to explain the "truth" behind Verwoerd's assassination can be found on the internet, including several based on Dr. Bird's theory or on *Dagbreek's* report from the unnamed doctors. None of them is worthy of serious examination since they provide no credible proof for their claims. They either speculate endlessly about what possibly happened, or they refer to "events" and present them as facts, while no names or references are adduced as to the source of their "information." Finally, none of the authors demonstrates even the slightest knowledge of Tsafendas's life, character, political beliefs and activities apart from the information published in the van Wyk Commission's report.

It can be no coincidence that most of the conspiracy theories regarding Tsafendas were developed by people with the same political obsessions and characteristics, being racists, fascists, anti-Semites and anti-Communists. All claim that there was a Jewish-Communist conspiracy against Dr. Verwoerd and South Africa. Where they differ is with the assassin, some claiming Tsafendas was brainwashed, others that he was a member of a secret Communist organization, still others that he was a hired hand. Something else they have in common, and the most important, is that none of them presents any evidence to support his theory and sources are never specified. As for the Jews being blamed, that is hardly surprising. As Jean-Paul Sartre said, "If the Jew did not exist, the anti-Semite would invent him."⁴⁷⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁷⁴ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew: An Exploration of the Etiology of Hate*, (New York, N.Y. Schocken Books, 1995, first published in 1946), p. 13.

**OPINIONS OF SOME PROMINENT ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVISTS
CONCERNING TSAFENDAS**

Professor Renfrew Christie told the author:

“I was in my final year of high school when Tsafendas carried out his political assassination of Verwoerd. My own view is that he was perfectly sane, he was, after all, a member of the South African Communist Party. My own interpretation of the events is that this was a fully legitimate, politically motivated part of the armed struggle. Remember, Nelson Mandela had been sentenced for armed struggle just two years before, two or three years and there was a legitimate armed struggle going on against one of the great evils of the Twentieth Century and the greatest architect was Hendrik Verwoerd. So, the person that killed Verwoerd was a member of the Communist Party, the South African Communist Party and, in alliance with the ANC, were in an armed struggle. I think his basic motives are perfectly obvious, he carried out an armed struggle and killed the tyrant and that is, I think, how he should be remembered, as a hero. I think it is very peculiar that the new South Africa has accepted the crooked old South Africa’s interpretation of Tsafendas.

In the time of reconciliation and settlement, I think a lot of the heroism of the armed struggle got whitewashed and papered over and forgotten. There’s a sustained pressure out of Western Europe, and even now, we get people who paint art works about the settlement and about Mandela the ‘peacemaker’ and we get people coming to stress how important was the non-violent struggle in liberating the country. And it sometimes has a Cold War flavour, that the ANC was aligned with the Communist Party and was supported by the Soviets whereas the West were not democrats in South Africa for forty years, the West fought against democracy for forty years. So, there’s an attempt to hide the armed struggle and to play up the side of Nelson Mandela, the ‘peacemaker’ rather than Nelson Mandela, the ‘armed struggler.’ In fact, and in the actual history, there was thirty years of armed struggle. The latter-day attempt to ignore it and to say we would have had a peaceful settlement anyway and capitalism would naturally have reformed, is a continuation of Cold War thinking. The fact remains that the West armed, even after sanctions, secretly armed apartheid and they did it, not only because they were racists, although there was deep racism in places like Brazil and America, they did it because they wanted forced labour for mining gold and diamonds and uranium.”⁴⁷⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁷⁵ Professor Renfrew Christie in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

Anti-apartheid revolutionary Lionel Davis, who was imprisoned on Robben Island at the same time as Tsafendas, told the author of how he and his fellow prisoners viewed him: “We all saw him as a hero. He was a hero in our eyes.” Asked whether the ANC members also saw Tsafendas as a hero, Davis said, “All political, orchestrated political persuasions on the island, hailed him as a hero.” Davis also stated that all his former comrades in the anti-apartheid struggle “still hail him as a hero.”⁴⁷⁷⁶

Denis Goldberg told the author that Tsafendas’s statements to the South African police after his arrest, “clearly shows that he was politically motivated [for killing Verwoerd] and not insane ... the man is determined to kill the Prime Minister because of the racism... [Tsafendas] has a clear political opinion about racism.” Goldberg was not in the least surprised when he heard that Tsafendas had been declared to be insane, and “always had doubts” about the verdict. He thought that it was natural for the Apartheid State to do such a thing so they could claim that “only an insane person would kill this brilliant prime minister.” “They would have never admitted that a Communist did it,” Goldberg told the author.⁴⁷⁷⁷

Goldberg also believes that it would have been “very embarrassing” for the authorities and the police if it had become known that Tsafendas was a former member of the South African Communist Party and a committed Communist with a long history of political activism. “They had made a decision, they’re not going to have a proper trial, they want Tsafendas declared insane and unfit to stand and that was their decision. So, we lock him away until the Government says it’s okay to release him or never and the answer was never, until he died.” Asked by the author whether he agreed with Tsafendas’s act, Goldberg said that while he did not condone political assassinations, he could not condemn this one. About Tsafendas, he said, “I have no problem with him.”⁴⁷⁷⁸

Krish Govender said that the “society should recognise the heroism of Tsafendas and his place in history should be in the category of a freedom fighter and he should be honoured.”⁴⁷⁷⁹ Ronnie Kasrils characterised this study as “incredible” and said of Tsafendas that “the powers of the day sought to portray Tsafendas as a crazy man, and what we now can see and the country needs to know is that the man was motivated with good intentions and that he was a communist.” Kasrils also said that Tsafendas should have been pardoned back

⁴⁷⁷⁶ Lionel Davis in a personal interview, 8 April 2015.

⁴⁷⁷⁷ Denis Goldberg in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

⁴⁷⁷⁸ Denis Goldberg in a personal interview, 12 April 2016.

⁴⁷⁷⁹ Monica Laganparsad, ‘Verwoerd’s Killer A Freedom Fighter?’ *Sunday Times*, 11 September 2016: 7-8.

in 1994, but instead “what we have is an invisible man. We have an unmarked grave at Sterkfontein ... his name should be on the wall of Freedom Park.”⁴⁷⁸⁰

Ahmed Kathrada, asked by the author whether he thought Dr Verwoerd’s assassination changed South Africa’s history and hastened the end of apartheid, said, “there is no doubt about that.” Asked whether he agreed with the assassination, he clarified that although he does not agree with assassinations in general, he cannot condemn this particular one.⁴⁷⁸¹ High Court Judge Jody Kollapen told the author that “the interesting thing is, that if he was found not to be insane then the trial would have to proceed, right. Then, there’s a real risk – given his early arrest for distributing pamphlets etc. – that you’re putting on trial, then, not only Dimitris Tsafendas, you’re putting on trial on the international stage the entire system of apartheid.”⁴⁷⁸²

John Matshikiza, a prominent South African actor, poet and political activist, wrote shortly after Tsafendas’s funeral in an article in the *Mail and Guardian* that Verwoerd’s assassin was not only an “unsung hero” and South Africa’s “greatest political assassin,” but that he had secured “a place in heaven.” Matshikiza also stressed that Tsafendas never mentioned the tapeworm during his interrogation despite persistent efforts by the police to make him say a tapeworm made him do it. He concluded his article with the following, “Any warrior who would be prepared to strike a blow against it [apartheid] would be entitled to a place in heaven. For 33 years we ignored Tsafendas. He had embarrassed us by getting straight to the point, while we were still justifying our pain. Last Saturday, he was buried quietly in Krugersdorp. Ten people, mostly members of the Greek community were in attendance. The politicians, and the humble victims of apartheid for whom he had struck the most awesome blow in the fight for freedom, chose to stay away.”⁴⁷⁸³

Solly Mapaila, First Deputy General Secretary of the South African Communist Party told the author:

“The majority of our people in the country have relied, not exclusively but in the main, on the information from the apartheid treaty about Tsafendas, which sought to deal away with the discourse that the liberation movement or the political actors at the time, whether on behalf of the liberation movement or on behalf of their own conscience could actually take political action against the apartheid treaty. Which is what Tsafendas did. So, they

⁴⁷⁸⁰ Laganparsad, ‘Verwoerd’s Killer A Freedom Fighter?’ *Sunday Times*, 11 September 2016: 7-8.

⁴⁷⁸¹ Ahmed Kathrada in a personal interview, 13 April 2016.

⁴⁷⁸² Judge Jody Kollapen in a personal interview, 16 April 2015.

⁴⁷⁸³ John Matshikiza, ‘Place in Heaven for Unsung Hero’, *Mail and Guardian*, October 15 to 21, 1999: 4.

did not want to create an impression that somebody can respond to the might of oppression and Tsafendas, not only responded to this might, he hit them hard. He hit the main force, the principal force and the principal instigator of the apartheid system.

So, with that he was politically astute and correct in the actual identifying the real problem and he decided to sort it out the best way he could and I think any other Black person who has political conscience with that access could have actually done it, knowing that he will pay the ultimate price for it and I'm quite convinced that Tsafendas had a clear conscience that he will die on the side of the people by his actions and he was brave enough. In fact, I regard him as a hero and a warrior for his bravery to confront the might of apartheid systems, right in its parliament and actually dealt with Verwoerd. So, the apartheid regime created this impression that this was a lunatic, a madman, who one day decided to kill the Prime Minister of the country at the time, not knowing what he was doing because he was a lunatic. Obviously only fools really believe this stupid idea throughout history.”

Mapaila concluded that the truth about Tsafendas was “long overdue” and that South Africa should “recognise the contribution of Dimitri Tsafendas and to accord him, his rightful place amongst heroes of our struggle.”⁴⁷⁸⁴

Alexander Moumbaris, who was honoured twice by the South African government (Grand Companion of O.R. Tambo and a Sabotage Campaign medal) for his part in the struggle against apartheid. Moumbaris considers Tsafendas to be the most unfairly treated person in the history of South Africa. He is deeply saddened that Tsafendas suffered a lonely death in a psychiatric hospital. In 2003, he created a web page for Tsafendas headed, “Dimitri Tsafendas. Remembering a Revolutionary. Homage to Dimitri Tsafendas. Hero and Martyr of the Cause of the South African People.” Moumbaris concluded his entry with the following: “I regret not having done better for him to get out of there [the hospital where he died]. He deserved a better liberty than the one he got.”⁴⁷⁸⁵ He described Tsafendas to the author as “a brave revolutionary, the bravest man I ever met.” He believes that South Africa should at last recognise that Tsafendas was a revolutionary, not an insane person, and that the assassination was a political act and not a mindless one.⁴⁷⁸⁶

Helen Suzman, asked by Liza Key if the assassination changed South Africa's history, she replied:

⁴⁷⁸⁴ Solly Mapaila in a personal interview, 24 March 2015.

⁴⁷⁸⁵ Alexander Moumbaris, ‘Dimitri Tsafendas. Remembering A Revolutionary’, *The Talking Drum*.

⁴⁷⁸⁶ Alexander Moumbaris in a personal interview, 17 January 2017.

“I do think the assassination of Verwoerd changed the course of history in South Africa, because nobody was quite as sure as he was of the policy of separate development. I mean, he was steeped in it. It was religion to him. But the others all had doubts. I mean there was no doubt that Vorster was determined to maintain white domination, but that was a different thing. It wasn't based in any philosophy the way Verwoerd's was. Nobody had the same certitude that he had. And I am quite sure that the first brick would not have come down in the late seventies with the removal of job reservations and the granting of Trade Union rights to Blacks. Now those were the removal of the first bricks of apartheid. He [Dr. Verwoerd] would have known, and he would have been right from the point of view of his reasoning, that if you start pulling down one or two bricks in the wall of apartheid, the whole structure would eventually come tumbling down as indeed it did.”⁴⁷⁸⁷

Asked by Liza Key what she thought would have happened if Dr. Verwoerd had not died, Suzman said:

“I think we would have ended up with a civil war. I think South Africa would gone on being a Pariah nation, the other countries would have intensified the economic boycott and sanctions. And eventually, the Black people would have been supplied either by Russia or some other country with sufficient arms to enable them to actually start a civil war which would have been pretty horrific. And not easily, I don't think brought to a victorious conclusion.”⁴⁷⁸⁸

⁴⁷⁸⁷ Helen Suzman in *A Question of Madness*.

⁴⁷⁸⁸ Helen Suzman in *A Question of Madness*.

THE MAN WHO KILLED APARTHEID AND ITS AFTERMATH

Upon publication, *The Man Who Killed Apartheid: The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas* was praised by numerous reviewers in the academic and journalistic worlds, both in South Africa and elsewhere, who acclaimed it for “setting the record straight” about Tsafendas and his action. Furthermore, the calls by several South Africans for Tsafendas to be officially recognised as a hero of the anti-apartheid struggle were significantly boosted. For example, Moira Levy, in her review of the book in the *New Agenda: South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy*, wrote:

“How does democratic South Africa justify how this man today lies in an unmarked grave somewhere in Gauteng, and ten years after his lonely death, he remains publicly unacknowledged for the role he played as a hero and a freedom fighter whose legacy belongs in the proud history of the fight that finally did kill apartheid.”⁴⁷⁸⁹

Glen Relief wrote in the *Daily Maverick*:

“The push to rehabilitate him as a freedom fighter is overdue. Tsafendas needs a monument; an exhibition in the Apartheid Museum; rewritten textbooks; a primetime television special on the SABC.”⁴⁷⁹⁰

Oscar van Heerden argued in an article in the *Daily Maverick*:

“As an activist myself, I know that one’s contribution in the anti-apartheid struggle was never about recognition and accolades. But to allow this great revolutionary to remain in prison well into our new democracy, and furthermore to allow him to be buried in an unmarked grave, is embarrassing and disgraceful. The ANC government is so obsessed with its reconciliation approach that South Africa regularly rolls out the red carpet in funerals for former apartheid politicians. Let us for once acknowledge this oversight in our history, and correct this embarrassing situation with regards to Dimitri Tsafendas. Let us honour him posthumously with one of the highest honours in our government’s arsenal: the Order of Luthuli or the Order of Mendi for Bravery. Let us remember him in the ANC, and the SACP as well.”⁴⁷⁹¹

⁴⁷⁸⁹ Levy, “The Man who Tried to Kill Apartheid, Harris Dousemetzis”, p. 48.

⁴⁷⁹⁰ Glen Relief, “All We Are Saying is Give Tapeworms a Chance.” *Daily Maverick*, 30 April 2019.

⁴⁷⁹¹ Oscar van Heerden, “Why Tsafendas should be seen as a National Hero.”

In October 2019, the SACP held a memorial service for Tsafendas on the 20th anniversary of his death. It also reinstated his membership of the Party, while plans are under way to build him a tombstone and to name one of the Party's branches after him.

CONCLUSION

Dimitris Tsafendas was a man of deep political convictions, a passionate Communist from his teenage years, inspired by his anarchist father. He was kind-hearted, generous and selfless. Always poor, he repeatedly gave money to people he felt needed it more than he did, such as his flatmate Jacobus Bornman, paupers in Durban, a poor woman in Istanbul, passengers lacking a bus fare. He devoted hours of his time to teaching children without payment in Mozambique and Turkey. He had a keen eye for injustice. Born in Mozambique, he saw no reason why this African nation should remain in the control of Portugal, a European power, and at great cost to himself, he campaigned persistently for its independence. What he envisaged was “a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they white or black, and therefore separated from the mother nation.”⁴⁷⁹²

Tsafendas never made no attempt to disguise his beliefs and for his pains he was dismissed from jobs and forced into exile. The PIDE became aware of Tsafendas’s political activities in 1935, when he was seventeen, when he was dismissed from his work for “voicing Communist ideas.”⁴⁷⁹³ Three years later after he was “suspected of distributing communist propaganda,” PIDE opened a file on him, the *Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis*.⁴⁷⁹⁴ The file only got bigger over the years and at the time of the assassination, almost thirty years later, it ran to 130 pages.

Injustice for Tsafendas was never more evident than in South Africa, where apartheid ruled. It was a policy which Tsafendas loathed as racist and exploitative, and he was willing to do “anything that would get the South African regime out of power.”⁴⁷⁹⁵ He joined the South African Communist Party and worked actively on its behalf; in London, he participated in anti-apartheid and anti-colonial demonstrations; he smuggled anti-apartheid literature into South Africa and he urged visitors to spend as little as possible in order not to contribute to the apartheid economy. Finally, he assassinated Dr. Verwoerd, the man he characterised as the brains behind apartheid, hoping that with the guiding hand gone, apartheid would collapse and a more benign national policy would take its place; and that is exactly what he told the police after the assassination.

⁴⁷⁹² PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁷⁹³ Confidential Report of the Police Body of the Province of Mozambique regarding Demetrio Tsafendas. No: 726/694/PI, 3 May 1955. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁷⁹⁴ Secret Criminal Record n° 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

⁴⁷⁹⁵ Edward Charles Furness statement to the police, 12 October 1966. K150, Vol. 12, File: Verklarings Demitrio Tsafendas, SANA.

Tsafendas was held in custody for twenty days before being allowed access to his lawyers. While in the hands of the police, he was systematically beaten, given electric shocks and subjected to mock hangings, a brutal range of physical and psychological tortures commonly practised against political prisoners by the apartheid police. Tsafendas asked to be defended by Advocate George Bizos, whose father he knew well, but his request was ignored. Instead the State chose who would defend him. However, it should be stated that the lawyers in question were quite independent and unconnected with the authorities.

Although Tsafendas had given the police logical and valid political reasons for the killing, twenty days later, when he met his defence team, he changed his tune. He claimed that a tapeworm lived inside him which controlled his life. He repeated this to the doctors who examined him later. After nearly three weeks of systematic brutality and cognisant of the fate of many political prisoners under apartheid, Tsafendas concluded that what lay ahead of him was a dubious and undignified death in a police cell. Determined to avoid such an inglorious end and to stop the torture, Tsafendas resorted to a strategy he had used in the past to get out of trouble, namely, pretending to be mad. It had worked when he was arrested by the American immigration authorities, on two occasions when he was detained by the Portuguese police, once to avoid service in the Portuguese army and once to persuade the Portuguese to give him amnesty to return to Mozambique after twelve years in exile.

Tsafendas's defence team prepared an excellent case, lining up psychiatrists who had examined him and witnesses who had had contact with him. However, the psychiatrists based their findings only on what they were told by Tsafendas himself and were forced to take short-cuts due to the pressure of time. The result was a misdiagnosis of Tsafendas, with the eager co-operation of the accused. The psychiatrists became convinced that Tsafendas was a schizophrenic after examinations whose circumstances would normally raise legal eyebrows. None of the psychiatrists' diagnoses would have been seen as credible in any democratic court today.

As for the witnesses chosen to testify for Tsafendas, most hardly knew him, except for the O'Ryans and, to a certain extent, the Daniels. Meanwhile people who had known him for many years, even a lifetime, were ignored by the defence. A good example was James Johnston, who told the police that he did not know Tsafendas well and had talked to him for twenty minutes in his whole life. Yet he was called to testify for the defence. That said, the rationale for the defence choices was evident: put on the stand witnesses who could support its chosen line, not necessarily those who knew the accused best. What was surprising was

that the credibility of Johnston and the other witnesses was not questioned by the State. The prosecutors could quickly have challenged the right of certain witnesses to testify and broken down their claims, but this did not happen. Peter Daniels clearly lied and gave testimony to the police that flatly contradicted that of his sister. The State could easily have exposed his testimony, but it did not attempt to do so.

The defence's main witness was Patrick O'Ryan, Tsafendas's best friend and someone who knew him extremely well. In normal proceedings, he would have been the only suitable witness to take the stand. O'Ryan spoke at length about the tapeworm, although he had said nothing to the police about such a creature, and had also stated that Tsafendas was perfectly sane. Many years later, O'Ryan confessed that he had lied about the tapeworm at the urging of Wilfrid Cooper, Tsafendas's advocate. He said he knew perfectly well that Tsafendas did not have a tapeworm and that it was an invention from his past to convince the Portuguese police to stop torturing him. In his statements to the police, Tsafendas made no mention of a tapeworm and gave clear political reasons for killing Dr. Verwoerd. However, what Tsafendas told the police was not used in court and the defence's claims of schizophrenia and a tapeworm went unchallenged.

Tsafendas's summary trial was in fact a show trial. The police had enough evidence to destroy the defence's line. Although the author is not in position to know whether this evidence was passed to the Attorney-General, the latter's conduct during the proceedings was strange, to say the least. Suspicions as to his integrity were heightened ten days after the trial when he denied knowing that Tsafendas was a former member of the South African Communist Party. This fact became known to him at least twenty-seven days earlier and, of course, during the summary trial. The defence case looked solid, but it would have been no match for the State if the prosecutor had used all the evidence gathered by the police. None of Tsafendas's political ideas or activities was spoken of in court and the word "Communist" was never heard. Instead, Tsafendas was presented as a schizophrenic, withdrawn, isolated, rude, a drifter, uninterested in politics, a person who lived an aimless life often taking advantage of other people. The considerable evidence suggesting that the truth was the exact opposite did not appear. The conclusion must be that either the Attorney-General chose not to use this evidence or it was not in his possession.

Doctors who examined Tsafendas gave a list of what they said were his schizophrenic symptoms, including being withdrawn, isolated, unable to function on a reasonable level, unable to follow a conversation after fifteen minutes, unable to look after himself, speaking in

a disjointed manner, a victim of thought-disorder and confused ideas. The police and the Commission interviewed two hundred people and none of them noticed any of these symptoms in Tsafendas. The author interviewed seventy-one people who knew Tsafendas, some of them since childhood. Not one perceived any of these alleged symptoms and all strongly disagreed that Tsafendas was anything like the doctors' characterisation. Tsafendas's alleged belief that he had a tapeworm is as much a myth as Mamoru Samuragochi's deafness.

Although the author cannot know if the Attorney General had access to the police evidence and chose not to use it or whether the evidence was withheld from him, the same cannot be said for the Commission of Enquiry. The police provided the Commission with most, if not all, of the evidence they had assembled. More importantly, the Commission had conducted its own investigation and had discovered enough evidence to show that Tsafendas was not as portrayed in court. In the event, the Commission concealed very important evidence and presented Tsafendas in almost the same way he was portrayed at the summary trial. Although the Commission was well aware of Tsafendas's real personality, his political activities and the real reasons why he killed Dr. Verwoerd, it deliberately concealed these facts so as not to contradict what was heard in court. It is clear from the way its Report is written that the Commission wanted to belittle Tsafendas so that no-one would feel any sympathy for him, but also so that no-one would ever think that the pathetic man presented in its Report could have had a political motive for assassinating Dr. Verwoerd.

The Commission acted shamelessly and in a scandalous way in concealing many of Tsafendas's political activities, but more importantly for distorting his intentions in killing Dr. Verwoerd. Tsafendas had told the police openly that he killed the prime minister because he considered him not to be the real representative of all South Africans, that he was disgusted by his racial policies and he hoped that by killing him a change of policy would take place. None of these altruistic motives was mentioned by the Commission. Instead it speculated pointlessly about what his motive might have been and what might have triggered his hand.

Furthermore, the Commission dealt extensively with the question of Dr. Verwoerd's death being discussed on board the *Eleni* three days before he actually died. Although at least six witnesses from the *Eleni* had told the police that Tsafendas had spoken of a hypothetical assassination of Dr. Verwoerd as being morally justifiable because he was a tyrant, the Commission concealed this information, too, and again it speculated about what might have

happened. In smearing Tsafendas, the Commission used unfounded characterizations and misrepresented some incidents. At the same time, it omitted some 90% of the positive statements about Tsafendas's character and mental state, while including almost every negative one.

PIDE contributed to the misrepresentation of Tsafendas by concealing from the South African police the fact that it had a file on Tsafendas. The file contained, in PIDE's words, "information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of Mozambique." Thus, the South African authorities never learned of the extent of Tsafendas's political activities in Mozambique. Nevertheless, the South African police managed to discover a great deal about Tsafendas's political activities not only in Mozambique but in other nations where he travelled. The most important of these were also concealed from the public.

The South African police, PIDE, the Attorney-General and the Commission each played a role in presenting a distorted picture of Tsafendas by concealing evidence. The Commission's Report, although no more subjective and honest than that of the Sharpeville Commission, was accepted without question because it sounded so convincing. For fifty years it remained unchallenged. The fact is it was a character assassination and a travesty of truth. The same may be said about Tsafendas's summary trial, although the judge was innocent of any malfeasance, being unaware of much important evidence. However, the Attorney-General, the supposed custodian of evidence, failed to present significant testimony and thus another travesty of truth took place.

With regard to Dr. Verwoerd, Professor John Dugard, who has served as a judge at the International Court of Justice (ICJ), told the author that if he was alive today, he could have been charged by the ICJ with "committing a crime against humanity, namely the propagation of apartheid." "He would have been accused of committing a crime against humanity, because in 1973, the United Nations promoted the UN Convention on the Prohibition of the Crime of Apartheid. So apartheid was defined as a crime against humanity in 1973. And clearly, Dr. Verwoerd, as the main architect of apartheid, would have been categorised as a criminal. So if he had been brought before the court, he would have been charged with a crime against humanity." However, the decision to prosecute him would have been political and it is by no means certain that he would ever have been placed in the dock.⁴⁷⁹⁶

⁴⁷⁹⁶ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 7 February 2016.

A profound irony concerning the attacks on Dr. Verwoerd is that Tsafendas and Pratt have always been regarded as mad, while Dr. Verwoerd is considered to be sane. Let us examine the achievements and beliefs of these three historic characters in the table below:

Dr. VERWOERD	TSAFENDAS	PRATT
According to <i>The New York Times</i> , he was the “enforcer of the harshest race laws since Hitler.”	He was fanatic anti-racist and wanted to end apartheid.	He was fanatic anti-racist and wanted to end apartheid.
He believed that his life was saved by divine intervention, thus proving that God accepted apartheid and wished it to continue. He told Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker that his survival “revealed God’s approval of the cause he had followed.” He also told his wife, “I knew that I had been spared to complete my life’s work.”	He had no such thoughts.	He had no such thoughts.
He believed in minority rule and claimed that this was the only way for the minority to be protected against the majority. He argued that “apartheid is based on the principle that only in this way can the weak he protected	He believed in majority rule.	He believed in majority rule.

<p>from the strong, and the minority be made to feel safe.”</p>		
<p>He believed that each race should be separate and should “develop” on its own. Such development was difficult for the 79% of the population who had no land rights, were forced to live in designated areas and were forbidden to enter “Whites only” territory. The Whites were 21% of the population but owned 87% of the land, forcing the rest 79% onto the remaining 13% of the land.</p>	<p>He believed all people to be equal and that they should have equal rights.</p>	<p>He believed all people to be equal and that they should have equal rights.</p>
<p>He prohibited mixed marriages in order to preserve the White race. Repeatedly Verwoerd said to his wife, “I am not going into history as the man who will lead the Afrikaner people to integration. If the majority wants that, I will step down”. He believed that God made the Black man to be in perpetuity a “hewer of wood and drawer of water” for the</p>	<p>He believed all races were equal and people should be allowed to marry whoever they wanted. He had, Black, White, Jewish, Muslim and Christian girlfriends.</p>	<p>He believed that all people are the same and should be allowed to marry whoever they wanted.</p>

<p>White man.</p>		
<p>He believed that only Whites should decide the country's policies and future, although they were a distinct minority in terms of numbers, because the Blacks were not civilized, and that he and the other Whites were going to "civilize" them, "protect" them, "help" them and "teach" them "democracy."</p>	<p>He believed that all the people of South Africa should decide their policies and future. He wanted "a government representing all the South African people," and he did not consider that Dr. Verwoerd represented all the people. He believed that Mozambique should be "governed by the natives of that Province, be they White or Black, and therefore separated from the mother nation." He cherished the hope that one day the South African people would storm Parliament and throw out the apartheid government.</p>	<p>He believed that all people of South Africa should decide their policies and their future. "... Every South African, Afrikaner, English South African, Coloured, Indian, Bantu, Malay... every person in South Arica has got to play his part if we are to build the South African that I know can be built ..."</p>
<p>He created the Bantu Education Act which was designed to teach the Blacks that they were not the same as Whites, that they would never have equal rights but would be the "labourer in the country." Most importantly, the Act would prevent them from learning about "European values" such as "freedom" and "equality."</p>	<p>He believed that education was one of the most important things in life. He voluntarily taught for free English and History to Greek, Mozambican and Turkish children in Mozambique and in Turkey.</p>	<p>He believed that education was one of the most important things in life. He financed and built a modern school on his farm for his Black workers' children, which still exists today.</p>

<p>He forcibly removed hundreds of thousands of Blacks so that they could not live among White people, seizing the land thus made vacant for occupation by Whites.</p>	<p>He considered Mozambique, Rhodesia and South Africa to be “occupied lands,” stolen by force from the indigenous inhabitants and ruled by colonialists and fascists. He recognised the rights of Whites to live there if they accepted majority rule and did not exploit the Blacks. He had also lived in houses with Blacks, Coloureds and Whites.</p>	<p>He built modern and comfortable apartments in his farm for his Black employees. Their relatives and friends came to live there, too, and were allowed to do so.</p>
<p>He espoused a form of neo-slavery, requiring that Blacks learn only how to serve the White man, teaching them that they were “not allowed to graze” at “the green pastures of European society,” and that there was “no place for them in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour.”</p>	<p>He organized strikes and attempted to organize employees in places where he worked to act for their rights.</p>	<p>He was such a good employer that friends and relatives of his Black employees flocked to him, asking for work.</p>
<p>Although Africans lived in South Africa for more than 200,000 years in comparison to the 400 years of the Whites, he believed that South Africa was a white</p>	<p>He wanted “a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they White or Black, and therefore separated from the mother-nation.” In South Africa, he</p>	<p>He believed that all people of South Africa should have a say in deciding the future of their country. “... Every South African, Afrikaner, English South African,</p>

<p>country because Whites developed and “civilized” it. He presented South Africa as a land that had been empty before the Europeans arrived.</p>	<p>wanted “a government representing all the South African people.”</p>	<p>Coloured, Indian, Bantu, Malay... every person in South Arica has got to play his part if we are to build the South African that I know can be built ...”</p>
<p>He was pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic. He copied some of the Nuremberg Laws. He supported the Nazis during WWII and was convicted for being a “tool of the Nazis.”</p>	<p>He was anti-Nazi and anti-fascist. He got into physical fights with members of the Ossewabrandwag in South Africa and with Oswald Mosley’s fascists in England. He served on American ships supplying the Allies in WWII. He fought with the Communists against the Royalists in the Greek Civil War.</p>	<p>He was anti-apartheid, anti-fascist and anti-Nazi. He joined the South African army as a volunteer in WWII.</p>
<p>He believed apartheid was God’s will and that He approved it.</p>	<p>He believed that the Churches should be on the side of the people and not with the establishment.</p>	<p>He believed “a glittering future awaited South Africa as long as she observes the basic laws of God and human dignity, which of course, means, in the words, I think, of Macmillan at the time, “Rule by merit and not pigment of skin.”</p>
<p>He believed that Africans should be grateful that the Europeans did not annihilate</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>-</p>

<p>them when they first arrived in South Africa, as the Europeans did to the Indians in the USA.</p>		
<p>He turned South Africa into a police state in order to suppress opposition, using methods ranging from banning and exile to imprisonment and torture.</p>	<p>He tried to end apartheid. He was arrested five times by the Portuguese for anti-colonialist activities. PIDE had a file on him since he was twenty. He participated in anti-apartheid and anti-fascist demonstrations. He urged people to boycott South African goods.</p>	<p>He wanted apartheid to end and Dr. Verwoerd to reconsider his policies. He publicly spoke out in Britain in favour of a boycott of South African imports.</p>
<p>He was racist. He considered Africans to be “lower than animals.” He strongly believed that the Afrikaners were South Africa’s master race, destined for supremacy, while other races were “privileged” to share South Africa with them, but in an inferior position. In a debate in Parliament, apparently amazed, he told an MP “... and you believe a Native instead of my word!”</p>	<p>He was fanatically anti-racist and believed that all people are equal. He was member of the anti-fascist movement, the Yellow Star.</p>	<p>He was a committed anti-racist believing all people to be equal. He helped several Blacks in South Africa with gifts of money.</p>
<p>He believed that he was always right and that people</p>	<p>He understood perfectly well what apartheid was and</p>	<p>He understood perfectly well what apartheid was</p>

<p>outside South had misunderstood apartheid. He insisted that apartheid was a “domestic affair” and people who did not live in South Africa could not understand its nature and its background.</p>	<p>wanted it to end.</p>	<p>and wanted it to end.</p>
<p>He insisted that “a vast number” of Blacks in South Africa approved his policies, while the rest simply failed to understand that apartheid was really something good and that he was trying to do what was best for them</p>	<p>He understood perfectly well what apartheid was and wanted it to end.</p>	<p>He understood perfectly well what apartheid was and wanted it to end.</p>
<p>He was the “architect of apartheid.”</p>	<p>He considered Dr. Verwoerd to be the brains behind apartheid and hoped that by killing him, a “change of policy would take place.” He joined the British anti-apartheid movement, he was a member of the SACP and he participated in anti-apartheid demonstrations.</p>	<p>He wanted to end apartheid. He tried to form a political coalition with the aim of defeating the National Party at the polls and ending apartheid. He gave financial assistance to the anti-apartheid Liberal Party of Great Britain and often spoke publicly in England against apartheid.</p>

By today’s standards, which of these two men’s opinions and actions would suggest insanity? They were different times, in a nation more God-fearing than most today, but it was the same era and the same nation for both men. It might be germane to add here that another apartheid enthusiast, General van den Bergh also believed, like Dr. Verwoerd, that his life

was saved by divine intervention. He declared that “the hand of God was upon me” when a lightning strike killed a nearby Black South African during a storm but left him untouched. However, no-one seems to have questioned van den Bergh’s sanity, apart from the British writer Frederick Forsyth, to whom he told the story.

Advocate George Bizos told the author that:

“The police at the time would have never allowed it to become known that Tsafendas was a politically minded person who had killed Verwoerd for political reasons [the hope that apartheid would collapse without him]; if this had happened, Tsafendas would have instantly become a hero of the anti-apartheid movement. Then a trial of politically minded person like Tsafendas, just like the Rivonia, would have put apartheid in the dock... it would have also been hugely embarrassing for the police to admit that a dedicated Communist with such a long history of political activism had managed to penetrate what was alleged to be a top security system... Communism was at the time the monster in South Africa, the number-one enemy, and the killing of Verwoerd by a Communist would have been a major blow to the prestige of the regime, but also a big victory for Communism. Verwoerd at the time was adored and accepted by most Whites in this country and the thought that someone had killed him because he disagreed with his policies would have shattered such an image.”⁴⁷⁹⁷

Professor John Dugard said about the Tsafendas case and this research:

“This research confirms that there was a cover-up. It shows convincingly that Tsafendas was a political revolutionary, whose assassination of Dr. Verwoerd was motivated by a hatred of Dr. Verwoerd and all he stood for. He was not an insane killer but a political assassin determined to rid South Africa of the architect of apartheid. Political assassinations seldom achieve their goal and this was no exception. But at least South African history should know the truth about Tsafendas. Dousemetzis has done South Africa a service by correcting the historical record.”⁴⁷⁹⁸

Justice Zak Yacoob said about the study:

“The historical record shows that comrade Tsafendas killed Verwoerd, that he pleaded in sanity at the trial, his plea was upheld and he was, consequent to his plea confined at the pleasure of the relevant authority. If he had spoken the truth, he would have been sentenced to death, so the tactic was a very good one in the circumstances. History does not record that

⁴⁷⁹⁷ Advocate George Bizos in a personal interview, 18 November 2017.

⁴⁷⁹⁸ Professor John Dugard in a personal interview, 8 September 2016.

he pretended to be insane to save his life. This is well brought out in the research. The research shows conclusively that he did a deliberate courageous anti-apartheid act but pretended insanity at the trial understandably so. I think the research speaks for itself.”⁴⁷⁹⁹

Bertolt Brecht, one of Tsafendas’s favourite authors, wrote something that fits perfectly both with his crime and with Dr Verwoerd’s policies:

“There are many ways to kill. One can stab a knife into someone’s belly, take away one’s bread, not heal one from a disease, stick one in a bad apartment, work one to death, drive one to commit suicide, send one off to war, etc. Only a few of these things are forbidden in our country.”⁴⁸⁰⁰

Unfortunately for Tsafendas, he chose the only one on the list that was forbidden by the apartheid laws; all the rest were legal and the results of Dr. Verwoerd’s laws and policies.

⁴⁷⁹⁹ Justice Zak Yacoob in a personal interview, 18 September 2017.

⁴⁸⁰⁰ Bertolt Brecht, *Me Ti: Book of Interventions in the Flow of Things*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2016). Originally published in 1967 in German with the title *Me Ti. Buch der Wendungen*.

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Dimitri Tsafendas's file in the Lawyers for Human Rights Collection (AL3183). South African History Archive.

INTERVIEWS**Witnesses who met Tsafendas**

Pamela Abrahams. She met Tsafendas in 1966 in Cape Town.

Cleanthes Alachiotis. From the *Eleni*, he associated a lot with Tsafendas during the *Eleni*'s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966.

George Ananiades. He met Tsafendas in 1963 in Lourenço Marques.

Pantelis Aspiotis. From the *Eleni*, he met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1966.

Nick Augustides. Tsafendas's employer in July-September 1966.

Andreas Babiolakis. Grew up with Tsafendas in Mozambique and was a very close friend.

Nicola Banovic. A Greek Orthodox priest who became very close to Tsafendas. They met in Istanbul in 1961. Tsafendas lived in Father Banovic's house for four months and associated with him for another three.

David Beresford. *Guardian* journalist. He met Tsafendas in the mid-1990s in Sterkfontein hospital and wrote about him.

Nikolas Billis. From the *Eleni*, he associated a great deal with Tsafendas during the *Eleni*'s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966.

David Bloomberg. Tsafendas's attorney in the summary trial.

Willie Burger. One of Tsafendas's lawyers at his summary trial.

Costas Chagios. He associated with Tsafendas for about two years (1965-66) in Cape Town.

Professor Renfrew Christie. Anti-apartheid activist. He met Tsafendas in Pretoria Prison in 1980-1981, where he was also imprisoned.

Father Minas Constandinou. A Greek Orthodox priest who met Tsafendas in Mozambique in 1963. He later visited him in prison and in the hospital. They were extremely close and Tsafendas confided in him at length about his life.

Elias Constantaras. He associated with Tsafendas in Cape Town for several months in 1966.

Maggie Davey. She met Tsafendas in the mid-1990s in Sterkfontein hospital.

Joyce Dick. Helen Daniels's best friend. She met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town.

Mary Eintracht. Tsafendas's cousin, grew up together in Egypt and Mozambique and were very close.

Efthimios Eleftheriadis. Priest who met Tsafendas in Hamburg in the 1950s.

Ellen Elmendorp. Photographer who visited Tsafendas at Sterkfontein Hospital.

Mario Ferreira. He worked with Tsafendas at the Table Bay Power Station.

John Peter Galanakis. He met Tsafendas in Beira in 1964.

Fotini Gavasiadis. One of Tsafendas's closest friends. She met him in Pretoria in 1963-64. She saw Tsafendas virtually every day for nine months in 1963-4, when they were flatmates and then neighbours while they also worked together.

Helen Grispos. She grew up with Tsafendas in Mozambique and met him again in Rhodesia in 1964. Her husband George Grispos was one of Tsafendas's best childhood friends. Her mother Sophia Gavadias was Tsafendas's step-mother's best friend in Lourenço Marques.

Miltiades Kaldis. He met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965-1966.

Nicolas Kambouris. From the *Eleni*, he associated a lot with Tsafendas during the *Eleni*'s stay in Cape Town in July-August 1966.

Georgios Kantas. From the *Eleni*, he consorted regularly with Tsafendas during the *Eleni*'s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966.

Liza Key. Filmmaker and researcher. She met Tsafendas in Sterkfontein Hospital in 1995 and subsequently visited him on several occasions. She made a documentary about him.

Judge Jody Kollapen. Anti-apartheid activist and High Court Judge in Pretoria. He met Tsafendas in prison in 1994 and tried to grant him an amnesty.

Ira Kyriakakis. She grew up with Tsafendas in Mozambique and was a very close friend.

Dionisis Lallis. From the *Eleni*, he met Tsafendas in July-August 1966.

George Liberopoulos. He met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963.

James Mange. He met Tsafendas in prison in the early 1980s.

Emanuil Mastromanolis. From the *Eleni*, he associated a lot with Tsafendas during the *Eleni*'s stay in Cape Town in July-August 1966.

Nicolas Mavronas. From the *Eleni*. He sold his gun to Tsafendas, but he did not associate with him.

Antony Michaletos. Tsafendas's cousin and son of Artemis Michaletos, Tsafendas's aunt and his father's sister who brought him up in Egypt. He first met Tsafendas in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him well between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique.

Irene Michaletos. She very closely associated with Tsafendas in Beira in 1964-1965.

John Michaletos. Tsafendas's cousin and son of Artemis Michaletos, Tsafendas's aunt and his father's sister who brought him up in Egypt. He first met Tsafendas in 1951 in Lourenço Marques and got to know him between 1963 and 1965 in Mozambique.

Alexander Moumbaris. Anti-apartheid revolutionary, MK fighter and fellow prisoner in Pretoria Prison. He met Tsafendas there and later visited him at Sterkfontein Hospital.

Marie-Jose Moumbaris. Anti-apartheid activist. She met Tsafendas in 1996 at Sterkfontein Hospital.

Antonis Nichas. He associated with Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1966.

Allan O'Ryan. Patrick O'Ryan's son. He lived under the same roof as Tsafendas for five months in 1965 and remained very close to him until the assassination.

Enid O'Ryan. Patrick O'Ryan's daughter. She lived under the same roof as Tsafendas for five months in 1965.

Jerome O'Ryan. Son of Patrick O'Ryan. He lived under the same roof as Tsafendas for five months in 1965.

Maud O'Ryan. Patrick O'Ryan's daughter. She lived under the same roof as Tsafendas for five months in 1965.

Reuben O'Ryan. Son of Patrick O'Ryan. He lived in the same house as Tsafendas for five months in 1965 and they were very close.

Stanley O'Ryan. Son of Patrick O'Ryan. He lived in the same house as Tsafendas for five months in 1965.

Nick Papadakis. He met Tsafendas in 1964 in Beira. They became good friends and they were also flatmates for two months.

George Petrakakis. He met Tsafendas in 1963 in Lourenço Marques.

Panagiotis Peroglou. He associated with Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965-1966.

Vasilios Perselis. From the *Eleni*, he associated with Tsafendas during the tanker's stay in Cape Town in July-August 1966.

Richard Poggenpoel. Tsafendas lived in his house in Cape Town in 1965.

Katerina Pnema. Tsafendas's half-sister.

Michael Pnema. Tsafendas's nephew. He met him in 1964.

Costas Poriadis. He met Tsafendas in 1964 in Beira.

Grigoris Pouftis. From the *Eleni*, he associated a lot with Tsafendas during the tanker's stay in Cape Town in July-August 1966.

Peter Protoulis. He met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1966.

Father Spiros Randos. A Greek Orthodox priest who visited Tsafendas in Pretoria Prison Hospital and in Sterkfontein Hospital and became close to him.

Emanuel Sakellaridis. From the *Eleni*. He met Tsafendas during the tanker's stay in Cape Town, but he did not associate with him.

Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky. One of the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas for the summary trial.

Dimitris Skoularikis. He met Tsafendas in prison in the early 1990s.

Ioannis Speis. From the *Eleni*, he met Tsafendas during the tanker's stay in Cape Town in July-August 1966.

Dimitris Stavrianos. From the *Eleni*, he met Tsafendas during the tanker's stay in Cape Town in July-August 1966.

Emmanuel Tsabouniaris. From the *Eleni*, he associated with Tsafendas during the tanker's stay in Cape Town in July-August 1966.

Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis. Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Zambia-Malawi and Coordinator of the Interparliamentary Assembly on Orthodoxy as well as its Liaison to the Pan-African Parliament. He visited Tsafendas at Pretoria Prison Hospital and at Sterkfontein Hospital. Tsafendas told him much about his life.

Marina Tsihlikis. She met Tsafendas in Beira in 1964.

Evangelos Tsuroulis. President of the Greek Community in Rhodesia in 1964 and of the Pan-Hellenic Association of Zimbabwe-Zambia-Malawi-Mozambique Greek Communities (PAZZIMMO). He met Tsafendas in Rhodesia in 1964.

Reyner van Zyl. The psychologist who examined Tsafendas for the summary trial.

Stratis Vamvarapis. He met Tsafendas in 1965-1966 in Cape Town.

Alexandra Vaporidis. She met Tsafendas in 1961 in Istanbul. Her husband, Father Agathagos Vaporidis, was very good friend of Tsafendas.

Michalis Vasilakis. From the *Eleni*, he associated a lot with Tsafendas during the tanker's stay in Cape Town in July-August 1966.

Father Michalis Visvinis. A Greek Orthodox priest who very regularly visited Tsafendas in prison for five years (1989-1994). They became very close and Tsafendas spoke extensively to him about his life.

Michael Vlachopoulos. Tsafendas's nephew. He met him in 1963.

Gordon Winter. Former BOSS agent. He met Tsafendas in Pretoria Prison in 1975.

Pericles Zouridis. He met Tsafendas in 1964 in Beira.

Witnesses who did not meet Tsafendas

Akis Apergis. Member of the Greek community in Johannesburg at the time of the assassination.

Terry Bell. Anti-apartheid activist and journalist who co-authored with advocate Dumisa Ntsebeza SC the *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*.

Ioannis Bizos. Member of the Greek Community in Johannesburg at the time of the assassination.

Advocate George Bizos SC. World-renowned human rights lawyer and anti-apartheid activist. His mother-in-law was one of the closest friends of Tsafendas's stepmother. Tsafendas requested to be represented by him, but his request was denied.

Desmond Blow. *Rand Daily Mail*, *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Express* journalist. He became very close to David Pratt after the latter's assault on Dr. Verwoerd.

Elizabeth Blow. Desmond's wife. She spoke to the author about her husband's relationship with Pratt.

Graham David Blow. Desmond Blow's son. He spoke to the author about his father's relationship with Pratt. He was named David by his father after Pratt.

Professor Alban Burke. Professor of Psychology and Head of the Psychology Department at the University of Johannesburg.

Stefan Bubenzer. Actor. He played in Will Tunner's play *Tsafendas* when it was performed in London in the 1970s.

Luli Callinicos. Historian and anti-apartheid activist, present in Johannesburg at the time of the assassination.

Mathys Carstens: He worked in the House of Assembly in 1966, but never met Tsafendas.

Dr. Antonis Chaldeos. Historian, expert on Greek diaspora in Africa.

Gavin Cooper. Son of Wilfrid Cooper, Tsafendas's advocate in his summary trial.

Lionel Davis. Anti-apartheid activist. Imprisoned in Robben Island while Tsafendas was held there.

Achileas Dalamagkas. Psychologist.

Professor John Dugard. Professor of International Law and Former Judge *ad hoc* at the International Court of Justice.

Judge Gerald Friedman. Retired Judge President, Cape High Court.

Dr. Costa Gazidis. Anti-apartheid activist. Cousin of Rika Nikolatos, a social worker who visited Tsafendas in prison and in the hospital.

Janet Gazidis. Wife of Costas Gazidis, who knew Nikolatos very well.

Denis Goldberg. Anti-apartheid activist. Imprisoned in Pretoria Central Prison at the same time as Tsafendas, but he never met him.

Krish Govender. Former Durban State-Attorney, co-chairman of the Law Society of South Africa and anti-apartheid activist; he made a request in the TRC to examine Tsafendas's case.

Mike Grispos. Son of Helen and George Grispos. George Grispos was Tsafendas's schoolmate and childhood friend.

Maria Kasimatis. She lived in Lourenço Marques at the time of the assassination.

Ronnie Kasrils. Founding member of the Umkhonto we Sizwe and former Minister for Intelligence Services.

Ahmed Kathrada. Anti-apartheid activist. Imprisoned in Robben Island while Tsafendas was held there.

Ayten Kececi. Head of Limasollu Naci, the college in Istanbul where Tsafendas worked in 1960.

Jan-Ake Kjellberg. UN police officer. He handled Tsafendas's file in the TRC.

Elias Kokkinos. From the *Eleni*, he was present in Venice when the crew was questioned.

Dr. Anton Krueger. Academic and playwright. He wrote a play about Tsafendas.

Dr. Peter Lambley. Psychologist and author of *The Psychology of Apartheid*. He knew Reyner van Zyl and Dr. Cooper who examined Tsafendas and referred to his case in the book.

Adviye Vedia Limasollu. Wife of Limasollu Naci, owner of the college of the same name, where Tsafendas worked while in Istanbul.

Tunc Limasollu. Son of Limasollu Naci, owner of the college with the same name where Tsafendas worked while in Istanbul.

Alan Lomas. He was involved with the case in 1966 and the Commission of Enquiry referred to him.

Dr. Evangelos Mantzaris. Academic, expert on trade unions in South Africa and of the Greeks of South Africa.

Solly Mapaila. First Deputy General Secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Judge Robin Marais. Retired Judge.

Costas Maroudas. He lived in Johannesburg at the time of the assassination. Son-in-law of Father Minas Constandinou and grandson of Father Bertolis, the priest who baptised Tsafendas and knew him throughout his life.

Tessa Marwick. Theatre director. She directed the play *Tsafendas* in 1976 in London.

Michael Meadowcroft. British former MP with the Liberal Party and honorary President of the National Liberal Club.

Michalis Michelis. Journalist who extensively researched Tsafendas's case in 1987.

Saul Molobi. South Africa's consul general in Milan. He took an interest in Tsafendas's case in the 1990s.

Abhilash Nair. Law academic.

John Nankin. Director, actor and stage designer. He did some research on Tsafendas in the mid-1970s for William Tanner's play "Tsafendas."

Dumisa Ntsebeza SC. Anti-apartheid activist, advocate, chancellor of the University of Fort Hare, and TRC Commissioner; he has acted as a judge in various divisions of South Africa's High Court and he co-authored with Terry Bell the *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*.

Akis Papageorgiou. President of the Greek Community of Pretoria in the early 1990s.

Emmanuel Perselis. From the *Eleni*, he was present in Venice when the crew was questioned.

Piers Pigou, International Crisis Group's Senior Consultant for Southern Africa and TRC Investigator.

Susan Pratt. David Pratt's daughter.

Elizabeth Radsma. David Pratt's personal assistant and secretary.

Professor Phillip Resnick. Forensic psychiatrist.

Judge Albie Sachs. Retired Constitutional judge and anti-apartheid activist.

Professor Robert L. Sadoff, clinical Professor of Psychiatry and Director of the Center for Studies in Social-Legal Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania, former president of the

American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law, as well as the American Board of Forensic Psychiatry.

Dr. James Sanders. Author and researcher, specialising in South Africa.

Emanuel Sakellaridis. *Eleni's* former captain. He was aware of the questioning of the crew in Venice.

Cheche Selepe. Journalist and Mike Phahlane's good friend.

Dr. Aditya Sharma. Consultant psychiatrist.

Renos Spanoudes. Actor and drama teacher. He played Tsafendas in the plays *Living in Strange Lands* and *Strange Lands*.

Guy Spiller. Filmmaker. He made a documentary about David Pratt.

Piet Swanepoel. Former BOSS agent.

Dr. Arjun Thampy. Consultant psychiatrist.

Alexandros Tsafantakis. Tsafendas's nephew.

Aris Tsafantakis. Tsafendas's cousin, Tsafendas stayed at his parents' house in Crete in 1962.

Maria Tsafantakis. Granddaughter of Costas Kargakis, whose house Tsafendas stayed in while in Crete and who taught him to make bombs.

Michalis Tsafandakis. Tsafendas's nephew and husband of Maria Tsafantakis.

Stelios Tsafantakis. Tsafendas's cousin. He was in Crete when Tsafendas visited the island in 1962.

Judge Zak Yacoob. Anti-apartheid activist and retired Constitutional judge.

Professor Tuviah Zabow. Former Professor of forensic psychiatry at the University of Cape Town and former head of the forensic psychiatry unit at Valkenberg Hospital.

Dimitris Zitanelis. President of the Greek Community in Cape Town; he lived there at the time of the assassination.

Maria Vasilakis. Member of the Greek community in Johannesburg at the time of the assassination.

Dimitris Vergitsis. Former Greek-Orthodox priest who buried Tsafendas.

James J. Ward, Professor of History at the Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pennsylvania, USA.

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Dr. James Sanders's personal documents regarding Tsafendas.

Gordon Winter's personal documents regarding Tsafendas.

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APPENDIX



ABOVE LEFT: Tsafendas in Egypt, aged four or five.⁴⁸⁰¹

ABOVE RIGHT: Tsafendas (second from right) with (left to right) his stepsister Evangelia, stepmother Marika, stepbrother Victor and his father Michalis.⁴⁸⁰²

BELOW: Tsafendas in 1934, aged sixteen.⁴⁸⁰³



⁴⁸⁰¹ Photo courtesy of Liza Key.

⁴⁸⁰² Photo courtesy of Irini and John Michaletos.

⁴⁸⁰³ Goldstein, 'Tsafendas Timid and Puny As A Boy', *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 September 1966.

Appendix

The first item on PIDE's file on Tsafendas, opened in 1938. Tsafendas was "suspected of distributing communist propaganda."⁴⁸⁰⁴

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POLÍCIA DE VIGILANCIA E DEFESA DO ESTADO

SECÇÃO POLÍTICA E SOCIAL

CADASTRO SECRETO N.º 10.415

--	--

Nome Demitrios Tsafantakis e Grego

Alcunha _____ Estado _____ Profissão Empregado de escri
torio

Data do nascimento _____ Naturalidade _____

Filiação _____

Residência Quelimane

Sinais particulares _____



BIOGRÆFIA

Esteve empregado em Quelimane na Impeerial Airways.- Suspeito de destri
buir propaganda comunista.- Consta que foi para o Transvaal.

⁴⁸⁰⁴ Secret Criminal Record nº 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

Appendix

Captain Michalis Tsafantakis, Tsafendas's great-grandfather and prominent rebel in the Great Cretan Revolution against the Ottomans (1866–1869). Tsafendas's father was named after him. Tsafendas worshipped his great-grandfather and grew up dreaming of becoming a rebel like him.⁴⁸⁰⁵



The expensive coffee table Tsafendas gave to his stepsister Evangelia as a wedding present in 1941.



⁴⁸⁰⁵ Photos courtesy of Alexandros Tsafantakis.

Appendix

TOP: Costas Kargakis, the Greek partisan whose granddaughter Maria was married to Michalis Tsafantakis, Tsafendas's cousin. Tsafendas stayed for about a month in Kargakis's house in Crete in 1962 and was trained by him and other partisans in bomb-making.⁴⁸⁰⁶

BELOW: Maria (Kargakis's granddaughter) and Michalis Tsafantakis (second from right), Tsafendas's cousin.



⁴⁸⁰⁶ Photos courtesy of Alexandros Tsafantakis.

Appendix

LEFT: Dr. Verwoerd in 1924.⁴⁸⁰⁷

RIGHT: Dr. Verwoerd in 1947 as editor for *Die Transvaler*.⁴⁸⁰⁸



Dr. Verwoerd, J.G. Strijdom and D.F. Malan.⁴⁸⁰⁹



⁴⁸⁰⁷ N.F. Hefer and G.C. Basson, *Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd: pictorial biography 1901–1966*, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Ltd., 1967), p. 22

⁴⁸⁰⁸ N.F. Hefer and G.C. Basson, *Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd: pictorial biography 1901–1966*, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Ltd., 1967), p. 34

⁴⁸⁰⁹ N.F. Hefer and G.C. Basson, *Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd: pictorial biography 1901–1966*, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Ltd., 1967), p. 45

The *New York Times* announcing on 6 September 1958, exactly eight years before he was assassinated, that Dr. Verwoerd had become South Africa's Prime Minister. The article is indicative of how Dr. Verwoerd was perceived by the Western democratic world at the time.⁴⁸¹⁰

Bad News From South Africa

There will be no rejoicing anywhere, not even among a majority of the South African people, that Hendrik Verwoerd has been chosen Prime Minister. This is an affliction which the unhappy people of South Africa will have to bear for a while.

Dr. Verwoerd is an outstanding example of a gradually disappearing breed—the racist. In Hitler's days he was pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic. His passion and his role in South Africa today is that of the champion of an extremist white supremacy. He is the most fanatical exponent of apartheid, the segregation of the black and Colored—or mixed—races from the white.

The special misfortune of South Africa is that while there is almost unanimity among the whites—even those of the opposition United party and those of English descent—for apartheid in some form, Dr. Verwoerd stands for the extreme type. It is an irony for the Christian world at large that Dr. Verwoerd should be a pillar of the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Church and cites the Old Testament to support his wicked and foolish policies.

⁴⁸¹⁰ *The New York Times*, 'Bad News from South Africa', 6 September 1958: 16.

Appendix

Dr. Verwoerd and British PM Harold Macmillan during the latter's visit to South Africa in 1960.⁴⁸¹¹



Dr. Verwoerd (top, fifth from the right) and John Vorster (bottom, first left) in August 1960.⁴⁸¹²



⁴⁸¹¹ N.F. Hefer and G.C. Basson, *Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd: pictorial biography 1901–1966*, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Ltd., 1967), p. 79

⁴⁸¹² N.F. Hefer and G.C. Basson, *Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd: pictorial biography 1901–1966*, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Ltd., 1967), p. 87

Appendix

Dr. Verwoerd just after being shot by David Pratt on 9 April 1960.⁴⁸¹³



⁴⁸¹³ N.F. Hefer and G.C. Basson, *Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd: pictorial biography 1901–1966*, Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Ltd., 1967), p. 79

Appendix

David Pratt: (left) aged 17 at Cambridge University⁴⁸¹⁴ and (right) in



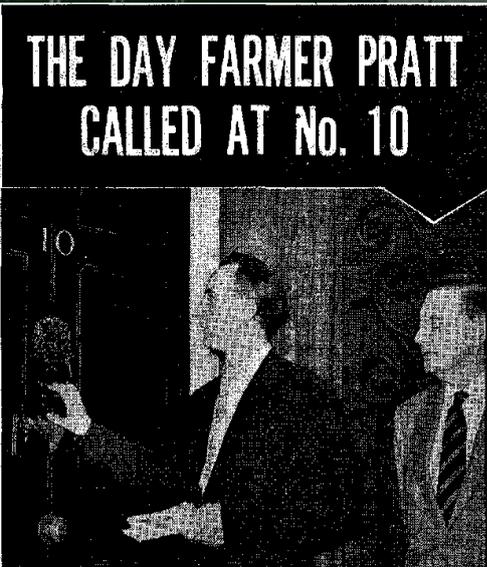
1960.⁴⁸¹⁵



⁴⁸¹⁴ Doreen Billson as told to Gordon Winter, 'I Loved David Pratt-Wonderful, Sad Man', *Sunday Express*, 8 October 1961: 2.

⁴⁸¹⁵ Cazenove, *An Unwitting Assassin. The Story of My Father's Attempted Assassination of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd*, p. 24.

The picture of David Pratt (on the right) outside the British Prime Minister's house while he was canvassing on behalf of the Liberal Party, which he also financed, during the 1959 UK General Election. Below, the same picture in the British *Daily Mirror* on 12 April 1960. Pratt's political beliefs and activities, especially against apartheid, did not become known in South Africa at the time, as two days after the shooting the apartheid government banned the press from mentioning anything about him, including his name.⁴⁸¹⁶



AND NOW HE MUST BE 'NAMELESS'

From HOWARD JOHNSON, Johannesburg, Monday
DAVID PRATT, 53, the wealthy, eccentric farmer, held for the attempted assassination of South Africa's Prime Minister, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, on Saturday, is now being detained under the Government's Emergency Regulations.

Interests of public order or safety.
 Tonight doctors at the heavily-guarded Pretoria Hospital, where Dr. Verwoerd is being treated for two serious face wounds said:
 Although the Prime Minister suffered less pain and discomfort than yesterday, he still had to endure a considerable amount of anguish.
 In the circumstances, however, he had a good day, and tonight was able for the first time to take liquid food.
 It is expected to be at least six weeks before the Premier is able to think about a return to his duties.
 But it was announced today that no deputy Premier would be appointed.
 During Dr. Verwoerd's absence, Mr. Paul Sauer, 62, Minister of Lands, will preside over Cabinet meetings.

WORLD NEWS SPOTLIGHT

SOUTH AFRICAN farmer David Pratt, the man alleged to have shot Prime Minister Verwoerd, once called at No. 10, Downing-street.
 Here he is (above, with striped tie) making that visit.
 It was during the General Elec-

tion campaign last October, when he was helping Mr. Derek Mansley, Liberal candidate for the Cities of London and Westminster, who is pictured knocking at the door.
 Mr. Pratt is an overseas member of the National Liberal Club in London.

It is not known **WHEN OR IF** he will appear in court on a charge.
 Tonight, the police warned that, as Pratt was being held under the Emergency Regulations, it would be an offence in future to mention him by name in a newspaper or even by word of mouth.
 The decision not to try Pratt at present was taken after a day of sealed lips over the future of the twice-married ex-farm-

Misunderstood

Appendix

Portions of Pratt's statement to the court;⁴⁸¹⁷ only a small portion of it made it into the press, and it was generally misunderstood at the time.

On my arrival in Cape Town I was horrified at the disintegration that had taken place in South Africa, during the period I had been away. The sense of hopelessness on people's faces - the apathy - or alternatively selling up, packing up, and clearing out, which is no answer. Simultaneously the Press were full of riots - details of which I need not go into.

I don't say it of my own accord, and I don't say it as David Pratt, I say it as a message for every South African Afrikaner, English South African, Coloured, Indian, Bantu, Malay - every person in South Africa has got to play his part if we are to build the South Africa that I know can be built. When I say "I" you will appreciate that it is the "I" of the "I feel" that I refer to. South Africa has got to come out of her wilderness was the first message I felt in 1954. She has got to take her rightful place in the community of nations and in particular the continent of Africa. She is the finest country in this continent and there is no better in the world and he is capable of doing it, and she can do it, and she has a great and glorious future - a glittering future waiting for her as long as she observes the basic laws of God and human dignity. Which of course, means, in the words, I think, of Mr. Macmillan at the time: "Rule by merit and not pigment of skin." South Africa has to throw off the slimy snake of apartheid which is gripping its throat. Practical apartheid, obviously, cannot go immediately. The principle of apartheid has to be flung off, and then it is out, and then it is up to the coloured section of the population how rapidly the practical section is put into effect. As I have said,

⁴⁸¹⁷ David Pratt's testimony in the Enquiry regarding his mental condition in *Regina vs. David Beresford Pratt*, 13 September 1960. *The State versus David Beresford Pratt*. 712-60. NASA.

Appendix

LEFT: Page 22 from David Pratt's "Method for Approaching Trial."⁴⁸¹⁸ In it, he outlines to Desmond Blow his plan for a new trial where he would claim political responsibility for shooting Dr. Verwoerd; the plan included calling important defence witnesses like Anton Rupert and Harry Oppenheimer, two of the country's wealthiest and most powerful men. Blow went on to contact everyone Pratt suggested and all happily agreed to testify on Pratt's behalf. However, Pratt's plan failed as he was found dead in his cell shortly after the police discovered his intentions.

RIGHT: Pratt at The Fort in Bloemfontein; the last known photograph of him, a few months before his death.⁴⁸¹⁹

- 22 -

Oppenheimer will say:

I rang him in 1954 for an interview and proposed certain things to form a coalition government. He agreed to co-operate and I left him to see the others.

He, too, will give his account of the position of the country under Verwoerd and his views on expansion under the circumstances.

Phone him to see if he is agreeable.

Jacobson will say:

He has been treating me for epilepsy since I left Chesler. He will describe the epileptic personality and how it is possible for epileptics to imagine uncontrollable urges and phantasies. The growing conviction of a most strange phantasy received unexpected collaboration from a witness at the hearing. I have not discussed it yet and will not do so until I am sure. Then I will finish my address to the Jury.



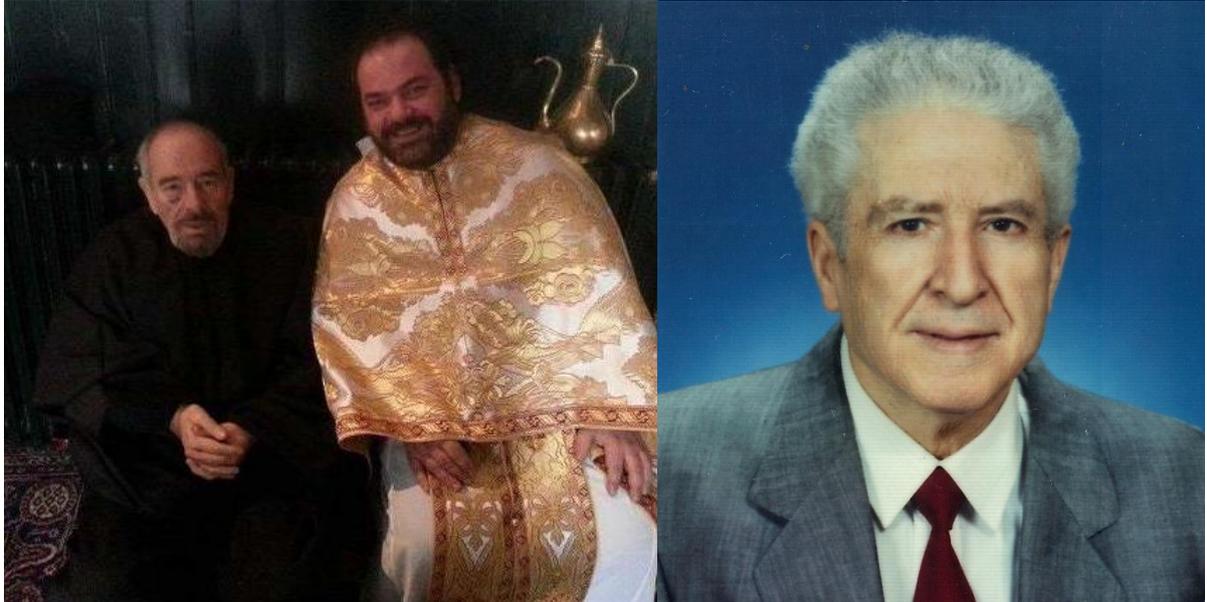
⁴⁸¹⁸ David Pratt's 'Method for approaching trial.' n.d. Personal Collection of Desmond Blow; Desmond Blow in a personal interview, 11 May 2015.

⁴⁸¹⁹ Cazenove, *An Unwitting Assassin. The Story of My Father's Attempted Assassination of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd*, p. 201.

Appendix

LEFT: Father Nikola Banovic (on the left). A very close friend of Tsafendas; he shared his home with Tsafendas for about five months in Istanbul in 1961 and they remained good friends until Tsafendas's death.⁴⁸²⁰

RIGHT: Limasollu Naci, the owner of the private college with the same name in Istanbul, where Tsafendas worked for six months in 1961 as a teacher of English. Naci was a very good friend of Tsafendas and they kept in touch until the latter's death. Tsafendas was given an excellent reference by Naci and he used it in order to get the job in the House of Assembly.⁴⁸²¹



The staff of Limasollu Naci College. Mr. Naci is sitted down in the middle. One of the women is almost certainly the one Tsafendas dated and lived with while in Istanbul.⁴⁸²²



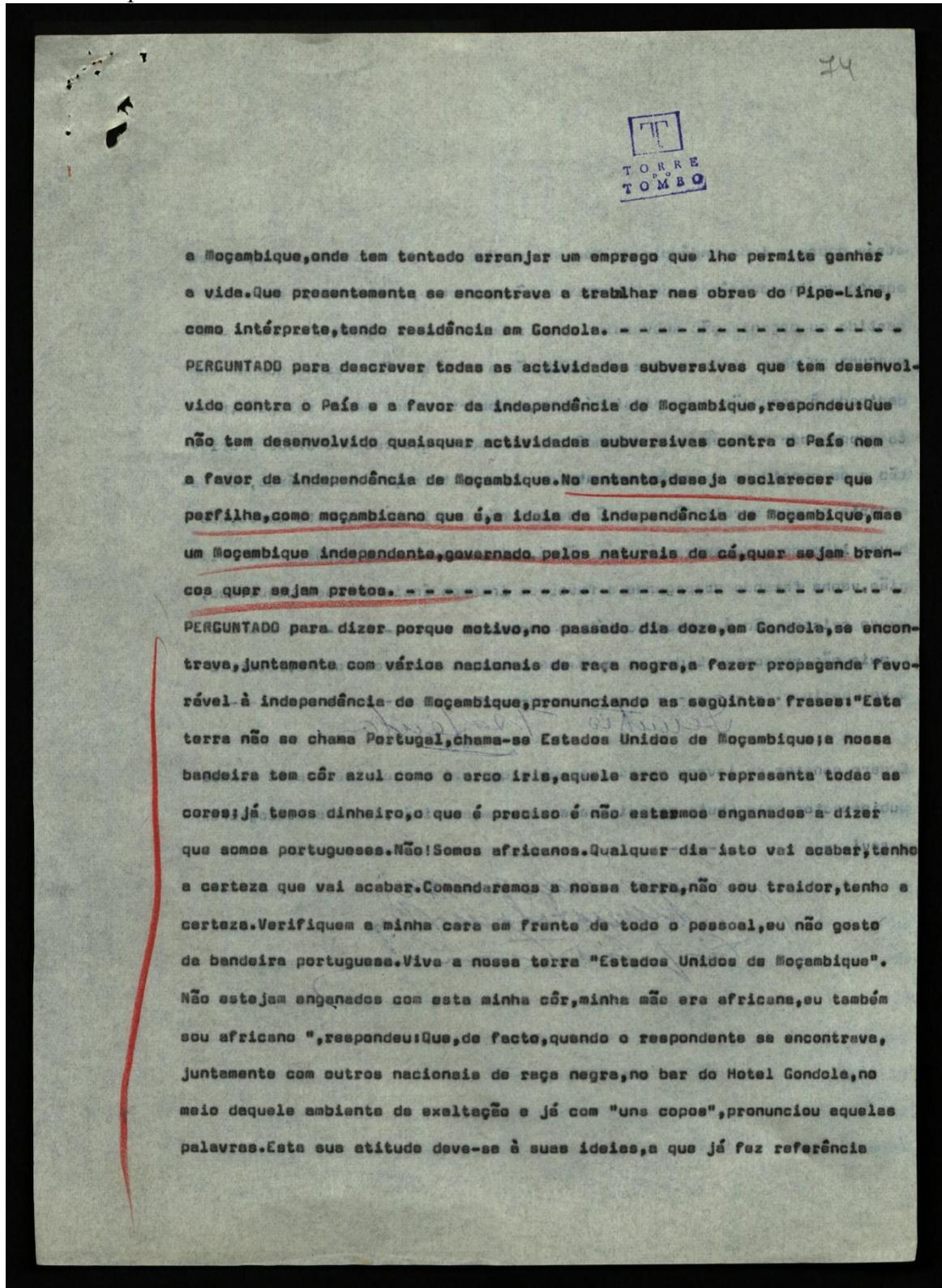
⁴⁸²⁰ Photo courtesy of Father Nikola Banovic.

⁴⁸²¹ Photo courtesy of Mrs. Advije Vedia Limasollu.

⁴⁸²² Photo courtesy of Mrs. Advije Vedia Limasollu.

Appendix

Portion of Tsafendas's interrogation transcript by PIDE on 25 November 1964. Tsafendas was accused of "making subversive propaganda against the Portuguese government and spreading subversive propaganda among the native masses." He admitted that he wanted to see "a Mozambique governed by the natives of that Province, be they White or Black, and therefore separated from the mother nation."⁴⁸²³



⁴⁸²³ PIDE Record of questions, 25 November 1964. SR. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

Appendix

LEFT: The *Eleni*.⁴⁸²⁴

RIGHT: The fake pistol Mavronas and Mastromanolis sold to Tsafendas.



From left to right: Nicolas Mavronas from the *Eleni* (he owned the pistol that he and Mastromanolis sold to Tsafendas); Emanuil Mastromanolis and Vasilis Perselis from the *Eleni*; they associated with Tsafendas while the *Eleni* was docked in Cape Town. Mastromanolis was one of the *Eleni* sailors whom Tsafendas took to a township in Cape Town in order to show them the effects of apartheid and the Black people's hardship due to it. The visit had an enormous and profound effect on the *Eleni* men; saddened and angered, some of them said the Afrikaners "should be taught a lesson," while Mastromanolis, declared that "the [White] South Africans need a good whipping."⁴⁸²⁵



⁴⁸²⁴ Photograph of the *Eleni*. K150, Vol. 3, File: Die 'Eleni.' NASA.

⁴⁸²⁵ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA; Emanuil Mastromanolis in a personal interview, 29 February 2016.

Appendix

Tsafendas in the mid-1960s in South Africa (apart from the bottom left which was taken in West Germany sometime in 1958-1959). All the photographs show him as neatly dressed, with a suit and tie, as some 95 per cent of witnesses testified to the police and to the COE. However, during the summary trial and especially in the COE's Report, Tsafendas was misportrayed as a tramp, with a dirty and neglected appearance.⁴⁸²⁶

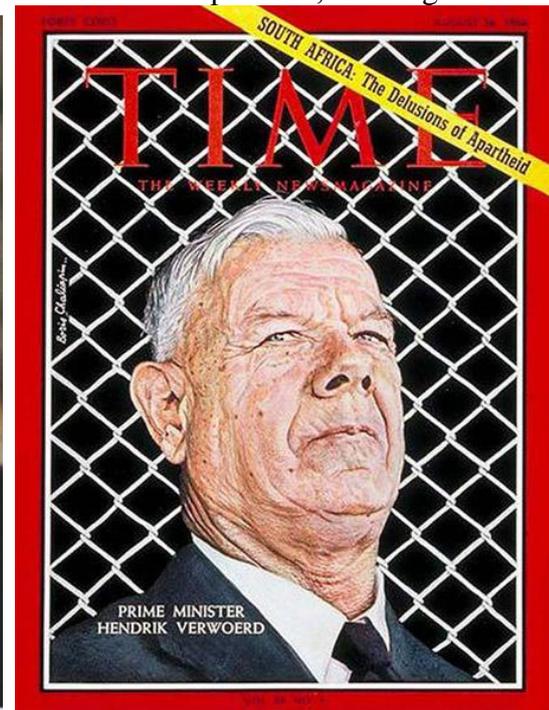


⁴⁸²⁶ All photos courtesy of Liza Key, apart from bottom left by Gordon Winter, 'I Jilted Tsafendas, Says Coloured Girl', *The Post*, 18 September 1966: 1.

Appendix

LEFT: Dr. Verwoerd and his wife Betsie.⁴⁸²⁷

RIGHT: *TIME* magazine: 'South Africa: The Delusions of Apartheid,' 26 August 1966.



The House of Assembly and a description of the assassination.⁴⁸²⁸



⁴⁸²⁷ N.F. Hefer and G.C. Basson, *Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd: Pictorial Biography 1901–1966*.

⁴⁸²⁸ *SAFARI*: September, 1966.

Appendix

Tsafendas's two knives; he used the one on the bottom.⁴⁸²⁹



Dr. Verwoerd carried out from the House of Assembly after he was stabbed; he was already dead.⁴⁸³⁰



⁴⁸²⁹ Photo courtesy of Liza Key.

⁴⁸³⁰ J.J.J. Scholtz, *Die Moord op Dr. Verwoerd*, (Johannesburg: Nationale Boekhandel BPK, 1967),

Appendix

Reconstruction of the killing by the *Sunday Express*. The pictures show how Dr. Verwoerd was stabbed. From top to bottom: (top) the stabbing in his left shoulder, where the knife severed the main artery; (second) one of the fatal stabbings, three inches into Dr. Verwoerd's heart; (third) this stab struck below the heart and entered the abdomen; (bottom) the stabbing on Dr. Verwoerd's right shoulder.⁴⁸³¹



⁴⁸³¹ *Sunday Express*, 'Killing Reconstructed.' 23 October 1966: 1.

Appendix

Police photo of Tsafendas in Caledon Square Police Station shortly after his arrest for the assassination.⁴⁸³²



Tsafendas at an identification parade in Caledon Square Police Station shortly after the assassination.⁴⁸³³



⁴⁸³² *A Question of Madness.*

⁴⁸³³ *A Question of Madness.*

Appendix

Tsafendas at identification parades in Caledon Square Police Station shortly after the assassination.⁴⁸³⁴



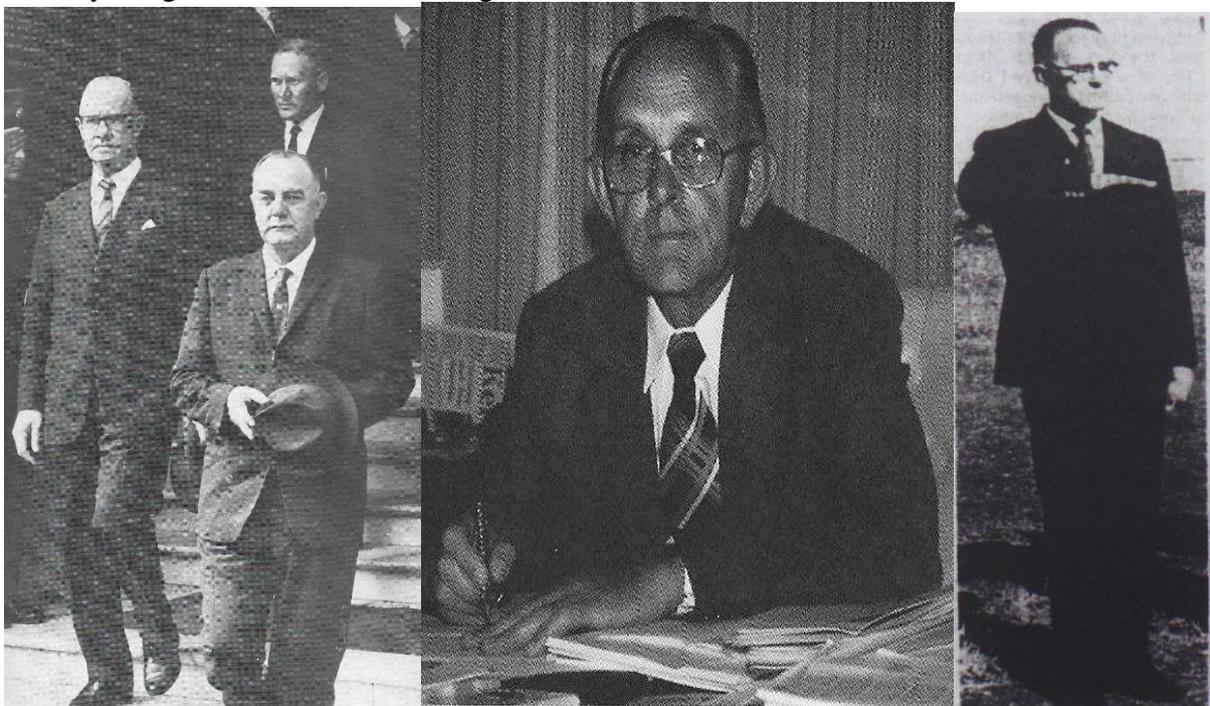
⁴⁸³⁴ *A Question of Madness.*

Appendix

LEFT: 13 September 1966: General John Keevy, Commissioner of the SA Police, on the left; John Vorster in front; and Major Dirk Genis, security police officer, at the back.⁴⁸³⁵ After the assassination, Vorster instructed General Keevy to put General van den Bergh in charge of the investigation. Major Genis, who was one of the SA police officers who had received special training from the French in torture techniques, had arrested Tsafendas at the House of Assembly and had later searched his room.

MIDDLE: General Hendrik van den Bergh in his office in 1976. He had also received special training from the French in torture techniques, and had led the investigation and interrogated Tsafendas.⁴⁸³⁶

RIGHT: General van den Bergh in October 1961 giving the salute of the Ossewabrandwag, the Nazi paramilitary organization that was active in South Africa during the WWII, at the funeral of its leader Hans van Rensburg. Van den Bergh claimed that he was not a Nazi supporter or a member of the organization. In addition to the salute, van den Bergh was interned during WWII in Koffienfontein camp as suspected member of the *Stormjaers*, the military wing of the Ossewabrandwag.⁴⁸³⁷



⁴⁸³⁵ John D'Oliveira, *Vorster – The Man*.

⁴⁸³⁶ Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service*.

⁴⁸³⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Van den Bergh: I Wasn't An OB', 9 October 1966: 1.

Appendix

LEFT: (left) Major Daniel Jacobus Rossouw, head of the Security Police in Cape Town. He personally interrogated Tsafendas on several occasions in Caledon Square Police Station. On his right, is Major Dirk Genis.

RIGHT: The famous and sarcastic cover of *Private Eye* on 17 September: “Verwoerd: A Nation Mourns.”



Caledon Square Police Station.

Appendix



Appendix

Tsafendas's statement to Major Rossouw on 11 September 1966. Tsafendas never mentioned the tapeworm or anything to suggest he was insane; on the contrary, he clearly stated that he was "disgusted with the racial policy" and that he killed Dr. Verwoerd because he believed that "a change of policy would take place" after his "disappearance."⁴⁸³⁸

was on ships most of the time. While I was staying in England I did attend some political meetings. I attended meetings of the Committee of African Organisations and I attended meetings at Caxton Hall. I also attended political meetings at Hyde Park in London. They were anti-colonial meetings, anti-apartheid meetings and anti-racial meetings. It's a long time ago and I cannot remember the names of all the speakers. I remember speeches by Barbara Castle, Fenner Brockway and Callaghan. I used to like to attend these meetings and be present at the meetings to contribute to their way of thinking. I did take part in a protest and propaganda meeting at Trafalgar Square. It was anti-colonial protests. I was holding the posters up but did not speak at these meetings. I was never approached to become a member of the Communist Party. I was anti-colonial, against slavery and in favour of all colonies which were controlled by Belgium, France and Portugal to be afforded self-government. I was against apartheid because it separated the people of different races and brought a big barrier amongst them which is difficult to describe. It

⁴⁸³⁸ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 11 September 1966. K150. K150, Vol 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Appendix

It is true that I mixed with South African people in London, some of whom were leftists. In private conversations with some of these people it was said that the South African Prime Minister deserves to be shot. I cannot remember by whom this statement was made because it was merely during private conversations that this statement was made. This sort of statement was made more than once by different people. I cannot remember any particular person having made such a statement. It was just casual talk. These were isolated statements by people I happened to come across by chance. To say that this was the main thought amongst leftists, is a bit exaggerated. I must have made a mistake by telling General van den Bergh this. I used to agree with the idea that the Prime Minister deserves to be shot. I sometimes agreed with them. Sometimes we used to discuss that Dr. Verwoerd was lucky he did not die the first time he was shot. There was no decision made that he should in fact be killed - I mean I did not decide on anything at that time. I never took upon me the task of killing the Prime Minister nor did I tell anyone that I would kill the Prime Minister. I did believe that with the disappearance of the South African Prime Minister a change of policy would take place. I did set myself the task of destroying the Prime Minister. It was my own idea to kill him. No one ever asked me to kill him. No one offered me any reward for doing so. I did not care about the consequences for what would happen to me afterwards. I was so disgusted with the racial policy that I went through with my plans to kill the Prime Minister.

Tsafendas's second statement to the police, 19 September 1966.⁴⁸³⁹ His answers are clear and coherent as always. He explains his plan to shoot Dr. Verwoerd, that he did not care about the consequences, that he "always had a grudge against the South African Government on account of its racial policies", and that Dr. Verwoerd was a "foreigner." He was not speaking in terms of Dr. Verwoerd's citizenship, rather from his personal ideology in which "foreigners" were colonialists and oppressors, such as the ruling Whites in South Africa and the Portuguese in Mozambique. He considered Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as all the colonized countries such as Mozambique, to be "occupied lands," under White minority or European rule, whereas they should be governed on a democratic basis by the people who were born in those countries, be they Black or White. Tsafendas often used the words "foreigners," occupiers", "colonialists" or "conquerors" for the Whites in Africa who supported authoritarian, colonialist, minority and oppressive regimes.

⁴⁸³⁹ Demetrio Tsafendas statement to Major Rossouw. 19 September 1966. K150, Vol. 1, File: Verklaring van Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Appendix

Question: Were you ever indoctrinated by any person to commit the unlawful act for which you are now charged?

Answer: No, I was not. I did not do it at the instigation of anyone. I did it on my own because I thought it was the right thing.

Question: It appears that you planned the assault on Dr. Verwoerd over a long period - can you tell me when your planning to kill Dr. Verwoerd first started?

Answer: The idea of destroying Dr. Verwoerd entered my mind a few days after I started work as a messenger in the House of Assembly. I saw an opportunity to do so in the House of Assembly because I was inside the house. I first thought of buying a gun with which I could shoot him and then run away. I did in fact buy a gun from the crew of the Eleni but I found that the gun was useless. I bought the gun at the end of the month when I got my pay. I went there before to try and get the gun but I had no money. I then waited until I got my pay. I was going to buy a Beretta but the man didn't keep his word and gave me the other pistol. He made all kinds of excuses. It was only after I found that the gun was useless that I decided on using a knife.

Question: And if you managed to escape after assassinating the Prime Minister, where were you going to hide yourself?

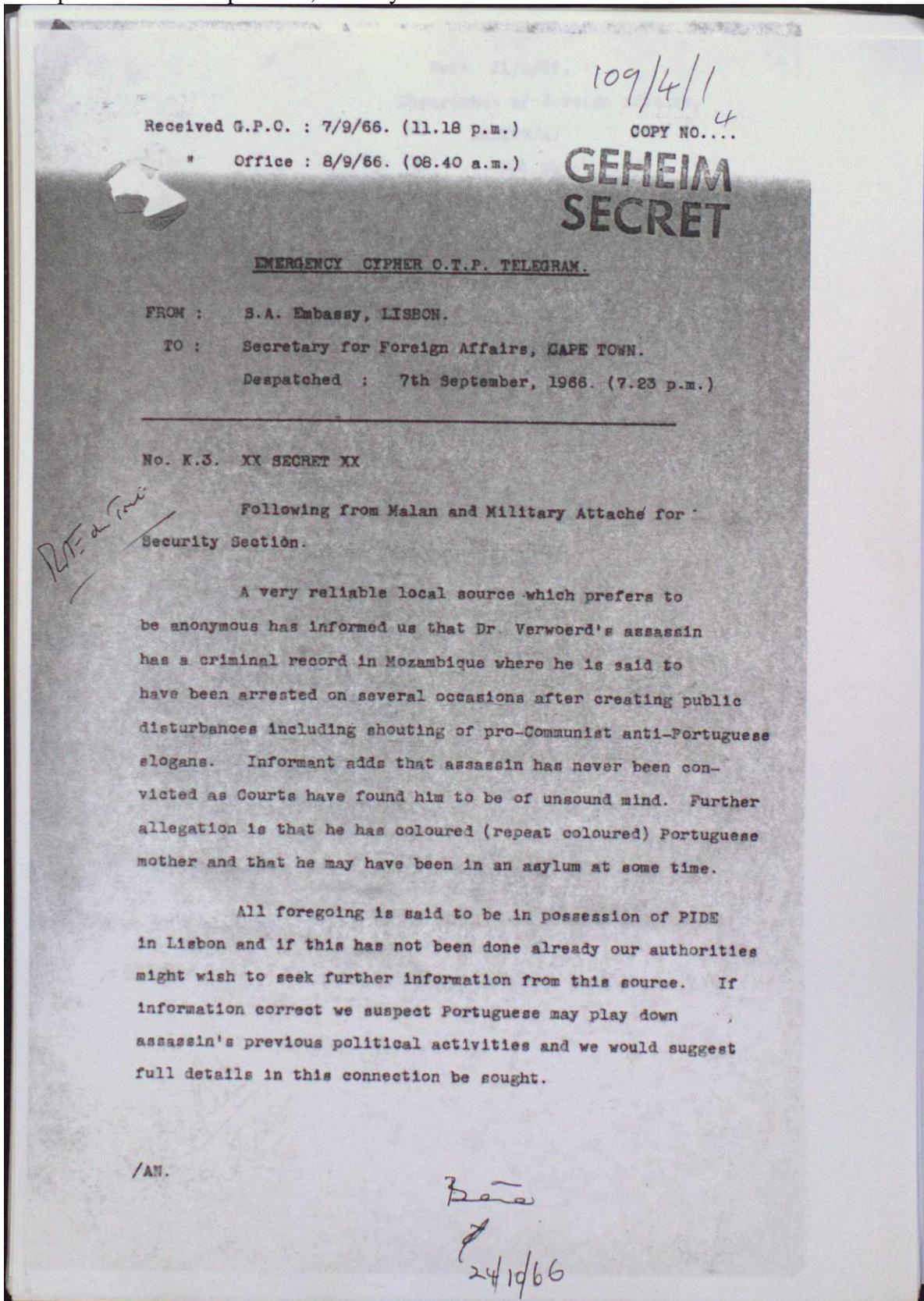
Answer: I was going to find refuge on the tanker, the Eleni, which I knew was sailing to South America. My plans were, however, upset when I could not get the right pistol. The boat sailed on the Saturday before the Tuesday on which I stabbed the Prime Minister.

Question: Did you know that the Eleni had sailed before you attacked the Prime Minister? If so, what were your plans to get away?

Answer: Yes, I knew the ship had already left. I never thought about hiding if I had to do the job with a knife. I didn't have much of a chance of getting away when using a knife. I didn't care much and didn't give it a second thought that I would be caught. I just happened to do it that way. I always had a grudge against the South African Government on account of its racial policies and I hated Dr. Verwoerd because he was a foreigner - a Hollander.

Appendix

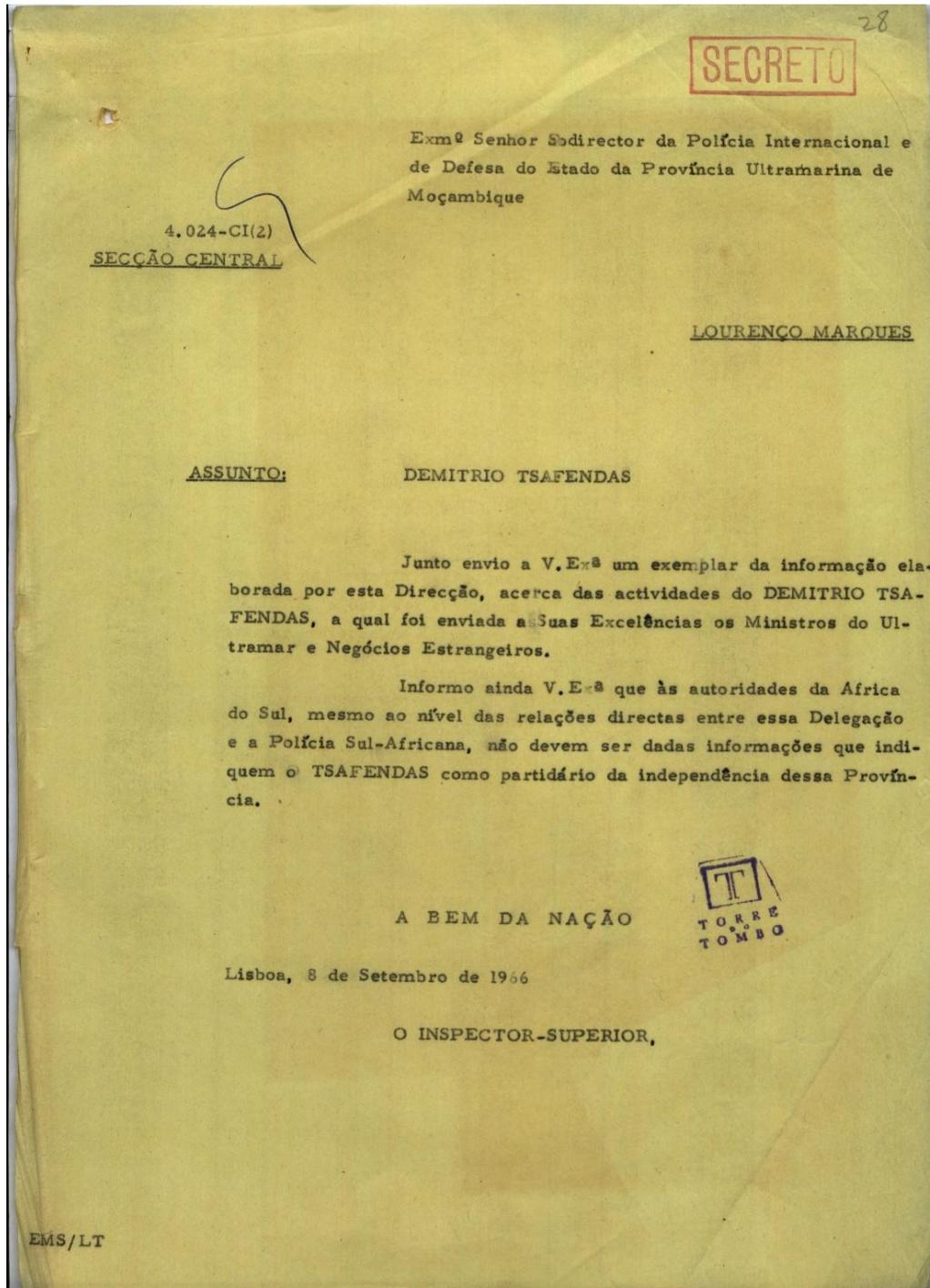
Secret telegram of the South African Embassy in Lisbon to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Cape Town on 7 September, one day after the assassination.⁴⁸⁴⁰



⁴⁸⁴⁰ Secret Telegram from S.A. Embassy, Lisbon, to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Cape Town, 07 September 1966. K150, Vol. 7, File: 09/04 Suspect Persons Demetrio Tsafendas. NASA.

Appendix

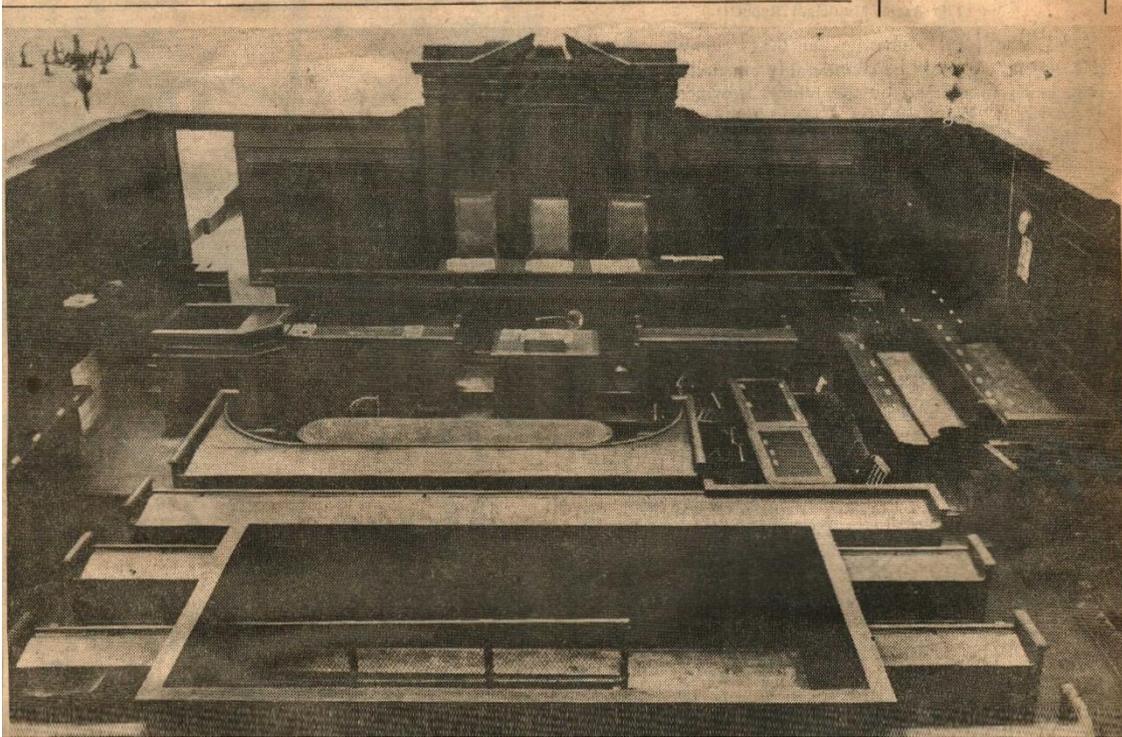
The previous telegram could not have been more correct as the following day, 8 September, PIDE's chief inspector in Lisbon issued the secret order below, instructing the Sub-Director of the force in Mozambique that "information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence of your country should not be transmitted to the South African Authorities, even despite the relations that exist between your Delegation and the South African Police." The order was followed and PIDE downplayed and omitted some of Tsafendas's political activities.⁴⁸⁴¹



⁴⁸⁴¹ Top Secret letter of the head Inspector of PIDE in Lisbon to the Subdirector of PIDE in Mozambique regarding Demitrio Tsafendas, 8 September 1966. PIDE/DGS, SC, CI (2) 6818, NT 7461, PNA. ANTT.

Appendix

Court No. 1 of the Supreme Court, Cape Town; the room where Tsafendas's summary trial took place.⁴⁸⁴²



Judge Adries Beyers, Judge President of the Cape and Judge at Tsafendas's summary trial.⁴⁸⁴³ He was a supporter of the apartheid government and well connected with it.



⁴⁸⁴² *The Cape Argus*, 'Tsafendas Trial', 13 October 1966: 1.

⁴⁸⁴³ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950–1990*, p. 49.

Appendix

Judge Beyer's two assessors, (left) P.W.E. Baker, SC, and (right) Dr. P.H. Henning.⁴⁸⁴⁴



Willem M. van den Berg (left), the Attorney-General and public prosecutor in the summary trial, and Donald Brunette (right), his assistant in the proceedings.⁴⁸⁴⁵



⁴⁸⁴⁴ *The Cape Argus*, 'Court for Trial of Tsafendas to Accommodate 400 People', 15 October 1966.

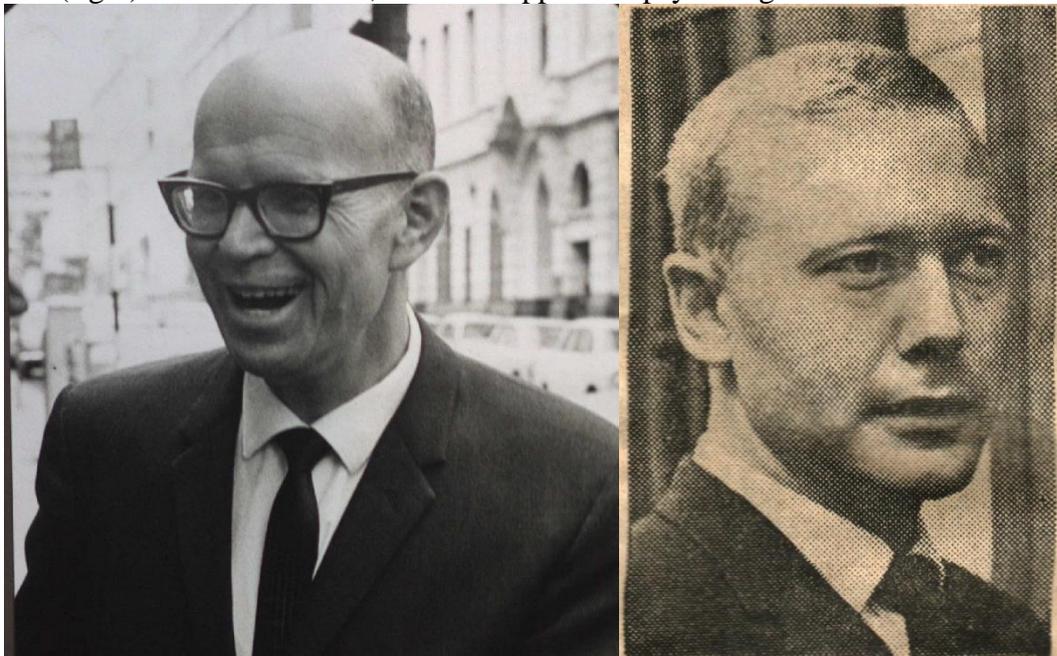
⁴⁸⁴⁵ Photo courtesy of David Bloomberg.

Appendix

The defence lawyers: (left to right) David Bloomberg, Wilfrid Cooper and Willie Burger.⁴⁸⁴⁶



Prosecution Witnesses: (left) Professor Adolph van Wyk, the State-appointed psychiatrist⁴⁸⁴⁷ and (right) Jacobus Erasmus, the State-appointed psychologist.⁴⁸⁴⁸



⁴⁸⁴⁶ Photo courtesy of David Bloomberg.

⁴⁸⁴⁷ Photo courtesy of David Bloomberg.

⁴⁸⁴⁸ *Die Burger*, 21 October 1966.

Appendix

Defence witnesses, clockwise from top left: Reyner van Zyl and Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky, Dr. Ralph Kossew and Dr. Aubrey Zabow.⁴⁸⁴⁹



⁴⁸⁴⁹ All photos courtesy of David Bloomberg.

Appendix

Defence witnesses: (left) Dr. Harold Cooper⁴⁸⁵⁰ and (right) Dr. James MacGregor.⁴⁸⁵¹



Defence witnesses: (left) Gideon Cloete⁴⁸⁵² and (right) Gillian Lieberman,⁴⁸⁵³



⁴⁸⁵⁰ *Die Burger*, 18 October 1966: 1.

⁴⁸⁵¹ *Die Burger*, 20 October 1966: 1.

⁴⁸⁵² *Die Burger*, 20 October 1966: 1.

⁴⁸⁵³ *Die Burger*, 19 October 1966.

Appendix

Defence witnesses: (left) Louisa and Patrick O’Ryan (who was also Tsafendas’s best friend), and (right) Jacobus Bornman.⁴⁸⁵⁴



Defence witnesses: (left) Merle and Peter Daniels, and (right) Owen Smorenberg.⁴⁸⁵⁵



⁴⁸⁵⁴ Photos courtesy of David Bloomberg.

⁴⁸⁵⁵ Photos courtesy of David Bloomberg.

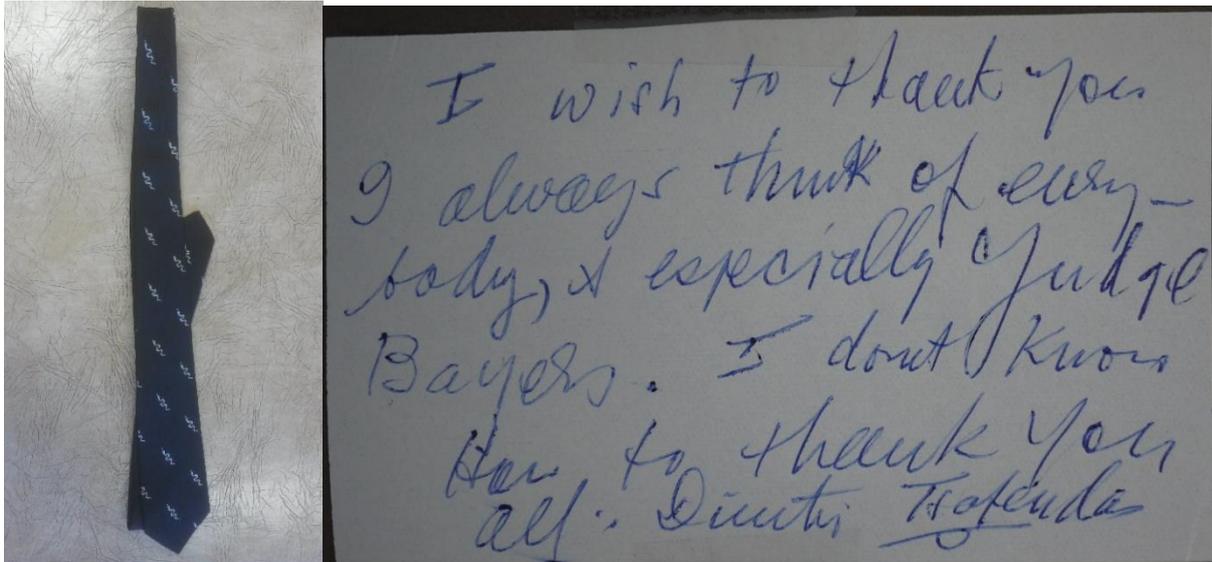
Appendix

Scenes outside the Supreme Court in Cape Town while the summary trial was taking place.⁴⁸⁵⁶



LEFT: The tapeworm tie that David Bloomberg gave as a present to all the members of the defence team to celebrate their victory.

RIGHT: Tsafendas's handwritten note to his defence team.⁴⁸⁵⁷



⁴⁸⁵⁶ Photo courtesy of David Bloomberg.

⁴⁸⁵⁷ Photo courtesy of David Bloomberg.

Appendix

The Grafton State Hospital Report which states that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in 1943. Despite the fact that the SA authorities were aware of this, as well as of another occasion where Tsafendas had faked mental illness, this information was not given to the clinicians who examined him and was not raised during the summary trial.⁴⁸⁵⁸ However, the Commission of Enquiry mentioned it, although rather briefly and without elaborating further, in its Report.

PREVIOUS MENTAL ILLNESS:

Patient states that in 1943 he was a patient at the Metropolitan State Hospital for a period of three months. He says that he made a statement at the Immigration Depot that he would commit suicide if he were sent back to Africa, and that he faked mental illness because he was afraid to ship out because of the numerous leakings of chips. He then was discharged and has been working for the Mer-

A portion of a telegram sent by *Die Landstem* to the Commission of Enquiry that contained information the newspaper had gathered about Tsafendas. It states that in 1947, Tsafendas was sent to Greece where he joined the "Greek Communist Party with whom he fought against the Greek Government."⁴⁸⁵⁹ The telegram contained several inaccuracies about Tsafendas, but also some correct information. In addition, the SA police had received statements from at least five people who had stated that Tsafendas had fought with the Communists during the Greek Civil War. Tsafendas's participation in the War was common knowledge among those who knew him. Nevertheless, the Commission concealed this information in its Report and Tsafendas's participation in the Civil War did not become known at the time.

VAN MOSAMBIEK KOM WORD HY 1947 NA GRIEKELAND
IS IN BETREURENSWAARDIGE
TOESTAND MET HONGERSNOOD EN WERKLOOSHEID EN
TSAFENDAS DWAAL HONGER EN SONDER
HERBERG ROND TOTDAT HY BY GRIEKSE KOMMUNISTE AANSLUIT
X HY VEG SAAM MET GRIEKSE KOMMUNISTE TEEN
GRIEKSE REGERING EN WORD VERDAG VAN TWEE OF DRIE

⁴⁸⁵⁸ Grafton State Hospital report regarding Demetrios Tsafandakis, n.d. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

⁴⁸⁵⁹ *Die Landstem* telegram. n.d. K150, Vol 5. NASA.

Appendix

Judge Jacques Theodore van Wyk,⁴⁸⁶⁰ the sole member of the Commission of Enquiry into Dr. Verwoerd's assassination. He was a racist and supporter of the National Party and of apartheid; he was well connected with Government members, including Prime Minister Vorster. The government appointed him on several other crucial and delicate cases, including as ad hoc member of the International Court of Justice in The Hague, hearing the *Ethiopia and Liberia v. South Africa* case (1962–1966). He celebrated apartheid's victory over Ethiopia and Liberia in the court in such a provocative manner that he offended and angered all the Africans who were present. Shortly after Dr. Verwoerd's assassination and in response to van Wyk's provocative celebrations, a number of African representatives at the UN contemplated celebrating in the same way the Judge had done in The Hague. However, eventually, they decided against any kind of public demonstration.



From left to right: Judge van Wyk, John Vorster and Judge Beyers during the opening of a new civil court in Cape Town's Supreme Court, on 4 August 1966, just over a month before the assassination.⁴⁸⁶¹



⁴⁸⁶⁰ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950–1990*, p. 77.

⁴⁸⁶¹ Friedman and Gauntlett, *Bar, Bench and Bullshiffters: Cape Tales 1950–1990*, p. 21.

Appendix

Report of the Commission of Enquiry, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32, stating that while in London, Tsafendas had attempted to recruit people for an uprising in South Africa.⁴⁸⁶²

Evidence was submitted to the Commission that Tsafendas had tried to recruit people to take part in an uprising in South Africa. He admits that he did in fact try to recruit people for an uprising, but says that his aim was confined to the Territory of Mozambique.

Report of the Commission of Enquiry, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18. Although the Commission stated in its Report that Tsafendas was not normal, but a schizophrenic, it also admitted that Tsafendas's "word cannot be relied upon" and that "he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act."⁴⁸⁶³

18. On 25th October, Tsafendas gave evidence before the Commission. The Commission was aware that he was quite knowledgeable about mental disorders—he also admitted to the Commission that he had read fairly extensively on the subject in order to determine what was wrong with him—and therefore adopted a somewhat sceptical attitude towards him. It is clear that his word cannot be relied upon, and that he is sufficiently intelligent to put on a fairly good act.

⁴⁸⁶² *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II B, Paragraph 32.

⁴⁸⁶³ *Report of the COE into Dr. Verwoerd's Death*, Chapter II D, Paragraph 18.

Appendix

The transfer order for Tsafendas from Robben Island to Pretoria Central Prison, 3 February 1967.⁴⁸⁶⁴

C

G.P.-S.2133625-1957-8-5,000. Mental S. 25.

STATE PRESIDENT'S
~~GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S~~ DECISION OR
ORDER FOR TRANSFER OF CRIMINAL PATIENT FROM AN INSTITUTION OR OTHER PLACE
TO ANOTHER INSTITUTION OR PLACE.

[Mental Disorders Act, 1926: Section 39.]

To (1) The Officer Commanding,
Robben Island Prison, Robben Island

and (2) the Officer Commanding,
Central Prison, Pretoria

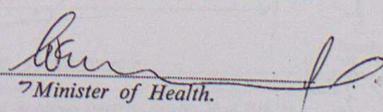
WHEREAS it is expedient that (3) Demitrio
Tsafendas

a (4) State President's decision patient, who is now in
your custody under warrant of (5) the Minister of Health
dated 25th November, 1966

shall be transferred to the Central Prison, Pretoria
there to be detained as a (4) State President's decision patient:
These are therefore to command you (1) the Officer
Commanding, Robben Island Prison,
to liberate the said (3) Demitrio Tsafendas
from your custody by delivering him to (2) the Officer Commanding,
Central Prison, Pretoria

And to command you the said (2) Officer Commanding,
Central Prison, Pretoria
to receive the said (3) Demitrio Tsafendas
into your custody, and detain him until he be legally discharged or otherwise
removed from your custody.

Given under my hand this 3rd day of February,
1967


Minister of Health.
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER.

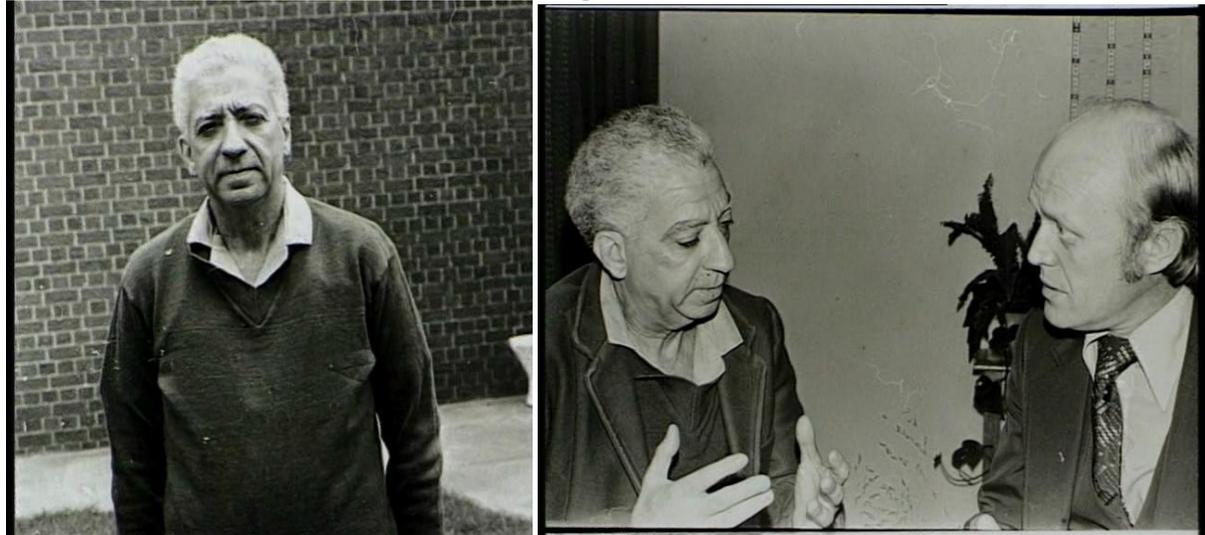
Authorised thereto by Govt.
No. 66
dated 16-1-67
under Section 39 of the Mental
Disorders Act, No. 38 of 1926.

(1) Insert name of officer of or other place custody.
(2) Insert name of officer of a institution.
(3) Insert name of patient.
(4) Insert patient is "Criminal" or "General's Decision".
(5) Describe.

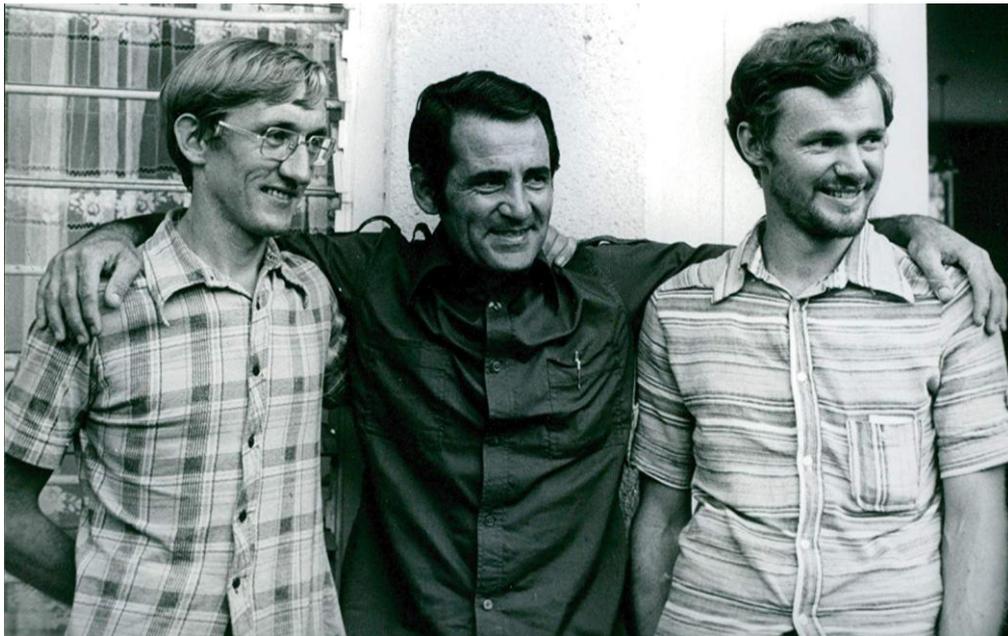
⁴⁸⁶⁴ Tsafendas's transfer order from Robben Island to Central Prison, Pretoria. 3 February 1967. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

Appendix

LEFT: Tsafendas in Pretoria Central Prison in October 1976 during Gordon Winter's visit.
RIGHT: Tsafendas and Gordon Winter during the latter's visit.⁴⁸⁶⁵



Alex Moumbaris (middle), along fellow anti-apartheid activists Tim Jenkin (left) and Stephen Lee (right) in Dar es Salaam in 1979 after their escape from Pretoria Central Prison. Moumbaris met Tsafendas in late 1972 - early 1973 at Pretoria Maximum Security Prison while awaiting trial on political charges. He was found guilty of “conspiring with the ANC to instigate violent revolution in South Africa, aiding terrorists, distributing ANC pamphlets in Durban in 1968, and reconnoitring the Transkei to find places for seaborne landings.” One day, Tsafendas told him proudly in Greek about Dr. Verwoerd: “I got τον Νταή τους” (“their tough guy” or “their champion,” but in a pejorative sense). Moumbaris, who has been awarded the national order of Grand Companion of O.R. Tambo Medal and the Sabotage Campaign Medal by the South African government, told the author: “I not only regard Dimitri Tsafendas as a sane man but also as the bravest and most ill-treated man I have ever met.” Moumbaris visited Tsafendas again in 1996 in Sterkfontein Hospital and endeavoured to have him released from there.



⁴⁸⁶⁵ Photos courtesy of Gordon Winter.

Appendix

Tsafendas's removal order from Pretoria Central Prison to Sterkfontein Hospital, 5 July 1994.⁴⁸⁶⁶

07 JUL '94 15:04 DEPT NAT HEALTH 012 3256061 P. 4/3

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

81172892 (Z 28)



DIRECTIVE IN TERMS OF SECTION 28(2) OF THE MENTAL HEALTH ACT, 1973 (ACT 18 OF 1973) FOR THE REMOVAL AND DETENTION OF A STATE PATIENT

PERSONAL DETAILS

NAME: DEMITRIO TSAFENDAS

SEX: MALE AGE: 76 YEARS

ORDER FOR REMOVAL

You, the Head, Pretoria Central Prison, are hereby directed to give Demitrio Tsafendas in respect of whom an order in terms of section 77(6) of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act 51 of 1977), was given by the Judge in the Supreme Court of South Africa (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division), on the 20th day of October 1966, in the custody of the Superintendent, Sterkfontein Hospital, Krugersdorp.

ORDER FOR DETENTION

You, the Superintendent of Sterkfontein Hospital, Krugersdorp, are hereby directed to receive Demitrio Tsafendas in your custody and to keep him in safe custody until he is legally discharged or is legally removed from your custody.

Given under my hand at Pretoria on the 5th day of July 1994.

Nkulama
N C DLAMINI ZUMA
MINISTER OF HEALTH

M. J. van der Merwe
NMS SUPERINTENDENT: STERKFONTEIN
HOSPITAAL
K R G S D O R P

← RSP →
← LSA →

⁴⁸⁶⁶ Tsafendas's removal order from Pretoria Central Prison to Sterkfontein Hospital, 5 July 1994. Demitrio Tsafendas Mediese Leer A125. NASA.

Appendix

Tsafendas at Sterkfontein Hospital. All pictures are from late 1997, apart from the first one which was taken in 1995. In the second one, Tsafendas describes to David Beresford, Ellen Elmendorp and Liza Key how he stabbed Dr. Verwoerd.⁴⁸⁶⁷



⁴⁸⁶⁷ All photos courtesy of Ellen Elmendorp, apart from the one which is courtesy of Liza Key.

Appendix

Tsafendas in April 1998 at Sterkfontein Hospital, a few months before his death. The last two known pictures of him. In the top picture, Tsafendas is talking to fifteen-year-old Joris Beresford, David Beresford's son, about a school essay the latter had written about him.⁴⁸⁶⁸



⁴⁸⁶⁸ Photos courtesy of Liza Key.

Appendix

The registry with the locations of the graves at Sterkfontein cemetery. This is the only way to locate Tsafendas's unmarked grave (pictured below).

8 Oktober 99	I 39/34	11	220x230	Coetzee Johannes Jacobus C	70	230609	10314
8 Okt. 99	C10	8A	212x90	Du Preez Maria Magdalena C.	92	25226	10315
8 Oktober 99	N6	5A	213x90	Kuyt Annie Christina	71	024676P	gekoop
8 Oktober 99	E 26	4A	213x90	Wassenaar Elizabeth	70	25232	gekoop
8 Oktober 99	I 26	5B	213x90	Dryman Maud Agnes	82	0159418	gekoop
8 Oktober 99	P18/19	10A	213x210	COLVERT John	54	2303846	10316
9 Oktober 99	J 59	11	220x100	Tsafendas Dimitri	81	2307729	10318
12 Oktober 99	O 6	7	213x91	James Helen Elizabeth	80	230847	gekoop
12 Okt 99	C12	6B	213x90	Coombes Basil Eugene	69	25233	gekoop
12 Okt 99	A 6	10	250x105	Locher Anna Elizabeth	73	2306012	utgekoop
14 Okt 99	B 12	1A	213x90	v/det Renne Hendrika	20	2309735	10321
13 Okt 99	P 6	10A	213x90	CILLIERS Madalaine	14	27131	10322
13 Okt 99	P 10	10A	213x90	Cothuyssen HELENA G	89	14132	10323
13 Okt 99	E 31	11	220x100	FITZGERALD Elizabeth F. Z.	92	184847m	gekoop
				BENNETTS HESTER CHRISTINA	85	25235	10324



Appendix

Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis leading a memorial service for Tsafendas in Maputo on 18 October 2015.

TOP LEFT: the poster for the service, characterizing Tsafendas as “The idealist.”



