

## INTRODUC

1. Judgment: Points to be considered for appeal

1. Reliance on E+ C106 as text of keynote address 46 - 47.

(Indictment not limited to)

2. Issue of jurisdictional treason: Indictment not 67.

3. Indictment as publicised charges treason by

UDF, its affiliates & supporting organisations (??). 69.

4. Being formation of conspiracy not relevant: all that is necessary is that <sup>is shown</sup> it <sup>is</sup> shown to have existed during <sup>the</sup> period of the indictment.

5. State case encompasses the whole UDF and not only a small clique therein. The case is not based on the policy of the UDF: it is that the object of each of the conspirators was to overthrow the state. The conspiracy is secondary & the number of conspirators is irrelevant 71.

6. Propaganda <sup>and</sup> protest action which has the object of coercing the government in a certain direction might in <sup>given</sup> circumstances amount to high treason. This fact makes this case <sup>as</sup> unique and difficult. Questioning language in speeches etc. is difficult. No precise guidelines can be established for construction of speeches. Each speech & each document has to be scrutinised individually & together to determine whether there is hostile intent to the State 79. 82.

7. Basis of distinguishing Adonis case 83 - 90

[His interpretation of]

8. "Furthering objects of ANC"

91 et seq.

~~B~~

9. Admissibility of documents

(i) Construction of S. 69(4).

103 - 107

(ii) Admissibility of common law of docs. with VDF logo

108 - 9

(iii) Propaganda Materials (written or spoken) is  
always executory.

110.

(iv) Admissibility of documents on basis of CCR's  
evidence

112 - 115

10. Policies of BC organisations: relevant to  
TOM Manmohan

117 - 138.

11. ANC Policy

139 - 169

## BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES

THE STRUCTURE OF THE JUDGEMENT IN SO FAR AS IT DEALS WITH  
THE ISSUE OF BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES IS AS FOLLOWS:

1. Opposition by the UDF to the Black Local Authorities was a matter of principle.

Exhibit A1	170
Exhibit D1 para 10	170
Exhibit T17	170
Exhibit T2	171
Exhibit F	171
Trevor Manuel's circular of April 1984.	171
Exhibit T27 (2) (exhibit C60) which was written after consultation with accused no. 19.	171
Exhibit T25 (1) which was written in January 1985 by accused no. 19. The conference referred to had apparently not yet been held.	172
2. Throughout its existence the UDF called for the destruction of the BLA. This is shown by the following:
  - (i) Accused no. 19 said that the policy of the UDF was to make the BLA unworkable. 172
  - (ii) It was part of the freedom struggle to get rid of the BLA. 172
  - (iii) The UDF had no policy to set up alternative local government structures. 172
  - (iv) Professor Mahomed's speech of 27 November 1983 (Exhibit C23: Page, 5). 173
  - (v) The TIC had a workshop on the BLA at Kagiso in November 1983. 173
  - (vi) The UDF had a workshop on the BLA at Daleside in April 1984. The report on this workshop says that the next task was to destroy the BLA and strengthen the Civics. 173

- (vii) The NEC had workshops on the BLA. See 174 exhibit E1 paragraph 6.1.6.3.
3. The Daleside conference is stressed in the judgment, and in particular: 174
- (i) Exhibit U(4)d which refers to the events of 1976 when the administration offices were burnt down and councillors were forced to resign.
- (ii) The film, the Fifth Offensive, which dealt with the struggle of partisans in Yugoslavia and which was presumably violent. 174
4. The UDF linked current issues and problems to the BLA in its attack upon them. See for example exhibit AML. 174
5. The UDF made attacks upon the BLA without contemplating the setting up of alternative structures. It was intent upon destroying the existing system and not upon improving the lot of blacks at local level. 175
6. The UDF received reports from the Civics on their activities against the BLA. This continued after the November elections. Written reports were required. Attacks were made upon councillors ad hominem and this created a climate of rejection and hatred against them. 175
7. In exhibit CA17 the UDF in a press statement referred to councillors as "canon fodder". 176
8. Despite widespread riots and the declaration of a State of Emergency the UDF sought to increase pressure on the BLA. This is illustrated by:
- (i) Exhibits T21 which is the Border secretarial report for the period 18 November 1984 to 15 February 1985 in which it is said that the BLA will be under focus at the April 1985 NGC. It also says that workshops have been arranged in the Transvaal to organise united strategies to resist the BLA. In this regard he rejects the evidence of accused no. 21 who said that the statement was incorrect.

- (ii) A press statement on 9 January 1985 calling for the resignation of the BLA - exhibit AM66. 177
- (iii) A press statement of 11 January 1985 praising councillors who had resigned - exhibit AM67. 177
- (iv) A press statement of 23 January 1985 which attacked the Municipal Police who had been brought in to control the unrest - exhibit AM68. 177
- (v) A statement of 23 January 1985 in which the UDF blamed the BLA for the economic crisis - exhibit W8. 177
- (vi) The report of the Western Cape UDF which was adopted and formed part of its published papers in which it was said : "We salute our people and we will continue to ensure that the influence of such structures over our people's lives is challenged. Wherever possible we will mobilise mass action against these community councils, management committees and the tricameral parliament itself." - Exhibit C138. 178
- (vii) Exhibit T25 which shows that the same attitude prevailed in the Transvaal. 179
- (viii) Exhibit T25 which is a secretarial report to the NGC. 180
- (ix) The NGC statement made in regard to the scrapping of the BLA in exhibit C102. 180
- (x) The NGC minutes of April 1985 - exhibit AAA10. 180
- (xi) The evaluation of the UDF campaign against the BLA as contained in exhibit C110. 180

The general conclusion is that the BLA were attacked maliciously as a means of mobilising the masses and fanning the flames of their anger. "When the eruption came, as it inevitably had to, the UDF rejoiced in its successes and gloried in its victory."

## Education:

1. Complaints mentioned in evidence about SRC's etc. were not substantive enough to warrant a boycott. 186
2. Broad objectives of peoples education first spelt out in December 1985 at conference of SPCC, but it had surfaced earlier as documents show Basis of linkage between peoples education & peoples power + linkage with SRC's. Relevant though is intervention 187/8.
3. Capitalisation by DET on SRC's was in May 1984. 188/89  
Now communication structure established Afmed in Oct 1984
4. Fuss was due to UDF campaigning UDF mobilisation. Youth brought onto the streets. Inevitable that NGOs conduct & classes with police would ensue. Cycle of demands, ~~forwards~~ etc. 190
5. UDF's attitude to youth is that they are indispensable to the liberation struggle 190  
  - (i) Notes Made by accused no 20 191
  - (ii) UDF declaration pledged to mobilising students under UDF banner 191
  - (iii) ET C9. Shows UDF not only inspired but initiated youth organisations. Denial by ACCD 19 that UDF formed any youth organisations must be rejected 192
  - (iv) Minutes of joint national secretariat shows inadvertent earth youth issues 192
  - (v) Proj. Mahomed's speech to AZAPO youth on 4 July 1984. 192

(iv) Exhibits C.1 and J.3 - Speech to NEC  
refer to COSAS & AZASO. Goal to swing  
balancing forces in our favour. Need to  
take up education as a broad political  
issue "Country-wide"

194.

(vii) Paper by Lucille Hepp (ET7), probably  
delivered at November 1984 Meeting  
NEC, deals with youth in the  
democratic movement.

194.

(viii) ~~Secular~~ Secular report <sup>(to April 1985 NEC)</sup>, refers to need  
to sustain the education struggle within  
the overall strategy of challenging the state.  
Affiliates showed full weight to hand  
Education Charter Campaign

195.

(ix) Resolutions passed at April 1985 NEC  
and August 1983 launch show  
support for student struggles. So too,  
class ET C.46 (C.114)

196-197.

(x) AZASO is a revolutionary organization  
supporting the ANC. Refers to evidence  
of IC 12, Fourth annual congress on 5  
July 1984 attended by Accd. 19020,  
Dancing with AK 47's at various evening.  
Refer to exhibits V 11, V 11B, and V 11C.  
In Tugela office A2180 a message from the  
ANC was found (AB62). Refers also  
to Exhibit ABA 63, C 47, C 143,  
3rd Annual Congress + panel discussion track,  
ET W 14 which contains Marxist speech by  
Annetien Heerden, ET W 15 found with  
Accd. No 22, ET AE 10, eh.

197-200

(xii) Cosas was, according to LC 23, a progressive organisation used by the ANC to further revolution. Virtually anti-Govt. Not averse to violence. Public statements seen against background of events in townships. Clement to incitement and/or condonation of violence & revolution. It was a F.C.-organisation. It was Marxist / Socialist. It was against the councillors.

201

(XII) Casos "forms part of the UDF Task force in the liberation struggle and which was whole-heartedly supported by the UDF"

202

(XIII) At launch of SOYCO on 31 July 1983,

No 19 played an active role. "He advised"  
on its founding and spoke at its launch"

203

(XIV) Mahatma Gandhi Congress sent a message of support to the UDF  
each ADP8

203

(XV) The UDF was the motivating force in the formation of committees of parents and students (and some teachers)  
to bypass existing parents' committees

203

(XVI) Direct evidence of UDF involvement in the schools boycott which we accept was that of W/o Du Toit and Capt. Looly that Chakravarthy told them he would encourage scholars to boycott classes till their demands were met

204

(XVII) The 'progressive' education - one can read "based on the Freedom Charter". That is how the term was interpreted in those circles

206

(XVIII) Re Ex 65 and 8818 - Nowhere does one find an instruction to dampen the over heated youths. The masses must be exhorted to support the scholars and students

207

(XIX) Eph AB19 - Memo drawn by 19 "From UDF and COSAS". No 19's explanation that it refers to getting students back to classes "is nonsense" 208-210

(XX) UDF did not express itself openly in favour of the boycotts. Yet indirectly it did. Never clearly publicly expressed disapproval of the scholars' struggle. 210

(XXI) Release on C83 - "a UDF report".  
(This was found in the TIC office and was not known to any of the accused - it is an UDF letterhead) 211

(XXII) Release on Eph C24 - a speech of Prof Mohamed 'delivered probably at the beginning of 1988' 211-212

(XXIII) Release on C83, a memorandum from No 19 to show "UDF's manipulation of the youth for its own ends" 213

(XXIV) "Relevant education" - "the only explanation we can think of is that the claim for relevant education is geared to advance the freedom struggle" 215

6.a) Conclusion - The documentation "inevitably leads to the conclusion that the UDF regarded the scholars, students and working youth as its forces in the freedom struggle and supported, depicted and

manipulated them to that end" (Having concluded  
the evidence of No 16, 19, 20, 21, Hawthorne, Dongor,  
Duncorn, Burkezi, Ntomo and Mokgoro)

215-216

- b) The issue was the Black education system  
which the UDF wanted to destroy and replace  
with another. The means of doing it was action  
by the pupils themselves.
- 216
- c) This does not mean that UDF speakers did not  
at times call for an end to the schools boycott:
- 16 Feb 84 - Prof Mohamed at Athloneville (and No 21)
  - 7 April 84 - Press statement by No 21 (Exh DA 27)
- d) School boycotts & disruptions were a contravention  
of s 52(3)c of Act 71 of 1982  
Bullionys and protest marches were a contravention  
of GN of 30 March 1984  
"It was inevitable that the police would act. They  
were duty bound. Violent confrontations were  
inevitable"
- 217
- e) No answer that COSAS "orchestrated all this" - UNP  
comes out in full support and never spoke out  
against COSAS's revolutionary statements  
"We conclude that the UDF welcomed the disturbances  
and violence as a means of mobilising the youth in  
the freedom struggle"
- 217-218

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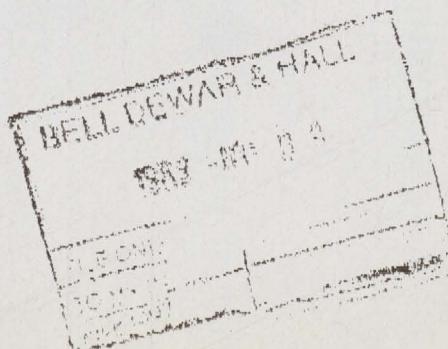
MATTER : Opposal Malungo v The State

I have seen the Dist. Registrar who has shown you 2 letters of today to the Cf. He has directed that the Registrar send a formal letter soon advising the Jacobs asking him to confirm that his heads will be filed by 10<sup>th</sup> November - his reply to go to Cf.

FROM :

OUR FAX NO (051)308987OUR REF : H.J. Newdigate

TIME :



PLEASE CONTACT US IMMEDIATELY SHOULD ALL THE PAGES HEREOF NOT BE RECEIVED

# BELL, DEWAR & HALL

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3 October 1989

The Attorney-General  
of the Transvaal  
1st floor, Prudential Building  
28 Church Square  
Pretoria

By Hand - Urgent

Dear Sir

Case No: 152/89 : Appeal : G P Malindi & 10 Others v The State

1. In the course of its judgment of the 25th September 1989 directing that special entry number 1 be heard in limine, the Appellate Division said :

"A consideration ... is the fact that some of the appellants are serving sentences of imprisonment. If their convictions are to be set aside, that should be done at the earliest stage possible."
2. Our Bloemfontein correspondents accordingly enquired of the Registrar of the Appellate Division whether a date for the hearing of the appeal on special entry number 1, as ordered by the Appellate Division in its judgment, could be allocated during the final term of this year. Our correspondents informed the Registrar that if this were possible, we would do everything we could to co-operate with you to achieve that end.
3. Our correspondents were advised late yesterday afternoon by the Registrar of the Appellate Division that the Chief Justice would allocate the 27th November 1989 for the hearing, if the State's heads of argument could be filed by not later than Friday the 10th November 1989.
4. We are able to file our heads of argument by Friday the 13th October 1989 and have advised the Registrar accordingly. This means that you would have at least four weeks after receiving the appellants heads within which to file your heads of argument.
5. We have been advised by counsel that the appellants heads of argument will cover substantially the same grounds as those which were advanced in support of the application for the hearing in limine.

W.Lane, R.O.Gush, K.F.Gill, M.J.Simpson, D.K.Sinclair, C.L.Green, N.D.Carmen, A.Mitchell, D.R.Hoffe, N.J.Roedt, D.S.Dison, J.A.Sutherland, A.N.Leontsinis, L.S.Jacobson, S.F.Langbridge. Associates: M.E.Poole.

6. Please advise us, and the Registrar of the Appellate Division, as a matter of urgency, whether you have any objection to these proposals.

Yours faithfully

BELL DEWAR & HALL

c.c. The Registrar, Appellate Division  
c.c. Mr P Jacobs SC

## RESERVATION OF QUESTIONS OF LAW

1. Does the phrase 'prima facie' of the content<sup>proof</sup>, in Section 69(4) of the Internal Security Act 74 of 1982 means prima facie proof of the content<sup>s</sup>? 2
- ✓ Judgment: p105
2. Are tape recordings and video tapes admissible in evidence in the absence of proof of their originality and their <sup>provenance</sup> and authenticity? 2
- ✓ Judgment: pp287 - 290
3. To what extent and for what purpose can reliance be placed upon documents for the purposes of the common law charge of treason but which are only admissible by virtue of the provisions of Section 69(4) of Act 74 of 1982? 2
- ✓ Judgment: pp102 - 103
4. Assuming the admissibility of documents for the purposes of the common law charges, to what extent can reliance be placed upon documents admitted by virtue of the provisions of Section 69(4) of Act 74 of 1982 which -  
(?) (a) do not relate to the period of the indictment;  
(b) were not adduced as part of the State's case?
5. To what extent and for what purpose may reliance be placed upon documents said to contain 'propaganda'

material' in the absence of proof of originality of such documents and to what extent may these be relied upon as constituting executive statements in execution of a conspiracy?

Judgment: p110

6. To what extent may reliance be placed upon documents which on their face are said to emanate from the ANC but in respect of which there is no proof of originality to prove policy, aims and objectives of the ANC and can such documents be used as proof of the executive statements by a conspirator?

Judgment: pp112 and 115

7. Is the UDF an 'association of persons' for the purposes of Section 246 of the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977?

Judgment: p104

8. Are documents admissible in respect of the common law offences by virtue of their admission under Section 69(4) of Act 74 of 1982 in the absence of an allegation that the Accused were members, officers or active supporters of the ANC?

Judgment: p113

9. Are documents admissible which bear the UDF logo or which are ostensibly issued by the UDF or an affiliate of the

Judges on UNF on all points

- ⑦ - Must argue the Issues  
Was UNF responsible, directly or  
indirectly

Credibility of persons other  
than accused.

Wants to see special entries first

Vaal

Wants to hear Bizos

Sorbonne

Bizos ~ Cheshabon.

The pillars of the judgement on the Vael side of the case went violence are:

- 1) The stayaway, in order to be effective has to be coerced
- 2) The march would inevitably lead to confrontation and spill over to violence.

IN DIE HOOGEREGSHOF VAN SUID-AFRIKA  
(APPEL AFDELING)

In die saak tussen:-

GCINUMUZI PETRUS MALINDI  
TSIETSI DAVID MPHUTHI  
NAPHTALI MBUTI NKOPANE  
TEBELLO EPHRAIM RAMAKGULA  
SEKWATI JOHN MOKOENA  
SERAME JACOB HLANYANE  
THOMAS MADIKWE MANTHATA  
HLABENG SAM MATLOLE  
POPO SIMON MOLEFE  
MOSIUOA GERARD PATRICK LEKOTA  
MOSES MABOKELA CHIKANE

Eerste Petisionaris  
Tweede Petisionaris  
Derde Petisionaris  
Vierde Petisionaris  
Vyfde Petisionaris  
Sesde Petisionaris  
Sewende Petisionaris  
Agtste Petisionaris  
Negende Petisionaris  
Tiende Petisionaris  
Elfde Petisionaris

en

DIE STAAT

Respondent

In re: THE STATE v PATRICK MABUYA BALEKA & OTHERS  
(TPA - SAAK NO CC 482/85)

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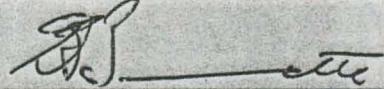
DIE STAAT SE KENNISGEWING OM DIE PETISIE TE BESTRY

---

AAN SY EDELE DIE HOOFREGTER VAN DIE BOVERMELDE AGBARE HOF

---

Aangebied vir liasering:



DIE PROKUREUR-GENERAAL VAN  
TRANSVAAL Adv.D.B.BRUNETTE SC  
KANTOOR VAN DIE  
PROKUREURGENERAAL  
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Prudentialgebou  
Mutualstraat  
Pretoria  
Verw.Adv.P.B.JACOBS SC

Tel. 325-3780

A.D. 11/89

IN DIE HOOGEREGSHOF VAN SUID-AFRIKA  
(APPÉLAFDELING)

In die saak tussen:-

GCINUMUZI PETRUS MALINDI  
 TSIETSI DAVID MPHUTHI  
 NAPHTALI MBUTI NKOPANE  
 TEBELLO EPHRAIM RAMAKGULA  
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 MOSES MABOKELA CHIKANE

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en

DIE STAAT

Respondent

In re: THE STATE v PATRICK MARUYA BALEKA & OTHERS  
 (TPA - SAAK NO CC 482/85)

PETISIE

INGEVOLGE APPÉLAFDELING REEL 13 OM RIGLYNE MET BETREKKING TOT DIE LOOTSING VAN DIE APPÉL

---

DIE STAAT SE KENNISGEWING OM DIE PETISIE TE BESTRY

---

NAMENS DIE RESPONDENT

Die Prokureur-generaal van  
 Transvaal  
 Kantoor van die  
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 Bloemfontein  
 Verw.Mnr.H.J.Newdigate  
 Tel. 308987

GELIEWE HIERMEE KENNIS TE NEEM DAT DIE RESPONDENT VAN VOORNEME IS OM DIE PETISIE INGEVOLGE APPELAFDELING-REEL 13 TE BESTRY EN WEL OP DIE VOLGENDE GRONDE:

1. Die twee tersaaklike spesiale inskrywings leen hulle vanwee die komplekse aard van die feitemateriaal in hierdie saak nie daartoe om in isolasie bereg te word nie:

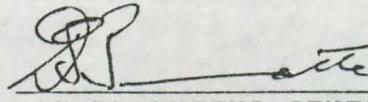
(a) Die U D F se MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN (MSC) vorm 'n integrale deel van dié organisasie se bedrywighede en die daad van onderskrywing van dié kampanje deur die geleerde assessor kan nie beoordeel word sonder 'n insig in die totale strategie en bedrywighede van die U D F soos dit gemanifesteer het uit die getuienis tot op die stadium van die afsetting van die genoemde assessor nie - bedrywighede wat met eerbied as bewese bevind is deur Sy Edele die Verhoorregter. Dit volg daarom dat bylae A tot die petisie nie as oorkonde beskou kan word vir doeleindest van beregting van dié twee spesiale inskrywings nie.

(b) Die Agbare Hof sal geroepe wees om te beoordeel, nie alleen of die verrigtinge onreëlmagtig of met die reg strydig was nie, maar ook of die Petisionarisse benadeel was daardeur al dan nie. Dit is met eerbied ondenkbaar dat so 'n beslissing gemaak kan word sonder 'n beoordeling van die saak in sy geheel.

(c) Die waarskynlikheid dat die Hof hom aan die einde van die dag sal bevind in 'n situasie waar verdere inligting gevrag word ten einde 'n sinvolle beslissing te kan maak is uit die aard van die saak oorweldigend, met respek.

(2) Sou die oorwegings geopper onder punt een (supra) stand hou sal dit onbillik wees teenoor die Staat, slegs vertragend werk en ook 'n kostedupliseringe effek inhou.

(3) 'n Aansoek soos die onderhawige is regtens nie geoorloof nie.



DIE PROKUREUR-GENERAAL VAN TRANSVAAL  
ADV D B BRUNETTE SC

PRETORIA  
1989-03-29

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