# A3345 Ronald KASRILS Papers, 1942-

Historical Papers Research Archive, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

96 boxes, photographs, memorabilia

The papers of Ronald (Ronnie) Kasrils were received in 2012, and the official handing over of the archival collection took place on 20 June 2013 at the University of the Witwatersrand.

PLEASE NOTE: Permission to consult this collection must be obtained from Ronald Kasrils. Parts of this collection have been restricted for access.

#### **BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES**

Born on 15 November 1938 in Yeoville, Johannesburg, Ronald Kasrils was the son of Rene (born Cohen) and Isidore Kasrils. His grandparents were Jewish immigrants from Latvia and Lithuania, who fled from the Czarist pogroms at the end of the 19th century. A matriculant at the King Edward VII High School, he excelled in athletics and history. His initial career was as a script writer for a Johannesburg film studio and then for Lever Brothers, as Television and Film Director for their advertising division in Durban, until 1962.

### Political history 1960-1994

The Sharpville massacre prompted Ronald Kasrils to join the African National Congress (ANC) in 1960, serving as the secretary of the ANC-aligned Congress of Democrats in Natal until it was banned in 1962. His involvement led to bannings from gatherings and various forms of employment, and having his movement restricted to Durban. In 1963 he registered to study for a Bachelor of Arts degree and joined the Cross Country Team at the University of Natal. His plans were cut short when the security police sought to arrest him under the Terrorism Act. He evaded arrest and began operating underground. A member of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's military wing, since its inception in 1961, he was involved in its first operations. In 1963 he became the Commander of the Natal Regional Command of MK. He fled South Africa in October 1963 together with his future wife Eleanor Logan, who had escaped from police custody, where she was held for her own political activities. They got married in Tanzania in 1964 and later had two sons, Andrew and Christopher.

**Exiled years and Transition** 

Ronald Kasrils was sent by the ANC to the Odessa Military College in the Soviet Union where he graduated at the end of 1964, having completed a general military course as well as a specialist course in military engineering. He later served in various capacities and deployments in London, Luanda, Maputo, Swaziland, Botswana, Lusaka and Harare. He became Chief of MK Intelligence in 1983, served on the ANC's Politico-Military Council (PMC) in Lusaka from 1985, on the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) from 1987 and on the South African Communist Party's Central Committee (SACP) from 1985. Just before the unbanning of the ANC in February 1990, he played an active role in Operation 'Vula' which aimed to infiltrate leadership back into South Africa. He subsequently lost the indemnity given to returning NEC members by FW de Klerk's government and again was on the run from police, this time until June 1991. He continued to work within the ANC and SACP structures and was an active participants in the negotiations and a member of the Transitional Executive Council's Sub-Council on Defence.

#### New Democratic South Africa

In 1994 Ronald Kasrils was appointed Deputy Minister of Defence in Nelson Mandela's first cabinet, and served in this position until June 1999. His second appointment was Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, from 1999-2004, during which he also served as a member in the UN Secretary General's Advisory Committee on Water & Sanitation from 2002-2004. He was appointed to the intelligence portfolio where he served as Minister for Intelligence Services from April 2004 to September 2008.

Ronald Kasrils retired from Government in September 2008. He has however remained actively involved in the political landscape of South Africa. From 2008 he has been active in the Palestine Solidarity Committee, and participated in the Jurist Russell Tribunal on Plaestine since 2011. From 2012 he served as a Commissioner in the International Verification Commission, Basque Country, Spain.

His wife Eleanor Kasrils died in 2009. Ronald Kasrils married journalist Amina Frense on the 2 February 2012 in Cape Town.

Please note: Ronald Kasrils will be referred to as 'RK' in the item listing of this inventory.

### **CLASSIFICATION**

Α	Personal and biographical papers
В	Transitional Period pre- 1994
С	African National Congress (ANC)
D	South African Communist Party (SACP)
Ε	Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)
F	Deptuty Minister of Defence
_	A4:

G Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry

H Minister of Intelligence

I Israel-Palestine / Middle East conflict

J Post-retirement political life

K General newspaper clips and publications

L Photographs

M Multimedia, various
N T-shirts/ties/caps/Posters

O Memorabilia/Gifts
P Digital archive

#### COLLECTION

### A PERSONAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL PAPERS, 1943-2012

A1 Biographical data / CVs for Who's Who of Southern Africa and other publications and submissions - 1f

# A2 Family related items - 1 box

Various items relating to RK's wider family (Photographs are included under Section L - Photographs)

### A2.1.1 Various items

Including: Information about RKs father Issy Kasrils, provided by his former school Jeppe Boys High School, with copies relating to his sports activities at the school; 2 letters related to Kasrils family members, namely Joel, Tobias, cousin and grandson of Nathan Kasrils; Herman Kasriel, a Jewish shop owner in Hallenberg, with article about the life of religious Jews in Hallenberg/Germany

### A2.1.2 Biographical items

Biographical notes with newspaper clip, well wishes and correspondence on the passing of RKs mother Rene Cohen, September/October 2001

A2.2 Newspaper clips

Relating to Andrew, the "Admiral" and Chris Kasrils, RK's sons, including various articles by Chris Kasrils written for the UK newspaper Morning Star; and two greeting cards

A2.3 Travel memorabilia from his travels to Turkey and Portugal, together with Eleanor Kasrils

### A2.4 Material on Eleanor Kasrils

### A2.4.1 Various

Including: CV and biographical information; Certificate of Diploma in Advanced Geological Laboratory Techniques, Norwood Technical College, July 1973; Certificate of Course in Pistol shooting, n.d.; job descriptions for Laboratory technician; job acceptance from the National Laboratory of Geology in Maputo, July 1980

- A2.4.1a Delegate, VIP and ID cards for her attendance at various events
- A2.4.2 Two letters written by RK to Eleanor during separation in exile; original newspaper clip covering Eleanor's escape from detention in South Africa, published at her arrival in Tanzania Tanganyika Standard, November 1963
- A2.4.3 Eleanor's South African History project commissioned by Pallo Jordan, of photographic copies of historical events, to be shown to soldiers in the ANC's MK camps in Angola, 1979
- A2.4.4 Other items

Including amongst others: letter from Attorneys Cheadle Thompson & Haysom regarding allegations against Eleanor claiming she was a link between the ANC and IRA, November 1992; letter from Michael, March 1993; signed copy of the Gerry Adams Presidential Address at the gathering of the Ard Fheis of Sinn Féin; Travel memorabilia from her travels to Turkey and Spain (see Folio folder no. 1)

- A2.4.5 Transcript of interview conducted by Loyiso Pulumani and Prof Bruce Stave for the ANC History Project, 13 July 2002; newspaper clips
- A2.4.6 Eleanor's death 1f, DVD

Obituary and notes for speeches by RK; tributes and newspaper cuttings

- A2.4.6.1 DVD from the Memorial Service at the South African High Commission in London, 14 December 2009 (DVD stored separately from collection)
- A2.4.6.2 Audio clips from various radio stations announcing the death of Eleanor, DVD, November 2009 (DVD stored separately from collection)

#### A2.4.7 Post-humous - 1f

Email note by RK, when he was informed that Eleanor was to receive a medal for bravery (posthumous) at the MK Veterans Parade, Waterkloof Air Base, Pretoria, on the 6 December 2012, and related newspaper clip, Sunday Mail, 9 December 2012; tribute by RK to Eleanor on the 50th anniversary of Eleanor's detention and escape from South Africa, Sunday Independent, 18 August 2013

- A3 Personal items relating to Ronnie Kasrils, 1961-1990
- A3.1 Copies of RK's Apartheid surveillance file no. 1032, made available on request by the National Archive in 2003. 1f

The material relates to his political activities from 1961-1990

Also included copies of newspaper clips from New Age and Rand Daily Mail, in 1961 and 1962, when RK was charged under the Emergency regulations in Pondloland for printing and distributing solidarity leaflets supporting the Pondoland People's resistance. He was the Secretary for the Congress of Democrats, Natal at the time. For his political activities he lost his job in March 1962, and was also banned from taking part in Natal's comrades Marathon. Also included a copy of a news item alleging Eleanor and RK being connected to IRA and recruiting terrorists in London, Evening Standard, 3 November 1988

- A3.2 Documents and items collected in exile, 1961-1989

  (See also some of the publications and items under A10; Photographs are included under Section L Photographs)
- A3.2.1 Two handwritten notebooks of notes taken by RK during his attendance at the military training academy in Odessa, Soviet Union, 1964

  He was permitted to keep these notebooks (see Box 1 of Memorabilia stored separately from collection)
- A3.2.2 "Left Wing Communism and Infantile Disorder", Soviet Union, 25-30 May 1964, 2 notebooks

Conference notes and Conference report, military training academy in Odessa (see Box 1 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection)

The sections crossed out by RK in the notebooks are not deleted for their content, but are part of the text which was omitted from the verbal presentation each participant had to make.

- A3.2.3 "Politics notes for comrades Lectures 1-7" and "Political questions raised", Angola 1978, 2 notebooks
  - (see Box 1 of Memorabilia stored separately from collection)
- A3.2.4 "Dawn" monthly journal of Umkhonto We Sizwe, Vol.2 No.2, August 1978 (see Box 1 of Memorabilia stored separately from collection)
- A3.2.5 Varios typescripts

Typescript with drawings of "Mfundisi", a poem by ANC Kumalo (this was one of RKs pseudonyms), Luanda, 1 November 1977, as submitted to Fighting Talk, a wall newspaper which RK established at an ANC residence in Luanda, 16 December 1977; Typescript of titles of Freedom Songs, accompanying a Tape cassette of Freedom Songs by the MK camp choir, Quibaxe camp, Angola, 1977/78. (See Audio cassette no. 10)

- A3.2.6 Original pamphlet of "The road to South African Freedom"

  The programme of the South African Communist Party, as adopted by the Fifth National Conference in 1962, published for readers outside South Africa; including copies of the Underground print (see Box 1 of Memorabilia stored separately from collection)
- A3.2.7 Material on Jack Hodgson 2f

- A3.2.7.1 Copies of contributes and Obituary, after the death of Jack Hodgson on the 3 December 1977; notes by RK; also included a motivation for Jack Hodgson's wife Rica to receive his military pension deriving from his World War II service 1f
- A3.2.7.2 Copies of documents relating to Jack Hodgson's personal and political life in South Africa and Botswana (Bechuanaland Protectorate) 1f
- A3.2.8 MAYIBUYE' Cultural Unit of the African National Congress 1f
  Pamphlets, performance programmes and newspaper clips relating to 'Mayibuye'. Members of this
  group included John Matshikiza, A.N.C. Kumalo (RK), Barry Feinberg, Billy Nannan, Zarina Chiba,
  Godfrey Motsepe, Melody Mtezuka, and Pallo Jordan (see also Folio folder no. 1; photographs see
  section L2.3)
- A3.2.9 Collaboration Accord between African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the MPLA Workers Party and the Government of the Peoples Republic of Angola, 1986
  Original folder containing the 'Collaboration Accord between African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the MPLA Workers Party and the Government of the Peoples Republic of Angola' in 1986, approved with the original signatures by Oliver Tambo and Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, and signed by Ronald Kasrils as Chief of Military Intelligence of the ANC, and his counterpart Major Antonio Jose Maria, issued in English and Portuguese. Also included the copy of a Internal Memorandum by RK to Cde President (OR Tambo), 23 December 1986

### A3.2.10 Other - 1f

Message from Oliver Tambo (?), produced by RK and the Dadoo Unit in London on a Flexi vinyl disk, with unsuspecting advertisements on the cover, probably 1970s (see also conversion in digital format on CD); 2 photographs send in an envelope from the University of Sussex to Emma Storr, depicting Jeremy Cronin in an identikit parade during his trial (part of exhibits?), posted October 1976; Copies of possible underground letters, where the originals would have secret writing embedded, 1977; Pamphlet for the 20th Anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 16 December 1981; handwritten notes from Oliver Tambo (OR) to RK, 1988/89 (copies & scans of originals); empty pages of writing pad printed 'umkhonto a.n.c. d'afrique du sud 5 rue ben m/hidi larbi\_alger'; - 1f; one leather strap with a handmade amulet with the sign of the Communist party, presented to RK on the East Rand (Johannesburg), possibly Tokoza (see Box 1 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection)

- A3.3 King Edward VII School re-union, 2006, 1f, DVD

  Booklet, pamphlets, sticker relating to the 90th anniversary and the centenary of King Edward VII

  School; the 50th re-union of RK's class of 1956; correspondence relating to Doug Band recalling RK writing to Tony Bloom, a former school mate, about his in-laws bookshop in Durban, 1995 1f
- A3.3.1 Video covering the events of the re-union at KES, DVD (stored separately from collection)

# A3.4 Other - 1f

Including: letter of award of Special Pension to RK, in accordance with the Special Pensions Act 1996, March 1998; Copy of newspaper page covering the 2-0 victory of Arsenal against Newcastle United in the FA Cup Final, written by Chris Kasrils, 18 May 1998, as well as original tickets for Arsenal soccer matches in the Barclays Premiership (RK is a fan of the British Arsenal Football Club); small booklet with quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, 1966, purchased in a market during a Yangtse River trip in China, April 2000 (see Box 1 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection); original ticket for the Rugby World Cup semi-final 1995 at Newlands; Code of Conduct for Members of Parliament; riddles

A3.4.1 Medal from the Defence Ministry of the Ukraine (see Box 1 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection)

- A3.4.2 Rosette in ANC colours, worn by RK during the memorial service for Walter Sisulu in Soweto, May 2003 (see Box 1 of Memorabilia) see also A7
- A3.5 Personal notes handed to RK by various personalities

### A4 Handwritten notes - 3f

Loose sheets, notepads, mind cards with personal handwritten notes for speeches and thoughts on various subjects, included small Notebook diary of 1995. Other notes have been included in the relevant sections

### A5 Personal Correspondence - 1f

#### A5.1 General Correspondence

Including amongst others: letters from Wolfie Kodesh, Urko Aiartza, Ali Bacher; email exchange with Dennis Goldberg; copy of a letter to RK and Eleanor from George Ponnen, husband of Vera Ponnen, with newspaper clip of her death in March 1979 (see also photograph of Vera Ponnen under section L2.1.1 - Photographs)

- A5.2 Greeting cards 1f
- A5.2.1 Including a birthday card written by Oliver Tambo to RK, 1992
- A5.3 Invitations 1f

Including the Schedule of events at the Rivonia Reunion, organised by the ANC, 15 December 2001. The card contains original signatures of personalities attending the event, including amongst others Alpheus Mhlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada, Tanya Kantor, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Arthur Chaskalson, Arthur Goldreich, Thabo Mbeki, Max Sisulu, Denis Goldberg and Joel Joffe.

# A6 Publications and writings, 1965-1993

RK has published in his ministerial capacities as well as relating to the Israel-Palestine conflict, all of which has been included in the respective sections of this collection. He has continued publishing in his post-retirement political life - for these see section J.

# A6.1 Writing in exile

RK has written and published poems and articles from 1960, starting in Dar Es Salaam, under the pseudonyms 'A.N.C. Kumalo' or 'Kumalo of the ANC', MK Mtungwa, and Alexander Sibeko

#### A6.1.1 Lecture series for cadres, 1970s - 4f

Including amongst others: a letter to Jack Simons in Lusaka after the SA Airforce bombing of the Nova Catengue training camp near Benguela, also relating to the lecture series and course manuals, 18 March 1979; outline of the lecture series; handwritten suggestions by students; copies of preparation for the lecture series, p1-100 for 30 lectures; typescript entitled 'Call' (by RK?); 3 publications of 'Sechaba' May 1970, 'Phakati' October 1976, 'Amandla - Matla' Vol.5 No.2; other lecture and background material

# A6.1.2 Poems - 1f

Including amongst others: 'Lilian Ngoyi'; 'A poem of vengeance'; 'Screams in the night'; 'At Carletonville'; 'the spirit of Bambata'. A number of the poems were published in "Poets To The People: South African Freedom Poems", edited by Barry Feinberg, one of the members of the 'Mayibuye' Cultural Unit of the ANC

A6.1.3 Plays and short stories, 1970s - 4f

Typescripts for street and other theatre performances for the 'Mayibuye' Cultural Unit, documentary, short stories, including amongst others:

"South African Scene"

# A6.1.4 Notes on the Communist Party in South Africa

# A6.1.4.1 Various notes

Including: Typescript of a Memorandum about new strategies for the Communist Party and the Party's decision to be involved in the leadership of Umkhonto we Sizwe, probably late 1962; Typescript entitled "Forces of change: This section defines those forces which are capable of overthrowing colonialist and racialist oppression in S.A.", relating to an analysis of the Party's programme, it also relates to the Morogoro developments and has most likely been written after the first Morogoro conference in 1969, 2 pages; Typescript entitled "Comments on political report", analysing shortcomings in the latest political report, particularly relating to the failures of the Party and the ANC during the 1976 youth uprising in Soweto, the absence of military structures inside the country, the political vacuum, and the relationship to ZAPU and SWAPO, dated London, 15 April 1977

### A6.1.4.2 Other writers - 1f

Typescript of "The Political situation in the Union of South Africa", together with and followed by "The situation in the South African Communist Party", signed by Y. Dadoo, Chairman, South African Communist Party, Central Committee and V. Pillay, Representative in Europe, 14 July 1960; typescript of "Notes on some aspects of the political situation in the Republic of South Africa", by Moses Kotane, General Secretary, Moscow, 9 November 1961; typescript of "Some notes on the Communist Party in South Africa, signed by Michael Harmel, n.d.; "Breaking the shackles" by J.B. Marks, typescript of article in World Marxist Review, 1972

# A6.1.5 Newspaper cuttings of RKs writing - 1f

Mainly in UK newspapers during 1965/66 (see also Folio folder no. 1)

Included amongst others: '1879 When the Zulus beat the British', by ANC Kumalo, published in DRUM (Kenya), n.d.; 'Sharpeville remembered', by ANC Kumalo, published in Sunday Nation, March 1965; 'The battle of Isandhlwana. The last great Zulu resistance', by ANC Kumalo, published in Africa and The World, September 1965; 'Buried alive' Tragic story of S.A. banished people, by ANC Kumalo, published in The Nationalist, 26 February 1965

### A6.1.6 Other writing - 5f

#### A6.1.6.1 Various items - 2f

Typescripts, few notes and copies of articles about a range of issues such as women (Touch a woman and you strike a rock), South African prisons, June 16, the armed struggle and others, including amongst others: 'Politics and the armed struggle: The revolutionary army', Lusaka 1988; 'Memo on the underground, the armed struggle and our structures', personal submission, Lusaka 1988; 'A call to action - how to smash white oppression and win our freedom, July 1973; 'London letter'; a script for broadcast from Luanda on ANC Radio Freedom, 12 December 1977; copy of edition of 'Dawn. Monthly Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe', 1979; 'An epic of African resistance' on the centenary of the battle of Isandhlwana, by Alexander Sibeko (RK), 1979, publication unknown; copy of article 'The underground voice', by Alexander Sibeko (RK), published in Communication and Class Struggle: 2. Liberation, Socialism, 1983; 'People's war, revolution & insurrection: Ronnie Kasrils speaks to Sechaba', Sechaba, May 1986

Also included two book reviews of a book entitled "Dear Bertrand Russell", edited by Barry Feinbern and Ronald Kasrils, published by George Allen and Unwin, London, 1970.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Bongoza and the Boers", a short story commemorating June 26

<sup>&</sup>quot;The flight of the Spear", London Conway Hall, 26 June 1975

<sup>&</sup>quot;Pretoria 12" Street theatre, Tally-Ho corner, 1 October 1977

<sup>&</sup>quot;Song of Mini" A drama in two acts, written and performed in Quibaxe camp, January 1978 "Tally-Ho corner, Finchley Rd. London"

A6.1.6.2 Copy of relevant pages from the Contents and Index to the Journal of the South African Communist Party 'The African Communist' (1959-1988) - 3f

RK published under the names ANC Khumalo, MK Mtungwa, and Alexander Sibeko; and copies of articles by RK in the 'African Communist', between 1965 and 1993

A6.1.7 Correspondence with Anders Johansson - 1f
Copies of correspondence with Anders Johansson, a Swedish journalist, asking him about the possibility of publishing poems and articles of RK, 1965/66

A6.1.8 Marxism - Revolution - Theory, collection of political material - 1f
Collection of mainly UK newspaper cuttings relating to Marxism and Revolution theory, mid 1960s to
beginning 1970s, including a multi-page supplement in the Morning Star entitled "Morning Star greets
the Lenin Centenary, 22 April 1970 (see also Folio folder no. 1)

Included here: annotated typescript, written by RK (?), containing book recommendations "allied to our political struggle" and in "respect for African history and culture", where the writer lists a number of books. It is unclear when it has been compiled, as the writer refers to bookshops in South Africa, like Johannesburg and Durban, where communist works can be found, and the writer makes reference to a number of these books being banned. 9 pages

A6.2 Book publications

(Photographs are included under Section L - Photographs; for Videos of booklaunches see M2)

A6.2.1 "Armed and Dangerous": My undercover struggle against apartheid
Autobiography of RK, first published in 1993 by Heinemann Publishers, with later revised editions in
1998 and 2004, published by Jonathan Ball Publishers, and in 2013 published by Jacana.

A6.2.1.1 Book editing - 27f

Typescripts of various chapters or parts thereof, with corrections and notes, from the 1993, 1998 and 2004 editions.

- A6.2.1.1.1 Two early scripts, of which one was submitted by Eleanor to Penguin Books in 1992, reply from Penguin included, declining to publish 2f
- A6.2.1.1.2 Editing of early scripts 4f
- A6.2.1.1.3 Editing of 1993 edition 12f

Including: corrections sorted by chapters; various additional corrections; print pages for proof reading (incomplete). The final Content page of the book is included in File 1, in order to provide a reference to the chapter names and numbers in the manuscript, which changed during the course of editing. The 1993 edition contains 23 chapters.

A6.2.1.1.4 Editing of 1998 edition-4f

Including: print-out of chapters; corrections and notes; print pages for proof reading. The 1998 edition had 8 additional chapters (24-31)

A6.2.1.1.5 Editing of 2004 edition - 1f

Including typescript with corrections of the two additional chapters (32-33) for this edition

A6.2.1.1.6 Notes with ideas, names and reminders and background information, including early ideas for a book - 2f

# A6.2.1.1.7 Editing of photographs 2f

Included the editing of photographs and captures for the 1993 and 2004 editions

### A6.2.1.2 Correspondence with publishers - 4f

#### A6.2.1.2.1 Heinemann Publishers - 1f

Including the Author Agreement with Heinemann Educational; correspondence; Royalty statements; book cover design

A6.2.1.2.2 `Neue Impulse Verlag, 1997 - 1f

Correspondence and Book cover design for the German edition

A6.2.1.2.3 Jonathan Ball - 1f

Correspondence and Book cover design for the 2004 edition

A6.2.1.2.4 General correspondence - 1f

Including a letter by Billy Nair, correcting his role in the theft of dynamite in Marianhill; Copy of a letter by Nelson Mandel to Hope Edinburgh, who acted as an undercover courier to RK from 1986-1990, together with a personal note written to her by RK; correspondence re. the publication of RK's book in Spanish for the Cuban market, 2002

### A6.2.1.3 Book launches and visits - 3f

A6.2.1.3.1 Amsterdam/Netherlands, 4-7 November 1993 - 1f

Invitation and program by the Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland (AABN) (Photographs see under section L - Photographs)

A6.2.1.3.2 UK Book launch, November 1993 - 1f

Including programme of the visit, invitations, speeches and photos for the launch events at the House of Commons, at the Morning Star/SACP and at the Africa Centre (Photographs see under section L - Photographs)

A6.2.1.3.3 South Africa book launches, 1993-2013 - 1f

Including Invitation, speech and photographs of the book launch at the House of Tandoor/Yeoville, 24 November 1993, which was attended by Walter Sisulu and Joe Slovo (Photographs see under section L - Photographs); invitations to book launches in 1998, 2004 and 2013 (4th edition)

#### A6.2.1.3.4 Basque edition

Invitation to book launch by the Basque independent publisher' Txalaparta', February 2013

- A6.2.1.3.5 4 exhibition posters with mounted title page and photographs for a booklaunch of the Heinemann edition of "Armed and Dangerous" (see folio folder no. 3)
- A6.2.1.4 Book reviews and news clips 3f

### A6.2.1.5 Foreign language editions

Copies of foreign language books, published by: Neue Impulse Verlag, Essen (Germany), 1997; Editorial De Ciencias Sociales, La Habana, 2004; ITRK, Moscow, 2005; Txalaparta, Navarra (Basque), 2012 (see Box 2 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection)

A6.2.2 "The unlikely secret agent"

Tribute to Eleanor Kasrils, written by RK and published by Jacana Publisher in 2010. RK received the Alan Paton award for this book in 2011, see photographs on CD under L7.11)

A6.2.2.1 Notes and background research - 1f

Also included: book cover design; photograph used for the book cover (see section L - Photographs)

A6.2.2.2 Launches and seminars - 1f

Including programmes for the Jacana book launch, with acknowledgment by Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, amongst others, 26 August 2010; poster announcing a seminar at Rhodes University, 7 September 2010 (see also Folio folder no. 1); Poster advertising the Exclusive Books book launch at Hyde Park, 26 August 2010 (see folio folder no. 1); seminars and talks at the University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations, 28 November 2010; at the Glasgow University, 1 December 2010

- A6.2.2.3 Newspaper clips and book reviews 1f
- A6.2.3 "London Recruits" The secret war against Apartheid / Introduction 1f

  The book, containing contributions by the London Recruits, was edited by Ken Keable, with the

  Introduction by Ronnie Kasrils and the Foreword by Pallo Jordan. Published by Merlin Press in 2012

Includes email correspondence and book reviews

### A7 Funerals and Tributes - 4f

Funeral announcements, obituaries, funeral programmes, biographical material, speeches and newspaper clips related to funerals, memorial services and unveilings of tombstones for mainly struggle personalities. Speeches and notes by RK are included.

Included amongst others are: Oliver and Adeleide Tambo; Joe Slovo (included here a personal message by Helena Dolny); Walter Sisulu; Michael Harmel; Joe Modise (included here is a review by RK of RW Johnson's book "South Africa's brave new world: The beloved country since the end of Apartheid", part of which relates to Joe Modise); Hilda and Rusty Bernstein; Sonia and Brian Bunting; Wolfie Kodesh; Chris Hani; Job 'Cassius Maake' Tabane; David Rabkin (see his photograph under section L2.2.8). Also included under 'Other' a newspaper series in tribute to Chris Hani

A7a VIP cards for RKs attendance at the funeral of Walter Sisulu and a Chris Hani rally

A8 Newspaper clips, 1991-2012 - 1f

Mostly of general nature relating to RK, many post-2008. Other newspaper clips can be found in different sections of this collection, from Transition to his work at various Government departments, to post-retirement.

Included amongst others: RK getting married again to Amina Frense, a journalist and film producer, January 2012; newspaper clips about RK being awarded the Military Veterans Decoration in Platinum Class by President Jacob Zuma in August 2012.

A8a Poster by the Sunday Times with the headline "Kasrils and bride", 29 January 2012 (see folio folder no. 3)

# A9 Interviews with RK

Interview with RK in 'Jewish Affairs', held by Suzanne Belling, Autumn 1994; transcripts of a series of interviews conducted by Howard Barrell in 1989/1990; list of questions to RK by Vladimir Shubin for his book on 'Southern Africa in 1960 to 1990', dated 2001; transcript of an interview translated from Russian, with V. Tetyekin, Sovetskaya Rossiya, December 2001; transcripts of interviews with Patrick O'Malley in Cape Town, 10 and 12 June 2003; interview in 'Playboy' magazine, Jan/Feb 2012

- A10 Various newspaper clips, pamphlets and other items 2f
- A10.1 Mainly newspaper clips and other items 2f
- A10.1.1 Newpaper clips 1f

News clips relating to the political trials of Alexandre Moumbaris, David and Susan Rabkin, Jeremy Cronin, and Raymond Suttner, 1972-1976; clips reporting about activities of political activists in exile, like Alex la Guma and Ronnie Kasrils; one news clip reporting about Britain's military link with South Africa 'The Simonstown trap', The Observer, November 1974

A10.1.2 Relating to the Moumbaris trial - 1f

Copy of the Warrant to summon accused Alexandre Moumbaris, as well as parts of Judge Boshof's judgment in his trial, delivered 15 June 1973, included here also two ID photographs of Alex & Marie-Jose Moumbaris attached to a note by RK, written on a Memorandum From the desk of Ronnie Kasrils, MP, Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, as well as correspondence re. the clearance to enter SA for Peter Sinclair's holiday visit to SA in 2002. He was implicated in the 1973 trial of Alex Moumbaris

A11 Collection of publications, 1943-2003

Collection of small brochures published by organisations amongst others: the African National Congress, Christian Action, South African Institute of Race Relations; International Defence and Aid Fund; South African Congress of Trade Unions. A number of the older publications have no year of publication.

- A11.1 South African history 1 box
  - Including the following:
- A11.1.1 Bram Fischer, A Christian Action pamphlet, London, n.d.
- A11.1.2 Why you should be a Communist, by Harry Pollitt, published by Communist Party, London, n.d.
- A11.1.3 The Badge of Slavery (The Pass Laws of South Africa), by Mary Benson, A Christian Action pamphlet, n.d.
- A11.1.4 ...I am prepared to die, Nelson Mandela's Rivonia Trial speech, A Christian Action pamphlet, n.d.
- A11.1.5 Witness in the dark: Police torture and brutality in South Africa, by Suzanne Cronje, A Christian Action pamphlet, n.d.
- A11.1.6 Brute Force: Treatment of prisoners in South Africa's gaols, published by the ANC, London, n.d.
- A11.1.7 Prisoners of Apartheid, By a South African, A Christian Action pamphlet, n.d.
- A11.1.8 We Accuse! The trial of Nelson Mandela, published by the ANC, London, n.d.
- A11.1.9 South Africa on Trial, behind the 'RIVONIA' case, an ANC pamphlet, n.d.
- A11.1.10 Apartheid South Africa: Colonialism of a special type, published by the ANC, London, n.d.
- A11.1.11 MK in Combat, issued by the Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, no location, n.d.
- A11.1.12 Spotlight on ... Soweto, published by the World Peace Council, Finland and the ANC, Dar Es Salaam, n d
- A11.1.13 Repression Torture & Death South Africa, with a poem by ANC Khumalo (RK) "a vow for Joseph 'Mkhuthuzi' Mdluli, published by the ANC, London, n.d.
- A11.1.14 Traces of Communism, An SABC Publication, anti-Communist, English/Afrikaans, n.d.
- A11.1.15 What can I do? A guide to action against Apartheid, published by the ANC
- A11.1.16 Africa South, Editor Ronald M. Segal, Vol.1 No.1, Oct-Dec 1956
- A11.1.17 African National Congress of South Africa, issued ANC, Dar Es Salaam, November 1963
- A11.1.18 The Menace of Apartheid, by Sol Dubula, published by Peace and Socialism, Prague, 1965

- A11.1.19 What I did was right...' Bram Fischer, Statement from the Dock by Abram Fischer, Q.C., in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, Mayibuye Publications, London, March 28, 1966
- A11.1.20 "Report from South Africa", journal publication by the South African Embassy, London Containing amongst others an article entitled 'Vision of the Seventies: Evolving relationships in Southern Africa', by Piet Cilie, Editor of Die Burger newspapers, dated October 1968
- A11.1.21 South Africa: "Resettlement" The new violence to Africans, published for the International Defence and Aid Fund, by Christian Action Publication, London, 1969
- A11.1.22 Strategic problems in South Africa's liberation struggle: A critical analysis, by Ben Turok, published and printed by Liberation Support Movement, Canada, 1974
- A11.1.23 Imperialist military collaboration with South Africa, World Peace Council, Finland, 1975
- A11.1.24 Turmoil at Turfloop, compiled by J.G.E. Wolfson, South African Institute of Race Relations, August 1976
- A11.1.25 Forbidden pastures: Education under Apartheid, by Freda Troup, International Defence & Aid Fund, London, April 1976
- A11.1.26 Race against Race. South Africa's "Multi-national" sport fraud, by Joan Brickhill, International Defence & Aid Fund, London, July 1976
- A11.1.27 Shell and BP in South Africa, by Martin Bailey. A joint Anti-Apartheid Movement / Haslemere Group publication, 1977
- A11.1.28 No! to racism and Apartheid, "Social Sciences Today", USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1979
- A11.1.29 Divide & Rule: South Africa's Bantustans, by Barbara Rogers, International Defence & Aid Fund, London, 1980
- A11.1.30 Torture is part of the system: State violence in South Africa & Namibia, published by the ANC, London, September 1984
- A11.1.31 The Third Day of September: an eye-witness account of the Sebokeng Rebellion of 1984, by Johannes Rantete, Storyteller Series No.1, Ravan Press Johannesburg, 1984
- A11.1.32 The Mandela Document. In a document presented to PW Botha in July 1989, Nelson Mandela states his views on: Armed struggle, Relations with the SACP, Majority rule, published by the ANC, Lusaka, January 1990
- A11.2 Labour and Trade Union movement Including the following:
- A11.2.1 South Africa Apartheid and Britain, published jointly by Labour Research Department and the ANC, London, 1970
- A11.2.2 The South African Trade Union Movement, South African Studies 2, published by the ANC, printed in GDR, November 1970
- A11.2.3 A distant clap of thunder: Fortieth anniversary of the 1946 Mine Strike, with introduction by Joe Slovo, published by the South African Communist Party, 1986
- A11.2.4 Workers and Trade Union against Apartheid, World Federation of Trade Unions, Prague, n.d.
- A11.2.5 Mine workers conditions in South Africa, by Basebetsi Mekoting, published by The South African Congress of Trade Unions (S.A.C.T.U), London, n.d.
- A11.2.6 Masters and serfs: Farm labour in South Africa, by Rosalynde Ainslie, International Defence and Aid Fund, London, 1973
- A11.2.7 Workers' struggle for freedom, published by S.A.C.T.U, London, July 1977
- A11.2.8 Economic Crisis in South Africa: The workers' burden, published by S.A.C.T.U, London, July 1977
- A11.3 Southern Africa Including the following:
- A11.3.1 Programme and Constitution of the Communist Party of Lesotho, C.P.L., n.d.

- A11.3.2 The laughing man: Confessions of a murderer program of a regime, published by Verlag Zeit im Bild, GDR, 1966
- A11.3.3 Southern Africa in Crisis, a Red Weekly pamphlet
- A11.3.4 The sun will rise: Statements from the dock by Southern African political prisoners, edited by Mary Benson, International Defence and Aid Fund, London, 1976
- A11.3.5 People's Power in Mozambique & Guinea Bissau, Number 1-5, March-December 1976, published by The Mozambique and Guinea Information Centre
- A11.3.6 Remember Kassinga and other papers on political prisoners and detainees in Namibia, Fact Paper on Southern Africa No.9, International Defence & Aid Fund, London, July 1981
- A11.3.7 Massacre at Maseru: South African aggression against Lesotho, Fact Paper on Southern Africa No.12, International Defence & Aid Fund, London, January 1985
- A11.3.8 Children into exile: Refugees from Southern Africa, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, n.d.
- A11.4 Socialism and class struggle Including the following:
- A11.4.1 Marxism and the individual, by Hewlett Johnson, Marxism Today Series, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1943
- A11.4.2 The part played by labour in the transition from ape to man, Friedrich Engels, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, n.d.
- A11.4.3 V.I. Lenin on youth, Novosti Press Agency, Moscow, 1970
- A11.4.4 Nationalism and Internationalism, by Jack Woddis, a Socialist Library Number Four Communist Party pamphlet, n.d.
- A11.4.5 Revolutionary path or diversion? A critique of the Draft British road to socialism, by Charlie Doyle
- A11.4.6 Arms and the Man: Renewing the armed services, by Eric Joyce, Fabian pamphlet 584, London, with handwritten dedication to RK by Colin Legum, n.d.
- A11.4.7 Philosophy and class struggle, by Dialego. The basic principles of Marxism as seen in the context of the South African liberation struggle
- A11.4.8 Maire Drumm: Voice of a risen people, by Ella O'Dwyer & Caoilfhionn Ni Dhonnabhain, Dublin Sinn Fein Commemorations Committee, January 2007`, published October 2006

  With handwritten dedication to RK
- A11.5 Other Including the following:
- A11.5.1 Cuban blessing in South-African land: Medical cooperation, by Hedelberto Lopez Blanch, Editora Political / La Habana, 1998
- A11.5.2 How far we slaves have come! South Africa and Cuba in today's world, with handwritten dedication, Pathfinder Press, 1991
- A11.5.3 If you want to know me: Voices from SOMAFCO, selected from archive material held by the University of Fort Hare Library, Lovedale Press, 1999
- A11.5.4 One renaissance many revolutions, anthology of poems by Brian Williams, 2003
  With a letter signed by the Cuban Ambassador, and handwritten dedication by Brian Williams to RK inside the book
- A11.5.5 Russia in the modern world, by Gennady Zyuganov, 2002, with a pocket calendar signed by the author (2006)
- A11.6 Various pamphlets and brochures 1f

Including: "Cabora Bassa scheme: Portuguese or South Africa?", Republic of Zambia Government Service, September 1970; 'Apartheid as a thread to peace', by V. Solodovnikov, Paper presented at the special session of the UNO Committee on apartheid, Berlin, GDR, 24-28 May 1974; Mozambique 1964-1974, 10 years of people's war copy of "Indepencia", monthly bulletin of the Mozambique Information Centre, December 1975; 'Mozambique Revolution', official organ of the Mozambique Liberation Front - FRELIMO, Independence edition dated 25 June 1975; 'South African attacks on Southern African States, 1979-July 1988, Extracts from various publications

# A12 Other

A12.1 "The fine line of deep divides: Understanding motives of political violence", by Paul Haupt & Nazeema Ahmed.

Three-year project conducted at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), 2002, in which RK participated with advise and perspectives.

- A12.2 Research material for a book on Ahmed Timol who was killed while in police detention in 1971, entitled "Timol: A quest for justice" by Imtiaz Cajee. 1f

  RK was involved for clarification of details for the book. Also included 'A Living Tribute to Ahmed Timol', 30 January 2005
- A12.3 Bound folder containing Lennie Sak cartoons, October 2000

  Which appeared in the Sowetan newspaper leading up to the 1994 elections (see folio folder no. 1) and communication by Lennie Sak relating to a cartoon project for the cartoon character 'Jojo'.
- B PRE-1994 TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, 1987-1994

(Photographs are included under Section L - Photographs)

- B1 Pre-1990 period 7f
- B1.1 ANC Military Intelligence reports 1f

Report on South African involvement in the activities of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), n.d.; Compilation of material on the organisation, priorities and personnel of the Military Intelligence Division of the SADF, 27 February 1987

B1.2 Newspaper clips and excerpt from court records covering the trial of Ismail Ebrahim, 1989 - 1f

(see photograph under section L3.7, post-1990 South Africa)

- B1.3 ANC cell 'Broederstroom 3' trial, 1989 3f
  - Included excerpt from court record (indictment?), newspaper clips covering the trial of Damian de Lange, Susan Westcott and Ian Robertson. The 4th member of the cell was Hugh Lugg who handed himself over to police, his press statement included. Also included news clips and a copy of the handwritten statement of the 5th member Paul Annegarn, who remained outside South Africa and left for London
- B1.4 The Olivia Forsyth spy case 1f

  Newspaper cuttings, mainly South African, covering what was called the 'Forsyth saga', 1989. Also included a typescript entitled 'Olivia Forsyth: the story of a mission that failed'
- B1.5 Copy of the 'Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the espionage activities of the South African Government in the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF)'. 1f

The Commission was set up in 1980 by the IUEF, following the revelation that its former Deputy Director, Craig Williamson, was a member of the South African Security Police. Also included a copy of an article written by Craig Williamson for the S.A. Police Magazine 'Servamus', November 1981

### B1.6 Other

Including typed notes on insurrection and the role of the underground, 1989

# B2 Operation Vula, 1990/91 - 2f

(For photographs of RK in disguise see section L - PHOTOGRAPHS)

### B2.1 Various items - 1f

Press statement of ANC Deputy President, Nelson Mandela, on the Operation Vulindlela and the indemnification of ANC members, 22 June 1991; copies of letters between attorneys Nicholls, Cambanis, Koopasammy and Pillay and the Department of Justice, Office of Indemnity, Immunity and Release re. application for indemnity in respect of Ronald Kasrils and Janet Love, May 1991; colour prints of 2 images depicting RK in disguise (also available in electronic format)

- B2.2 Accounts kept by RK for illegal operations, underground cadres and SDU's during operation Vula, from around May 1990 to July 1991 1f
- B2.3 Press cuttings 1f

Covering Operation Vula and some of its members involved, including RK, Mac Maharaj, Billy Nair, Siphiwe Nyanda, Catherine Madlala and Janet Love; also included later article entitled "Operation Vula against Apartheid", by Robert D'A. Henderson, International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence, Winter 1997/1998

B2.3.1 Included are 2 newspaper street posters with the headlines "Big hunt for SA 'coup plotters' " and "Red Pimpernel: 'I wont surrender' ", 9 December, Sunday Star (see Folio folder no. 3)

# B3 Special topics, 1990-1994

Newspaper cuttings and articles covering various topics and events during the period between 1990 and the first democratic elections April 1994, including amongst others:

B3.1 Copy of typescript of the "Address by State President FW De Klerk at the opening of the second session of the Ninth Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, Friday, 2 February 1990 - 1f

### B3.2 Self-Defence Units (SDUs) - 1f

Newspaper clips and press telegraphs by SAPA wire service with the ANC Press Statement, 16 April 1991; Draft copy for editing and copy of the publication "For the sake of our lives! Guidelines for the creation of people's self-defence units", which was written by RK whilst in hiding in 1990-91; 'National people's defence system', suggestions by Peter Mokaba

- B3.3 Marches to Parliament newspaper clips covering the two marches to Parliament in January and October 1992 1f
- B3.4 David Webster diaries 1f

Including newspaper report about the release of the David Webster diaries, July 1990 and the opening of the inquest into the death of David Webster, October 1992

# B3.5 Legal matters - 1f

Correspondence and few copies of court records relating to the following cases:

B3.5.1 Allegations against RK concerning involvement in arms caches, 1992-1993

- B3.5.2 Allegations by Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade of involvement in violence by members of the ANC, 1992-1993
- B3.5.3 Signed letter by Nelson Mandela to RK regarding the postponement of the execution of prisoners Stephen Mashinini, Samuel Mnisi and Jonathan Molema, November 1992
- B3.5.4 The matter of Siphiwe Bethuel Lombo vs. the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, 1993
- B3.6 Douglas Commission report, 4f

The report investigated human rights abuses in camps of the ANC in exile and was commissioned by the International Freedom Foundation, Washington, D.C. The work of the commission, headed by R.S. Douglas S.C., lasted from July 1992 to January 1993.

(See also related ANC Commissions under section C3.5 in this collection)

- B3.6.1 Various items 1f
  - Typescript with the Executive Summary of the report; copy of the Terms of Reference of the Commission; copy of a covering letter by R.S. Douglas addressed to the ANC, 1 October 1992; copy of the Douglas Report, commissioned by the International Freedom Foundation, signed by R.S. Douglas on the 13 January 1993
- B3.6.2 Correspondence 1f
  - Correspondence relating to RKs complaints against Charline Smith and Ken Owen of the newspaper Sunday Times, who reported about his involvement in the MK camps in Angola as implicated in the Douglas report
- B3.6.3 Reply by RK to various allegations made by Henry Abrahams, "Siza", Mwezi Twala and Russel Crystal, as well as correction of an article by Bafana Khumalo 1f
- B3.6.4 Other 1f

Response on official letterhead by the ANC Youth League, signed in original by Peter Mokaba, 21 January 1993; ANC Press Statement; Statement by Russel Chrystal, Executive Director, Southern African Branch of the International Freedom Foundation; Newspaper cuttings in reaction to the release of the Douglas report

- B3.7 Cosatu and Mass Action 1f
  - Alliance Programme of Action for Mass action, May/June 1992; 'Roll Mass action Roll', an assessment in Mayibuye, September 1992; article by Jeremy Cronin about the 'Leipzig way' and responses in newspaper articles
- B3.8 The Nationalist Party (NP) 1f
  - Constitutional rule in a participatory democracy: The National Party's framework for a new democratic South Africa', September 1991; 2 articles by Steven Friedman; newspaper cuttings, including extracts of the text of the Rubicon speech, which Pik Botha originally wrote for President PW Botha, indicating the sections which BW Botha decided to leave out on the 15 August 1985, published in The Star, 17 September 1992
- B3.9 Political violence 1990-1993 1f
  - Newspaper cuttings; Special Report by the Human Rights Commission entitled "A record of political violence in South Africa from Jul 1990 to June 1993; Memorandum on attempts to prevent the Boipatong Massacre, from Nicholls, Cambanis, Kooasammy & Pillay, 23 June 1992
- B3.10 Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) 1f

  Few newspaper cuttings; copy of a document relating the case of Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores,
  both arrested and deported by British police while allegedly on a mission to kill Dirk Coetzee, both
  linked to the DCC. At the time the Defence Force insisted that they were sent to London in April 1992
  to investigate a possible international terrorism link between MK and the Irish Republican Army (IRA);
  two typescripts of reports about 'South African newspapers and journalists' and 'Report on Bureau for
  Information', no author
- B3.11 Assassination of Chris Hani, April 1993 3f

	See also section A7 for the unveiling of tombstone (1995) and later tributes (2008)
B3.11.1	Personal notes by RK for speeches at various events; typescript entitled "The political situation
D2 11 2	following Cde Chris's assassination" with annotations by RK
B3.11.2 B3.11.3	Statements and Press releases by the ANC and the SACP
вз.11.3	Newspaper cuttings
B3.12	Publications - 5f
B3.12.1	"Work in Progress" - 4f
	Journal published by the Southern African Research Service, issues between August 1989 - June 1992, with contributions by RK, incomplete
B3.12.2	Other - 1f
	Including amongst others 'History in the making: Documents reflecting a changing South Africa', South African History Archive, August 1990; 'The end of Apartheid?', by Jenny Graham, 1990; New Era magazine with an interview of Chris Hani, Autumn 1991; 'SouthScan' A bulletin of Southern African Affairs, May/June 1992
B3.13	General newspaper clips - 3f
B3.13.1	File, 1990/1991
B3.13.2	File, 1992
B3.13.3	File, 1993/1994
B4	Negotiations - 12f
B4.1	National Peace Accord, 14 September 1991, published brochure - 1f
B4.2	Personal notes by RK; text for 'Who's Who' with corrections - 1f
B4.3	Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) - 3f
B4.3.1	Codesa Conference Pack, belonging to RK who attended as member of the SACP, 20 and 21 December 1991, World Trade Centre, Kempton Park - 1f
B4.3.2	Codesa 2 Conference Pack, 15 and 16 May 1992, World Trade Centre, including "Intervention of the
D4.3.2	President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela at the Second Session of CODESA", 16 May 1992 - 1f
B4.3.3	Newspaper clips covering Codesa; follow up reports for Codesa, including newspaper clip relating to
	the ANC scenario for transition, 1993 - 1f
B4.4	Transitional Executive Council (TEC) - 4f
B4.4.1	Registration card of RK as a Councillor on the TEC; newspaper clip with listing of TEC sub council
	members, December 1993 - 1f
B4.4.2	Minutes of meetings, memoranda and agendas for the TEC Management Committee and the Sub
	council on Defence, as well as Law and Order (for a photograph of the Sub-council on Defence, see
	section L3 - Photographs) - 1f
B4.4.3	Document package for the 23rd meeting of the Sub council on Defence, 19 April 1994 - 1f
B4.4.4	Document package for the 24rd meeting of the Sub council on Defence, 21 April 1994 - 1f
	botament puckage for the 2 ha meeting of the 3ab council on before, 217 pm 133 f - 11

Including: Towards the first election' report by research initiatives, June 1993; 'Negotiations: What room for compromise?', discussion document by Joe Slovo, in African Communist, 1992, followed by response from Blade Ndzimande, entitled 'Let us take the people with us: a reply to Slovo', as well as 'The Negotiations Victory: A political overview', An assessment presented to the SACP Central Committee, by Joe Slovo, 20 November 1993; 'Negotiations - Site of struggle or site of surrender?' by Raymond Suttner, draft dated 7 April 1993; 'Negotiation news', periodic guide to a democratic South Africa, 1992; 'Barometer', periodical on negotiations, 1992; 'Bulletin' issued by the Chief of the SA Defence Force, 1994

- B4.6 Newspaper cuttings relating to negotiations, 1990-1994 1f
  Including copy of a newspaper article explaining the outline of the Groote Schuur Minute and the
  Pretoria Minute, Daily Mail, May 1990; Recommendations on post-apartheid economic policy, New
  Nation, June 1990
- B5 General items and newspaper clips relating to RK, 1988-1994 3f
- B5.1 Various items 1f
  Including copy of the Government Gazette, 14 June 1991, giving Notice of names of persons granted indemnity, including Ronald Kasrils; few notes on MK exiles return; Article "Mass struggle and the strategic initiative, with Mandla Khuzwayo, and reactions in newspapers at the time (1991); Flyer announcing RK to speak at a Public Meeting, Southern Natal Region, n.d.
- B5.2 Newspaper cuttings relating to RK, 1988, 1990-1994 2f
- C AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), 1969-2012
- C1 Personal items 1f
- C1.1 Delegate, VIP and ID cards for RK's attendance at various ANC events
  Including: ANC National Consultative Conference Delegate (1985, Zambia?); ANC card of identity
  issued for assistance within the Republic of Zambia, 1987; Kasrils, Department NEC, n.d.; ANC
  membership card, Johannesburg North West branch; Special NEC meeting, NEC delegate, Eskom
  Center, February 1999; VIP card, 91st Anniversary Royal Bafokeng Sports Palace, January 2003
  amongst others
- C1.2 Various items

Including amongst others: Receipt for cheque issued to RK in payment of 'Special project for president', for the amount of R50,000, issued 13 November 1992, signed by Andrew Mlangeni, and used for clandestine work relating to the Self-Defence Units (SDUs); African National Congress, Telephone Directory (Shell House, Johannesburg), 1992; Code of Conduct for elected members of the African National Congress, 16 October 1994; African National Congress Declarations of Assets for Elected Representatives, completed by RK in October 1994, February 1995 and May 1997; Oath to abide by the Code of Conduct of the ANC, February 1995; Circular from the ANC Public Relations Department to all candidates on the ANC national list, addressed to RK, signed by Feroza Adam; ANC questionnaire to members in Government positions, 1996/97 (?) - completed by RK

- C2 ANC in Exile 4f
- C2.1 Various documents, 1969-1990 4f

#### C2.1.1 1969-1986 - 1f

Various items including: Copy of the handwritten opening address by J.B. Marks at the 1st Morogoro Consultative Conference of the ANC, 1969; 'In Memory of J.B. Marks', ANC, Morogoro/Tanzania, 1972; copy of a memorandum by OR (Oliver Tambo) to NEC members, together with a paper on Constitutional Models which OR asked Pallo Jordan to circulate, Lusaka, July 1985; Decisions of the NEC Meeting, 29 June to 4 July 1985, Kabwe, Zambia; Statement of the NEC delivered by OR Tambo, entitled "Umkhonto We Sizwe Born of the People", on the 16 December 1986; Review of Strategy and Tactics and their implementation, 1985-1987

#### C2.1.2 1989-1990 - 1f

Report of Nelson Mandela to the NEC, 19 December 1989, relating the meeting he had with State President De Klerk on the 5 December 1989, including his views which he expressed during the meeting and which he set out in a document forwarded to F.W. De Klerk entitled: A document to create a climate of understanding, 12 December 1989; Statement of the NEC of the ANC on the occasion of the 78th Anniversary of the ANC, January 1990; letter by the ANC Treasurer T.T. Nkobi to Alfred Nzo, calling for a National Fundraising Committee to be formed, Zambia, May 1990; Report of discussions on Constitutional guidelines, May 1989

- C2.2 In Combat', publication 1f
  - "In Combat", period Jan 1979 April 1981, as observed and reported by the official press in South Africa, compiled by African National Congress, Department of Information and Publicity, May 1981
- C2.3 Copy of "The Green Book" 1f

Recommendations of the Politico-Military Strategy Commission of the African National Congress of South Africa following a trip to Vietnam in October 1978. Members of the Commission were Oliver Tambo, Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo, Moses Mabhida, Joe Ggabi, Joe Modise.

- C3 ANC in Negotiations, 1989-1994
- C3.1 ANC publications for negotiations 1f

Including: ANC discussion paper on negotiations, June 1989; "What is a constitution?", discussion document prepared by the ANC Constitutional Committee, 1990; "The road to peace: Resource material on negotiations", by ANC Department of Political Education, June 1990; "A Bill of Rights for a new South Africa" and "Constitutional principles and structures for a democratic South Africa", both by ANC Constitutional Committee; Campaign for peace and democracy: Guidelines on Programme of Action, 17 July 1992; "7 Steps to Democracy; An ANC guide to the negotiations process", March 1993

# C3.2 Other - 1f

Copy of the Pretoria Minute; and establishment of the Working Group under Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute; copy of the Agreement between the South African government and the ANC, about the release of political prisoners, June 1991; Joint report of National Working Committees of ANC, PAC and AZAPO on transitional mechanisms

- C3.3 National Working Committee (NWC) of the ANC 8f
  - The NWC is a permanent component of the ANC's organisational structure. The documents in this section relate to the role of RK in the NWC during Negotiations mainly before 1994, which is why they have been included here.
- C3.3.1 Suggestions for tasks and structures, 1991; Report on Negotiations, December 1992 1f
- C3.3.2 Minutes of meetings and other working documents of the NWC, 1990-1994 1f Including discussion about the Pretoria Minute and Suspension of Armed Struggle
- C3.3.3 Personal Security Survey Report, Ronnie Kasrils, NWC member, ANC 1f

Giving assessment of his state of personal security; brochures containing Guidelines on personal security, safety and surveillance, New Scotland Yard

C3.3.4 Handwritten letter addressed to Ronnie Kasrils, Negotiation Commission, ANC, written by Dieter Gerhardt from Security Prison Pretoria

Re. Memorandum on control of security forces during period of interim government, 25 May 1992 - together with the typescript of comments about the Memorandum on U.S - USSR concerns on conflict in S.A. and the desirability of achieving equitable Constitutional Reform through negotiation, prepared (by Dieter Gerhardt?) 1 April 1988, accepted by prisons service official, 24 August 1988

- C3.3.5 Various documents relating to the ANC's position to negotiations 1f
- C3.3.6 Resolutions and proposals on M.K. and the armed struggle 1f
- C3.3.7 Proposed amendments to the SA Interim Constitution, 1994. Including A comparison of NP and ANC Constitutional Proposals 1f
- C3.3.8 Security analysis of situation in Natal, issued by the ANC in the running up to the 1994 election 1f
- C3.3.9 Various articles with annotations of recommendation to RK, relating to the ANC and the transitional period, originator unknown 1f
- C3.4 ANC Commissions of Enquiry into human rights abuses in ANC camps 2f
- C3.4.1 Skweyiya Commission 1f.

"Report of the Commission of Enquiry into complaints by former African National Congress prisoners and detainees", August 1992, internal commission with appointed commissioners Adv. T. Skweyiya, B. Mabandla, Adv. G. Marcus; also included response to the report, no author

C3.4.2 Motsuenyane Commission - 1f.

"Report of the Commission of Enquiry into certain allegations of cruelty and human rights abuse against ANC prisoners and detainees by ANC members", 20 August 1993, commission appointed by Nelson Mandela with commissioners Dr S. Motsuenyane, Adv. D. Zamchiya, Hon. M. Burnham

C3.5 Reports - 1f

ANC Negotiations Commission Working Documents, Vol. 9 Technical Committee Reports, including reports on 1) Constitutional matters, 2) Fundamental rights during the transition, 3) Transitional Executive Council, 4) Independent Electoral Commission, 5) Independent Media Commission, 6) Discriminatory legislation, 7) Violence, and Resolutions, 8) Parliamentary Discussion Documents, February 1994

- C3.6 General 2f
- C3.6.1 Minutes of various meetings 1f
  Including Minutes of the special Strategizing meeting, 13 September 1990

C3.6.2 General ANC publications relating to negotiations - 1f
Including: Few copies of the ANC Internal Negotiations Bulletin, 1991-1993; Daily ANC Press briefings,
dated 9, 10, 11 September 1992; "Dossier on violence and assassinations since the signing of the Peace
Accord", using examples that occurred during September 1991; "Deaths in Detention", addressed to
the State President FW de Klerk

- C3.7 Newspaper cuttings, 1990-1994
- C4 Elections 1994 2f
- C4.1 Newspaper clips about the ANC's mock election in August 1993; election pamphlets and sample of ballot paper 1f
- C4.2 Others 1f

Including amongst others: ANC National election list as published in the Sunday Times, 23 January 1994 and as typescript; breakdown of election results as per Magisterial districts; notes relating to election results; newspaper clips covering the election victory of the ANC

C5	National Executive Committee (NEC), 1993-2008 PLEASE NOTE: Access to this section is restricted
C5.1	NEC Meetings
55.2	Working document packs for NEC meetings, 1993-2008
C5.1.1	Meetings, 1993 - 2f
C5.1.1.1	8-11 June 1993, Documents 1a, 1b - 1f
C5.1.1.2	27-29 August 1993, Negotiations - Working documents - 1f
C5.1.2	Meetings, 1994 - 2f
C5.1.2.1	27-28 August 1994, Cape Town, Document pack, including draft for a National Youth Policy - 1f
C5.1.2.2	25-26 November 1994, Alpha Centre Johannesburg, Vol. 1-3 - 1f
C5.1.3	Meetings, 1995 - 2f
C5.1.3.1	21-22 January 1995, Cape Town, Document 1
C5.1.3.2	25-26 February 1995, University of Western Cape, Vol. 2
C5.1.3.3	21-23 July 1995, Mariston Hotel, Johannesburg, Vol. 1-3, Additional reports (Local government elections) - 1f
C5.1.3.4	2-3 September 1995, Senate Hall, University of Western Cape, Vol. 1
C5.1.3.5	8-9 December 1995, Shell House, Johannesburg, Vol. 1-3, including State of organisation - 1f
C5.1.4	Meetings, 1996 - 2f
C5.1.4.1	16-18 August 1996, Bellville Inn, Cape Town, Vol. 1-4 - 2f
C5.1.4.2	30 September 1996, Shell House, Johannesburg, Vol. 1
C5.1.5	Meetings, 1997 - 3f
C5.1.5.1	16-19 January 1997, Helderfontein, Johannesburg, NEC Legkotla, Programme
C5.1.5.2	11-13 April 1997, Shell House, Johannesburg, Vol. 3-5 - 1f
C5.1.5.3	11-13 July 1997, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, Vol. 1-5 - 1f
C5.1.5.4	14-15 November 1997, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, Vol. 1-4, including Proposed amendments to the ANC Constitution 1994 - 1f
C5.1.6	Meetings, 1998 - 5f
C5.1.6.1	19-30 January 1998, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, Vol. 1, ANC Constitution 1997, Final Draft, with covering letter by Kader Asmal circulated to the NEC together with the Final draft - 1f
C5.1.6.2	19-22 February 1998, Cape Town, Vol. 1-6, including Draft Strategy and Tactics, ANC Constitution, Programme of Action - 1f
C5.1.6.3	24-26 April 1998, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, Vol. 1-3, 6-7, including Election documentation, Alliance Summit - 1f
C5.1.6.4	14-15 August 1998, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, Vol. 1-4, including Funding of represented political parties - 1f
C5.1.6.5	7-8 December 1998, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, Vol. 1-4, including Annual report and Elections - 1f
C5.1.7	Meetings, 1999 - 1f
C5.1.7.1	22-24 January 1999, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, Vol. 2, Elections - 1f
C5.1.8	Meetings, 2000 - 4f
C5.1.8.1	30 June-1 July 2000, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, Vol. 2-4, including National General Council - 1f

C5.1.8.2	5-7 May 2000, Cedar Park Conference Centre, Woodmead, including Local Government elections, International Affairs, Discussion document on Racism in Vol. 7 - 2f
C5.1.8.3	29 September-1 October 2000, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, Vol. 1-4 - 1f
C5.1.8.5	Meetings, 2002 - 1f
C5.1.9.1	27 September 2002, Kempton Park, Vol. 2-3 - 1f
CJ.1.J.1	Also included: Draft discussion document on allegations of 'Neo-Liberalism' in relation to the Jeremy
	Cronin (SACP) interviews, together with Contribution to the NEC/NWC response by the ANC Political
	Education Unit, and comments on the Political Education Unit paper by Jeremy Cronin
	Education offic, and comments on the Political Education offic paper by Jeremy Cromin
C5.1.10	Meetings, 2003 - 3f
C5.1.10.1	17-19 January 2003, Kempton Park, Vol. 1+3, including 51st National Conference Resolutions - 1f
C5.1.10.2	14-16 March 2003, Ekurhuleni/Boksburg, Vol. 1-4, including NEC Committees, Programme of Action -
	1f
C5.1.10.3	18-20 July 2003, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, Vol. 1, 5a+b, including State of Organisation reports,
	Minutes of the NEC Awards Panel, 19 May 2003 - 1f
C5.1.11	Meetings, 2004 - 1f
C5.1.11.1	•
C5.1.11.2	•
	2-4 July 2004, Pretoria, Vol. 1-2
C5.1.11.4	26-27 December 2004, Vol. 1-3, Other and personal notes, including Socialist International Council
05.4.40	Meeting report, Alliance Programme of Action - 1f
C5.1.12	Meetings, 2005 - 1f
C5.1.12.1	
C5.1.13	Meetings, 2006 - 4 vol
C5.1.13.1 C5.1.13.2	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
C5.1.13.2	21-22 July 2006, Esselenpark, Ekurhuleni, Vol. 1-2, including Alliance documents Meetings, 2007 - 3f
C5.1.14	-
	27-28 July 2007, Esselenpark, Agentia, Attendance 27-28 July 2007, Esselenpark, Vol. 1-3, including National Policy Conference report, 52nd National
CJ.1.14.2	Conference, NEC Decisions update - 1f
C5.1.14.3	·
	16-18 November 2007, Esselenpark, including Strengthening of Alliance, HIV/AIDS Debate, ANC
	Constitutional amendments, Notes for political overview - 1f
C5.1.15	Meetings, 2008 - 1f
C5.1.15.1	18-20 January 2008, Gallagher Estate, Midrand, including Draft agenda, personal notes
C5.1.16	Brief minutes of various NEC meetings in 1990, 1996 and 2006 - 1f
C5.2	Reports to the NEC - 1f
C5.3	Statements and Press Releases issued by the NEC - 1f
C5.4	Nominations and final lists for NEC - 1f
C5.5	Other - 1f
	Including: 3 news cuttings of RK as part of the NEC in 1990; Funding policy recommendations, Harare
	workshop, 25-27 May 1990; Briefing notes on the Alliance, October 2001; 3 NEC Bulletins, 1997, 2000,
	2007
C6	ANC Conferences, 1990-2007
	PLEASE NOTE: Access to this section is restricted

C6.1

C6.1.1

**National Conferences** 

48th National Conference, 2-6 July 1991, Durban - 4f

- C6.1.1a Handwritten notes by RK, covering the pre-conference meeting of the NEC on the 1 July 1991 and subsequent speeches by the President and the Deputy President's report 1f
- C6.1.1.1 Programme, Standing Order & Rules, Delegates form, Nominations, Newspaper cuttings covering the conference 1f
- C6.1.1.2 Reports 1f

Including: Organisation Report of the NEC, by the Secretary-General Alfred Nzo; National Organising Committee Report; Report of the Commission on the ANC Constitution; Report of the Office of the Treasurer General; Commission on Strategy & Tactics

C6.1.1.3 Discussion and other documents - 1f

Including: Towards developing a Health Policy; Draft Resolution on ANC Economic Policy; Guidelines on Strategy and Tactics of the ANC; Land Manifesto; Declaration and Resolutions of the 48th ANC National Conference; News clip depicting RK together with Chris Hani at the conference

- C6.1.2 49th National Conference, 17-21 December 1994, Bloemfontein 3f
- C6.1.2.1 Programme, Rules of Procedure, Conference directory, Proposed Constitutional amendments 1f
- C6.1.2.2 Reports 2f

Including: Address by President Nelson Mandela; Secretary General's Report; Report on Government; State of Organisation; Provincial Reports; Report by Arts and Culture Committee; Commission report: Stabilising the country; Report on the 49th ANC National Conference

- C6.1.3 50th National Conference, 16-20 December 1997, Mafikeng 1f
- C6.1.3.1 Programme and Conference information; Outline of Secretary General's Report; Treasurer General's Report; Report of the Alliance Summit; Proposed Constitutional Amendments
- C6.1.3.2 Daft Resolutions; 50th National Conference Report; Ballot results. 1f
  Included here a response to Peter Mokaba by Delekile Jack Klaas entitled 'The latest opportunism located with the neo-liberal agenda', a paper drafted on the eve of the 50th ANC conference.
- C6.1.4 51st National Conference, 15-20 December 2002, Stellenbosch 2f
- C6.1.4.1 Programme and Conference information; Draft Declaration; Reference documents as amended and adopted at the 50th National Conference; Draft Preface to Strategy and Tactics and Proposed Constitutional Amendments; Ballot results
- C6.1.4.2 Reports 1f
  Including: President's Report; Secretary General's Report; 51st National Conference Report
- C6.1.4.3 Conference pack with Umrabulo Discussion documents 1f
- C6.1.5 52nd National Conference, 16-20 December 2007, Polokwane, 5f
- C6.1.5.1 Various items 1f

Receipt for RK's Registration fee; Voting rules for the conference; Provisional pre-conference list of candidates; Briefing document: Possible issues for Conference and various position documents relating to leadership issues at the conference, mostly no author; conference notes by RK

- C6.1.5.2 Resolutions amended and adopted by Plenary; Strategy and Tactics of the ANC Draft and adopted; Closing statement by the President Jacob Zuma, 20 Dec 2007 1f
- C6.1.5.3 Reports 2f

Conference Programme and Information; Organisational Report by ANC Secretary General; Summary of Discussion documents; Resource documents brochure; Discussion document on Organisational Review; Policy Discussion documents; Financial Report by ANC Treasurer-General; Political Report by ANC President; Proposed Amendments to the ANC Constitution; Commission Reports and Draft Resolutions; Special edition of 'Umrabulo' A Tribute to Chief Albert Luthuli

C6.1.5.4	Press coverage relating the conference - 1f
	Including the transcript of an interview with President Thabo Mbeki on SABC, 27 November 2007; 2
	copies of ANC Today; Complaint of false reporting in City Press relating to Manala Manzini; reporting
	on News24, listing candidates for nomination, with notes by RK

C6.1.5.5	Conference	haa Istarad	with Mama	arabilia in	congrato l	ایرم
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C6.2	Mational	Consultative	Conferences -	_ 2f
CD.Z	INALIOHAI	Consultative	Connenences .	- 21

- C6.2.1 2nd Consultative Conference, 16-23 June 1985, Zambia 1f
  Conference brochure containing the Opening statement by Oliver Tambo, Political Report of the NEC,
  Resolutions and Messages; Conference writing block
- C6.2.2 3rd Consultative Conference, 14-16 December 1990, Johannesburg 1f Reports on preparation of the conference, Draft Agenda, Declaration

# C6.3 National Policy Conferences

- C6.3.1 National Policy Conference, 28-31 May 1992 3f
  Report of the Special Commission on negotiations to Plenary
- C6.3.2 National Policy Conference, Gallagher Estates, 1-2 November 1997 1f
  Volume 1, including Draft documents and Commission papers
- C6.3.3 National Policy Conference, Kempton Park, 27-30 September 2002 Including Statement of the President of the ANC, Thabo Mbeki; Draft resolutions
- C6.3.4 National Policy Conference, Gallagher Estates, 27-30 June 2007 2f
  Including: Programme; Speech of the President of the ANC, Thabo Mbeki; Draft resolution on Peace &
  Stability with RK's notes; Policy Discussion documents; Combined resolutions from Provincial General
  Councils

# C6.4 National General Council (NGC) - 2f

- C6.4.1 National General Council, Port Elizabeth, 11-15 July 2000 1f
  Mid-term Organisational Report to the NGC
- C6.4.2 National General Council, University of Pretoria, 29 June 3 July 2005 1f
  Including Report of the NGC; Organisational Report; Resource Pack, Vol. 2; Discussion documents and presentation notes

# C6.5 Other ANC conferences - 2f

- C6.5.1 PWV Regional Conference, Alexandra Township, 29 September 1990. Including Minutes and resolutions
- C6.5.2 Consultative Business Movement / ANC Conference, Johannesburg, 23 May 1990. Including Statement of the Deputy President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela
- C6.5.3 National Conference on Reconstruction and Development, 21-23 January 1994. Programme; Draft discussion paper
- C6.5.4 Inter-Regional Summit, 29-31 July 1994. Programme of Action and Commission Reports
- C6.5.5 Conference on Stability and Security, 8 February 1996. Including Opening statement by Minister of Defence Joe Modise; Presentation of Security Analysis

- C7.1 Personal notes and comments written on ANC discussion documents; comments submitted to newspapers
- C8 General ANC documents, 1994-2008
  PLEASE NOTE: Access to this section is restricted
- C8.1 Principle documents of the ANC
- C8.1.1 Outlines of the symbols, anthem and organisational structure of the ANC
- C8.1.2 Constitutions

The Freedom Charter, printed brochure, 2005; ANC Constitution, including Highlights of the ANC Interim Constitutional Framework (n.d.); ANC Constitution as adopted at the ANC National Conference, June 1991; Constitution as amended and adopted at the ANC National Conference, December 1994

C8.1.3 Other

Code of Conduct for Officers, Elected representatives and members of the ANC (n.d.); Personnel Policy Manual of the ANC, post-1994; Strategy and Tactics, as amended at the 50th National Conference, December 1997; Strategy and Tactics, as amended at the 51st National Conference, 2002

- C8.2 Discussion papers 1f
- C8.2.1 Reconstruction and Development Programme, For ANC regions and departments, 17 February 1994; One year of Government of National Unity, October 1995; Programme of Action, 2008
- C8.3 Working documents 1f
- C8.3.1 Various items 1f

Including: ANC Lekgotla on Governance, Preparations for discussions on the SA Economy, relating to the resolution on "Transformation of the economy" adopted at the 49th ANC National Conference, December 1994; Information Package: Fraternal Parties, Communist Party of Cuba, Communist Party of the Russian Federation, 1997; ANC Candidates Manual, 1999 Elections for a Candidate's Training workshop, with personal notes by RK, also including confirmation for RK of attendance to join the ANC live broadcast of the Independent Electoral Commission's results; Drafts of addresses by Joe Modise at the launch of the ANC Manifesto and on Chris Hani day - both containing notes by RK, 1999; National Election Strategy Workshop, Local Government election campaign, August 2000

- C8.3.2 ANC Caucus Political School, 18-20 August 2005, 370 pages 1f
- C8.4 Reports from ANC structures 2f
- C8.4.1 Including amongst others: Constituency Reports from RK to ANC Chief Whip, relating to the Winterveld constituency, October 2002 1f
- C8.4.2 Regional Reports, 1990/1991 1f
- C8.5 Articles & Papers, 1990-2006 2f
- C8.5.1 Publications by Raymond Suttner, various topics relating to the history and politics of the ANC 1f
- C8.5.2 Other, including paper entitled "Revolutionary Morality and Ethics of the ANC: Towards a Code of conduct for ANC members", 24 May 2006, no author 1f
- C8.6 Other organisational material 2f

Including amongst others: Alliance Strategizing meeting, July 1992; Draft Economic Transformation Resolution, n.d. post-2000; Constitutional Issues, 1996; Memorandum by Prof SME Bengu, Minister of Education, relating to four education matters of crucial political importance, 13 August 1998; ANC Achievement Awards 2000

Newspaper cuttings and web-based articles relating to the ANC during 1990-2009. A number of newspaper articles covering the change in leadership from Jacob Zuma to Thabo Mbeki and related internal conflicts in the ANC particularly in 2007/2008, including an open letter from Mervyn Bennun to the Secretary-General of the ANC Gwede Mantashe, 9 October 2008; journal 'The Thinker', containing various articles relating to the topic "ANC 100 years. The next decade: Progress or Decay?", January 2012

## C10 ANC Publications

Printed ANC publications, some of which include a contribution by RK.

# C10.1 Department of Political Education & Training - 1f

Discussion papers published as part of the 'Umrabulo' series, produced by the ANC Department of Political Education & Training, including: Negotiations and the struggle for a democratic South Africa, January 1991; Guidelines for Branch education officers, 1991; Organise for Freedom! An ANC political education manual for organisers, educators and Study Circles, 1992; Discussion documents for ANC National Conference (1997); Draft Strategy and Tactics document, with notes by RK, 1997; Understanding GEAR, 1997; ANC - People's Revolutionary Movement for Transformation. Forward to the African Century

C10.2 Printed statements, messages, manifestos, tributes to ANC leaders, campaigns - 3f Including amongst others:

Render South Africa ungovernable' Message delivered by OR Tambo, 8 January 1985 The Nuclear conspiracy: FRG collaborates to strengthen Apartheid, ANC Information Department

MK 30th Anniversary Souvenir Magazine, 16 December 1991 Submit or fight! 30 years of Umkhonto we Sizwe, December 1991 Joining the ANC: An Introductory Handbook on the ANC

ANC Regional Policy, Draft discussion document of the Constitutional Committee and the Department of Local & Regional Government & Housing, Published by the Centre for Development Studies, University of the Western Cape, October 1992

Building a united nation: Policy proposals for the Final Constitution, 1995

- C10.3 Election campaign manuals, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2005 1f
- C10.4 Mayibuye journal, mainly 1990-1993 1f

Few issues of Mayibuye, the journal of the ANC, including the first issue published legally Vol.1 No.1 1990

- C10.5 Umrabulo journal, between 2001-2007 3f
  Few issues of Umrabulo, a journal of the ANC
- C10.6 Ephemeral material 1f

Stickers, posters, paper flags, pamphlets and flyers, mainly post-1994

- C10.6a Copy of a poster advertising a People's forum with guestspeaker RK, ANC Mafikeng Region, October 1995 (see folio folder no. 1)
- C10.7 Other 2f
- C10.7.1 Including few ANC Today Online publication (2002-2007); Phakamani for religious affairs (2004); ANC News briefing (1990) 1f
- C10.7.2 Let us speak of freedom, part 1-3, a Peoples History series launched by the Department of History at the University of the Western Cape, held at the ANC Department of Political Education Resources Centre 1f

D	SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (SACP), 1942-2009
D1	Personal items - 1f Dinner programme for the 11th Congress, 26 July 2002, signed by Blade Ndzimande to ANC Khumalo (RK)
D1.1	Delegate, VIP, ID cards for RK's attendance at various SACP events and membership cards issued to RK for 1991, 1998, 2002
D2	SACP pre-1991
D2.1 D2.1.1	CPSA historical publications Copies of CPSA pamphlets published in South Africa before the CPSA was declared illegal in 1950. Some of them were published as part of the 'People's Pamphlets series, and contain adverts relating to The People's Bookshop, which was known to sell Communist literature. Many of these publications do not display the date of publication. Including:
D2.1.1.1 D2.1.1.2	A New Year's message to South Africa for 1942  New homes for old!
D2.1.1.3 D2.1.1.4	10,000,000 for Freedom Japan - friend or foe? By Moses M. Kotane, General Secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa, 1942
D2.1.1.5 D2.1.1.6 D2.1.1.7 D2.1.1.8 D2.1.2	The starvation line! Some facts you should know Resist Indian Ghetto Act Seven words. The Communist "New Order" The people overflow. The story of the Johannesburg squatters, 1947 (?) Two essays by Lionel Forman, n.d.
D2.1.2.1 D2.1.2.2	March to Freedom Black and White in S.A. History, with an introduction by Ray Alexander
D2.2	How to master secret work, by Ronnie Kasrils, n.d.  Publications relating to secret methods of work as part of the Umsebenzi Study Series, issued by the South African Communist Party. Also included: Briefing on personal security, safety and surveillance.  Dr Ronald Press was instrumental in compiling documents such as these.
D2.3	Also included: 'The story of Simon and Jane', a comic book explaining underground work Other - 1f
<i>D2.3</i>	Including: No. 1 issue of 'Inkululeko-Freedom', Organ of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, published July 1971; The path to power. A Study Guide to the South African Communist Party Programme, adopted at the 7th SACP Congress in 1989; 60 Fighting Years. Programme in commemoration of the 60th Anniversary in London (?), including a statement by the Central Committee
D3	Central Committee, 1994-2006
D3.1	Central Committee meetings PLEASE NOTE: Access to this section is restricted Moetings, 1994, 1f
D3.1.1 D3.1.2	Meetings, 1994 - 1f 3-4 September 1994, including Regional reports and Financial matters Meetings, 1995 - 1f
D3.1.3	29-30 April 1995, Johannesburg, Vol. 1-3, including Draft of amended Constitution Meetings, 1996 - 1f 29-30 June 1996, Johannesburg, Vol. 1-2, including Party Building Report

D3.1.4	Meetings, 1997 - 1f
D2.4.F	7-8 June 1997, Johannesburg, Vol. 1, including discussion of GEAR, and Provincial Reports
D3.1.5	Meetings, 1998 - 3f
D3.1.5.1	9-10 May 1998, Johannesburg, including Draft Programme discussion documents for the SACP 10th Congress - 1f
D3.1.5.2	1 August 1998, Johannesburg, including Proceeds from the 10th Congress - 1f
D3.1.5.3	31 October - 1 November 1998, including Political Report and Programme of Action - 1f
D3.1.6	Meetings, 2002 - 3f
D3.1.6.1	15-17 February 2002 - 1f
D3.1.6.2	23-25 August 2002, Vol. 1+3, including SACP History Project, Constitutional Amendments - 1f
	Also included the Jeremy Cronin Matter with the text of both interviews by Dr Helena Sheehan on the
	17 and 24 January 2002
D3.1.6.3	28-30 November 2002, Vol. 1-3, including Ekurhuleni Declaration, Basic Income Grant - 1f
D3.1.7	Meetings, 2003
D3.1.7.1	15-17 August 2003, Johannesburg, including proposed agenda and Progress Report
D3.1.7.2	14-26 November 2003, Johannesburg, including Report on proposed Dora Tamana Savings and Credit Co-operative
D3.1.8	Meetings, 2004 - 3f
D3.1.8.1	27-28 August 2004, Vol. 1, 2, 4, including Land and Agrarian Reform, Umsebenzi Online - 1f
D3.1.8.2	19-21 November 2004, Vol. 1-3, including further establishment of Dora Tamana Savings and Credit Cooperative (DTSACCO), and Finance documents - 2f
D3.1.9	Meetings, 2005 - 9f
D3.1.9.1	18-19 February 2005, Vol. 1-3, including Special Congress documents, outline of issues for SACP-COSATU bilateral - 2f
D3.1.9.2	20-21 May 2005, including minutes, declaration and resolutions of the National Special Congress - 1f
D3.1.9.3	5-6 August 2005, including SACP input to the National Land Summit - 1f
D3.1.9.4	25-27 November 2005, Vol. 1-7, including Land Summit and Sustainable Livelihoods Conference resolutions - 4f
	Also included statements by SACP, ANC and COSATU re. Jacob Zuma, The Green Book. Report of the Politico-Military Strategy Commission to the ANC NEC, August 1979, Alliance 10-a-side; Statement of the SACP Augmented Central Committee, post-meeting, n.d.
D3.1.10	Meetings, 2006 - 8f
D3.1.10.1	17-18 February 2006, Vol. 1-5, including Class struggle and the post-1994 state in South Africa - 1f
	Also included: SACP engagement with the government's Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGI-SA)
D3 1 10 2	19-21 May 2006, Vol. 1-5, including SACP Constitution, Report on Merafong / Khutsong, Draft Sexual
D3.1.10.2	Harassment Conduct - 1f
D3.1.10.3	11-13 August 2006, Vol. 1-5, including Alliance documents - 2f
	Also included: Young Communist Congress, COSATU discussion document entitled 'Possibilities for
	Social Change. Also included a letter by Raymond Suttner to the Central Committee, following a publication of his article in the Business Day newspaper and critique thereof by various people
D3.1.10.4	24-26 November 2006, Vol. 1-8 - 4f
D3.2	Bua Komanisi! - 1f
	View copies of the Information bulletin of the Central Committee, including: Vol.2, No. 1+2 / 2002;
	Vol.6, No.2 / 2007, including the Draft Programme of the SACP 2007, with personal notes by RK and
	typescript with Comments on the Draft Programme

D3.3

Working documents

D4	Politbureau meetings (1993-2007)
	PLEASE NOTE: Access to this section is restricted
D.4.4	Marking 4002
D4.1	Meetings, 1993
D4.3	Agenda only
D4.2	Meetings, 1994 - 1f
	22 October 1994, Including Draft Programme, briefing document entitled 'Challenging the neo-liberal economic model, and an 'Illustrated guide to the Local Government transition'
D4.3	Meetings, 1995 - 1f
D4.3.1	20 February 1995, Including Notes for Party programme re. Class forces and the national question, and document entitled 'South Africa in the new global situation'
D4.3.2	24 June 1995, Summary of minutes
D4.3.3	19 August 1995, Minutes
D4.4	Meetings, 1996
	23 August 1996, Including Housing Dossier, and POLISARIO Dossier
D4.5	Meetings, 1997
	10 July 1997, Minutes
D4.6	Meetings, 1998
	11 September 1998, Minutes 2f
	Also included: Alliance approach to economic policy in the current situation, a discussion paper; The
	International Context: Notes for Discussion by Rob Davies; The state, property relations and social
	transformation: A conceptual framework, Draft discussion paper for Alliance Summit; 10th Congress
	Issues for decision-making by the Politbureau
D4.7	Meetings, 2000
D4.7.1	28 January 2000, Vol. 4, Including papers on Local Government
D4.7.2	25-26 February 2000, Politburo Lekgotla, Vol. 1-3 - 2f
	Including document on the role of Trade Union Movement and the SACP, documentation on
	Restructuring of Public Enterprises, on Egoli 2002, and draft paper entitled "A critique of inflation
	targeting and alternative proposal for the Reserve Bank of South Africa", a Research paper
	commissioned by National Institute for Economic Policy, October 1999
D4.8	Meetings, 2002
D4.8.1	13 September 2002, Vol. 2, Including Commission Reports Global People's Forum
D4.8.2	15 November 2002, Vol. 1, Including Empowerment Charter for the South African Mining Industry
D4.9	Meetings, 2003 - 1f
	25 July 2003, Including Draft Annual Report of the Financial Sector Campaign Coalition
D4.10	Meetings, 2005 - 2f
D4.10.1	24 June 2005, Vol. 1-4, Including the Clothing Action Plan; Land Summit preparations
D4.10.2	29 July 2005, Vol. 1-2 (Previous minutes p.4-6 missing)
D4.11	Meetings, 2006 - 2f
D4.11.1	22 September 2006, Including Factual chronology of Provincial Council Gauteng - 1f
	Also included the correspondence re. State of SACP Gauteng Province, by Vishwas Satgar to Blade
	Ndzimande, July 2006
D4.11.2	27 October 2006, Vol. 1-4, Including Declaration and Resolutions at the 9th COSATU Congress - 1f
D4.11.3	Also included: Judgement by the National Disciplinary Committee in the matter between Young
	Communist League of SA and Mazibuko Jara, December 2006
D4.12	Meetings, 2007 - 3f
D4.12.1	12 February 2007, Vol. 1-3 - 1f

D4.12.3	20 April 2007, Vol. 1-3, Including discussion paper entitled 'Economic transformation for a national democratic society - 1f 22 June 2007, Vol. 1-4, Including 'Seeing double. SACP contribution to the debate on the ANCs 'Economic Transformation for a National Democratic Society' discussion paper' - 1f Also included a paper by Thulanik Kunene on Working class leadership and SACP; the SACP's submissions to the 'Joint Standing Committee on Intelligence' in respect of the document received by COSATU which is entitled "Special Browse 'Mole' consolidated report'
D5	SACP Conferences (1991-2009) PLEASE NOTE: Access to this section is restricted
D5.1	SACP National Congress - 7f
D5.1.1	8th Congress, 5-8 December 1991, Johannesburg - 1f Including amongst others: Organiser's report; Constitution of the South African Communist Party; Results of elections for Central Committee; Comments on Party Manifesto, by Graeme Bloch; notes by RK
D5.1.2	9th Congress, 6-8 April 1995, Johannesburg - 1f Including: conference programme; General Secretary's political report; Strategy and Tactics document; National Treasurer's report; Report of the 9th National Congress
D5.1.3	10th Congress, 1-5 July 1998, Johannesburg - 1f Standing Orders and Rules; Organising report; Financial report; Draft Discussion document
D5.1.4	11th Congress, 24-28 July 2002, Rustenburg - 2f Programme and Rules; State of the Organisation report; Draft Political Programme; Financial report; Resolutions from the 10th Congress, 1999 and 2000 Strategy Conferences
D5.1.5	12th Congress, 11-15 July 2007, Port Elizabeth - 2f Book 1-6, including: Agenda, Rules and Procedures; Political report; State of the Organisation report; Financial report; Draft Programme; Discussion document; Political Programme adopted by the congress
D5.2	Special National Congress - 1f
D5.2.1	Special Congress, 8-10 April 2005, Durban Vol. 1-3, including: Congress Discussion documents; Political programme and Programme of action
D5.2.2	Special Congress, 10-13 December 2009, Turfloop Special edition of Umsebenzi
D5.3 D5.3.1	National Strategy Conference - 1f Strategy conference, 20-23 May 1993, Johannesburg Conference notes and discussion papers
D5.3.2	Strategy conference, 26-28 May 2000, Johannesburg Discussion documents
D5.4	6th SACP Gauteng Provincial Congress, 1998 - 1f Organisational Report
D6	General SACP documents - 6f
D6.1	Principle documents - 1f

Constitution of the SACP, as adopted at the 8th Congress 1991, and with Proposed Amendments for the 11th Congress, 2002; Programme of the South African Communist Party (1998)

### D6.2 Discussion Papers - 2f

Including amongst others: 'Has Socialism failed?' by Joe Slovo; Debate following an article by Jabu Moleketi and Josiah Jele entitled "Two strategies of the national democratic revolution" (the article itself is not included), with responses by Blade Ndzimande and Mazibuko Jara (?), November 2002, and including a copy of the 'Green Book', a report of an ANC Commission given to the ANC NEC in August 1979 on the attitude of the ANC to the struggle for socialism which the article by Moleketi and Jele refers to, as well as handwritten notes by RK

# D6.3 Various working papers - 3f

Including amongst others: The role of the SACP in the transition to democracy and socialism, 1990; A postcard from across St. James's Park (No.16) Is Sa's economic policy neo-liberal? No way!, by Kuben Naidoo, 2006; The South African revolution in its international context; SACP Financial Policy and Procedures Manual, October 1992

- D7 Official printed publications of the SACP
- D7.1 SACP periodicals
- D7.1.1 Umsebenzi

Voice of the SACP, 1985-2007 (incomplete) - 2f and Folio folder no. 2

D7.1.2 The African Communist

2 copies of the AC 1985, 2008; enlarged copy October 1989 "South African Communist Party statement on the racist elections" -

- D7.1.3 Flyers and pamphlet entitled "65 years in the frontline of struggle"
- D8 Articles and Newspaper clips, 1990-2006 3f
- D8.1 Journal articles 1f

"The crisis of conscience in the SACP", by Pallo Jordan, published in Transformation 11 (1990);

"Beyond the stereotype - The SACP in the past, present and future", by Joe Slovo at the 70th anniversary of the SACP, July 1991;

" 'That spells trouble': Jews and the Communist Party of South Africa", by Mark Israel and Simon Adams, published in Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.26, No.1, March 2000;

"The (re-)constitution of the South African Communist Party as an underground organisation", by Raymond Suttner, published in the Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 22, 1, 2004

D8.2 South African anti-communist literature, 1990-1993 - 1f

Included: Aida Parker Newsletter; Stand To

- D8.3 General newspaper clips, 1990-2006 1f
- E TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC), 1992-2004
- E1 Personal Application for Amnesty 1f

#### E1.1 Various items

Copy of Amnesty application, completed by hand, December 1996; typed Amnesty form; handwritten notes for Amnesty Application for the attention of Paula McBride, with the Affidavits of Ben Lekalake, Victor Ngwenya, Alec Chief Tshabalala, Duncan Dlamini, Mandla Daka, Percy Mokonopi, and Meshack Phewa attached; personal notes; excerpts from the Douglas Report with handwritten remarks; news clips

- E1.2 Copy of typed Amnesty application for Eleanor Kasrils
- E1.3 Granting of Amnesty for Ronald Kasrils in respect of all offences arising from operations of the De Lange MK unit (Broederstroom Unit) and other operations in the 1980s, together with Damian Michael de Lange, Ian Hugh Robertson, Susan Catharine de Lange, September 2000
- E1.4 Granting of Amnesty for Ronald Kasrils in respect of all offences as a member and part of command of MK and leadership of ANC structures from 1961-1994, May 2001
- E2 Bisho Massacre 1992
- E2.1 Events of the Bisho Massacre, 1992 2f (For photographs see section L Photographs)
- E2.1.1 Reports by the Tri-partite Alliance and others relating developments in the Ciskei border region 1f

Also included flyers calling for a march on Bisho; ANC briefing document about the background to the Bisho massacre; Draft of the Border ANC Report on the events surrounding the Bisho massacre

- E2.1.2 Report on the Bisho incident by the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation (Goldstone Commission), 7 September 1992 1f
  Including the typed verbatim of the conversation between RK, General Geldenhis and John Hall at the razor wire on the 7 September 1992 at 1pm
- E2.2 TRC Bisho massacre event hearings, 1996 3f
- E2.2.1 Various items 1f

Affidavit by RK, March 1996; personal notes and sketch by RK of the events unfolding; correspondence by the Department of Justice in relation to the Bisho massacre and a possible amnesty application by RK in light of considerations to institute prosecution regarding the Bisho massacre, January 1997

E2.2.2 Personal submission by RK to the TRC on the Bisho massacre - 1f

Including: Order of Proceedings, 9-11 September 1996; Personal submission; Concluding statement on the Ciskeian soldiers; 2 maps of the location of the Bisho massacre around the stadium (Exhibits B and C); Typescript of conversation between RK, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and John Hall

E2.2.3 Other submissions - 1f

Including: Submission by Brigadier Gqozo, 19 November 1996; Testimony by Major General Oelschig, 11 September 1996

- E2.3 The State vs. Mkosana & Gonya, 2001 4f
  - Indictment and further court proceedings, including Indictment, State's Heads of Arguments and hearing of witnesses including RK on the 29 October 2001
- E2.4 Newspaper clips 5f
- E2.4.1 Covering pre- and post events of the Bisho massacre, 1992 4f
- E2.4.2 Covering the TRC Bisho hearings and court case, 2001 1f

- E3.1 Early ANC discussion document on the TRC, prepared by Research section, July 1994
- E3.2 Human Rights Violations, ANC submissions 5f
- E3.2.1 First submission, August 1996 2f

ANC Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, August 1996; and Appendices to the African National Congress Policy Statement to the Truth & Reconciliation Commission, August 1996, which include the Stuart Commission Report of 1984 and the Motsuenyane Commission Report of 1993

E3.2.2 Second submission, May 1997 - 3f

Including: Requests for clarification of matters raised in the ANC submission & Further requests, prepared by the Research Department of the TRC, September 1996; Draft of Further submissions and responses to questions raised by the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, Work in Progress, prepared by the ANC, February 1997; further Submissions and responses by the African National Congress to questions raised by the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, and Appendices to the Second Submission, 12 May 1997

- E3.3 Special Hearings, Political Party Recalls, ANC
  Transcript of the African National Congress Party Political Recall, 97 pages, 12-13 May 1997
- E3.4 Special Hearings, Armed Forces Hearings, MK Submission 6f
- E3.4.1 Preparatory notes by RK and comments by Paula McBride
- E3.4.2 Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) Operations Report. 4f
  Including outline and drafts; appendices listing MK camps and commanders, list of known MK
  operations, target categories; military operations carried out from the eastern front; MK facilitation of
  SDU activities
- E3.4.3 Reports on exhumation and reburial of the remains of MK operatives, as well as funerals Khalipha Senzangabom, Dali Rakubo, Lesetja Sexwale, Pumezo Nxiweni, Charles Ndaba, Mbuso Tshabalala and Portia Ndwandwe
- E3.4.4 Other

Including further requests by the TRC re. questions on ordnance and other; "Chickening-out" Comments by RK on the complaint to the Human Rights Commission by F.W. De Klerk, April 1997; newspaper clips

- E3.4.5 Public debates and talks about the role of MK 2f
- E3.4.5.1 A public discussion on "The just war debate and reconciliation" 1f
  Presented by the TRC Western and Northern Cape Region, 6 May 1997. Panellists included General
  Viljoen, RK, Professor Alain Sigg (Switzerland) and professor Andre du Toit (UCT). Included are: the
  invitation to the event; handwritten notes by RK in preparation of his presentation relating to the
  notion of a just war; the Opening statement by General Viljoen; the transcript of the public
  discussion, chaired by Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela (illegible fax copy with print from enhanced scan);
  newspaper clips.
- E3.4.5.2 Other

Also included here: 'The role of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) in the struggle for a democratic South Africa, 1961-1994, a presentation by the Deputy Minister to the SA Military History Society, 14 August 1997 (illegible fax copy)

E3.4.5.3 Research material used by RK in preparation of both events above Including amongst others: Manifesto of Umkhonto We Sizwe, 16 December 1961; address by RK at the Mayibuye Centre, on the occasion of the conference on 'The beginnings of the armed struggle in South Africa', December 1995; chapter entitled 'The spear of the nation - the recent history of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK), by Tsepe Motumi, n.d. (illegible fax copy with print from enhanced scan); other articles on just war, decriminalisation of resistance and the history of MK

- E3.5 Other ANC submissions 1f
  - ANC submission for the Media Hearings, August 1997; ANC submission to the Business Hearings, November 1997
- E3.6 Amnesty Hearings 1f

Flyers announcing the Amnesty applications closing date and extension thereof; Amnesty application by Jeffrey Radebe, Ian Phillips and Sipho Sithole; Opinion in the Amnesty decisions in respect of certain ANC officials, TRC, 1998

E4 ANC TRC Desk / NEC Sub-committee TRC - 2f

Including amongst others: Annual Report 1996; agendas and notes of meetings, draft of submission of the ANC to TRC, September 1997; submissions to the TRC desk re. reparations by Dullah Omar and Brigitte Mabandla; further requests raised by the TRC; Panel discussion between the commissioners and the ANC, attended by Thabo Mbeki, 1996; Further submissions and responses to questions raised by TRC, work in progress, February 1997; meeting with PAC re. Eikenhoff massacre, 1997; Memorandum re. the case S.B. Lombo vs. The ANC and the SACP, 1998

- E5 Other TRC submissions 4f
- E5.1 Special Hearings, Armed Forces Hearings, SADF Submission 1f
  Including: Address to the TRC by the Chief of the SANDF, General Meiring, 1997 (?); TRC Memo re.
  Gen. Meiring's concerns; article published by the Institute for Defence Policy, entitled 'The impact of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on the SANDF, by Ian Liebenberg and Rocklyn Williams,
  November 1996; newspaper clips
- E5.2 Newspaper clips 1f
  Covering submission by the Security Police to the TRC. Also included a poem, published in The Star
  newspaper, which was written by RK from exile at the time of Ahmed Timol and Babla Saloojee's
  deaths.
- E5.3 The Gross Violations of Human Rights of the Apartheid Regime under International Law, submitted to the TRC on behalf of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, October 1997 1f
- E5.4 Submission to the TRC by Mr FW De Klerk, leader of the National Party, including newspaper clips 1f
- E6 General TRC 3f
- E6.1 Various items 1f

Including: TRC Inaugural Service, 8 September 1996, Zwelitsha Methodist Church, King Williams Town; TRC debates in Parliament, a) involving remarks by Mr Schoeman made in 1997 together with the Parliamentary ruling for him to withdraw his statement, and b) address by RK on the occasion of the TRC Debate, National Assembly, February 1999

- E6.2 Newspaper clips, 1996-1998/2004 1f
- E6.3 Newspaper coverage of the Final Report of the TRC; copy of the Summary and Guide to the content of the Report 1f

(Photographs are included under Section L - Photographs)

### F1 Personal items

### F1.1 Memorabilia - 1f

Including: RKs business cards made out to 'Ministry of Defence Mr Ronnie Kasrils Deputy Minister of Defence', two versions; jacket pin with the South African flag; name plate for Deputy Minister R Kasrils, with various signatures including Nelson Mandela (dated 9.6.99), Thabo Mbeki, Joe Modise and others (see Box 2 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection); printed note pads, 'Deputy Minister of Defence' and 'Cabinet'; SANDF Salary Advice, April 1999; Certificate for RK as a Friend of 7 Medical Battalion Group, 9 April 1999

### F1.1a Delegate ID card for the 20th ISDSC Conference, Swaziland, 14-19th March 1999

### F1.2 Letters and notes

Personal letters and notes to the Deputy Minister as reference and in appreciation, 1998/99, including letter of thanks from General Raymond Germanos, Commanding the College for Advanced Military Studies and National Defence Institute, Paris, France, 7 April 1999 (see photograph under L4.21). Also included a letter of request for a scholarship for Phakiso Tabane, daughter of the late Job Tabane (Cassius Maake), a former MK cadre who was assassinated by South African security police on July 9 1987 in Swaziland, which was paid by RK as a personal bursary.

# F1.3 Various handwritten notes by RK

### F1.4 Other items

Correspondence between Nicholls, Cambanis & Associates who acted on behalf of RK in the case of defamation relating to RKs alleged involvement in human rights abuses in MK camps in Angola, by The Star newspaper and their council Webber Wentzel Bowens, December 1998; including newspaper clip of settlement and apology in The Star

# F2 Departmental working documents - Special Topics

# F2.1 Introduction to Government office - 1f

Seminar pack for information seminars held for Members of Parliament, 1994. Including amongst others: Code of Conduct for Members of Parliament (this was an EU funded project, but does not indicate the year, hence it has been included in this section 1994-1999); Information brochure for Members of the National Assembly; Overview of rules and procedural matters as well as building complex, administration and services; rules for election of President and various organograms relating to structures of Parliament; publication by Parliament in commemoration of the first five years of democracy in South Africa

# F2.2 Integration Process - 3f

# F2.2.1 Various items - 1f

SANDF Integration Process Information Kit, compiled by the SANDF Communication Service, October 1994; pamphlet 'Iqhawe', a publication of the Joint Military Coordinating Council, explaining the Integration process, published by the SANDF Communication Service, 1994

- F2.2.2 SANDF Integration Progress Reports to the Parliamentary Integration Oversight Committee (PIOC), February 1996-October 1997 1f
- F2.2.3 General documents and personal notes by RK relating to the Integration process 1f
- F2.2.4 Address by RK to the National Assembly on the occasion of the introduction of the Demobilisation Bill, 1 November 1996, and resulting questions in the Senate
- F2.2.5 MK Military Veterans Association (MKVA)

Constitution; MKVA Conference Report, and speeches by President Nelson Mandela and Minister of Defence Joe Modise at the conference, 13-14 December 1996

F2.2.6 Press cuttings

Including 'Integration 1 year later', published in SANDF publication 'Salut', June 1995; one issue of "South African Defence Review", published by the Institute for Defence Policy, with an article entitled 'The transformation of military intelligence and special forces - towards an accountable and transparent military culture', by Joe Nhlanhla, 1993

- F2.3 Wouter Basson Chemical & Biological Weapons Programme (CBW), 1992-2003 1f
- F2.3.1 Press releases 1f

Newspaper cuttings (1997) and Press Statements relating to the re-appointment of Dr Wouter Basson to the SANDF in 1995, which was raised as a result of testimony given by Basson during his bail application hearing in 1997; other newspaper clips relating to the CBW

F2.3.2 "Staff paper prepared for the Steyn Commission on Alleged Dangerous Activities of SADF components", December 1992.

NOTE: The document was released by RK, as the same document was made available to the TRC by Gen. D.P. Knobel during his testimony at the TRC hearings into chemical and biological warfare 12 June 1998. The document was then made available to the public. The document explains Dr Wouter Basson activities and role in the CBW Programme.

F2.4 Strategic Defence Procurement (Arms Deal), 1994-2003 - 4f

The so-called Arms Deal and investigations into the procurement of armaments evolved beyond RK's term as Deputy Minister of Defence, but has been included in this section in its entirety.

- F2.4.1 Newspaper clips, 1994-2006 2f
- F2.4.2 Allegations of investigation of RK and Max Sisulu 1f

Legal case against the Business Day newspaper who published allegations regarding irregularities in the R43 billion arms deal. Including correspondence with legal team; Preliminary memorandum on settlement and newspaper cuttings, 2001/2002

- F2.4.3 General correspondence, 1996-1999 1f
- F2.4.4 Joint Investigation Report into the Strategic Defence Procurement Packages, submitted to Parliament by the Public Protector, Auditor-General and National Director of Public Prosecutions, 14 November 2001
- F2.5 FBI Spy case, October 1997 4f

Fraudulent use of RK's name in a FBI spy case involving US citizens James Michael Clark and Theresa Marie Squillacote, who were arrested and charged with espionage in October 1997.

F2.5.1 Letters - 1f

Letters of apology from the U.S. Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to RK and Franklin Sonn, South African Ambassador at the time, October 1998; Correspondence with the US American Law firm Mayer, Brown & Platt, 1997/1998; Letter by Theresa Squillacote written to RK during her incarceration in Danbury, Connecticut, USA, thanking him for having sent her his book "An unlikely secret agent", 17 August 2013, and reply by RK

F2.5.2 Various items - 1f

Including amongst others: Press Statement by the Office of the President Thabo Mbeki on the 7 October 1997; Copies of developments in the Squillacote trial, forwarded to RK by the South African Secret Service (SASS), October 1998

- F2.5.3 Affidavit of FBI Special Agent Katharine Alleman in support of Complaint and Arrest Warrant for James Clark and Theresa Squillacote, 196 pages 1f
- F2.5.4 Newspaper cuttings 1f

## F2.6 Meiring Report, March-May 1998 - 3f

The Report related to a Military Intelligence Report submitted to President Nelson Mandela by General Georg Meiring about an alleged coup plot implicating political and other public figures, which led to Gen Meiring's early retirement from the SANDF in May 1998. The report was investigated by the Mahomed Commission. It is not included in this collection.

Including newspaper cuttings and personal notes by RK. Also included here are newspaper cuttings relating to the case of Robert McBride's arrest, which played out at the same time. Senior officers of the SANDF had alleged his involvement in a plot to overthrow the government.

- F3 Departmental working documents General PLEASE NOTE: Access to this section is restricted
- F3.1 Departmental Reports 2f
- F3.1.1 Department of Defence Annual Report 1995/1996, New Era Defence
- F3.1.2 Presentations to Parliament of the SA Navy, the SA Medical Services, and Notes on Transformation since April 1994, March 1996
- F3.1.3 Civic education programme on democracy for the SANDF. Executive Summary of the Report to the Minister of Defence. Task Group on Civic Education, 16 February 1997.

  Also included 'Year-end assessment of the Civic Education Programme, by Laurie Nathan, November 1998
- F3.1.4 Department of Defence Annual Report 1997, Defence in a Democracy
- F3.2 Legislation 1f

The Defence Act, Act No.44 of 1957, including the Military Discipline Code and Roles; White Paper on Defence as approved by the South African Parliament, May 1996, including an article by Laurie Nathan, one of the drafters of the White Paper on Defence; notes by RK

- F3.3 Budget speeches 2f
- F3.3.1 Two excerpts from the Hansard, quoting RK during debates on the Budget Vote in August 1994 and March 1995
- F3.3.2 Budget Vote on Defence, 1996 1f
  Including submission to the Depute Minister of Defence; Address by the Minister of Defence J. Modise
  on the occasion of the Budget Vote on Defence to Parliament, 5 June 1996; Address by the Deputy
  Minister of Defence R. Kasrils on the occasion of the Budget Vote on Defence, 6 June 1996
- F3.3.3 Budget Vote on Defence, 1997-1999 1f

Including the Address by the Deputy Minister of Defence R. Kasrils on the occasion of the Budget Vote on Defence, 1997; the Address by the Minister of Defence J. Modise: The Defence Review Motion - National Assembly, May 1998; the Address by the Minister of Defence J. Modise and the Address by the Deputy Minister of Defence R. Kasrils, on the occasion of the Defence Budget Vote, 26 May 1998; Parliamentary Media briefing by the Minister of Defence J. Modise, 9 February 1999, and the Address by the Deputy Minister of Defence R. Kasrils on the occasion of the Defence Budget vote, (Hansard Copy), Address by the Deputy Minister, Appropriation Bill, 26 February 1999; 9 March 1999

- F3.4 Inter-State Defence and Security Conference, 4-8 September 1995, Cape Town 1f
  Personal invitation for RK, Certificate of Attendance for RK and Opening Address by RK
- F3.5 Other working documents 6f

### F3.5.1 Various items - 2f

Including: Detail Report: The formation of a Task Group in respect of the possible re-establishment of ties with foreign forces, Draft copy, October 1994 (The report anticipates that approval will be given for the affiliation or re-affiliation (alliances) of SANDF units with foreign military units, now the South Africa has rejoined the Commonwealth), and Proposed visit by members of the south African Scottish Regiments to Europe, May 1995; Briefing to the Joint Parliamentary Standing Committee re. the appointment of the Military Ombudsperson, 1997; Report on Complaints and Grievances systems, 1997; Defence Report for ANC Policy Conference, 1997; Translation of speech by Fidel Castro, president of the Republic of Cuba, September 1998

- F3.5.2 Miscellaneous documents 3f
- F3.5.3 Memorandum on Constitutional Court Decision on Certification for consideration by Constitutional Assembly, September 1996 1f
- F3.6 Other reports and related research 2f
- F3.6.1 Changing concepts of security: Implications for the role and ethic of the SANDF, Prof William Gutteridge, Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, London, n.d.
- F3.6.2 Political appointments: Prospects for executive restructuring, Military Research Group, Johannesburg, n.d.
- F3.6.3 Is there life after conscription?: Manpower procurement options for a future defence force, Dr Rocky Williams, Military Research Group, Johannesburg, 1993
- F3.6.4 Amputation versus holistic medicine: Economising on defence spending', Willem Steenkamp, Centre for Conflict Resolution, 1994; 'Trade Unionism in the Military: Thoughts and suggestions', Willem Steenkamp, 1994
- F3.6.5 Training for peacekeeping in Southern Africa, Report of the study team, Defence & Security programme: Peacekeeping Project, IDASA, Southern African Conference entitled 'Peacekeeping in Southern Africa: Building Regional Capacity', Johannesburg, 5-6 February 1996
- F3.6.6 On the threshold of change: south African Defence Review reflects the continuing struggle to define a military policy for the new era, by Carl Conetta, Charles Knight, and Lutz Untersehen, Project on Defence alternatives, Commonwealth Institute, Cambridge, 1997
- F3.6.7 Military Intelligence and the counter revolutionary war in the Eastern Cape, compiled and researched by Gert Huge and Stef Snel for Urban Monitoring and Awareness Committee (UMAC), Cape Town, 1998
- F4 Foreign visits 1f

(Photographs of foreign visits by RK can be found under section L - PHOTOGRAPHS)

- F4.1 Visit to the Republic of China on invitation of the Ministry of National Defence of the Republic of China, 14-21 July 1996

  Itinerary, program of visit and invitations
- F5 Invitations, Programmes and Speeches 3f
- F5.1 Presidential invitations

Including amongst others the invitation and programme for the Inauguration of President Nelson Mandela, 10 May 1994

F5.2 Invitations, programmes and menus during the visit of Queen Elizabeth II and her husband the Duke of Edinburgh, March 1995, including an invitation to Dinner on board H.M. Yacht Britannia at Durban (see also section L - PHOTOGRAPHS)

- F5.3 Invitations to occasions of the Ministry of Defence 1f
  Including amongst others: Passing-out Parade at the Military Academy Saldanha, 13 December 1994,
  with the speech given by RK; official launch of the Service Corps, 31 January 1995; Drakensberg Visit, 9
  September 1995 (photographs see under section L Photographs); Programme of the visit to Group 20
   NW Command, February 1998; Military heritage art exhibition, Armscor building, 12 May 1999
  (photographs see under section L Photographs), with draft speech for Deputy President Thabo
  Mbeki; invitation and programme of commemoration of the battles of Rorkes Drift and Isandlhwana,
  21/22 January 1999
- F5.4 Funerals and Re-burials 1f
  Programmes of funerals and re-burials of MK cadres Victor Khayiyane, Barney Molokoane (Mmutle Ramanase), Vincent Sekete (Sydney Sebephu) and Blessing Ninela, including notes for speeches; funerals for two SANDF soldiers killed in the Lesotho intervention in September 1998
- F5.5 Other 1f
  Including amongst others: Address by RK on the occasion of the conference on "The beginnings of the armed struggle in South Africa (the launch of Umkhonto We Sizwe)", Mayibuye Centre, Cape Town, December 1995; invitation and programme for the Memorial for Ernesto Che Guevara, by the Friends of Cuba Society, including notes of a speech, 11 October 1997. Also included an article about Che Guevara, published by the British newspaper Morning Star, 1968
- F6 Publications by the Department of Defence 3f
- F6.1 Publications 2f
   Pre-1994, including 'Paratus', 'S.A.D.F', 'Militaria' with a History of the South African Defence Force
   1912-1987
   1994- 1999, including 'Salut', 'South African Soldier', 'Ad Astra, 'Department of Defence Bulletin'
- F6.2 Copy of Naval Digest, no. 14 'From ministers to warriors', by Christ Bennett.

  The discussions leading to, as well as some of the reasoning behind, the change made to the class name and the names of SA Navy strike craft in 1997. Published by the Naval Heritage Trust, Simon's Town, 2009
- F6.3 Pamphlets and cards 1f
- F7 Newspaper cuttings, 1994-1999 4f
- F7.1 News clips and journal articles relating to RK, including articles written by RK 2f
- F7.2 Media statements and Newspaper clips relating to the Department of Defence 2f
- G MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS AND FORESTRY, 1999-2004
- Ga Copies of photographs, of which most are included in original form under Section L5)
- G1 Personal items 3f
- G1.1 Memorabilia 1f

Including: RKs business cards made out to 'Ministry: Water Affairs and Forestry Mr R Kasrils Minister' and 'Ronnie Kasrils, MP Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry'; Notebook for members of Cabinet (see Box 2 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection); printed note pads and Memorandum from the desk of Ronnie Kasrils, MP; printed letterhead of the Ministry; small notes relating to a visit to China (Minister Wang); various business cards, including of Carl Niehaus and Raymond Suttner

- G1.1a Delegate, VIP and ID cards for RK's attendance at various events
- G1.2 Various items 1f

Including amongst others: Solemn Affirmation at the National Assembly, signed by Arthur Chaskalson, President of the Constitutional Court and RK, Member of the National Assembly, on the 14 June 1999; Confirmation of membership and membership card for the John Snow Society at The Royal Institute of Public Health; letter of appreciation to RK by Michel Camdessus, Chairman of the World Panel on Water Infrastructure Financing, saying "This is only for your archives..."; Certificate for 'Honorary Gunner of the Republic of Hout Bay' issued to RK; glossy brochure entitled 'Sulabh International Museum of Toilets' with business card, presented to RK by Dr Bindeshwar Pathak

G1.3 Invitations - 1f

Invitations including amongst others: Swearing in of the National Assembly, June 199, and Special Postage Stamp commemorating the Inauguration of the President of South Africa, issued by the South African Post Office, 16 June 1999; invitation to State Banquet hosted by President Thabo Mbeki in honour of the visit by Queen Elizabeth II at the Commonwealth heads of Government meeting in November 1999

G1.4 Greeting card from businessman Douw Steyn, after celebration of his 50th birthday in December 2002

Also included a VHS tape of the birthday party entitled "The Tycoon" (stored separately from collection)

- G2 Notes, speeches and writing 4f
- G2.1 Writing by the Minister 1f

Articles for 'Shotha', weekly newsletter of the Department of Water Affairs & Forestry; for press releases and publications; including amongst others: 'The Renaissance Plan', A draft concept prepared for President Thabo Mbeki and Deputy President Jacob Zuma, October 1999; 'The Woman of Lutsheko', July 2000; 'China's Three Gorges Dam and the Terra Cotta Warriors', published as newspaper article in Cape Times, June 2001 and as Chapter 12 in the book 'China through the third eye: South African perspectives' by Garth Le Pere, Institute for Global Dialogue, 2004

G2.2 Speeches - 2f

Speeches by RK at national and international events, including amongst others: 'The political agenda of the South African Government', address to the Jewish Board of Deputies Congress, 22 August 1999; Points for consideration for the launch of "Working on Fire" aimed at dealing with the forest fires in the country - and later shack fires, Newlands Forest Station, 3 February 2004, including related email and newsclip; invitation and presentation of Inaugural Lecture at the Sir Richard Jolly Lecture Series, UNICEF, New York, 30 April 2004

- G2.2.1 Video of the Ukuvuka Dinner event, for the Ukuvuka (Fire stop) Campaign, VHS (stored separately from collection)
- G2.3 General notes 1f

  Notes by RK on various topics and events
- G2.4 Articles and Speeches

  MSWord documents of articles, 2003/2004 and speeches, 1999-2004 by RK on CD (stored separately from collection()

- G3 Departmental working documents Special Topics 2f
- G3.1 Working for Water Programme 1f
  Annual Reports 1999/2000, 2001/2002 and 2002/2003; publications, including 'The catastrophe of invasive species'
- G3.2 Cholera epidemic 1f

Documents mainly relating to the cholera outbreaks in the Kwa Zulu Natal and Northern Provinces in 2001, including: KwaZulu Natal 2000/2001 Cholera Epidemic Intervention Action Plan, prepared by Badenhorst, regional director KZN, 2001; Cholera outbreak – Proposed business plan for the comprehensive cholera epidemic control measures in KZN, February 2001; Progress reports on the cholera epidemic in KwaZulu Natal and the Northern Province; newspaper clips

- G4 Departmental working documents General PLEASE NOTE: Access to this section is restricted
- G4.1 Government guidelines

Code of Conduct, Register of Members interest, 1999; Handbook for members of the Executive and Presiding officers, February 2003

- G4.2 Ministerial visits to Provinces 1f
- G4.2.1 Short Progress Reports on Ministerial visits to various provinces in 1999
- G4.2.2 Minister's visit to Mpumalanga, 11 September 2000
- G4.2.3 Minister's visit to Western Cape, 16 November 2000
- G4.2.4 Minister's visit to North West, 20 November 2000
- G4.2.5 Flag Boshielo Scheme, Ministerial visit, 3 September 2002
- G4.3 Budget Votes 2f

Presentations of Budget Votes for the years 2000-2003, with notes, including the Draft budget presentation to Portfolio Committee of 2001

- G4.4 Conferences
- G4.4.1 Correspondence and brochure relating to the Global International Waters Assessment (GIWA), August 2001
- G4.4.2 Briefing documents for the African Sanitation and Hygiene Conference (Africasan), July 2002, including Opening speech by RK
- G4.4.3 World summit on Sustainable Development, 28 August 3 September 2002, Johannesburg 1f

Address of the President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki at the opening of the World Summit, 26 August 2002; Waterdome Final Report, World Summit on Sustainable Development, 28 August - 3 September 2002; 'No Water No Future: A Water Focus For Johannesburg; 'A Framework for Action on Water and Sanitation', the WEHAB Working Group, August 2002; Guidelines for the Assessment of National Sanitation Policies, with CD, prepared for the Summit by the Environmental Health Project, USAID; Countdown to Johannesburg: A Water Perspective, by Mike Muller, Department of Water Affairs and Forestry; newspaper clips

- G4.5 Other working documents 8f
- G4.5.1 Documents, 1999 1f

Including the Briefing of the Portfolio committee on Community Water Supply & Sanitation Programme, November 1999; Ministerial Status Report 1999, Professor Kader Asmal

- G4.5.2 Documents, 2000 1f
  Including 'The South African Forest Sector at a Glance', by Mike Edwards, Forest Owners Association,
  November 2000
- G4.5.3 Documents, 2001 1f
  Including status reports; interview with Mike Muller, Director-General, on Safm about water scheme difficulties in KwaZulu Natal, July 2001
- G4.5.4 Documents, 2002 2f
  Including proposals for partnerships by community projects; Review of the Department of Water
  Affairs and Forestry Sanitation Programme, written submission from the Mvula Trust, October 2002;
  Comments on the HSRC book "Cost Recovery and the Crisis of Service Delivery", made by Mike Muller,
  September 2002; Domestic water supplies in Mavuso, Eastern Cape, study conducted by Professor
  Vernon Domingo, July 2002; Working notes for RK; Presentation to the extended Cabinet meeting, July
  2002
- G4.5.5 Documents, 2003/2004 1f
- G4.5.5.1 Communication and Media release relating to RKs nomination to the United Nations Advisory Board on Water and Sanitation, on an invitation from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Koffi Annan
- G4.5.5.2 Various 1f
  Including a Compilation of ideas for the African Ministerial Commitments on Implementation and
  Partnerships for achieving the Water and Sanitation Targets; briefing by RK of the Drought situation in
  December 2003; Water services: Progress and challenges; recommendations to the Minister by the
  Task Team on Water for Productive Uses by the Poor
- G4.5.5.3 Official visit to Palestine, March 2004 1f
  (For photographs see section L PHOTOGRAPHS)
  Including the programme of visit; copy of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Palestinian Nation Authority and South Africa on Water and Forestry; Press release and press coverage of the visit;
  Booklet with printed photographs of the visit (see also section L5.7)
- G4.5.6 Other, n.d.
- G4.5.7 Correspondence, 2000-2004 1f
  Including amongst others, covering letter to RK and transcript of interview with RK by 'The Observer',
  September 2003
- G5 Publications by the Department 8f
- G5.1 Publications by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, 1997-2004 3f
  Including amongst others: postcards; The White Paper on a National Water Policy for South Africa,
  1997; 2020 Vision for Water Programme, 1999-2000 Review; 3 issues of 'Hlathi-Manzi', magazine of
  the Department; pamphlets for each of South Africa's dams; Trans-Caledon Tunnel Authority Annual
  Report, 2001; 'Water Forestry ... Towards a better life for all 1994-2004; coffee table book publication
  by the Department
- G5.1.1 Annual Report 2001/2002, The Presidency, PDF format on DVD (stored separately from collection)
- G5.1.2 Mid-year review on government communication and its strategic framework, speaking notes and Power Point presentations, 2002, DVD (stored separately from collection)
- G5.2 Related South African publications 1f
  Including amongst others: The Mvula Trust. A case study of an independent approach to rural water supply and sanitation in South Africa, by Ian Palmer
- G5.3 International publications 4f

- G5.3.1 Publications by the Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council (WSSCC), Geneva, Switzerland, including its Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) programme 1f
  Included here pictures send by email of RK at the WASH press conference during the Bonn Freshwater Conference, February 2002
- G5.3.2 Various articles 1f
  Including: 'Management of International Water resources. A case study of legal and institutional aspects of the Limpopo and Orange River Basins in Southern Africa', by Abdullahi Elmi Mohamed, Stockholm 2001; 'Water resources management strategy for Zimbabwe', Water Resources Management Strategy (WRMS) programme Zimbabwe
- G5.3.3 Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Handbook for Extension Workers', Vol. 1&2, published by Republic of Uganda and UNICEF 1f
- G5.3.4 Other 1f
- G6 Newspaper cuttings, 1999-2004 7f
- G6.1 Media releases by the Department 1f
- G6.2 News clips and journal articles relating to RK, including articles written by RK 4f (see also section L5 PHOTOGRAPHS)
- G6.3 Newspaper clips relating to the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry 2f
- H MINISTER FOR INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, 2004-2008

(Photographs are included under Section L - Photographs)

- H1 Personal items
- H1.1 Memorabilia 1f

Including: Various versions of RKs business cards made out to 'Ronnie Kasrils (MP) Minister', one of which includes 'Five Principles of Intelligence Service Professionalism' on the reverse side; name plate for Minister R Kasrils (see Box 2 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection), with Thabo Mbeki's signature; printed note pads 'Memorandum From the desk of Ronnie Kasrils, MP, Minister of Intelligence Service', complimentary slip and letterhead; handwritten note from August 2005, relating to the 'Five Principles of Intelligence Service Professionalism', which RK developed in 2005 and presented at the Budget Vote in 2006, and which also got included on one of his business cards and as a fridge magnet. See H2.1 and H2.3; Gift box with pencil and ball pen, National Intelligence Agency of South Africa, 2004 (see Box 2 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection); Bronze medal presented to RK by Pierre Brochand, Director-General of External Security, France (see Box 2 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection)

#### H1.1a Various other

Delegate, VIP and ID cards for RK's attendance at various events, including: ID cards for United Nations, valid for 22-27 July 2004; SADC Meetings in Dar Es Salaam, 23-29 July 2007; CopenMind; membership card for Presidency Golf Club

- H1.2 Personal letters and notes 1f
  - Made out to the Minister as reference and in appreciation, including a Thank You card by Aubrey Welken, see Newspaper clips in section 7.2.1. (See other letters in section H1.5)
- H1.3 Other documents

Including Certificate of Registration as a Candidate in the National Election 2004; Certificate of Authenticity issued to Minister Kasrils for the maquette of statue of an African Scout by sculptor Phil Minnaar, commissioned by RK for the Intelligence Services Academy in Pretoria, that the Dintlala 19th Century Maquette in his possession is the 2nd bronze copy of a limited edition of 60, November 2007 (see also L6.12.2.12)

- H1.4 Notes and writing by RK 4f
- H1.4.1 Various 1f

Including various handwritten notes; excerpts from the Minister's diary with notes; Notes for draft questions by the Mail & Guardian newspapers relating to the National Intelligence service, retrospective, May 2009

- H1.4.2 Notes and articles (not by RK) relating to the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale, including RK's response to Simon Barber in Business Day, March 2008 1f
- H1.4.3 Collection of different writings from Marxists on what constitutes a 'revolutionary morality' 1f
- H1.4.4 Others 1f

Including amongst others notes on article entitled 'From liberation to governance - the birth and growing pains of South Africa's democratic Intelligence Services', by Barry Gilder, October 2008

- H1.5 Retirement from public office, September 2008 3f
- H1.5.1 Thabo Mbeki's resignation as President of the Republic 1f
  Including: Text of the Address to the Nation by President Thabo Mbeki, informing the nation that he handed his letter of resignation to the Speaker of the National Assembly, 21 September 2008; original official letter of thanks from outgoing President Thabo Mbeki to all Members of the National Executive, 24 September 2008
- H1.5.2 Ronnie Kasrils resignation as Minister for Intelligence Services 1f
  Including: original official letter from President Thabo Mbeki to RK, accepting his resignation on the 23
  September 2008; text of statement on Minister Ronnie Kasrils Resignation, Pretoria, 24 September 2008; letters of appreciation following RK resignation as Minister
- H1.5.3 Newspaper clips covering RKs resignation 1f
- H2 Departmental working documents Special topics
- H2.1 Budget Vote Address, Parliament, 2004-2008 2f

Official presentations of Budget Vote Addresses by Minister Ronnie Kasrils (MP), from 2004-2008, some of which include fun items such a ruler with magnifier, a board game on the cover page with dice, and a fridge magnet with the 'Principles of our Professionalism'.

Also included invitation cards in extreme small print with magnifying glass for the Budget Vote cocktail in 2005 (see Box 2 of Memorabilia - stored separately from collection)

H2.2 Jacob Zuma cases, 2005-2008 - 8f

Newspaper coverage of Jacob Zuma's legal cases and their implications on South African politics, during RKs term as Minister for Intelligence.

H2.2.1 Rape trial, 2005/2006 - 6f

Jacob Zuma trial related to rape charges from November 2005 to May 2006, when he was found not guilty. Including The ANC, COSATU and SACP statements on the 6 December 2005.

H2.2.2 Corruption charges, 2005-2009 - 2f

Jacob Zuma was relieved of his duties as Deputy President of the Republic in June 2005 following allegations of corruption, but only formally charged with corruption in December 2007. These charges where dropped by the National Prosecuting Authority in April 2009. Former President of the Republic Thabo Mbeki had resigned in September 2008, see H1.5.1. This section covers these events during the period 2005-2009, which overlap at times with events covered under H2.2.1. There are no newspaper clips from 2008

H2.3 Billy Masetlha and the e-mail hoax saga, 2005/2007

Newspaper coverage relating to a case involving mainly Billy Masetlha, the former Director General of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), but also Gibson Njenje, the former Deputy Director-General: Operations and Bob Mhlanga, the former General Manager Counter-Intelligence. The case evolved from events originating from Project Avani, a NIA project, which itself was an extension of the investigation into the legality of the surveillance operations carried out by NIA on the businessman Sakumzi (Saki) Macozoma. In the process hoax emails were circulated which implicated top ANC figures in an alleged plot to tarnish the image of Jacob Zuma. Former President Thabo Mbeki had dismissed Billy Masetlha as head of NIA in March 2006.

This section is divided into two sub-sections, as the e-mail hoax saga was covered extensively, but both sections are closely related and at times overlap, also relating to section H2.2 Jacob Zuma.

- H2.3a Response by RK to a letter in Business Day of 17 November 2005 to allegations that Minister has disclosed classified information to the media 1f
  Including newspaper clip; also included address by RK to the management of Intelligence Services on the suspensions and unfolding events, October 2005
- H2.3.1 Billy Masetlha 5f
- H2.3.1.1 Newspaper clips, 2005-2009, some with handwritten notes by RK 4f
- H2.3.1.2 The State vs. Billy Lesedi Masetlha 1f
- H2.3.1.2.1 Subpoena issued for the Minister for Intelligence Services to appear, December 2006
- H2.3.1.2.2 Judgement in the case The State vs. Billy Lesedi Masetlha, finding him Not Guilty, 28 November 2007
- H2.3.1.2.3 Media statement by the Office of the Inspector General.

Also included the Media Summary issued by the Constitutional Court of South Africa about the Judgement in the court case Billy Lesedi Masetlha v The President and Manala Elias Manzini. The case related to the Court's decision whether or not former President Thabo Mbeki's decision to suspend and terminate Masetlha's employment was constitutionally permissible, and in which it ruled in favour of President Thabo Mbeki, dated 3 October 2007

H2.3.2 E-mail hoax saga, 2005-2008 - 3f

The e-mail hoax saga later also involved IT specialist and businessman Muziwendoda Kunene

Newspaper clips, some with handwritten notes by RK

- H2.3.3 Final Report on the findings of an investigation into the legality of the surveillance operations carried out by the NIA on Mr S Macozoma, Office of the Inspector-General of Intelligence 1f
- H2.3.3.1 Executive Summary for Media Release, 8 March 2006
- H2.3.3.2 Executive Summary for Media Briefing, 23 March 2006

- H2.4 Protection of Information Bill 2f
- H2.4.1 Notes on the proposed Bill; Address at the Institute of Security Studies (ISS) entitled 'To spy or not to spy?', 3 July 2008 1f
- H2.4.2 Newspaper clips relating to the Bill and foreseeable 'problems in formulation', 2008. (Other related newspaper clips can be found in A8 post-retirement.) 1f
- H2.5 Ministerial Review Commission on Intelligence Report 2f

Intelligence in a Constitutional Democracy', Final Report to the Minister for Intelligence Services, by the Ministerial Review Commission on Intelligence in September 2008, downloaded from the website of the London School of Economics and Political Science, UK, 303 pages; newspaper clips relating to calls to the release of the ministerial review commission report into the intelligence services, which was commissioned by RK in 2006 and presented to him in September 2008 before he resigned.

- H3 Departmental working documents General 7f PLEASE NOTE: Access to this section is restricted
- H3.1 Overview of Security legislation, brochure 1f
- H3.2 Intelligence Services Oversight Act 40 of 1994; Government publication of 'The civilian intelligence community of South Africa' 1f
- H3.3 Speeches by the President of RSA President Thabo Mbeki, 2003-2008, published by the South African National Academy of Intelligence 1f
- H3.4 General 1f

Including amongst others: 'Intelligence in a Democracy' Foreword by Ronnie Kasrils; 'Mobilising our resources to work together to do more to achieve national security', outlining the restructuring of the Intelligence Services

- H3.5 Other reports and related research 3f
- H3.5.1 "Intelligence Perspective", journal published by the Intelligence Research Institute (South Africa), issues February-March 2004
- H3.5.2 Executive Summary of Report on pre-war intelligence assessment on Iraq, Open Source document published by the National Intelligence Coordinating Committee (NICOC), July 2004
- H3.5.3 Intelligence in Practice: South Africa's transformation, by Dennis Thokozani Dlomo, October 2004
- H3.5.4 Global responses to global threats: sustainable security for the 21st century, Oxford Research Group, Briefing Paper, June 2006
- H3.5.5 Emerging threats in the 21st century: Strategic foresight and warning, Seminar Series, Final Report, Centre for Security Studies, Switzerland, December 2007
- H3.5.6 The Zimbabwean crisis: Opportunities for reform, by Trevor Ncube, 2007
- H3.5.7 Intelligence bound: The South African Constitution and Intelligence Services, by Laurie Nathan, Crisis States Research Centre, Dar es Salaam, 2009
- H3.5.8 Other
- H4 Foreign visits

(Photographs of foreign visits by RK can be found under section L - PHOTOGRAPHS)

H4.1 Visit to Palestine, May 2007 - 1f

Press statement about the visit; Response to Jerusalem Post newspaper questions; Speech at the Birzeit University

H4.2

Programmes and items of other foreign visits

Including: folder containing complementary photographs from a talk with the French Minister of Defence, Michèle Alliot-Marie, during an official visit to France, February 2005 (photographs have been removed, see section L6 - Photographs); a Poem written by RK on visiting the Long Kesh Detention Centre in October 2005, entitled "In Bobby Sands Cold Cell"; envelope containing photos of an official visit to Vietnam, 2006 (photographs have been removed, see section L6 - Photographs); folder from the Nile Maxim Cruising restaurant, Egypt (photographs have been removed, see L6.11.11-12)

- H5 Invitations, Programmes and Speeches 5f
- H5.1 Presidential invitations 1f

Including amongst others the programme for the Presidential inauguration, April 2004, and postcards celebrating 10 years of Freedom; Cabinet Lekgotla dinner, January 2008; State banquet in honour of Hosni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, July 2008

H5.2 Tswalu Dialogue, 25-27 January 2007 - 2f

Participation at the Tswalu Dialogue hosted by the Brenthurst Foundation: Southern Africa and International Terrorism, held at the Oppenheimer family reserve at Tswalu in the Kalahari Desert, 25-27 January 2007.

Included amongst others: Invitation, programme and participant biographies; Keynote address by RK, with preparatory notes; presentations by Kurt Schillinger, Cedric Mayson, Ken Menkhaus; research articles; newspaper clips

- H5.3 Other invitations 1f
  - Including: the Inaugural Friends of the President Golf Day, 2005; the Intelligence Services Minister's Golf Day, with photograph (removed, see L Photographs), 2006; Programme and invitation for the Intelligence Services Day, 2007
- H5.4 Other 1f

Draft speech, n.d.; Funeral programme and obituary for the funeral of Joseph Mbuku Nhlanhla, former Minister of Intelligence Services from 1999

- H6 Publications by the Department of Intelligence 1f
- H6.1 Pamphlets and postcards 1f
- H6.2 Africa Public Service Day 2007, documents and Power Point compilations, published by the Department of Public Service and Administration, DVD (stored separately from collection)
- "Balancing society and market: Public policy and growth for Africa", Ditchley Park lecture by TrevorManuel, Minister of Finance, 7 July 2006
- H7 Newspaper cuttings 8f
- H7.1 News clips relating to RK, including articles written by RK 2f
- H7.1a Colour copies of two front pages of the 'Daily Ireland', carrying articles by RK, October 2005 (see folio folder no. 1)
- H7.2 Media statements and Newspaper clips relating to the Department of Intelligence, 2004-2009 2f
- H7.2.1 News clips relating to Aubrey Welken, the spy who was held in Zimbabwe, 2005/2006 1f
- H7.2.2 Collection of newspaper clips relating to Dieter Gerhardt- 1f

  One of South Africa's most senior naval officer, who spied for the Soviet Union, until his arrest and trial in South Africa in 1983
- H7.2.3 Other general news clips, some relating to the abduction of Pakistani national Khalid Rashid from South Africa, 2006; and Xenophobic violence, 2008 2f

I	ISRAEL-PALESTINE / MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT, 1987-2012
I1	Correspondence - 6f
11.1	Undated items, 1987/1994 - 1f Including Vladimir Shubin; correspondence relating to Rabbi Ben Isaacson
11.2	Correspondence, 2001 - 1f Including correspondence relating to the distribution of a package to Parliamentarians by the Jewish Board of Deputies
11.3	Correspondence, 2002 - 1f
11.4	Correspondence, 2003 - 1f Including correspondence to former President Nelson Mandela, President Thabo Mbeki and Ministers, alerting to the Cairo Conference on Iraq, as well as campaigns against the US-led war threat against Iraq, January 2003
11.5	Correspondence, 2004-2007 - 1f
I1.6	Correspondence, 2008-2012 - 1f
12	Declaration of Conscience on Israeli-Palestinian conflict by South Africans of Jewish descent, 2001/2002 - 8f
12.1	Development of initiative - 1f
I2.1.1	Address by RK to the National Assembly on the consideration of the Report of the fact-finding mission to Israel and Palestine 9-19 July 2001, delivered on the 23 October 2001, including Hansard version
12.1.2	Report of the fact-finding mission to Israel and Palestine 9-19 July 2001
12.1.3	Revision of the Address with input from Nadine Gordimer; later versions of the Statement of Conscience which was later called Declaration of Conscience, dated October, 19 November, 7 December 2001
12.2	Launch of the Declaration, 7 December 2001 - 1f Including speech by RK and newspaper clips covering the launch
12.3	Statements of support and signatories - 1f Names and lists of signatories
12.4	Responses to the Declaration, 2001-2003 Including correspondence, written by individuals mainly from the Jewish community and religious leaders, embassies, family members of RK, and organisations, in support of the Declaration as well as in opposition to it
12.4.1	Press statements of support by the ANC, NEHAWU and others 1f Included also the Press statement issued by the office of the Chief Rabbi and the Southern African Rabbinical Association in response to the Declaration, repudiating it
12.4.2	2001 Correspondence - 2f Including letters written by RK to members of the Jewish community in South Africa, explaining his position
12.4.3	2002 Correspondence - 1f
12.5	Further developments - 1f
	Including amongst others: discussion paper on some fundamental political questions relating to the campaign; "Not in my name" One year on, by RK and Max Ozinsky, 2002; Application for assistance to the Legal Resources Centre to register a legal entity of the initiative "Not in my name", February

- 13 Other activities
- Agenda for a meeting of the 'South African Friends of Labour Israel (SAFOLI), August 1993
  With suggested contact persons being RK, Joe (Slovo?), Nadine Gordimer, Gill Marcus, Albie Sacks, Mrs Harris (Rabbi), Ivor Isaacs, Arthur Chaskalson, Helen Lieberman
- I3.1 Funding Proposal for the Afro-Middle East Centre (AMEC): An African institute focussing on the Middle East, and Africa-Middle East relations, by Na'eem Jeenah, Ronnie Kasrils, Salim Vally, May 2009 (with corrections by RK), July 2009
- 13.2 Legal cases 3f
- I3.2.1 Opinion re. Referral by RK to the South African Human Rights Commission to determine whether written comments made by him constitute hate speech as alleged, February 2007. 1f
  - Also included newspaper clips and Press release
- Charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity against Israeli and other suspects during the war on Gaza, 27 December 2008 to 18 January 2009 2f
   Submitted by The Palestinian Solidarity Alliance and The Media Review Network, August 2009
- 13.2.2.1 Press Statements and newspaper clips
- I3.2.2.2 Annexure A of submission, relating to Domestic Law provisions; Annexure C1 of submission, being Affidavit by RK, May 2009
- I3.2.2.3 Independent fact-finding mission into violations of human rights in the Gaza Strip during the period 27.12.2008 18.01.2009', Final Report, Brussels, April 2009; and Summary by Physicians for Human Rights Israel and Palestinian Medical Relief Society, Shabbir Ahmed Waddee and Sebastian Van As
- 13.3 Demonstrations and speeches, 2000-2009 2f
- I3.3.1 Beyond Victimhood', October/ November 2006 1f

  Event organised by the Palestine Solidarity Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand, 3

  October 2006, with correspondence. Also included handwritten and typed reply to Anthony Posner, who attended the event and published in the South African Jewish Report
- I3.3.2 Other programmes of event, flyers for mass meetings and seminars, and speeches 1f Including amongst others: Speech delivered by RK at the Athlone Stadium on the Middle East conflict and Palestine, 21 April 2002; 'What hope for Middle East peace?' Address at the Goedgedacht Forum, Western Cape, 6 April 2005; Speech at University of Cape Town, 24 September 2006; Seminar on Israel and Lebanon, Trinity Church Hall, 10 October 2006; Address by RK during the Parliamentary Debate on the Palestine-Israeli issue, 6 June 2007; Speaking notes for a speech on the occasion of the United Nations International Day of Solidarity with Palestine, Unisa, 29 November 2007; media statements
- 13.4 Radio interviews, 2003-2006 1f
  Transcripts of interviews with RK by presenters from various radio stations, including Tami Shem-Tov,
  Vuyo Mbuli, Moshoeshoe Monare
- 13.5 Other 2f
- I3.5.1 Campaigns and events, 2001-2008 1f
   Media releases, statements, resolutions and petitions of various campaigns relating to Israel and Palestine, by organisations and individuals
- 13.5.2 Ardmore Artist Awards, Sponsorships, Exhibition catalogue, CD (MSWork format), 2006 (stored separately from collection)
- 13.5.2 Visits and assessments, 2004-2008 1f

Including amongst others: Position paper relating to development of South Africa's engagement in the Middle East Peace Process (MEPP), 2006; Report of the Special Rapporteur of the commission on Human Rights, John Dugard, on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories, submitted September 2003

14 Publications and writing by Kr	14	Publications and writing by RK
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- 14.1 Book publication, 2006/2007 5f
- I4.1.1 David & Goliath Just Who is Who in the Middle East?'
  Including the A4 typescript publication as well as the publication of this text in a special edition of the ANC discussion journal Umrabulo, where it was first published in November 2006 and March 2007, n.d. for the A4 and special edition
- Initial and uncompleted draft, including in Part 1 'Lifting the Veil: The Palestinian-Israeli conflict' and 'Why I am not a Zionist - 2f

As well as various contributions in Part 2, June 2007, pages 1-207

- I4.1.3 Draft entitled 'Palestine book manuscript', which is more personal in character, relating to his own family and upbringing, 2003(?) 2f
- I4.1.4 Handwritten notes for Palestine book; also included correspondence relating to a manuscript for a book entitled 'Rape of Palestine', 2007 1f
- 14.2 Articles, 2002/2007

Including 'Birds of a Feather: Israel and Apartheid South Africa - Colonialism of a special type', 2007; Boycott: From Potatoes to Oranges to Freedom', 2007; 'Injustice use of Palestinian natural resources - Apartheid in the Holy Land', Report by Ronnie Kasrils and Anis Saleh for Justice in Palestine Conference, 2002

- 14.3 Newspaper articles by RK (typescripts), 2001-2009Also see section I7 Newspaper clips relating to RK
- 14.4 Other handwritten notes

Including: Conference notes, Notes and comments by RK on published articles, and Various other notes

- I4.5 MSWord files of speeches, writing and book publication, 2001-2004, on CD (stored separately from collection)
- 15 Conferences / meetings / workshops
- 15.1 HSRC Middle East Project, 2008/2009 5f
- I5.1.1 Visit by Palestinian Citizens of Israel, 20-24 April 2008 1f Including: Programme, list of participants, background information
- Visit of Arab-Israeli Members of the Israeli Knesset, 5-12 June 2008 2f
   Including: Programme, list of participants, briefing document, visit to Robben Island, meeting requests
- I5.1.3 Correspondence on Middle East Project 1f
- I5.1.4 Democracy in Israel', Roundtable IDASA / HSRC, 11-13 August 2008 1f Including: Programme, list of participants, background information, workshop document for participants
- I5.1.5 Re-envisioning Israel / Palestine', International Conference, HSRC Middle East Project, 12-14 June 2009 1f

	Including: Conference announcement, programme, abstracts; 'The other Apartheid state', address by RK, 12 June 2009
15.2	Russell Tribunal on Palestine, 2010-2012 - 7f
15.2.1	First International Session, Barcelona, 1-3 March 2010 - 2f
15.2.1.1	Document folder prepared for participants - 1f
15.2.1.2	Press Kit (English); Conclusions - 1f
15.2.2	Second International Session, London, 20-22 November 2010 - 1f
	Programme and Statement; Expert's presentation index
15.2.3	Third International Session, Cape Town, 5-7 November 2011 - 4f
15.2.3.1	Preparatory meetings, 2011 - 1f
	Including: Executive summaries of the findings of the international sessions in Barcelona and London; agendas, staffing, costing; Pictorial motivation for the usage of the District Six Museum
15.2.3.2	Conference organisation - 1f
15 2 2 2	Conference planning notes, outlines of sessions, questions, draft summary of findings  Conference material - 2f
15.2.3.3	
	Including: Name tag for participant Ronnie Kasrils; conference pack for participants; press statements; newspaper clips, 2011
15.2.4	Fourth International Session, New York, 6-8 October 2012
	Invitation letter issued by the Centre for Constitutional Rights; Executive Summary; Letter of thanks to RK
15.3	Other conferences and seminars - 8f
15.3.1	South African Jewish Board of Deputies, 40th National Congress, Johannesburg, 22 August 1999 - 1f
	Including conference folder and Congress Report
15.3.2	World Conference against Racism, Durban, 2001
	Newspaper clips and notes relating to Middle East conflict
15.3.3	Presidential Peace Retreat, Cape Town (Spier Estate), 9-11 January 2002 - 1f
	PLEASE NOTE: Access to this section is restricted
	Including conference programme and participants; recommendations; press statement and
	newspaper clips; notes by RK
15.3.4	Justice in Palestine conference, Johannesburg, 20 July 2002 - 1f
	Including speech by RK, and Report by RK and Anis Saleh entitled 'Injustice use of Palestinian natural resources - Apartheid in the Holy Land'
15.3.5	Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), London, 2002/2005 - 1f
	Programmes, flyers and notes by RK, including address by RK in 2002
15.3.6	The Israeli-Palestinian conflict' conference, Pretoria, 4-6 September 2006 - 1f
	Including conference report and notes by RK
15.3.7	United Nations African meeting on the question of Palestine, Pretoria, 9-10 May 2007 - 1f
15.3.7.1	Conference folder with invitation, conference arrangements, programme and UN documentation
15.3.7.2	Opening address by Essop Pahad and Statement for closing Session delivered by Aziz Pahad - 1f
	Also included: 'International efforts aimed at achieving a viable Israeli-Palestinian peace', paper
	presented by RK; Final document of the conference; newspaper clips; and correspondence with provisional programme of an earlier meeting in Rabat/Morocco, 24-26 June 2002
15.3.8	Nakba Conference, Cape Town, 11-13 May 2007

Friends of Al-Aqsa' Conference with Hamas representatives, including Press statements, speech

United Nations Durban Review Conference, Geneva, 20-24 April 2009 - 1f

delivered by Mohammed Nazzal, newspaper clips

15.3.9

15.3.10	Public launch of the Palestinian Civil society Strategic Position Paper, November 2008, including Press release, Final draft and notes by RK  Afro-Middle East Centre (AMEC) conference, Pretoria, 12-14 April 2010 - 1f  Selected conference papers, including by RK; correspondence relating to a conference by the AMEC from 27 to 29 August 2012 in Pretoria
15.3.11	Summer University Palestine, American University of Beirut, 23-30 July 2011  Programme and notes by RK
15.3.12	Muslims & Christians in Solidarity with the Palestinians, Stellenbosch, 8-9 November 2011  Programme and notes by RK
16	Publications relating to RK
16.1	Articles
16.1.1	Typescripts of articles including: 'Mandela's Jewish soldier', by Naomi Levitzki, n.d.; 'Twilight zone / Cry, the beloved country, by Gideon Levy, with notes by RK, 2007
16.1.2	Website items Printout of articles from 'SA Zionist website', October 2006
17	Newspaper clips relating to RK, 2001-2011
17.1	Newspaper articles - 7f
17.1.1	Newspaper articles, 2001 - 2f
17.1.2	Newspaper articles, 2002 - 1f
17.1.3	Newspaper articles, 2003/2004 - 1f
17.1.4	Newspaper articles, 2005/2006 - 1f
17.1.4a	Poster by the Mail&Guardian newspaper with headline "Kasrils on the myths of Zionism", issue 27 January to 2 February 2006 (see folio folder no. 3)
17.1.5	Newspaper article, 2007 - 1f
17.1.6	Newspaper article, 2008/2009/2011 - 1f
17.2	Jewish Report, 2001-2005 Selected issues, October 2001 - January 2002; February/March 2004; May 2005 (see Folio folder no. 2)
18	POSTER (see Folio no.3)
J	POST-RETIREMENT POLITICAL LIFE, 2008-
J1	Visits and speeches, post-2008
J1.1	Programme of visit to Ireland to mark the 30th Anniversary of the 1981 Irish Hunger Strike, hosted by Sinn Fein, June 2011
J1.2	Notes for a talk on Memoirs and struggle for the Mail & Guardian Literary Festival 2011, with comment on how RK prepares for a talk
J1.3	Notes for the opening of the Beezy Baily Exhibition in Wuhan, China, October 2011; and for the same exhibition at the Everard Read Gallery, Cape Town, 2012

- J1.4 Notes for input by RK for the event 'Liberation in the era of globalisation', University of Johannesburg, September 2011 1f
- J1.4 Notes for Briefing to Chair, Public Dialogue about Kgalema Motlanthe's political biography by Ebrahim Harvey, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, February 2013
- J2 Newspaper cuttings and writing 1f

News clips and articles about RK or written by RK, post-2008, relating to RK's post-retirement from Government in 2008 and political life thereafter, and his opinion about political developments in South Africa.

- J2.1 Journal articles, 2009- 1f
  - Including: 'The Thinker', 'Amandla!', 'Monthly Review' and 'African Communist'
- J2.2 Newspaper cuttings, 2008-
- J2.3 Pages from desktop calendars with notes by RK, April-December 2009, August-November 2010, January 2011 (see folio folder no. 3)
- J3 Archival event at Wits University, June 2013

The Ronnie Kasrils Papers at the Historical Papers Research Archive were launched with an official event, including a Panel discussion and exhibition of items from the archival collection, followed by a book launch of his latest edition of 'Armed and Dangerous', which was attended by more than 150 people, 20 June 2013

- J3.1 Various items
  - Included are: invitation; RKs notes for the event; newspaper clips; the Introduction to the Jacana edition of 'Armed and Dangerous' (CD with photographs of the event see under L7.12)
- J3.2 Audio recording of the event by Wits Communication (DVD stored separately from collection)
- J4 Other invitations and activities
- J4.1 Participation at 'The Think-Tank and Advisory Business: Time for Reflection?", 8th Tswalu Dialogue, held at the Oppenheimer family reserve at Tswalu in the Kalahari Desert, May 2009
- J4.2 Nomination for the National Water Advisory Committee to the Minister of Water and Environmental Affairs, 2010
- J4.3 Invitation for a statement for the commemorations to mark the 50th Anniversary of Nelson Mandela's statement from the dock at Liliesleaf sent by Nicholas Wolpe, April 2014
- J4.4 "Sidikiwe! Vukani! Vote campaign", April-June 2014
- J4.4.1 Poster for the launch of the campaign at the University of the Witwatersrand, 15 April 2014 (see folio folder no. 1)
- J4.4.2 Campaign statement for the official launch, 15 April 2014
- J4.4.3 Emails and newspaper statements in response to the campaign, 7 April-12 June 2014, 2f
- K GENERAL NEWSPAPER CLIPS AND PUBLICATIONS, 1990s-
- K1 South African topics, 1980s-2011 9f

K1.1 K1.2	Papers and Articles - 2f  Journals and brochures - 3f  Including Voter education material
K1.3	Newspaper clips - 4f
K2	Non-South African topics - 7f
K2.1 K2.2	Papers and Articles - 2f  Journals - 1f  Including: 'Mike Terry: An extraordinary man', 2008; 'A short history of Ireland's Hunger Strikes', Steile Ocrais Na Heireann, n.d 1f
K2.3	Newspaper clips, 1990s-3f Including collection of cuttings relating to developments around Mikhail Gorbachov and USSR in 1991  1f
L	PHOTOGRAPHS, 1914-2008
L1	Personal, 1914-2008
L1a.1-39	Personal portraits of RK, 1962-2008  Some with description by RK, including his visit to Nelson Mandela's prison cell on Robben Island, at the voting ballot box, and trying to learn the Tango in Argentina, amongst others
L1.1 L1.1.1 L1.1.2-3 L1.1.4-9 L1.1.10-15	Family photographs from RKs childhood, 1914-1993 Cohen grandparents with RKs mother and uncle, 1914 Family photos with RKs parents and sister Hilary, Durban beach, 1939 RK with his sister Hilary, many at Durban beach, 1939-1946 RK and his sister with their mother, many at Durban beach, 1939-1948
L1.1.16 L1.1.17-20	RK with his mother in 1993 Other
L1.2 L1.2.1-2 L1.2.3-13 L1.2.14 L1.2.15-23	Family photographs of RK with Eleanor and their two sons, 1962-1992 Early photographs of Eleanor and RK, 1962 RK and Eleanor in Tanzania, 1963/64 RK and Eleanor with their first born son Andrew, London 1965 Other family photographs of RK, Eleanor and sons Andrew and Chris
L1.2.24-25	Eleanor, her mother, Brigid and Sarah, Harare, 1985
L1.2.26-32	Photographs of RK & Eleanor, including a series by Ellen Elmendorp, 1992
L1.3 L1.3.1-11	Travelling photos, RK and Eleanor Visit to Cuba, 1986 & 1987 Some including Angel Delmao, who would become the Cuban Ambassador in post-Apartheid South

Africa

- L1.3-12-17 Visit to Taiwan, n.d.
- L1.3.18-21 Visit to Moscow, n.d., including Vladimir Shubin
- L1.3.22-25 Other
- L1.4 Photos of Eleanor
- L1.4.1 Photograph of Eleanor on her arrival in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1963.

  The photo was also used on the cover of RK's book "An unlikely secret agent" (see A6.2.2.1)
- L1.4.2 Passphoto of Eleanor, n.d.
- L1.4.3 Eleanor with Andrew in a pram, carrying a poster against the war in Vietnam, London, n.d. Copyright:

  Daily Mirror newspaper
- L1.4.4 Eleanor with Chris Hani and Charles Nqakula, Copyright: William Matlala
  Handing over a cheque of donations from overseas anti-Apartheid organisations to the South African
  Communist Party, 7 October 1992.
- L1.4.5-22 Eleanor presenting an exhibition of South African pottery and art in Germany, with Lindiwe Mabuza, then Ambassador of South Africa in Germany, n.d.
- L1.5 RK and Eleanor with friends, n.d.
- L1.5.1-21 Including Ian Robertson after his release, David Beresford, Sue Rabkin, Pallo Jordan, Aziz and Essop Pahad, Graham Neame, Billy and Elsie Nair, Nicholas Wolpe, amongst others, mostly no dates and descriptions
- L1.6 RK in various underground disguises
- L1.6.1-3 Mike's Kitchen media launch, 1990
- L1.6.4-14 Underground disguises during Operation 'Vula', 1990/91 (see section B2 Operation 'Vula')
- L1.7 Book launches for "Armed and Dangerous", 1993-1997
- L1.7.1-10 Book launch and visit to AABN/ Netherlands, 4-7 November 1993 (see section A6.2.1.3.1). Copyright: Inge Goijaerts, Amsterdam
- L1.7.11-24 UK tour book launch and House of Commons, London, with Father Trevor Huddleston, 11 November 1993 (see section A6.2.1.3.2)
- L1.7.25-30 UK tour at Morning Star / SACP, 13 November 1993 (see section A6.2.1.3.2)
- L1.7.31-42 UK tour Africa Centre, 15 November 1993 (see section A6.2.1.3.2)
- L1.7.43-52 House of Tandoor, Yeoville, Johannesburg, with Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo, Louise Colvin, 24 November 1993 (see section A6.2.1.3.3)
- L1.7.53-54 At the 10. UZ-Pressefest (an event by the publishing house of the left newspaper "Unsere Zeit"),
  Dortmund, August 1997. Photographer: Mandfred Tripp
  (see also under A6.2.1.2.2, book launch of the German edition, Impulse Verlag)
- L1.7.55 10. UZ-Pressefest: Photo with the Cuban boxer Thefilo Stevenson during a reception by the Mayor of Samtleben, August 1997. Copyright: Thomas Nkobi
- L1.7.56 10. UZ-Pressefest: Photograph of Dennis Goldberg
- L1.8.1-21 Photoseries of RK at the stadium of Real Madrid Football club, Madrid 2005 (see photos on CD under L7.3)

L2.1.1	Vera Ponnen speaking at a Durban rally, 1958
L2.1.2	Jack Hodgson on the balcony of his flat in Johannesburg during house arrest, 1963
L2.2.1-5	RK at an ANC demonstration in Dar es Salaam, 1965
L2.2.6	RK with George Bridges at the Youth Conference (WFDY) in Sofia, 1966, copy
L2.2.7	Photo of Raymond Suttner after sentencing in his trial, November 1975
L2.2.8	David Rabkin, n.d. (see also section A7)
L2.3.1-3	Members of the Mayibuye Cultural Unit of the African National Congress at a performance in
	Amsterdam. Copyright: Bert Wallenburg
	Including RK, Zarina Maharaj, Johnny Matshikiza, Billy Nannan, ?, Barry Feinberg, April 1975 (see also A3.2.8).
L2.3.4-8	With members of the Mayibuye group in London, 1975
L2.3.9-10	Madi Gray, 1976
L2.3.11-15	Other, including demonstrations and performances, n.d.
L2.4.1-2	Portraits of RK after first tour of duty in Angola, 1977
L2.4.3	Luanda, Angola, with Thami Zulu, n.d.
L2.5	Photo taken at the Solidarity Committee, Moscow, 1979
	Provided by Vladimir Shubin, also used in his book 'A view from Moscow'. From left to right: Alexander
	Dzassokhov, First Vice-President of the SAASC (now President of the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania
	in the Caucasus); Yussuf Dadoo; Vladimir Kudryavtsev, Vice-President of the SAASC; Vladimir Tsvetkov,
	then Secretary of the SAASC; Josiah Jele; Dan Tloome; Vladimir Shubin; Moses Mabhida; Alexei
	Makorov; Thabo Mbeki
L2.6	Joe Slovo's 60th birthday, with RK, Mzwandile Piliso and Pallo Jordan, Lusaka, 1985
L2.7 L2.8.1-2	RK with Joe Nhlanhla, Luanda 1985
LZ.0.1-Z	RK with fellow MK officers Jabulani Jali and Lulamile Dantile, who was assassinated in Lesotho later that year, Angola, 1986
L2.9	With Timothy Mokoena, Luanda, Angola, 1987
L2.10	ANC delegation at the restaurant 'La Bodeguita del Medio', Havana, Cuba, September 1988
L2.11	Copy of a group photo of the ANC leadership in Lusaka, after Walter Sisulu's release from Robben
LZ.II	Island, including Kenneth Kaunda, probably July 1989
L2.12.1-3	Other, including ID photo on ANC letterhead (1912-1982); ID photo of Mduduzi Guma; copy of the 156
	accused in the 1956 Treason Trial
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L3	Transitional period in South Africa, 1990-1994
L3.1	Group photo of the ANC office staff, South Africa House London, with Oliver Tambo and Nelson
	Mandela with his waxwork next to him at Madame Tussauds in London, April 1990.
	Also showing Chris Kasrils (4th from left), at the time media officer at South Africa House.
L3.2	Chris Hani reading from his speech. Photograph was given to RK by the British diplomat Michael
L3.3	Shipster, n.d. RK at a rally of the South African Communist Party, 29 July 1990. The photograph was used for a
2. <del>-</del>	number of editions of his book "Armed and Dangerous".
L3.4.1-3	At the 48th National Conference of the ANC, with Jackie Modise (Sedibe) and Rica Hodgson amongst
	others. Photographers include Eric Singh, Durban, July 1991
L3.5	RK greeting Nadine Gordimer after Nobel Prize award, 1992. Photographer: Ellen Elmendorp

L3.6	RK helping to carry a wounded participant during the Bisho Massacre (see also section E2.1), 7 September 1992. Copyright: Sunday Times
L3.7	RK with Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (see also section B1.2), n.d.
L3.8.1-23	Series of photographs from the ANC Department of Information & Publicity, 1991-1994
	Depicting RK with amongst others: Nelson Mandela; Walter Sisulu; Cyril Ramaphosa; Joe Slovo; Peter Mokaba; Barbara Masekela; at Oliver Tambo's funeral; with Siphiwe Nyanda and Joe Modise; during a rally with Winnie Mandela and Bantu Holomisa; Sydney Mufamadi; Jacob Zuma; Raymond Sutter, Albie Sachs and Jeremy Cronin; and a group photo of the members of the ANC's National Working
L3.9.1-7	Committee of the NEC.  RK campaigning for the ANC on the East Rand (Johannesburg) in the run-up to the elections in 1994
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L3.10	With Allan Boesak, n.d.
L3.11	Group photographs of the Transitional Executive Authority Sub-Council on Defence, 1993-1994.
	RK 3rd from left, General Pretorious to his left back row in sunglasses, Chairperson Joe Modise 3rd from right in front row, Rinz Kahn his assistant front row far right
L3.12.1-5	Other, no further description
L4	Deputy Minister of Defence, 1994-1999
L4.1.1-2	With Joe Slovo and others at the opening of Parliament, 1994
L4.2.1	With the Minister of Defence Joe Modise and members of the office staff, 1995
L4.2.2-3	Visit by Princess Anne, United Kingdom, to the Walmanstall military assembly area outside Pretoria,
	where MK members were being integrated into the new SANDF, 1995
L4.2.4	Visit of Queen Elizabeth, United Kingdom, 1995. Copyright: The Argus, Cape Town
L4.2.5-7	Group photo with South African World War II veterans in Italy, Photographer: Eleanor Kasrils
	Including Rusty Bernstein (standing behind comrade Morodi (exile name Mashigo - second row, second from left), Wolfie Kodesh (second row far left) and Ronnie Kasrils who attended in his capacity as Minister of Defence at the time, 1995.
14 3 1-18	Airforce event (Drakensberg?), attended by President Nelson Mandela, n.d.
L4.4	President Nelson Mandela and various members of Parliament, May 1996. Photographer: Sasa Kray
L4.5.1-12	Dinner event, no further description, Photographer: Oscar G
	Attended by amongst others Cyril Ramaphosa, George Bizos, Kgalema Motlhante, Joe Modise, Jeremy Cronin, Rica Hodgson, amongst others, 1996.
L4.6.1-2	RK at an arms exhibition (Greece?), February 1996
L4.0.1-2 L4.7.1-3	RK in his office, Ministry of Defence, Pretoria, 1997. Photographer: Hanna Ndlovu
L4.7.1-3 L4.8	Visit to the United States of America, 4th July celebration (Independence Day) 1997
L4.8 L4.9.1-4	With President Nelson Mandela at the SA Navy's Fleet Review on the occasion of the Navy's 75th
L4.J.I 4	Anniversary, Table Bay, Cape Town, 5 April 1997. Photographer: Eleanor Kasrils.
	Including: front row left to right Piere Steyn, Secretary for Defence, Joe Modise, Minister of Defence,
	President Nelson Mandela, RK, General George Meiring, Chief SANDF; back row visiting admirals.
L4.10.1-3	On board of Russian destroyer "Nastoychivy", including RK, Minister Alec Erwin, Russian admiral and veterans of the Murmansk run. Photographer: Eleanor Kasrils
L4.11	Visit to Robben Island with Thabo Mbeki, Al Gore, their spouses, Ahmed Kathrada and Essop Pahad, 16
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With Egyptian military officers, including RK, General Themba Masuku, Surgeon-General of the South

African Medical Service (SAMS) and former MK soldier, Pretoria, 1997

February 1997

L4.12

- L4.13.1-16 State visit by Fidel Castro, President of the Republic of Cuba, depicted here during his visit to Robben Island, with members of the South African Government, 7 September 1998
- L4.14.1-2 RK at the Cenotaph in Johannesburg during Remembrance Day, and with World War II veteran Miss Van Howie, 9 November 1998
- L4.15.1-4 Government delegation including Lieutenant General Lehlohonolo Moloi, November 1998
- L4.16.1-29 Other, no further description.
  - Including visit to a South African Naval post; visit to the global center of 'Frontier' communications company, USA; formal events, n.d.
- L4.17.1-45 Re-enactment of the Battle of Isandlwana, and dinner event, 22 January 1999
  - Attended by amongst others: King Goodwill Zwelithini, Gatsha Buthelezi and Jacob Zuma
- L4.18.1-16 Visit on the USS John C. Stennis (CVN-74), seventh Nimitz-class nuclear-powered supercarrier in the United States Navy, named for Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi, March 1999
- L4.19.1-31 Award ceremony (MK medals) in Parliament, with awards issued by Joe Modise and RK, 4 March 1999
- L4.20.1-50 Award ceremony (NIA / SASS), with awards issued by Joe Modise, n.d.
- L4.21 RK at the 48th session of the College for Advanced Military Studies in the Republic of South Africa, 1999 (see also section F1.2)
- L4.22 Photo albums
- L4.22.1 Loose photographs relating to albums below
- L4.22.1.1- Photographs of a painting of the portrait of OR Tambo with the artist Aidan Walsh, see albums for the event
- L4.22.1.4- Photographs relating to an official visit to the Republic of China, 14-21 July 1996 (see album L4.22.2.5)
- L4.22.2 Albums (stored in large boxes with photographs)
- L4.22.2.1 Visit to the South African Air Force, Air Force day parade held at Air Force Base Waterkloof, including dinner invitations, Pretoria, 1-2 February 1994
- L4.22.2.2 Visit by the Sub-Council on Defence to the SA Medical Service, a memento presented to RK by the Surgeon General, Lieutenant-General DP Knobel, 15 February 1994
- L4.22.2.3 Visit to the Drakensberg, South African Airforce, 23-24 March 1995
- L4.22.2.4 Official visit to Singapore, July 1996
- L4.22.2.5 Album presented by Lieutenant General Kao Wang-Chieh, Commandant of the Marine Corps of the Republic of China, 18 July 1996 (see also loose photographs, L4.22.1.4-6)
- L4.22.2.6 Album presented by General Wang Wen-Shieh, Vice Minister, Ministry of national Defense, Republic of China, 14-21 July 1996 (see also section F4.1)
- L4.22.2.7 Album compiled for the 75th Anniversary of the South African Navy, April 1997
- L4.22.2.8 First demolition of Anti-Personnel Mines at Armscor's Alkantpan Test Range, 21 May 1997
- L4.22.2.9 Armscor Chairman's Award, 1997 (Armaments Corporation of South Africa is the arms procurement agency of the South African Department of Defence)
- L4.22.2.10 Album of a visit by RK to CASA (Construcciones Aeronauticas, S.A.), Spain presented to him on the occasion of an air craft presentation by CASA at the Waterkloof Air Force Base, November 1997
- L4.22.2.11 Armscor Dinner event '50 years of excellence', 1998

L4.22.2.12	Visit to South Africa of the US Secretary for Defence, William Cohen, 9-12 February 1999
L4.22.2.13	A selection of artwork portraying South Africa's military heritage, at the Armscor Building, organised for OR Tambo
	With the unveiling of the OR Tambo portrait by artist Aidan Walsh, 12 May (no year) (see also photograph of the artist with the OR Tambo portrait, L4.22.1.1-3)
L4.22.2.14	Ministerial visit to the Western Naval Command Bombay, India, n.d.
L5	Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, 1999-2004
L5.1a	Deputy Ministers of the Government of National Unity of the Republic of South Africa, 5 February to 16 June 1999, laminated, oversize photograph (stored with albums in oversize box)
L5.1.1-8	Official portraits for the South African Communication Service
L5.2.1-11	At an EduPlant '99 weekend, including photo with staff members of "Trees for Africa", 1999
L5.2.12	At the exhibition during the Annual Water Week of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, 2000 (oversize photograph, stored with albums)
L5.3	"Women in Water" Awards, with Nondyebo Taki, 2002
L5.4.1-4 L5.5.1-3	RK at the "WASH" launch in Ladysmith, 18 March 2002 With Eleanor at the OAU/AU Summit, ICC Durban, 28 June-10 July 2002, including Geraldine Fraser-
13.3.1 3	Moleketi, Frene Ginwala, Dullah Omar, Jessie Duarte amongst others
L5.6.1-12	Visit with President Thabo Mbeki to Mzinyathi in Inanda, July 2003
	Attending celebration of the installation of the nine millionth water tap since 1994. Including photographs with Frida Nzama and her husband Rev Mfaniswa Nzama, tasting water from the tap in their yard, which was installed 30 years after they moved to the area.
L5.7.1-7	Official visit to Palestine, March 2004 (see also section G4.5.5.3; CD with photographs see under L7.2)
L5.8.1-6	RK with Paul Coleman, also known as 'The Earthwalker' at various events, some as copies. Copyright: The Argus
L5.9.1-68	Other events of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, no further description, n.d.
L5.9.69-70	RK dancing with singer Yvonne Chaka-Chaka on stage, n.d.
L5.10	Photo albums
L5.10.1	Loose photographs relating to albums below
L5.10.1.1-	Offical delegation to Kpite Water Project, Nigeria, April 2002
	The opening of the Water Dome, at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, with Nelson
10a	Mandela, Salim-Salim and Crown Prince William of Orange, Johannesburg, September 2002.
	Photograph: Department of Water and Forestry Also included photo with Nigerian Minister of Water Resources, Shagari
	Copies of photographs of RK at the signing of the Nkomati-Maputo Agreement on shared river basins,
13	at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg 2002.  From the left Minister Roberto White, Mozambique, Minister Ronnie Kasrils, South Africa, Crown
	Prince William of Orange, Minister Ndluli, Swaziland. Photographs: Department of Water and Forestry

L5.10.1.14- With Sir Richard Jolly during the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg,
September 2002

L5.10.1.19- 20	Group photograph of the South African delegation to China, and official reception of Minister RK and his wife Eleanor, mounted photos, n.d. (see L5.10.2.3) (stored in large boxes with photo albums)
L5.10.1.21- 70	Official delegation to China, visit to the Three Gorges Dam and the Terra Cotta Warriors, n.d. (see L5.10.2.3)
L5.10.2	Albums (stored in large boxes with photographs)
L5.10.2.1	Offical delegation to Kpite Water Project, Nigeria, April 2002
L5.10.2.2	Events during the Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg 2002 (see also section G4.4.3)
L5.10.2.3 L5.10.2.4	Official delegation to China, n.d., including Mike Muller and other SA officials Visit to South Africa by the Cuban Minister of Water Resources (album of the Department: Water Affairs and Forestry), n.d.
L5.10.2.5	Cuban delegation in South Africa (album of the Department: Water Affairs and Forestry), n.d.
L5.10.2.6	Visit to South Africa by the Kenyan Minister for Water Resources Martha Karua(album of the Department: Water Affairs and Forestry), n.d.
L6	Minister for Intelligence Services, 2004-2008
L6.1.1-8	Series of RK in his office, n.d.
L6.2.1-6	Intelligence Services Golf Days (see also H5.3); 3 photographs of RK offering advise to First Lady Zanele Mbeki, including newspaper clip, August 2005
L6.3.1-15	Official visit to Asian countries, including Japan and China, December 2004 (CD with photographs, see L7.3
L6.4.1-12	Official meeting with the French Minister of Defence Michèle Alliot-Marie in France, accompanied by Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, February 2005. Photos and copyright: Department of Defence, France (see also section H4.2)
L6.5.1-2	Discussion with Zimbabwean delegation to South Africa, 2005
L6.5.3	With President Thabo Mbeki at the Intelligence Services Day Awards, November 2006
L6.5.4-6	With President Thabo Mbeki at the Intelligence Services Day, November 2006
L6.5.7	Signing of Defence Agreement with Zimbabwe, 2006
L6.6.1-3 L6.7.1	Italian Ambassador with football hopefulls at National Day event, Pretoria, 2007 Farewell event for Cuban Ambassador, July 2008
L6.7.2-3	With Faith Radebe, the South African High Commissioner to Kingston, Jamaica and at Bob Marley's home, 2008
L6.8.1	With Vladimir Shubin, n.d. (including card in which the photo was pasted
L6.8.2-24	Visit to Russia, with Eleanor, Jeff Radebe and his wife, PJ Powers, amongst others, n.d.
L6.9.1-8	Visit to Berlin/Germany with staff and Eleanor, n.d. (but probably June 2005, see CD under L7.3)
	Official visit at the National Intelligence Agency (CIA), Washington, U.S.A., n.d. Other Government engagements and events, no further details, n.d.
L6.11.13- 15	(see also folder which contained L6.11.11-12, Nile Maxim Cruising restaurant, under H4.2) Photographs of a party, large photographs framed and signed by Thabo Mbeki, 22 January 2008
L6.12	Photo albums
L6.12.1	Loose photographs relating to albums below
L6.12.1.1- 46	Official visit to Vietnam, 2006 (see albums under L6.12.2.8-9)

L6.12.1.47- Photos relating to the Intelligence Service Day, 26 November 2007 (see album under L6.12.2.12) 100

Including issuing of a Dintlola 19th century Maquette by sculptor Phil Minnaar, and the Ministerial Award ceremony,

- L6.12.2 Albums
  - (stored in large boxes with photographs)
- L6.12.2.1 Visit to South Africa by N. Goche Minister of State for National Security, Zimbabwe, 2004
- L6.12.2.2 Official delegation to Jordan, including visit to Jedda, Dead Sea, 2005
- L6.12.2.3- Albums of official visit to Cuba, 2-8 February 2005

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- L6.12.2.5 Extraordinary meeting of the Inter-State and Security Committee (ISDSC), Cape Town, South African, 7-8 April 2005
- L6.12.2.6 26th Inter-State Defence & Security Committee (ISDSC), Boksburg, Johannesburg, 12-14 July 2005
- L6.12.2.7 Official visit to Iran, 2006
- L6.12.2.8- Albums of official visit to Vietnam, including a meeting with General Võ Nguyên Giáp, 2006 (see also H4.2 and L6.12.1; see CD with photographs under L7.4)
- L6.12.2.10 Official visit at the departments of Intelligence, Ministry of Defence, Pakistan, 4-8 April 2007
- L6.12.2.11 Visit to Palestine, May 2007 (see also H4.1)
- L6.12.2.12 Intelligence Service Day, 26 November 2007

Including the unveiling of a statue of an African Scout by sculptor Phil Minnaar, commissioned by RK for the Intelligence Services Academy in Pretoria and the issuing of a Maquette of the same statue (see also H1.3 for copy of Certificate of Authenticity); and Ministerial Award ceremony, with guest of honour Aziz Pahad and family of those members who had died.

- L6.12.2.13 Official visit to Cuba, 20-27 April 2008 (see also CD with photographs under L7.9)
- L6.12.2.14 Government delegation at the former airport Berlin-Tempelhof, n.d.
- L6.12.2.15 Bilateral talks during a South African Government delegation to Egypt, including business card of Omar Soliman, n.d. (2005?)
- L6.12.2.16 Government delegation to Angola, n.d.
- L6.12.2.17 Government delegation to Iran, n.d.
- L6.12.2.18 Government delegation to Algeria, n.d.
- L7 CDs containing photographs

A number of CDs contain private and family photographs as well as photos relating to official Government visits, and are listed here in chronological order.

- L7.1 Ministry of Water Affairs and Forestry, various events, 2002-2003
- L7.2 Official visit to Palestine, March 2004 (see photographs under L5.7)
- L7.3.1 Official visit to Asia, including Japan and Chine, December 2004; visits to Berlin and Madrid, July 2005
- L7.3.2 Official and private visits in 2005

Including: London and Cornwall, meeting Andrew; Meeting with Gerry Adams, Irish republican politician, president of the Sinn Féin political party, attended by former ANC activists and officials of the Department of Intelligence services; Official delegation to Ireland, with visit to the Long Kesh Detention Centre, now Maze Regeneration Site (see also H4.2), October 2005

- L7.3.3 Liaison visit of Minister RK to Egypt, 25-28 March 2005
- L7.4 Private holiday trip with Eleanor

Various in 2006

To Langkawi/Malaysia, Christmas/New Year 2005/2006; Government delegation to Vietnam, January 2006; Exhibition 'Beautiful Things' - South African Arts and Craft, 2006

- L7.5 Visits in 2006
  - Official and private visits to Holland, UK, Khartoum/Sudan and Berlin; visits to friends, eg. Essoph and Aziz Pahad; at their house in Cape Town, and meeting Chris and Andrew, 2006
- L7.6 Partly duplicates of the above, but also including photos with Roman Abramovich, owner of the British Premier league soccer club 'Chelsea', 2006
- L7.7 Various
  - Birthday party for Eleanor's 70s' birthday, Cape Town, March 2006; Exhibition of needle-work murials, openend by Baleka Mbete, attended by Andrew Mlangeni and Aziz Pahad amongst others, 2006
- L7.8 CD provided by the Embassy of the State of Palestine, Pretoria

Containing photographs of the aftermath of Israel's attacks in the Gaza strip and the 5day invasion of Bait Hanoun, November 2006. PLEASE NOTE: The photographs of the victims, amongst them children, are very explicit.

- L7.9 Official visit to Cuba, April 2008 (see album under L6.12.2.3)
- L7.10 Private burial ceremony for Eleanor with close family members and friends, 18 November 2009
- L7.11 Ceremony for the Sunday Times Alan Paton literary award, which RK received in 2011 for his book 'An unlikely secret agent' (see also A6.2.2)
  - Also included the soundclip of Eleanor's voice on the telephone answering machine
- L7.12 Archival event, being the launch of the Ronald Kasrils Papers at Wits University (see also J3).
  - Photographer: Prince Eno Bassey for Wits Communications department, 2013
- L8 Other
- L8.1 Political life, various
- L8.1.1 With Cyril Ramaphosa at the Bisho hearing of the TRC, 1996 (see also section E2)
- L8.1.2-12 Dinner event with Beyers Naude and his wife(?), Angel Delmao, Aziz Pahad, Joe Modise, Paulo Jordan, Sue Rabkin, Alec Erwin, Eleanor, September 1994
- L8.1.13 RK at a fundraising event during the 9th Congress of the SACP, with inscription 'What a salesman! From the 'sucker' who bought the socks!', 1995 (see also D5.1.2)
- L8.1.14-67 With Eleanor on Election campaign for the ANC, mainly in the North-West province, with ANC supporters and community leaders, also showing living conditions in the province, 1999
- L8.1.68-70 At a memorial for Oliver Tambo, n.d.
- L8.1.71 Thabani, Phila Ndwandwe's son, meeting his grandfather for the first time, durban 1997.

  Phila Ndwandwe, who was a MK commander, was abducted from Swaziland in October 1988 and killed by the South African Security policy. Photograph was submitted for the German Edition of 'Armed and Dangerous'.
- L8.1.72-81 Demonstration and conference (Russel tribunal?) in support of Palestine (see also section I), n.d.

L8.1.82-87 Events of the 'Friends of Cuba society, n.d.	(positive slides L8.1.83a+b by Ellen Elmendorn.	. 2003
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L8.1.88-92	Visit by Gerry Adams, Irish republican politician, president of the Sinn Féin political party, and meeting
	attended by former ANC activists and Government officials, 2005
	Including amongst others RK, David Beresford, Mojanko Gumbi, Rolf Meyer, Albie Sachs and Robert
	McBride, (see also photos on CD L7.3.2)

L8.1.93- At various events and occasions, n.d.

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- L8.1.105 RK at international event, possibly United Nations, New York, n.d.
- L8.1.106 With George Negota, delegate at the ANC National Policy conference, here at Wits University, September 2002
- L8.1.107- Event attended by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Photographer and copyright: Benny Gool 108
- Large group photograph with Heads of States of Southern Africa and South African Government representatives, no further description (meeting of the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee, ISDSC?), n.d.
- L8.1.110 Cheerful photo of RK with Thabo Mbeki, n.d.
- L8.1.111 Toasting with Sheila Camerer, legal advisor of the Democratic Alliance (DA), n.d. Copyright: The Argus, Cape Town
- L8.1.112 RK at a shooting range, published in the magazine 'Salut', n.d.
- L8.2 Unidentified personal photographs (friends, family) 1f
- L8.3 Unidentified public events and meetings 1f
- L9 Negatives

Unsorted, stored in separate box with negative collections

# M MULTIMEDIA, VARIOUS

M1 Audiotapes

These tapes have been digitised and can be accessed in the Reading room of Historical Papers.

- M1.1 MK Choir Songs, Angola, 1977-80
- M1.2 Rehearsals Camp Concert, Angola, 16 December 1977

Side 1

- 1. People's mood 3 songs
- 2. Informal recording of comrades singing
- 3. Drama Group "Believe" Scene 1
- 4. Informal recording Siyiso Mkwainane song
- 5. Roving report on Progress and Preparation, Interviews, Wall Paper, Artists Nomavu Drill

Side 2

- 1. Football March
- 2. Karate Boxing
- 3. All sing: (i) Shanyelan amabala zingane (Sweep the field children). (ii) Aphi amabhongo (where are the youth)
- M1.3 MK Meeting Speeches by Alfred Wana Richard Mdala, Angola, 13 August 1978 ANC Khumalo - Ronnie Kasrils
- M1.4 ANC Khumalo Lecture 7. Intro to Marxism -Leninism, Angola, 15 December 1977

#### Side 1

- 1.Control guestion on lecture 5 & 6. Proletarian Internationalism
- 2. Lecture using world war I and Oct 1917 as eg. Lecture continues over thunderstorm

Side 2

Intro to Marxism - Leninism- Why is it a Science

2. Song: International

M1.5 ANC Khumalo Lecture, Angola, 13 December 1977

Side 1

Lecture 4

- 1. Control questions on Politics and Army
- 2. How Vietnam defeated USA

Side 2

1. Five fighting factors of GIAP general and application to South Africa (Discussion - 20 comrades)

## M1.6 Side 1, Angola, 16 December 1977

- 1. Marching
- 2. Meeting Chairman's remarks
- 3. ANC Khumalo's speech

Side 2

- 1. Choir & Poems
- 2. Andrew's speech
- 4. Rev Songs All
- 5. Afternoon events
- 6. Comrades impressions (Jerry, Nomav, etc.
- 7. MC opens session
- 8. Song "ke Arona"/ further impression
- 9. Gumboots dance

## M1.7 ANC Celebrations, Angola, 8 January 1978

Side 1

- 1. Rev Songs
- 2. Rock my soul Trio
- 3. Shanyelana Kiarona Baurefed Africa
- 4. Gum boots
- 5. Hakisheba
- 6. Two Tsonga songs
- 7. Mama Diyoyeko
- 8. When the names are being called how will it be.
- 9. Tsonga song
- 10. Zimbabwe Shona song
- 11. Bahleli bonke
- 12. Abantu bakithi
- 13. Castro will
- 14. We shall overcome when the Saint s...

Side 2

- 1. Thetho Great Association Seiso
- 2. If I were a little bird etc. I like Coffee Siyiso

Freedom songs

- 1. Hakisheba Peterseni
- 2. Shanyelana mabaala zingane
- 3. Kiarona
- 4. Lindiwe wam (Siyiso)
- 5. Unerrilla mama
- 6. Baba lama Africa

- 7. When our freedom comes
- 8. Abafana bomkhonto
- 9. Abafana bomkhonto fighting for our land
- M1.8 60th Anniversary SACP, Angola, 1981

Internationale rehearsals in Zulu by Vusi Mavimbela - ANC Choir preparing for SACP 60th Anniversary - Commentary - woman member, speech about SACP activity. - Street Broadcast by Moses Mabhida initiated in SA by "London Recruits" Tape is repetitive for street broadcast!

- M1.9 Radio freedom Tribute to Jack Hodgson by ANC Khumalo, Luanda, Angola, 12 December 1977
- M1.10 Freedom songs Camp choir, Angola, 1977-78

Side 1

- 1. Umkhon' Ufikile
- 2. Yakhal' Inja uBotha
- 3. Bayakhala abazali
- 4. Ngegazi likaMdluli
- 5. Izakunyathel' iMk
- 6. Sechaba sesintsu
- 7. Ixesha liphelile
- 8. Yintoni ongasenza yona
- 9. Nantso iKatusha
- 10. Hay' uMahlangu
- 11. Vamakweru Va Afrika
- 12. Roifuka Roikuka

Side 2

- 1. Lokonzi lokuta
- 2. Shatanana Manana
- 3. Mahlang'ulighawe
- 4. Uma ngimbona uMahlangu
- 5. Selemo salerumo
- 6. Nkosi BabaCetshwayo
- 7. Kawubambe nas' isibhamu
- 8. Hamba Mfoka Mandela
- 9. Wabethwa ngu AK
- 10. Asibesabi thina
- 11. Rembember our leaders
- M1.11.1 Evidence given by Ronnie Kasrils on behalf of the ANC for the Defence in the trial of Ebrahim Ismail, which was taped at the ANC office in London.

Ebrahim was abducted in Swaziland and brought to South Africa in 1996, where he was charged with high treason in May 1987, 13 September 1988

- M1.11.2 Ditto, 13 September 1988
- M1.11.3 Ditto, 13 September 1988
- M1.12 Craig Williamson debriefing to Robert McBride at ANC office Johannesburg. Date unknown, but likely to be post 1994 and prior to the TRC, i.e. between 1994-1998
- M1.13 Gus Hall on Maoism, 30 March 1979
- M1.14 Kasrils interview on BBC
- M1.15 Ronnie Kasrils on the phone in John Robbie show on Radio 702, 25 October 1991
- M1.16 Documentary: Freedom songs of South Africa by Lucie Page and Allister Sparks
- M1.17 702 Radio interview with Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Gibbons, 26 June 1991
- M1.18 Interview with Ronnie Kasrils on the John Robbie show, Radio 702, 2 July 1992
- M1.19.1 Interview with Ronnie Kasrils on the John Robbie show, Radio 702, 29 October 1992
- M1.19.2 Interview with Ronnie Kasrils on the John Robbie show, Radio 702, 29 October 1992
- M1.20.1 Interview with Ronnie Kasrils on the John Robbie show, Radio 702, 13 December 1993

M1.20.2	Interview with Ronnie Kasrils on the John Robbie show, Radio 702, 13 December 1993
M1.21	Lecture by Mr Ronnie Kasrils to The South African Military History Society, 14 August 1997
M1.22	Ronnie Kasrils interview on radio, 24 February, no year
M1.23	Robbi N M Bernhard and Jon Qwelane on "702" "The Lemba - Black Jews", 16 August 2000
M1.24	New coat of arms motto
M1.25	Sheikh Ebrahim Gabriels Paarl Mosque, 12 October 2000
M1.26	Ronnie Kasrils giving a speech on the Palestine-Israel conflict, November 2001
M1.27	Tim Modise Show - Haga Segal, 3 January 2002
M1.28	Vykieskraap/Athlone speech Palestine, 2002
M1.29	Tim Modise Show - his views read before Parliament regarding Palestine and Israel, n.d.
M1.30	Victory', The MK Platoon '94 Election Souvenir, 1994.
	Licensed to and distributed by RPM Records, Executive Producers: Robert McBride & Andrew Kasrils.
	(Not digitised)
M2	Digital Audio & Videos
M2.1	Personal audio-visuals
M2.1.1	Short video clips made about the Logan family (Eleanor's family) in 1952
M2.1.3	Brief clips about RK sitting in front of a large photo montage of Frieda Kahlo (Frieda Kahlo Museum, Mexico?), 2005
M2.1.4.1-	Behind the Rainbow', video interview with RK, covering the ANC post-Polokwane conference amongst
2	other issues, October 2008
M2.1.5	Sound clip of an interview by Radio Islam South Africa about Israel's actions in Gaza, CD, 11 January 2009
M2.1.6	Video of RK at the Mandela Tambo Lecture at the University of Glasgow, UK about this book 'An Unlikely Secret Agent, 1 December 2010
M2.1.7	Video of an interview by Pat Pillay from the programme 'Inside Out', e-News channel. The interview took place at various locations in Yeoville, September 2010
M2.1.8	Video of an interview by cmtv / Polity.org.za about RK's book 'An Unlikely Secret Agent', 2010
M2.1.9	Interview with RK on the SABC 2 TV programme "Late night with Kgomotso" Episode 10, 2010
M2.1.10.1- 2	Video of booklaunch at Adam's bookshop in Durban, 10 December 2010
	Audio clips of RK's participation at 'Marxism 2011', entitled 'The Unlikely Secret Agent: What makes for
2	revolutionary courage, Book launch', Ronnie Kasrils; and 'The road to Jerusalem lies through Cairo', Kasrils & Marfleet, UK
M2.1.12	Clip of a news programme on 'Russia Today (RT)', reporting the 'rape case' in Israel of a Jewish woman by an Arab man, highlighting Interfaith dating in Israel, 2011
M2.1.13.1-	Video taping of RK at the 'Time of the Writer' event at the Centre for Creative Arts, University of
2	KwaZulu-Natal, Durban
	Including the Opening Night, 19 March 2012; and the Human Writes Day (correct spelling of the re-
	naming of Human Rights Day for this event), 21 March 2012, with Chris Abani (Nigeria) and Ronnie
	Kasrils (South Africa), Facilitator Lebo Mashile
M2.1.14	Video of an interview with RK on Almayadeen.net, Beirut, Lebanon, July 2012
M3	Audio-visuals relating to Government / ANC
M3.1	Video coverage of the ANC Policy Conference, 27 June 2007

M3.2	Interview with Thabo Mbeki, President of South Africa, SABC, 27 November 2007 (rough footage)
M3.3	Video of the SALO/CWCI workshop highlights, Pretoria, South African Liaison Office (SALO), June 2007
M3.4	Launch of Electronic Communications Security (COMSEC), overview, June 2008 (Minister's copy)
M3.5 M3.6 M3.7.1	Minister's talk to Aljazeera TV station, May 2008 Video of greetings by RK to Gerry Adams on the 25th anniversary of Sinn Fein, March 2008 Participation in a panel on the TV programme 'African Views of the SABCs' Africa channel, entitled 'Cuito Cuanavale, with Ayanda Dlodlo and Pik Botha, March 2008
M3.7.2	Participation in a panel on the TV programme 'African Views of the SABCs' Africa channel, entitled 'Cuba: An African odyssey, June 2008
M4	Other video productions
M4.1	Documentary 'Krishna Rabilal - Matola Raid - 25 years - A tribute to fallen heroes', Uhuru Media Productions, January 2006
M4.2	Documentary 'The House of Saud', by Jihan El Tahri, 2007
M4.3	"A work in progress: Danny Schechter and the Journalism of change. Chronicling a media life in the trenches from the Sixties to 60", produced by Marie Sullivan, a Danny Schechter Self-Dissection, 2007
M4.4	"South Africa's relations with Zimbabwe, Part 1: An analysis up to and including June 2008", South African Liaison Office (SALO), 2008
M4.5	"The legacy of a legend: Chief Albert J.M. Luthuli, Department of Arts and Culture
N	T-SHIRTS / TIES / CAPS
N1	T-Shirts
N1.1	Umkhonto we Sizwe T-shirts
N1.2	"Dawn Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe"
	"Barney Molokoane MK commander died 1985"
	"Mission accomplished", 1994 Election souvenir by the MK Platoon
	SACP T-shirts "South African Communist Party The future is democratic socialism! 8th Party Congress - December
	1991" "SACP Forward to the 8th Congress The future is socialism"
	Lenin and ISKRA
	"In defence of socialism SACP - Solidarity with Cuba!"
N1.3	ANC T-shirts
	"African National Congress 50th National Congress Mafikeng, 16-20 December 1997" "Vote ANC A better life for all", with picture of Thabo Mbeki
	"51st National Congress Stellenbosch, 16-20 December 2002", black
	"51st National Congress Stellenbosch, 16-20 December 2002", yellow
N1.4	Other
	"CCCR - Football association", in Russian writing
	"Brian Bunting 'Hamba kahle comrade' ", by SACP, ANC, COSATU alliance
	"United in solidarity with Cuba", for the First National Congress of the Friends of Cuba Society, Northern Cape, 2002, with a large photograph of Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela
	"Ukuvuka Operation Firestop" endorsed by Santam and Cape Argus

N2	Ties Includes woolen string-ties in ANC and SACP colours; 3 ties including SACP, 'Unseen', 'KPRF'
N3	Caps and Card holders
IN3	5 caps in ANC and SACP colours, of which one is signed by 'JZ - Zuma'; Cap for the "Working for Water" campaign
	4 card holders
N4	Posters (These posters are stored in folio folder no. 3)
N4.1	Chris Hani
N4.2	SACP 75 years of unbroken struggle
N4.3	"Are you part of the march towards democracy? Attend constituent assembly rallies 21 March 1991", ANC, SACP, COSATU alliance
N4.4	A new Code of Arms for South Africa, Government Communication and Information System
	(These posters are stored in folio folder no. 1)
N4.5	Poster of a statement by President Nelson Mandela, 2 May 1994
N4.6	Design of a poster for the establishment of the President Nelson Mandela Park in South Africa and Forest in Israel
N4.7	Folder containing 'Images of Defiance', an exhibition of posters by the city of Johannesburg, 2004
0	MEMORABILIA AND GIFTS
01	Gifts
01.1	Book entitled "Images de La France" presented by Counter-Admiral Jean Delaunay, commanding the naval forces of the Indian Ocean, France (stored in oversize boxes, not with collection)
01.2	Framed copy of an extract from the Officers' mess visitors book recording the delegates who attended the first official meeting between Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Citizen Force National Council (CFNC), held at Johannesburg Fort, 28 January 1994.
	Presented to RK on the RFC Awards evening, 10 September 2010 (stored in oversize boxes, not with collection)
01.3	Pennants (stored in oversize boxes, not with collection)
01.4	Shawl from the Palestinian Communist Party (stored in oversize boxes, not with collection)
01.5	Egyptian maquette with inscription "To Ronnie Kasrils from Farouk Ayob Mafikeng 30-10-95 (stored in oversize boxes, not with collection)
01.6	Folder with prints of drawings by Alvaro Cunhal, Portuguese politician and Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Portugal, whose drawings, made while in prison, were published.
01.7	Presented to RK in Moscow, 2006, incomplete (see flat folder no. 1 stored with collection) Folder with prints of drawings from RK's visit to Jericho, West Bank, Palestine Received from the Govenor S. Erekat, who is also the Palestinian chief negotiator, February 2002 (see
04.0.4.4	flat folder no. 1 stored with collection)
01.8.1-4	Examples of Government gifts, Ministry of Intelligence Services
O2 O2.1	Memorabilia Various badges

Including from the former Soviet Union; anti-Apartheid campaigns; ANC event; Government campaigns amongst others (stored in oversize boxes, not with collection)

O2.2 Large size photograph of President Nelson Mandela
Probably from Government office display, with his signature, partially washed off due to surface of the photograph (stored with photo albums in large size box)

O2.3.1-2 Poster of the South African Communist Party Central Committee, with signatures of Committee members 1998-2002 (see flat folder no. 1 stored with collection)

## P DIGITAL ARCHIVE

Please note: The Digital archive is stored on the Historical Papers server and can be accessed in the Reading room, with permission from Ronald Kasrils.

P1 Memory stick

Various documents by RK, 2008-2010; Chapters of 'Unlikely Secret Agent'; Photographs of a visit to Fort Napier, Durban, Jpeg format

P2 MK

Notes and TRC submissions on Umkhonto we Sizwe, PDF format

P3 Other

Scans of fragile collection items and of items which have been returned to RK

P4 PC archive

Folders and files downloaded from RK's Personal Computer in 2012. Access restricted.

P5 Photos

Photographs forwarded by RK in electronic format per email

P6 Emails

News items and email correspondence, selected, converted to PDF format

P7 Stiffy disk

Few collection items originally contained on a stiffy disk, printed and incorporated in collection