

The Man Who Killed Apartheid

The Life of Dimitri Tsafendas

New Updated Edition

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with

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Series in World History



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For my Maya-Allende

For Krish Govender, Judge Jody Kollapen and Bishop Ioannis Tsafaridis; men of courage and principle who took a personal and human interest in Tsafendas when to do so risked establishment contumely and possible professional damage. Their commitment to justice and their principles would not allow them to do otherwise.

For Dimitri Tsafendas

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Preface

I first learnt of Dimitri Tsafendas when I came across an obituary shortly after his death in 1999. Although familiar with apartheid and a basic history of South Africa, I had never heard of this man. Since the obituary revealed only some basic facts about him, I decided to find out more. Searching further afield, I discovered Henk van Woerden's *A Mouthful of Glass*, and three other books which mentioned Tsafendas tangentially, Breyten Breytenbach's *True Confessions of an Albino Terrorist*, Dr Peter Lambley's *The Psychology of Apartheid* and Gordon Winter's *Inside BOSS*. Reading these volumes prompted me to investigate further since they contained little or no substantive information about Tsafendas's trial or the long time he spent in prison and detention. Over the following years, I checked the internet regularly for anything new. A few items here and there, occasional articles in the Greek press and two TV documentaries – Manolis Dimelas's *Live and Let Live* and Liza Key's *A Question of Madness* – so intrigued me that I began to think of writing a book about Tsafendas. To do this, I needed to meet people who had known him personally.

In the event, the first five people I contacted turned out to be very important in my work as they had all known Tsafendas well. I spoke to each of them at length and on an ongoing basis, learning facts about Tsafendas, which were not publicly known at the time. The five were Alexander Moumbaris and four Greek Orthodox clerics, Fathers Nikola Banovic, Minas Constandinou, Michalis Visvinis and Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis. The three priests had all been close to Tsafendas. Father Minas first met him in Mozambique in 1963 and visited him frequently in prison; Father Nikola shared his home with Tsafendas in Istanbul for more than five months in 1961; Father Michalis called to see him in prison many times over a period of four years. Bishop Ioannis met Tsafendas in prison and although he knew him less well than the other priests, their encounter was a life-changing event for him. As for Moumbaris, he had spent three months in prison alongside Tsafendas in 1973. All of them swore that Tsafendas was perfectly sane and had pretended to be otherwise only to avoid the gallows and that he had killed Verwoerd for purely political reasons. What surprised me was that every one of the five spoke of Tsafendas with unbounded admiration, something I believe would be rare among any random group of five persons commenting on another. Clearly, all of these men, four of them ministers of religion, held Verwoerd's assassin in the highest esteem and invariably spoke fondly of him – not of his deed, but his character. Aware now that Tsafendas was the very opposite of the pathetic

figure that had been constructed by South Africa's apartheid authorities and 'sold' to the outside world, I decided I would indeed write a book that would seek to correct the record and right a palpable wrong.

Knowing that Tsafendas had befriended the sailors of the Greek tanker, *Eleni*, shortly before the assassination and aware that these men were central to the police investigation, I procured the crew list from the Greek Ministry of Shipping. I then located and spoke to 17 of the 38 seamen, who all gave me invaluable information about their time with Tsafendas, further confirming the picture of a man who was perfectly sane and deeply political. Over the next few years, I travelled to France, Greece, Mozambique, South Africa and Turkey to speak to more people who had met Tsafendas. I hired private investigators to locate two witnesses I had failed to find, namely Brian Price and Gordon Winter. Their efforts did not bear fruit, but with the help of Dr James Sanders, I was able to interview Winter. Price was the only man I failed to reach. In total, I spoke to 138 people, 70 of whom knew Tsafendas personally, including members of his own family. Some knew Tsafendas exceptionally well and spoke to me formally about him for the first time; five of them had known him since he was a small child. Others included workmates, fellow lodgers, co-prisoners, visitors who talked to him in hospital and prison, clinicians who examined him before his trial, and two of his defence lawyers. Every witness, except for the three members of his defence team, Willie Burger, David Bloomberg and Dr Isaak Sakinofsky, told me exactly the same thing – Tsafendas was a normal, sane person with deep political ideas. My interviewees also included persons related to the judicial proceedings, such as witnesses, lawyers, judges, psychologists, psychiatrists, academics, high-ranking police officers and former secret agents.

Aware that Tsafendas had been politically active in Mozambique, I searched the Portuguese National Archives and discovered that PIDE, the Portuguese secret security police, held a massive file on him (Secret Criminal Record No 10.415 of Demitrios Tsafantakis). What's more, I learnt to my astonishment, that on the day following Verwoerd's assassination, the PIDE, Portugal's International and State Defence Policy, in Lisbon had instructed their counterparts in Mozambique to conceal from the South African authorities any 'information indicating Tsafendas as a partisan for the independence' of Mozambique and that their colleagues in Lourenço Marques had subsequently done exactly that. These were monumental discoveries: I now had in my possession indisputable evidence supporting the testimonies of the witnesses I had interviewed that Tsafendas was a political animal.

By now, I was aware that the National Archives of South Africa contained thousands of documents from the South African police investigations and from the Commission of Enquiry into Verwoerd's death. I was not optimistic as to

what I would find since I knew from a number of impeccable sources that Tsafendas's first statement to General van den Bergh, who led the police investigation, had gone missing. It was not unknown for evidence to disappear in cases that contradicted apartheid's official version of various events or was damaging to the regime. I was surprised, therefore, to discover that the archives held more than a hundred statements taken by the police and the Commission of Enquiry, along with other evidence, which in some way contradicted the official version of the assassination and supported the evidence I had already collected from my interviews. With permission from Tsafendas's family, I also obtained his medical records, which included some documents of major importance, such as the Grafton State Hospital report, which revealed that Tsafendas had faked mental illness in 1943 and that the South African authorities were aware of it. In total, about 12,000 pages of documents were discovered and examined, including some from the British National Archives and others from different archival collections in South Africa.

Finally, knowing that the Verwoerd assassination had been a matter of considerable international interest, I went through all the currently available newspapers published at that time, not only in South Africa, but also in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, West and East Germany, Greece, Italy, Mozambique, Portugal, the Soviet Union, the United States and Zimbabwe. The total came to about 120.

The more I learnt about Tsafendas's character, his activism and life-long interest in politics, in particular his loathing of apartheid and colonialism, the more I felt that a major historical injustice had taken place in portraying him to the world as a lunatic and his assassination of Dr Verwoerd as an apolitical and mindless act. I felt a moral imperative to expose one of the greatest cover-ups in apartheid history and reveal the truth about a brave and humble man who was treated so foully by history. At the same time, I concluded that Tsafendas deserved more than just a corrective and extended biography with new information about his life and his motives. It was clear to me that no matter how much evidence I adduced concerning Tsafendas's acts and motivation in my book – and I could not include every single piece – it would not be capable of changing a historical record that had stood for over 50 years. The danger was the book could become simply a matter of debate or dismissed as just another conspiracy theory. I decided, therefore, also to write a detailed report and submit it, along with all of my new evidence, to the South African authorities to request a new official inquiry into the Tsafendas case. My goal was to correct the historical record in such a way that the assassination would not be seen as a mindless political act by someone who blamed a tapeworm, but a political assassination by a perfectly sane person.

A major surprise in the South African archives was the discovery of documents setting out Judge Jody Kollapen's tireless efforts to have Tsafendas released and correct what he saw as a grievous injustice. I was also agreeably surprised to see archived documents concerning Krish Govender's efforts through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to examine Tsafendas's case. I met with both Mr Govender, Durban State Attorney and co-chairman of the Law Society of South Africa, and Judge Kollapen and told them of my plan to submit evidence to the South African authorities and seek an official inquiry. Both agreed with the idea and offered support. Mr Govender offered to evaluate the evidence, read my report and give me advice. Judge Kollapen, although willing, was not able to participate directly as he still held judicial office. However, he offered invaluable help in various other ways.

Once I had finished collecting evidence and while I was writing my report based on the new evidence, I looked for help from among South Africa's jurists to evaluate my efforts and the evidence I had collected. The first was Advocate George Bizos who happily and immediately agreed to work with me. The second person I contacted was Professor John Dugard, Professor of International Law and a former judge at the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Professor Dugard also happily accepted to look and evaluate the evidence I had discovered and to read my report. Then, Mr Govender introduced me to Judge Yacoob, a retired Constitutional Court judge, who also agreed to evaluate the evidence and co-operate with me on my report. Finally, I contacted Advocate Dumisa Ntzebeza, who also agreed readily to read my report and evaluate my evidence.

To assess Tsafendas's state of mind and properly examine the official diagnosis of schizophrenia, I contacted several prominent psychiatrists and psychologists. The first was Professor Tuviah Zabow, forensic psychiatrist, former head of the forensic psychiatry unit at Valkenberg Hospital and former professor of psychiatry at the University of Cape Town. Professor Zabow agreed to evaluate the new evidence, read my report and offer his opinion, consequently agreeing with my conclusions. I also contacted Professor Alban Burke, head of the Department of Psychology at the University of Johannesburg, to whom I sent some of the evidence I had gathered, along with my report. He, too, provided comments, agreeing with my findings. I also contacted three prominent American scientists, leaders in their fields: Professor Kirk Heilbrun, forensic psychologist and professor of psychology at Drexler University in Philadelphia; Professor Phillip Resnick, forensic psychiatrist and professor of psychiatry at Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine; and Professor Robert L. Sadoff, clinical professor of psychiatry, director of the Center for Studies in Social-Legal Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania and chairman of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law. Although none felt able to co-

operate with me fully, all offered opinions on several matters regarding the case, answered all my questions and allowed me to quote them in my report.

After reading my report and checking the evidence, the five South African jurists agreed to write to the Minister of Justice regarding the case. My report, along with a request to have Tsafendas's case re-examined, signed by Advocate George Bizos, Professor John Dugard, Mr Krish Govender, Advocate Dumisa Ntsebeza and Judge Zak Yacoob, was submitted to the office of the Minister of Justice of South Africa, Advocate Tshililo Michael Masutha on 23 April 2018. The report ran to three volumes, totalling 2,192 pages and 861,803 words, and was accompanied by a 16GB USB memory disc with all the evidence I had discovered – all 12,000 pages of documents from the archives, newspaper articles and other evidence, as well as the recordings of my interviews.

While aware that this report and its submission would hopefully lead to the eventual correction of a long-standing injustice, it was clear to me that the general public would remain largely ignorant of the details of this duplicitous act of mis-government. Believing that the world at large and South Africans in particular should know the truth, I began working on the biography. My aim in writing *The Man Who Killed Apartheid* was to demonstrate that Tsafendas was no tapeworm-obsessed lunatic but a man of hugely generous spirit who laughed easily and cared about those around him; that he knew fear and equivocation; that his deathly deed, 'the execution' as he called it, was rooted in the belief, in his own words, that he could not 'remain silent' in the face of apartheid's crimes. My hope is that the book will finally kill a shabby, old lie from South Africa's darkest time in history.

Working on and researching the life of Tsafendas and his case took me nine years, during which time I conducted formal interviews with 138 people, spoke to hundreds of others and read many documents. To be able to do this required the assistance of people in numerous fields and at every level, and I am very grateful that I was given such co-operation with unstinting generosity. Each person's contribution, no matter how unimportant it may have appeared, played a crucial part in ensuring completion of my project.

I would like to extend, in alphabetical order, my sincerest thanks to the following, whose enthusiastic expertise helped me to set forth Tsafendas's true story: Firstly, however, I must thank Liza Key, who was extraordinarily generous and helpful in numerous ways. Liza gave me a copy of her keynote documentary on Tsafendas, *A Question of Madness*, plus all the information she had assembled, including documents from the South African National Archives and elsewhere. She entrusted me with her personal collection of papers, photographs and the rushes of all her interviews, and allowed me to use her photographs in this book. She put me in touch with several people who were most helpful, including the photographer Ellen Elmendorp and

journalists David Beresford and Cheche Selepe. She also secured permission from Helen Suzman's daughter for me to access her mother's archives at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am extremely grateful to Liza and will be forever in her debt.

George Bizos spent countless hours going through my research findings with me, often in his office but also on the telephone. His opinions in several areas were invaluable. He also introduced me to people who were of help in extending my inquiries.

John Dugard participated without reservation, going through the evidence and the outline of my research. He welcomed me into his home in The Hague, where we spent an entire afternoon and evening, some six or seven hours, examining multiple issues. Professor Dugard also wrote the first draft of the letter/request from the five jurists to the Minister of Justice.

Ellen Elmendorp for giving me all the excellent photographs she had taken of Tsafendas and for allowing me to use them in this book.

Krish Govender agreed to meet me immediately when I contacted him, then sought to help me in any possible way. Importantly, he introduced me to a number of people in South Africa, including Judge Zak Yacoob, to whom he outlined the aims of my research project. Krish visited me at my home in England to discuss the project and was helpful throughout the writing of the book in numerous ways.

Judge Jody Kollapen shared his personal memories of Tsafendas with me and further helped by introducing me to Dimitris Skoularikis, who had met Tsafendas in prison; he advised me on my report and arranged its submission to the Minister of Justice. Judge Kollapen also participated in the drafting of the jurists' letter/request to the Minister accompanying my report. By far the most touching moment in this entire project, which made me weep then, and still does, was to read in the archives this passage from Judge Kollapen's memorandum of 24 November 1994 to the regional government of Gauteng:

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 society (if he owed a debt at all in the first place).

Those words affected me profoundly, making me determined to complete this story, whatever the obstacles.

Solly Mapaila, the Deputy General-Secretary of the South African Communist Party, helped in multiple ways, but mostly by his eager willingness to correct the historical record regarding Verwoerd's assassination.

Manolis Mastromanolis gave me his first-ever interview about Tsafendas, having turned down requests from others several times before. He also introduced me to other crew members of the Greek tanker *Eleni* who knew Tsafendas, and all happily shared their memories with me.

Irini Michaletos and her husband John Michaletos invited me twice to dinner at their home and shared their many intimate memories of Tsafendas; they also let me have the originals of several unpublished family photos with Tsafendas in them.

Alexander Moumbaris was one of those who assured me that Tsafendas was perfectly sane and politically motivated, which he did with passionate conviction. He welcomed me to his house in France, gave me several personal notes about Tsafendas and directed me to other revolutionaries from the anti-apartheid struggle.

Dumisa Ntsebeza, though I gave him very limited time, read sections of my report and checked some of the evidence I had gathered; he also supported the other four jurists' letter/request to the Minister of Justice.

Katerina Pnema, Tsafendas's step-sister, talked to me endlessly about Dimitri and entrusted me with personal family documents and photographs. Mike Vlachopoulos and Mike Pnema, Tsafendas's nephews, discussed their uncle at length and gave me family papers and pictures. A particular thank you goes to Mike Vlachopoulos, who has gifted me in his will an expensive coffee table which Tsafendas gave in 1941 as a wedding present to his step-sister, Evangelia!

Researcher and journalist Dr James Sanders entrusted me with personal documents concerning Tsafendas and put me in touch with several resourceful people. However, his biggest contribution was in interviewing Gordon Winter on my behalf. Dr Sanders was one of the few people with whom Winter remained in contact and he agreed without equivocation to interview the former Bureau of State Security (BOSS) agent both then and on an ongoing basis.

Alexandros Tsafantakis, Tsafendas's nephew, along with his family, gave me permission to access his uncle's medical files. Tsafantakis also invited me to stay as his guest in a luxury villa during my stay in Crete, and arranged a massive dinner where 300 to 400 people with the surname Tsafantakis met in the hope of finding some of Tsafendas's relatives. He also took me to Kitharida, the Tsafendas family's village where Dimitri's father was born, to the house of Costas Kargakis, where Tsafendas stayed while in Crete in 1962,

and to the places where Tsafendas was trained by Kargakis and his Second World War comrades in bomb-making.

The memories, passion and deep sense of injustice evident in Bishop Ioannis Tsaftaridis's conversations were among the principal reasons I undertook this project. Sharing these feelings with me, Bishop Ioannis invited me to stay in his house in Maputo, introduced me to several people who had met Tsafendas and drove me around the city to meet some of them. He also cooked for me the best lobster and seafood spaghetti I have ever tasted!

Father Michalis Visvinis for his unbelievable hospitality and help. Furthermore, he talked to me at length about his meetings with Tsafendas and introduced me to several members of Pretoria's Greek community, most importantly to members of Tsafendas's family who had previously refused to speak to anyone about the case.

Judge Zak Yacoob agreed immediately to evaluate the evidence I had gathered and to read my report. He also talked patiently and at length with me on the telephone, and was instrumental in finalising the wording of the jurists' letter/request sent to the Minister of Justice.

Particularly supportive were the witnesses I interviewed, who received my questions with exemplary patience many times and on an ongoing basis over the years. Their names are listed in the bibliography and I am eternally grateful to them. In addition to those already mentioned, several contacts entrusted me with documents from their personal collections, thus my sincere thanks go to: David Beresford, a former foreign correspondent of *The Guardian* newspaper in London, who met and talked with Tsafendas; Desmond Blow, a former journalist of the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, who was a close friend of David Pratt; Graham Blow, Desmond Blow's son, who shared his father's documents, including personal communications between Blow and Pratt; David Bloomberg, Tsafendas's attorney, who gave me a massive file containing photographs and newspaper cuttings from the case, as well as some personal papers and a handwritten note by Tsafendas; Manolis Dimelas, a Greek journalist and filmmaker, who gave me the rushes from his film on Tsafendas and helped with my trip to Kasos; Guy Spiller, who gave me the rushes and a copy of his documentary on David Pratt, *The Liberal and the Pirate*. Spiller also entrusted me with several personal documents as well as others from the National Archives of South Africa regarding Pratt.

A tremendous thank you goes to everyone at the National Archives of South Africa (NASA), especially Ntombizodwa Gumede, Granny Makhubela, Tshepo Malemela, Mary Masango, Sbonile Mbhele and Mavis Xaba, who photocopied some 7,000 pages of documents. In particular, I am extremely grateful to Zahira Adams and Natalie Skomolo, who scanned several thousand extra documents

and sent them to me in England. Furthermore, Ms Skomolo, at short notice and without charge, translated a number of documents from Afrikaans to English. Gerrit Wayner was also enormously helpful with all my requests.

Massive thanks are due to the psychiatrists and psychologists I consulted who offered their opinions without demur. Professor Tuviah Zabow looked at my report and the evidence, Professors Alban Burke and Robert L. Sadoff checked some of the evidence and discussed the case with me, and Professors Kirk Heilbrun and Phillip Resnick answered all my questions.

Thank you to all of the following, including everyone at Durham University Library's document delivery service, Northumbria University's inter-library loans team and at the British Library in Boston Spa for providing me with several books and documents; Imraan Abdullah of the South African Historical Archives; Professor Cathi Albertyn of the University of the Witwatersrand, who sent me a copy of her PhD thesis; Beverly Angus and Niklas Zimmer of the University of Cape Town for making copies and sending them to me from Liza Key's archive housed at that university; Akis Apergis for his tremendous help in many ways, especially driving me around Johannesburg to some of my many appointments and for introducing to me Solly Mapaila; June Bam-Hutchison of the University of Cape Town; Terry Bell and his wife Barbara for their hospitality and overall help; everyone at Brooklyn Lodge for their hospitality; Mary Biri and Georgia Maniati of the Greek Ministry of Shipping; Harry Burton and Helen Swainger of *The Guardian* archives; Gavin Cooper, son of Advocate (and later Judge) Wilfrid Cooper who defended Tsafendas, for giving me some of his personal documents; Maggie Davey of Jacana Media for her enthusiasm and her unwavering belief in this book; Jacqui Dorey and Michael Fienberg of Stenham Support Services Ltd; my sister Vasiliki Dousemetzi for her translations; Gerhard Dreyer of City Guns in Cape Town; Michael Dukakis; Toin Eggenhuizen of the ANC who read parts of my report and put me in touch with Denis Goldberg; Barber Ferguson of Ferguson Events; Ana Fernandes and Paula Sereno of the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo; Brian Fobi who sent me a copy of his excellent PhD thesis on Verwoerd; Denis Goldberg for his hospitality and for putting me in contact with Ahmed Kathrada; Shona Hall of Neville Funeral Service; Joe and Julie Horsfield for all their help throughout the years and for being the best neighbors and friends one could hope for; Janice Honeyman receives my sincere thanks for the week's free stay she gave me in her apartment in Sea Point, Cape Town; Francie Jowell, Helen Suzman's daughter, for giving me permission to access her mother's archives; Ronnie Kasrils for his hospitality and willingness to help and for introducing me to people who were of assistance in various ways; Maria Kassimati for all her help; Ken Keable and Bob Newland of London Recruits; Aytan Kecici of Limasollu College, who drove me to meet Mr and Mrs Limasollu at their home and who took me to dinner in

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Finally, my heartfelt thanks go to all who assisted me in any way. I believe I have named everyone involved, but if anyone's name has slipped my mind, forgive me and accept that you are also on my list.

PAGES MISSING
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Susan Diane Pratt. 6000/60. National Archives of South Africa.

Tsafendas's file in the Lawyers for Human Rights Collection (AL3183), South African History Archive.

Interviews

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. Susie Cazenove and Dr. Isaac Sakinofsky were not interviewed face to face or by telephone, but corresponded with the author on several occasions; Dr. Sakinofsky very kindly answered all the questions sent to him. For each of the witnesses below the date given is the date of the last interview between the witness and the author.

Witnesses who met Tsafendas

- Pamela Abrahams: She met Tsafendas in 1966 in Cape Town; 6 June 2016
- Cleanthes Alachiotis: From the *Eleni*, he associated a lot with Tsafendas during the *Eleni's* stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966; 29 September 2010.
- George Ananiades: He met Tsafendas in 1963 in Lourenço Marques; 21 June 2016.
- Pantelis Aspiotis: From the *Eleni*, he met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1966; 6 June 2015.
- Nick Augustides: Tsafendas's employer between July and September 1966; 19 February 2016.
- Andreas Babioulakis: Grew up with Tsafendas in Mozambique and was a very close friend; 19 March 2016.
- Nicola Banovic: A Greek Orthodox priest who became very close to Tsafendas, they initially met in Istanbul in 1961. Tsafendas lived in Father Banovic's house for four months and associated with him for another three; 21 August 2014.
- David Beresford: *Guardian* journalist, he met Tsafendas in the mid-1990s in Sterkfontein hospital and wrote about him; 11 April 2014.
- 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; 12 June 2011.
- David Bloomberg: Tsafendas's attorney in the summary trial; 4 June 2018.
- Willie Burger: Tsafendas's lawyer at his summary trial; 9 April 2015.
- Renfrew Christie: Anti-apartheid activist. He met Tsafendas in Pretoria Prison in 1980–81, where he was also imprisoned; 12 April 2016.
- Minas Constandinou: A Greek Orthodox priest who met Tsafendas in Mozambique in 1963. He later visited him in prison and in hospital. They were extremely close and Tsafendas confided in him at length about his life; 6 February 2013.
- Elias Constantaras: He associated with Tsafendas in Cape Town for several months in 1966; 11 April 2015.
- Maggie Davey: She met Tsafendas in the mid-1990s at Sterkfontein hospital; 8 June 2018.
- Joyce Dick: Helen Daniels's best friend. She met Tsafendas in 1965 in Cape Town; 6 August 2016.
- Mary Eintracht: Tsafendas's cousin. They grew up together in Egypt and Mozambique and were very close; 9 October 2014.
- Efthimios Eleftheriadis: A priest who met Tsafendas in Hamburg in the 1950s; 27 January 2011.
- Mario Ferreira: He worked with Tsafendas at the Table Bay Power Station; 21 May 2019.
- John Galanakis: He met Tsafendas in Beira in 1964; 22 May 2017.
- 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 1963–64, when they were flatmates and then neighbours while they also worked together; 19 May 2017.

- 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; , 22 January 2013.
- Costas Hagios: He associated with Tsafendas for about two years, from 1965–66, in Cape Town; 14 July 2015.
- Miltiades Kaldis: He met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965–66; 12 March 2016.
- Nicolas Kambouris: From the *Eleni*, he associated a lot with Tsafendas during the *Eleni*'s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966; 17 January 2014.
- Georgios Kantas: From the *Eleni*, he consorted regularly with Tsafendas during the *Eleni*'s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966; 11 January 2012.
- 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; 21 August 2018.
- Judge Jody Kollapen: Anti-apartheid activist and High Court Judge in Pretoria. He met Tsafendas in prison in 1994 and tried to grant him amnesty; 5 April 2015.
- Ira Kyriakakis: She grew up with Tsafendas in Mozambique and was a very close friend; 27 March 2015.
- Dionisis Lallis: From the *Eleni*, he met Tsafendas in July and August 1966; 19 June 2015.
- George Liberopoulos: He met Tsafendas in Lourenço Marques in 1963; 6 July 2014.
- James Mange: He met Tsafendas in prison in the early 1980s; 8 April 2015.
- Manolis Mastromanolis: From the *Eleni*, he associated a lot with Tsafendas during the *Eleni*'s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966; 29 February 2016.
- Nickolas Mavronas: From the *Eleni*, he sold Tsafendas the gun; 11 May 2019.
- 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; 2 May 2016.
- Irene Michaletos: She very closely associated with Tsafendas in Beira from 1964–65; 16 April 2016.
- 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; 16 April 2016.
- Alexander Moumbaris: Anti-apartheid revolutionary, MK fighter and fellow prisoner in Pretoria Prison. He met Tsafendas in prison and later visited him at Sterkfontein hospital; 23 January 2018.
- Marie-Jose Moumbaris: Anti-apartheid activist. She met Tsafendas in 1996 at Sterkfontein hospital; 27 June 2014.
- Antonis Nichas: He associated with Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1966; 31 March 2016.

- Jerome O’Ryan: Son of Patrick O’Ryan. He lived under the same roof as Tsafendas for five months in 1965; 15 April 2016.
- Reuben O’Rya: Son of Patrick O’Ryan. He lived in the same house as Tsafendas for five months in 1965; 15 April 2016.
- Stanley O’Ryan: Son of Patrick O’Ryan. He lived in the same house as Tsafendas for five months in 1965; 9 April 2015.
- Nick Papadakis: He met Tsafendas in 1964 in Beira. They became good friends and they were also flatmates for two months; 30 January 2015.
- George Petrakakis: He met Tsafendas in 1963 in Lourenço Marques; 15 May 2016.
- Panagiotis Peroglou: He associated with Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1965–66; 6 June 2016.
- Vasilios Perselis: From the *Eleni*, he associated with Tsafendas during the tanker’s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966; 14 January 2015.
- Richard Poggenpoel: Tsafendas lived in his house in Cape Town in 1965; 30 July 2013.
- Katerina Pnema: Tsafendas’s half-sister; 30 March 2015.
- Michael Pnema: Tsafendas’s nephew. He met him in 1964; 30 March 2015.
- Costas Poriazis: He met Tsafendas in 1965 in Beira; 5 April 2016.
- Grigoris Pouftis: From the *Eleni*, he associated a lot with Tsafendas during the tanker’s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966; 28 November 2009.
- Peter Protoulis: He met Tsafendas in Cape Town in 1966; 28 May 2016.
- Spiros Randos: A Greek Orthodox priest who visited Tsafendas in Pretoria Prison Hospital and Sterkfontein hospital, Father Randos became close to him; 5 January 2004.
- Isaac Sakinofsky: One of the psychiatrists who examined Tsafendas for the summary trial; 30 March 2016.
- Dimitris Skoularikis: He met Tsafendas in prison in the early 1990s; 26 April 2015.
- Ioannis Speis: From the *Eleni*, he met Tsafendas during the tanker’s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966; 12 July 2015.
- Dimitris Stavrianos: From the *Eleni*, he met Tsafendas during the tanker’s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966; 18 January 2015.
- Emmanuel Tsabouniaris; From the *Eleni*, he associated with Tsafendas during the tanker’s stay in Cape Town in July and August 1966; 14 May 2016.
- Ioannis Tsafaridis: The Bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Zambia and Malawi. He visited Tsafendas at Pretoria Prison Hospital and at Sterkfontein hospital. Tsafendas told him much about his life; 23 January 2017.
- Marina Tsihklakis: She met Tsafendas in Beira in 1964; 3 April 2015.
- Evangelos Tsouroulis: 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; 16 January 2017.
- Reyner van Zyl: The psychologist who examined Tsafendas for the summary trial; 10 April 2016.

- Stratis Vamvarapis: He met Tsafendas between 1965 and 1966 in Cape Town; 31 May 2016.
- Alexandra Vaporidis: She met Tsafendas in 1961 in Istanbul. Her husband, Father Agathagelos Vaporidis, was a close friend of Tsafendas; 23 August 2014.
- Michalis Vasilakis: From the *Eleni*, he associated a lot with Tsafendas during the tanker's stay in Cape Town between July and August 1966; 17 March 2016.
- Michalis Visvinis: A Greek Orthodox priest who regularly visited Tsafendas in prison for five years from 1989–94. They became very close and Tsafendas spoke extensively to him about his life; 11 July 2015.
- Michael Vlachopoulos: Tsafendas's nephew, who met him in 1963; 30 March 2015.
- Gordon Winter: Former BOSS agent, who met Tsafendas in Pretoria Prison in 1975; 19 August 2016.
- Periklis Zouridis: He met Tsafendas in 1964 in Beira; 4 June 2016.

Witnesses who did not meet Tsafendas

- Akis Apergis: Member of the Greek community in Johannesburg at the time of the assassination; 24 March 2015.
- Barbara Bell: anti-apartheid activist; 10 April 2015.
- Terry Bell: Anti-apartheid activist and journalist who co-authored *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*; 10 April 2015.
- Ioannis Bizos: Member of the Greek community in Johannesburg at the time of the assassination; 26 March 2015.
- George Bizos: Human rights lawyer and anti-apartheid activist. His mother-in-law was one of the closest friends of Tsafendas's stepmother. Tsafendas's request to be represented by him was denied; 18 November 2017.
- Desmond Blow: *Rand Daily Mail*, *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Express* journalist. He became very close to David Pratt after the latter's assault on Verwoerd; 23 February 2015.
- Elizabeth Blow. Desmond's wife; 23 February 2015.
- Graham David Blow: Desmond Blow's son who was named David by his father after David Pratt; 27 July 2016.
- Alban Burke: Professor of psychology and head of the psychology department at the University of Johannesburg; 4 April 2016.
- Stefan Bubbenzer: Actor, who played Tsafendas in Will Tanner's play *Tsafendas* when it was performed in London in the 1970s; 12 June 2017.
- Susie Cazenove: David Pratt's daughter; 24 November 2017.
- Luli Callinicos: Historian and anti-apartheid activist, who lived in Johannesburg at the time of the assassination; 26 March 2015.
- Mathys Carstens: He worked in the House of Assembly in 1966, but never met Tsafendas; 11 January 2019
- Lionel Davis: An anti-apartheid activist, he was imprisoned on Robben Island while Tsafendas was held there; 8 April 2015.

- John Dugard: Professor of law and judge at the International Court of Justice; 7 February 2016.
- Judge Gerald Friedman: Retired Judge President, Cape High Court, 18 August 2016.
- Costa Gazidis: Cousin of Rika Nikolatos. An anti-apartheid activist and social worker, he visited Tsafendas in prison and in the hospital; 10 April 2015.
- Janet Gazidis: Wife of Costas Gazidis, who knew Nikolatos very well; 10 April 2015.
- Denis Goldberg: Anti-apartheid activist, imprisoned in Pretoria Central Prison at the same time as Tsafendas, but he never met him; 12 April 2016.
- Krish Govender: Former Durban State-Attorney and anti-apartheid activist. In 1996, he made a request in the TRC to examine Tsafendas's case; 12 May 2017.
- Mike Grispos: Son of Helen and George Grispos. George Grispos was Tsafendas's schoolmate and childhood friend; 27 October 2016.
- Maria Kasimatis: she lived in Lourenço Marques at the time of the assassination; 15 April 2016.
- Ronnie Kasrils: Founding member of Umkhonto we Sizwe and former Minister for Intelligence Services; 16 May 2016.
- Ahmed Kathrada: Anti-apartheid activist, he was imprisoned on Robben Island while Tsafendas was held there; 13 April 2016.
- Ayten Kececi: Director of Limasollu Naci, 8 January 2016.
- Jan-Ake Kjellberg: UN police officer and TRC investigator who handled Tsafendas's file in the TRC hearings; 11 August 2016.
- Elias Kokkinos. From the *Eleni*, he was present in Venice when the crew was questioned; 30 August 2014.
- Dr. Anton Krueger. Academic, playwright and author of *Living in Strange Lands*; 10 April 2015.
- Peter Lambley: Psychologist and author of *The Psychology of Apartheid*. He knew some of those who examined Tsafendas and referred to his case in the book; 18 September 2013.
- Adviye Vedia Limasollu: Wife of Limasollu Naci, owner of the college of the same name where Tsafendas worked while in Istanbul; 8 January 2016.
- Tunc Limasollu: Son of Limasollu Naci, owner of the college with the same name where Tsafendas worked while in Istanbul; 8 January 2016.
- Alan Lomas: he was involved with the case in 1966 and the Commission of Enquiry referred to him; 12 December 2014.
- Dr. Evangelos Mantzaris: Academic, expert on trade unions in South Africa and of the Greeks of South Africa; 23 August 2017.
- Saul Molobi: South Africa's Consul-General in Milan who took an interest in Tsafendas's case in the 1990s; 7 May 2015.
- Solly Mapaila: First Deputy General-Secretary of the South African Communist Party; 24 March 2015.
- Judge Robin Marais: Retired Judge and Judge Beyers' registrar; 18 August 2016.
- 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; 12 May 2015.
- Tessa Marwick. Theatre director, who directed the play *Tsafendas* in 1976 in London; 11 June 2017.
- Michael Meadowcroft: Former British MP with the Liberal Party and honorary president of the National Liberal Club; 2 February 2017.
- Michalis Michelis: Journalist who extensively researched Tsafendas's case in 1987; 23 January 2016.
- Abhilash Nair: Law academic; 23 November 2016.
- John Nankin: Director, actor and stage designer. He did some research on Tsafendas in the mid-1970s for William Tanner's play *Tsafendas*; 13 September 2016.
- Dumisa Ntsebeza SC. Anti-apartheid activist and advocate; 19 March 2017.
- Akis Papageorgiou: President of the Greek Community of Pretoria in the early 1990s; 16 April 2015.
- Emmanuel Perselis: From the *Eleni*, he was present in Venice when the crew was questioned; 30 November 2015.
- Piers Pigou: International Crisis Group's Senior Consultant for Southern Africa and TRC Investigator; 7 April 2016.
- Elizabeth Radsma: David Pratt's personal assistant and secretary; 9 January 2017.
- Phillip Resnick: Forensic psychiatrist; 17 December 2016.
- Albie Sachs: Retired Judge and anti-apartheid activist; 27 September 2016.
- Robert L. Sadoff: Professor of clinical 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; 12 August 2015.
- Emanuel Sakellaridis: *Eleni's* former captain; 22 March 2014.
- James Sanders: Author and researcher, specialising in South Africa; 4 June 2016.
- Cheche Selepe; author and Mike Phahlane's friend; 9 April 2016
- Dr. Aditya Sharma: Consultant psychiatrist, 12 October 2016.
- Piet Swanepoel: former BOSS agent and Verwoerd's bodyguard; 6 April 2016.
- Renos Spanoudes: Actor and drama teacher. He played Tsafendas in the play *Living in Strange Lands* and *Strange Lands*, 26 March 2015.
- Guy Spiller: Filmmaker and director of *The Liberal and the Pirate*; 12 May 2016.
- Dr. Arjun Thampy. Consultant psychiatrist.
- Alexandros Tsafantakis; Tsafendas's nephew; 9 January 2016.
- Aris Tsafantakis: Tsafendas's cousin; 13 April 2016.
- Maria Tsafantakis: Granddaughter of Costas Kargakis, whose house Tsafendas stayed at in Crete. Maria taught him to make bombs; 9 January 2016.
- Michalis Tsafantakis: Tsafendas's cousin. Tsafendas stayed at his parents' house in Crete in 1962; 9 January 2016.

Stelios Tsafantakis: Tsafendas's cousin. He was in Crete when Tsafendas visited the island in 1962; 9 January 2016.

Dimitris Vergitsis: Former Greek Orthodox priest who buried Tsafendas; 6 September 2015.

James J. Ward, Professor of History at the Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pennsylvania, USA.

Zak Yacoob: Retired constitutional judge; 18 September 2017.

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; 11 April 2016.

Dimitris Zitanelis: President of the Greek Community in Cape Town. He lived there at the time of the assassination;

Audio-visual materials

A Question of Madness by Liza Key (1997)

The Liberal and the Pirate by Guy Spiller (1999)

Live and Let Live by Manolis Dimelas (2007)

Government publications

Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Circumstances of the Death of the late Dr The Honourable Hendrik French Verwoerd. R.PR.16/67. Pretoria, Government Printer, December 1966.

Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Responsibility of Mentally Deranged Persons and Related Matters. R.PR. 69/1967. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1967.

Personal collections

David Bloomberg's personal documents regarding Tsafendas.

Desmond Blow's personal documents regarding David Pratt.

Liza Key's personal documents regarding Tsafendas.

Alexander Moumbaris's personal documents regarding Tsafendas.

Dr James Sanders's personal documents regarding Tsafendas.

Gordon Winter's personal documents regarding Tsafendas.

Newspapers and periodicals

Dagbreek

Daily Dispatch

Daily Mirror

Die Transvaler

Die Vaderland

Die Volksblad

Evening Standard

Kathimerini

Le Courrier d'Afrique
Natal Witness
News Chronicle
Newsweek
O Primeiro de Janeiro
Personality
Pretoria News
Rand Daily Mail
Scope
Sunday Tribune
TIME (Magazine)
The Australian
The Canberra Times
The Cape Argus
The Cape Times
The Citizen
The Chronicle (Bulawayo)
The Economist
The Illustrated London News
The Independent
The Globe and Mail
The Guardian (London)
The Herald (Melbourne)
The New York Times
The Observer
The Post
The Stage
The Spectator
The Star
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