<u>This is UDF's organisational approach to the struggle. We need to keep on reaching out to people by mobilising them through issues and activities. We must keep on building up their understanding and overcoming their fears. We must popularize our organisations and leaders</u>. Most importantly, we <u>must organise our people in the affiliates of the Front Only in this way, will we weld our unity together</u>.

<u>THE MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN</u>

. The Million Signature Campaign offers us the opportunity to work amongst our people within the organisational approach to the struggle.

. The Campaign helps us enlist the active participation of a wide range of individuals and organisations who support UDF but who are not directly linked to it.

. It enables UDF affiliates and supporters to enducate our people about the Constitution and the Koornhof Bills and the consequences of these laws.

. It gives us a chance to popularise the UDF and its principles of non-racialism, democracy and unity-in-struggle.

. It helps UDF organisationally by popularizing and strenghening

existing organisations and building organisation where none exists.

(c) Op pp.6-8 "Building Organisation With the Million Signature Campaign (M.S.C.)

"AIMS OF THE MSC

...

...

The MSC also has important long term aims:

- to contribute towards the building of genuine people's organisations throughout the country.

WHY ORGANISATION?

The building of democratic organisations is one of the most important historical tasks of all those who want to bring about a free and just South Africa. A South Africa where oppression and exploitation of man by man will be done away with.

A democratic South Africa cannot be created by a handful of people, - no matter how brilliant they may be. Only the masses of oppressed people of South Africa can bring about this change.

How? Vain hopes or token gestures of support are not enough. It is only through organisation and struggle. When people are organised, they become a powerful force. Fifty people acting together are far stronger than the same

fifty on their own. When people are organised, they understand how a democratic South Africa can be created by their own action.

WHAT DOES ORGANISATION INVOLVE?

.....

. People learn from experience. It is only when they take part directly in activity that people get a better understanding of oppression and come to see that they can change it.

...

. As organisers, we need to understand the problems and conditions under which our people live and work.

- That these conditions can only be changed by a united people taking part in planned activity directed towards changing their lives.

- the leaders and organisations can only play a meaningful role in this work by being close to the people, and learning from their skills and insights.

- that every opportunity must be taken to bring our people together around issues that affect them and where we can build their strength and understanding.

- Organisations enables us to effectively <u>challenge</u> the forces that oppress and exploit us." (Ons onderstreping)

(d) <u>Op p.11 - "SIGNATURE COMMITTEES WITHIN OGANISATIONS</u>

...

Organisations can use the signature campaign:

- to <u>mobilise and involve their members and supporters</u>
- <u>to raise the issues of UDF</u>, the constitution and the Koornhof bills within the organisation and constituency.
- <u>to educate the same people about these issues.</u>
- <u>to widen the horizon of their organisations concerns and link these with the concerns of other organisations and the struggle in general</u> (Ons onderstreping)

11.5.3 <u>Bew 0,6 = UDF Million Signature Campaign</u>

Dit is 'n Verslag deur M Vali (Sekretaris vir die Transvaalse Algemene Raad se vergadering gehou op 14 Januarie 1984 waar dit bespreek

en in die notule van die vergadering ingelyf is.

Die volgende word aangehaal:

(a) p.1 = "A Introduction
The content of the Signature form can be summarised as follows:
1. Rejection of the Constitution Act.
2. Rejection of the Koornhof Laws.
3. Support for the United Democratic Front.
4. Commitments to the creation of a Non-Racial Democratic South Africa.

In Addition to the above basic wording an organisation or area may add one additional demand. This additional demand makes it possible for the campaign to be linked to local struggles" (Ons onderstreping)

Dan verder aan "pp.1-2.

(b) "C. OBJECTIVES
These can be categorised into educative, ideological and organizational objectives.
1. EDUCATION AND AWARENESS
Although the campaign to educate people about the Constitution Act, Koornhof Laws and the UDF, has started in 1983, the Signature Campaign would ensure that people's

awareness is further enriched. This is because there would be Direct Contact between the Activist and the person signing. Thus the Campaign would ensure at least one million people would be spoken to directly about the issues.

2. IDEOLOGICAL

The number of signatures that are collected would indicate concretely the widespread rejection of Botha's plans. I would also show that the UDF's support is active and widespread.

Ideological gains could also be made at the local level. For example, UDF affiliates in Soweto could collect more signatures than the number of people that voted in the Local Authorities elections and thereby claim greater legitimacy than the Soweto Council". (Ons onderstreping)

(c) Op p.2 - "3 Organizational

The million signature campaign should also be aimed at consolidating and expanding organiszation. The momentum that had been generated by the Anti-PC Campaign can be maintained and consolidated by a vigourous signature campaign.

Local organizations and their struggles can be strenthened by incorporating a local demand on the signature form.

<u>This campaign also makes it possible to enlist the active involvement of the wide range of supportive individuals and organizations</u>

D. <u>SUGGESTED APPROACHES</u>

...

1. <u>TRAINING</u>

There is a need to train volunteers who would be assisting in the collection of signatures. The training should cover the following aspects:

(a) Analysis of the Constitution Act.

(b) Analysis of the Koornhoff Laws.

(c) The nature, aims and history of the UDF.

(d) The meaning of the Million Signature Campaign.

(e) Personnal conduct when collecting signatures.

2. <u>HOUSE TO HOUSE VISITS</u>

The best way to achieve the above objectives is <u>to speak to people directly</u>. There are numerous ways in which people can be spoken to, however, speaking to people in their houses is the most effective way and would yield the best results.

This does not preclude collecting signatures in churches, at soccer stadia, shopping centres, public meetings, etc.

The objectives of education, heightening awareness and organizing should be uppermost in our minds whenever speaking to people" (Ons onderstreping)

11.5.4 Bew AL47 - Rondskrywe deur UDF gedateer 22 Februarie 1984

"Dear Friends,
The United Democratic Front, is embarking on a million signature campaign as part of its oppostion to the so called reform (new constitution and the Koornhof bills).

During this signature campaign the UDF will be calling upon a million South African to demonstrate their rejection of the new constitution and the Koornhof bills and identify concretely with the Front.

The campaign promises to be very difficult, yet exiting. It provides us with the opportunity to talk to as many people as possible, about our organisations, the UDF and about the new constitution and the Koornhof bills. Many people will hear more about the people's organisations and the evils of apartheid. The world will know the truth about the fraud of P.W. Botha's reforms.

Our call to all peace and freedom loving South Africans is to participate at all

levels during the campaign. We must participate as individuals, as organisations, as church people etc.

We must carry the campaign to the people. All of us must say NO! to apartheid and say YES! to the UDF.

However, without the involvement of your organisation as well as that of other organisations of the people, sweet words to motivate for this campaign will remain empty phrase and slogans. We therefore invite your organisation to be part of this campaign. We ask you to unite in action with hundreds of thousands of our people, who have already joined the campaign.

Our unity at this stage is very crucial. It is to us a priority. It is high on the agenda of the struggle against apartheid and exploitation. Let us therefor seize the moment to unite against Botha's new brand of apartheid. Let us continue to enrich our proud tradition of resistance ..." (Ons onderstreping)

Sien ook D1

11.5.5 Bew T1 - Minutes of the UDF held on 10 and 11 September 1983

p.3 para 10. "Programme Of Action
In its discussion of the POA the NEC noted some of the important factors that any serious programme must take into account. These include to educate, train, provide organisational skills, deepen understanding and to heighten the political consciousness of the masses.

In line with these principles the NEC resolved to encourage the UDF affiliates to take up issues such as housing local authorities, CMC elections and to commemorate all great events."

11.5.6 Bew T2 - The Secretarial Report to the NEC of the UDF: 21 January 1984

p1 para 1:"PREAMBLE
Since the last NEC meeting held on 5 and 6 November 1983 interesting developments took place both within and outside the UDF. Major success were scored in boycott campaigns against the Black Local Authorities and Community Councils. Thousands of leaflets were distributed and tens of thousands of our people were mobilized through mass meetings held by the affiliates of the front. This proves that our capacity to mobilize is growing each day". (Ons onderstreping)

11.5.7 Bew. T13 - Report of the Secretariate to the UDF NGC

Die doel van die stigting van UDF is met respek ook van belang en 'n goeie samevatting kom in hierdie bewysstuk voor.

Op p2:"THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT
Our response to the state strategy has been to oppose the division of our

people. We see the unity of our people as paramount. It had to be fought for, it has to be defended. Our response, therefore, was the formation of the United Democratic Front.

At the same time, though, the UDF was not simply a response to a call for unity. It was a culmination of building organizations which fought struggles affecting all our people in various parts of the country. Although these struggles were unco-ordinated they all challenged the relations of domination. In this way, the UDF grew out of the development of organizations and the need to co-ordinate isolated struggles into broader forms of national campaigns and resistance.

3. <u>WHAT WERE OUR OBJECTIVES WHEN WE FORMED THE UDF?</u>

(i) to take the ideological initiative out of the hands of the state.

(ii) to unite our people accross class, colour, ethnic and organizational lines to oppose the Apartheid reform offensive of Botha.

(iii) to co-ordinate the activities of all organizations opposed to Apartheid.

(iv) to advance the mobilization and to deepen the organiza-

(v) to prevent the State from implementing its so-called reforms, or at least, to make it difficult for them to do so.

(vi) to deepen the understanding of our people on issues affecting their lives, such as the P.C. Proposals and Koornhof Bills, the Community Councils and Black Local Authorities, the Coloured Management Committees and the new housing policy, etc.

(vii) to establish a broad front to serve as the voice of our people.

(viii) to link politics with the day to day experience of our people.

(ix) to draw into the front groupings operating outside the government structures.

11.2.8 Bew T25 - UDF Transvaal Secretarial Report To The Annual General Meeting Held on 9 March 1985

p.3 "In February 1984 the Million Signature Campaign was launched at a rally at Soshanguve. Amongst the aims of the campaign was to: consolidate the mobi-

lisation during the Anti-BLA Campaign; to intensify grassroots work by entering into one-to-one discussions with people in the streets and in their homes; to display to the regime, the world and our people that the UDF has a large number of supporters. The campaign stretched on for much longer than initially planned. In the Transvaal, about 60 000 signatures were collected, rather than the targeted 250 000. The campaign was hampered by state harassment and counter propaganda. However, the campaign assisted greatly towards advancing the aims of the Front. Firstly, it provided a menas for active involvement of a large number of people who had not previously participated in the activities of the Front. Secondly, it acted as a unifying campaign in the sense that it was conducted in all constituencies and amongst all the affiliates throughout the country. Thirdly the campaign introduced the UDF and its policies to hundreds of thousands of people at a personal level - perhaps herein lay the greatest value of the campaign. And, lastly, the propaganda generated by the campaign served to counter state propaganda. Thus, what on the surface appeared to be a harmless collection of signatures was in fact a campaign which engaged the state on terms and at a pace dictated by us. This campaign was not a reaction to a state initiative but rather forced the state to react to us on our terrain."

12.

Dit word met respek betoog dat dit uit die voorgaande sonder enige twyfel gestel kan word:

12.1 Die MSC van UDF het ŉ belangrike deel gevorm van die Staat se saak teen die beskuldigdes.

12.2 Die MSC was ŉ integrale deel van die Staat se saak soos beliggaam in die Akte van Beskuldiging; So was dit ŉ onderdeel van die Kampanje teen die Konstitusie; Dit was gekoppel aan die Kampanje teen die Swart Plaaslike Besture; Dit was gekoppel aan sg. "day to day issues"; Dit was ŉ belangrike faktor by die vereniging, organisering, mobilisering politisering en aktivering van die Swart massas; Dit was ŉ faktor by die betrekking van die massas in die Vryheidstryd; Hierdie aspekte in die Akte van beskuldiging word nie voor hierdie Agbare Hof geplaas nie.

13.

Dit word met respek aangevoer dat die Dr. Joubert onthef-fing in twee duidelik en belangrike fases gesien, ondersoek en beoordeel moet word.

1. Die fase tot die gebeure die oggend van 10 Maart 1987 toe Dr. Joubert van sy amp onthef was.

2. Die ex post facto fase na sy ontheffing.

As die eerste fase ontleed word, is dit baie duidelik dat sy Edele die Verhoorregter gekonfronteer was met 'n uiters netelige probleem. Die ware feite waaroor hy beskik het toe hy Hof toe gegaan het die oggend van die 10e Maart 1987 was die volgende:

13.1 Dat Dr. Joubert aan hom 'n doelbewuste leuen vertel het toe hy Dr. Joubert genader het om as Assessor te

dien in die saak. Op die direkte vraag van die Regter of Dr. Joubert enige verbintenis gehad het met UDF, het Dr. Joubert dit ontken. Dit is onbetwisbaar.

13.2 Deur hierdie leuen wat op die 9de Maart 1987 aan die lig gekom het, het Dr. Joubert homself prima facie ongeloofwaardig en onbetroubaar bewys. Dit staan vas.

13.3 Dr Joubert, 'n hoogsgeskoolde regsgeleerde, het sekerlik besef dat dit sy integriteit en bevoegdheid om sy taak as assessor behoorlik uit te voer onder verdenking plaas en dat daar op hom 'n regsplig rus om aan die Regter 'n verduideliking te verskaf om sy eer en integriteit in ere te herstel. Dit is 'n geregverdigde en redelike afleiding.

13.4 Dr Joubert kon klaarblyklik nie sy leuen aan die Regter verduidelik nie want tot die oggend van die

10de Maart 1987 toe die Hof hervat het, het Dr. Joubert wetende van alles wat op die 9de Maart en 10de Maart voor Hof gebeur het, absoluut geen poging aangewend om die leuen te verduidelik nie. Dit is die voor die handliggende en enigste redelike afleiding.

13.5 Dr. Joubert het die 9de Maart 1978 aan die Regter bevestig dat hy 'n werklik verbintenis met UDF het en deurdat hy UDF se MSC verklaring geteken het. Dit kan gladnie betwis word nie.

13.6 Dr Joubert, in sy bekendmaking van sy deelname aan UDF aktiwiteite, bevestig dan ook sy goedgesindheid en trou aan UDF deur sy toevoeging dat daar niks verkeerd is met die MSC nie.

13.7 Hierdie laaste toevoeging maak Dr. Joubert terwyl hy as assessor vertroud was met die doel van UDF en die UDF kampanjes en Vryheidstryd.

13.8 As regsman met die statuur en kennis van Dr. Joubert, en selfs nadat die Regter hom daarop attend maak dat UDF in wese verhoor word, doen hy niks om te verduidelik onder watter onskuldige omstandighede, indien enige, hy deelgeneem het aan UDF se kampanje nie.

13.9 Die Regter is nogmaals in 'n dilemma want een van sy assessore het hom uit sy eie mond prima facie bewys dat hy 'n ondersteuner van UDF is en gevolglik nie sy taak as assessor objektief en onpartydig sal kan uitvoer nie. Sy gesindheid van simpatie met UDF en die se aktiwiteite tree sterk op die voorgrond.

13.10 Nogmaals bevestig Dr. Joubert se versuim om dadelik 'n verduideliking te verskaf en op te klaar onder watter omstandighede hy deelgeneem het aan UDF se kampanje, prima facie sy onvermoë om dit te kan of wil doen. Dit is sekerlik 'n redelike afleiding onder al die heersende omstandighede.

13.11 Die reeds bestaande prima facie bewys van Dr. Joubert se oneerlike antwoord en van sy partydigheid ten gunste van UDF en sy daadwerklike ondersteuning van UDF word per se beklemtoon en bevestig as die UDF verklaring aan die MSC vorm wat Dr. Joubert onderteken het, ontleed word. Die volgende is dan ook die onbetwisde feite wat bestaan het en wat Sy Edele die Verhoorregter moes oorweeg.

13.11.1 Bo aan die dokument verskyn die UDF wapen en die opskrif "One Million Signature Campaign". Die prominente betrokkenheid van die UDF kan nie in twyfel getrek word nie.

13.11.2 Die dokument bevat ŉ spesifieke verklaring dat ondertekenaars hulle vereenselwig met sg. "freedom-loving South Africans" en dit wêreldwyd verkondig.

Deur sy ondertekening daarvan het Dr. Joubert homself hiermee vereenselwig.

Volgens die getuienis voor die Hof a quo, hetsy viva voce of dokumentêr, en ook voor Dr. Joubert, word hierdie "freedom-loving South Africans" identifiseer as veral UDF se ondersteuners en veral die Swart massas wat die stryd teen die Staat en Staatsgesag moes opneem en aktief bedryf.

13.11.3 In die verklaring verklaar en assosieer Dr. Joubert homself uitdruklik en voor die wêreld, met UDF en dat hy saam met UDF apartheid verwerp en die stryd en eenheid van die massas steun teen die onreg van apartheid.

Volgens die akte van beskuldiging en die bewysmateriaal voor die Hof a quo (en dus Dr. Joubert), behels "apartheid" nie alleen die blote abstrakte begrip nie, maar word gelyk gestel aan die Regering en Staat.

Net so is die "stryd en eenheid" van die massas die Vryheidstryd waaraan die massas moes deelneem as 'n verenigde mag. Een van die doelstellings van UDF is om die massas te verenig om aktief deel te neem aan die Vryheidstryd teen die Regering en Staats-instellings om dit te vernietig. Dit moes noodwendig uitloop op 'n geweldadige stryd.

13.11.4 In die woorde van die verklaring verbind Dr. Joubert homself en verklaar hy voor die wêreld om steun aan UDF en die massas te verleen in die Vryheidstryd om 'n sg. "non-racial democratic South-Africa, free of oppression, economic exploitation and racism" tot stand te bring.

Volgens die akte van beskuldiging was beweer, en het die bewysmateriaal voor die Hof *a quo*, (en dus ook voor Dr. Joubert),

aangetoon en was bevestig dat dit 'n doelstelling van UDF was om dit "buite-parlementêr" deur die verenigde opgesweepte Swart massas en onder die leiding van UDF te verwesenlik. Net so was aangetoon en bevestig dat hierdie sg. demokratiese regering 'n regering van die massas sou wees volgens die voorskrifte van die Freedom Charter. (Die ANC se beleidsdokument).

Mohorro's case

13.11.5 Volgens die inhoud van die verklaring het Dr. Joubert verklaar dat hy hom saam met UDF skaar in die verwerping van die Konstitusie en Koornhof-wetgewing.

Petisie Aanhangsel A, Vol. 4 p.259 reëls 17-22.

Volgens die akte van beskuldiging en bewysmatriaal voor die Hof a quo, (en ook dus voor Dr. Joubert), was bogemelde die

basis van twee van UDF se belangrikste kampanjes en wat albei baie nou verstrengel was met die MSC. Aldrie kampanjes was deur UDF bedryf om sy korttermyn en die uiteindelike doelstelling van magsoorname in die RSA te verwesenlik.

13.11.6 Volgens die inhoud van die verklaring het Dr. Joubert uitdruklik en voor die wêreld verklaar dat hy UDF steun sowel as UDF se aktiwiteite om die massas te verenig in hul stryd teen die Konstitusie en Koornhof wetgewing.

Die ondertekenaars verklaar:

> "We, the freedom loving South Africans, declare for the whole world to know .... yes to the United Democratic Front, UDF, and give it our full support in its efforts to unite our people in their fight against the constitution and Koornhof bills.". (Ons onderstreping)

Dit word met respek aangevoer dat niemand hierdie laasgenoemde verbintenis en belofte van volle ondersteuning aan UDF kan verwar met ŉ blote uitspraak van afkeur teen die nuwe Konstitusie nie.

In die oorkonde en bewysmateriaal voor die Hof a quo, en waaroor Dr. Joubert ook beskik het, is daar omvattende feite oor UDF se "efforts" om die massas te betrek in die Vryheidstryd teen die Konstitusie en Koornhof wetgewing, die doel van die Vryheidstryd en hoedat die MSC ŉ integrale deel daarvan uitgemaak het.

Oor die Vryheidstryd word slegs die volgende aangehaal oor wat ŉ UDF aktivis en ondersteuner, te wete R D Naidoo, op die stigtingsvergadering van UDF bekend gemaak het.

Bew. V26 p8 - "Therefore comrades to now say, time has come, the revolution is now beginning under the banner of the United Front. (Shouting, whistling and clapping").

Sien Petisie Aanhangsel A, Vol. 2 (Bylae B) op p.101.

13.12 Die Verhoorregter is gevolglik gekonfronteer met 'n dokument wat <u>per se</u> verdoemend vir Dr. Joubert onder die omstandighede is en wat 'n verduideliking vanaf die kant van Dr. Joubert absoluut noodsaaklik gemaak het. Hy het verkies om niks te verduidelik nie.

Petisie, Aanhangsel A Vol. 4 p.259 reëls 10-15.

13.13 Na die hervatting van die Hof het Dr. Joubert die verklaring soos dit voorkom in <u>Bew AS.1</u> in die Hof gelees en Sy Edele die Verhoorregter het verwag dat Dr. Joubert die aangeleeentheid te berde sou bring gedurende die volgende verdaging van die Hof.

Petisie Aanhangsel A, Vol. 4 p.259 reëls 15-17.

13.14 Gedurende die verdaging vir middagete het Dr. Joubert verdwyn, blykbaar vir middagete. Hy het weer teruggekeer net voor die Hof moes hervat. Hy het nie probeer om nou, en nadat hy die verklaring gelees het, 'n verduideliking te gee nie.

13.15 Na die verdaging van die Hof het Sy Edele die Verhoorregter vir Dr. Joubert pertinent ingelig dat Dr. Joubert hom in 'n verleentheid geplaas het. Verder het die Regter hom gevra of hy Bew. AS.1 gelees het en het Dr. Joubert bevestigend geantwoord. Daarop het hy Dr. Joubert tweekeer gevra of hy nie die verleentheid voel nie. Sy antwoord was om te vra wat die Verhoorregter insinueer en het toe aan die Regter gesê hy is "moeg vir insinuasies". Die verhoorregter het toe aan Dr. Joubert gesê dat sy verleentheid spruit uit die feit dat Dr. Joubert geteken het ter ondersteuning van UDF wat verhoor word, en dat hy oor die aangeleentheid moet dink en

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