

AD1 — 25

ASSESSOR

AD1

TOWARDS A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND

A Declaration to End Conscription

We live in an unjust society where basic human rights are denied to the majority of the people.

We live in an unequal society where the land and wealth are owned by the minority.

We live in a society in a state of civil war, where brother is called on to fight brother.

We call for an end to conscription.

Young men are conscripted to maintain the illegal occupation of Namibia, and to wage unjust war against foreign countries.

Young men are conscripted to assist in the implementation and defence of apartheid policies.

Young men who refuse to serve are faced with the choice of a life of exile or a possible six years in prison.

We call for an end to conscription.

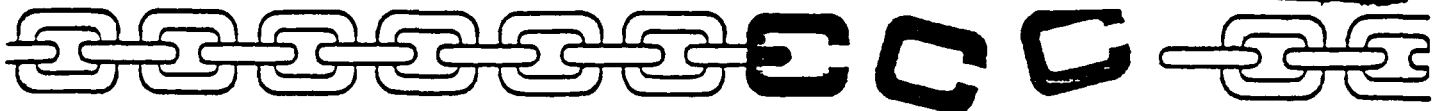
We believe that the financial cost of the war increases the poverty of our country, and that money should rather be used in the interests of peace.

We believe that the extension of conscription to coloured and indian youth will increase conflict and further divide our country.

WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE MORAL RIGHT OF SOUTH AFRICANS TO EXERCISE FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND TO CHOOSE NOT TO SERVE IN THE SADF.

WE CALL FOR AN END TO CONSCRIPTION

WE CALL FOR A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND



End Conscription Campaign

During the past year a number of "reforms" have been made.

The protest and conflict surrounding this "reform" show that the people of South Africa reject these "reforms".

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- * The elections for the new tricameral parliament were marked by extremely low polls and police harassment.
- * The increased power granted to the Black Local Authorities led to unrest in Parys and Welkom.
- * The government has increased the budget for Black education, yet at one stage nearly 650 000 students were out on boycott rejecting the content of that education.
- * Despite the Nkomati accord, which aimed to halt the movement of the ANC in South Africa, bombings and guerilla activity have increased.

THE SO-CALLED REFORMS HAVE INCREASED THE CONFLICT IN OUR COUNTRY

The SADF has played a major role in initiating these reforms, and in co-operating with the police in trying to implement them.

General Constand Viljoen, Chief of the Defence Force, recently toured trouble spots in the Vaal Triangle by helicopter, and was briefed by the SAP.

More and more, the SADF has been involved in a civil war. This has forced South Africans into a situation where brother is fighting brother and neighbour fighting neighbour.

We believe that there can only be a just peace in South Africa when basic human rights are afforded to all South African

The SADF is being called upon to quell resistance in the streets of South Africa. Conscription into the SADF means conscription to defend the New Deal and becoming involved in an escalating civil war.

We believe that every one has the moral right to exercise freedom of conscience and choose whether to fight in the SADF or not

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Issued by Jo'burg ECC

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Endorsed by:

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AD2

RESOLUTION PASSED BY REGIONAL COUNCIL OF THE U.D.F. EASTERN CAPE

REGION AT CONFERENCE HELD ON 4 DECEMBER 1983

Motions forwarded by:

NUSAS. (Rhodes) (On militarisation & Conscription)

This conference Noting:

- (1) The increasing militarisation and rapidly expanding role of the SADF in S.A. Society and in Southern Africa as a whole;
- (2) The state's intention to extend conscription to "coloureds" and "Indians" with the introduction of the 1983 Constitution Bill;
- (3) The courageous stand taken by those refusing to participate in the SADF;
- (4) The increasing access of the SADF to school & school-children.

Believing:

- (1) That the role of the SADF is fundamental in upholding apartheid, both through the use of force and to win the hearts and minds of the people.
- (2) That the SADF is engaged in a civil war.
- (3) That the SADF is illegally occupying Namibia against the wishes of ^{the} majority of Namibians.
- (4) That the SADF is involved in offensive activities designed to destabilise Southern African countries as they attempt to build stable and democratic societies.
- (5) That the conscription of "coloureds" "Indians" will be one of the prices tied to Botha's 'new deal'.

Resolves:

- (1) To condemn the SADF's ongoing destabilising and repressive actions.
- (2) To extend our support for the stand taken by Conscientious Objectors.
- (3) To support the call for an end ^{to} military conscription in all its forms.
- (4) To raise awareness on the military issue throughout our Society, but in particular amongst school & university students, and to resist the intrusion of the military into our schools and universities.

Proposed: Nusas

Seconded: Macwusa & Gwusa

DESCOM (On Detentions, Bannings and Harrassments)

Noting:

1. The governments frantic all-out attempts to co-opt South Africans into its reform plans.
2. That detentions, bannings, harrassments of those opposing apartheid continue unabated particularly the detention of one of our national patrons (Father Smangalislo Mkatshwa) by Ciskei.
3. The banning of SAAWU and the harassment of other trade unions.
4. The brutal repressive actions of the Sebe regime against the communities in the Border region opposing its existence.

Believing:

1. That harassment, detentions and repression in general will escalate as more courageous South Africans will oppose the Governments entrenchment of Apartheid.
2. That the responsibility for the Sebe regime's excessive violence against the peaceful bus boycott lies with racist Pretoria as it creates illegitimate Bantustans with puppet leaders.
3. That the banning of SAAWU and harassment of other trade unions is an escalation of repression against workers.

Resolves:

1. To call upon the Government to turn from its path of conflict with the majority of our people by implementing the New Constitution and Koornof-Bills.
2. To work for a just and democratic S.A. in spite of harassments, detentions and violence inflicted by the government.
3. To reject detention without trial-therefore demand the release of all detainees unconditionally.
4. To demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners.
5. To demand the free operation of trade unions in order to alleviate oppression of the workers.
6. To demand the eradication of the Bantustan system of puppet leaders, acting as a buffer for the government against the legitimate demands of the people of S.A.

PEWO (Women)

Pewo endorses the stand taken on women by National U.D.F

Noting: that Women are half the population of South Africa and that Women in South Africa suffer three types of oppression.

1. Political oppression which is common to all blacks in S.A i.e. the denial of right to vote for or choose the type of Government.
2. Economic oppression as Women workers are even more exploited than men workers. They are paid lower wages for the same job are treated as temporary staff and can be fired at anytime especially if they fall pregnant
3. Social oppression which stems from the idea that women are born inferior to men and therefore have to play an inferior role in Society.

No nation can be free unless the Women too are free, and that we men must stand shoulder to shoulder with our men folk in the common struggle against poverty, race and class discrimination.

We (Pewo) resolves to join the United Democratic Front to oppose the constitution and Koornhof Bills and to fight side by side for a United Democratic and Non Racial South Africa

Mover: Pewo

Resolution on Dummy Bodies:

This conference notings:

1. That the Pretoria regime enjoys no legitimacy amongst the vast majority of South Africans.
2. That to effect the policies of racialism in the community, the government has created puppet structures like Management Committees, Community Councils and Black Local Authorities.
3. That these puppet bodies enjoy minimal support in the community, evidenced by the shockingly low percentage polls in so-called elections.

Believing:

1. That these dummy bodies can never serve the interests of our people.

Resolves:

1. To reject with contempt these dummy bodies.
2. To build with renewed vigor our democratic mass-based community organisations, as the democratic voice of our people.
3. To renew our commitment to struggle for a non-racial democratic S.A. based on the will of the people.

MACWUSA (On Unemployment and Economic Downturn)

This conference noting:

1. The present government causes perpetual exploitation, high unemployment (which results in malnutrition, starvation, etc.) by their economic system.
2. That the present government ignores and mocks the workers after collecting the wealth produced by them.

Believing:

1. That the government should stop camouflaging exploitation with terms such as "Economic Downturn"
2. That our lives and health deserve precedence over extravagances and billions spent on the S.A.D.F.
3. That the wealth of the country should be shared amongst the workers who produce it.

Resolves:

1. To demand that workers (producers of wealth) of this country should decide on the utilisation of such wealth.
2. To demand jobs for the unemployed.
3. To demand that those who are unemployed be supported by a monthly grant equivalent to a decent living wage.

On Education. Nusas (Rhodes)

Noting

- (1) the struggle of students at most major tribal colleges
- (2) the solidarity boycotts in Ciskeian schools
- (3) the brutal Inkatha attack and the violent police & repressive action against the students by university & school administration
- (4) the Government's recent White paper on the de Lange report in which separate education remains the cornerstone of S.A's future Apartheid Education policy
- (5) the admissions criteria & subsidy formula which will serve to severely limit the number of black students admitted to "white" universities
- (6) the expulsion of school teachers i.t.o. the provisions of the coloured & Indian persons education Act which prohibit teachers from being involved in political work.

Believing:

- (1) that the students struggle for affective & democratic participation in the decision-making process of the institutions of education are part of the ongoing struggle against inferior education in this country
- (2) that the repressive measures continually wages against the student movement are part of the overall state strategy to ensure control of education at every level
- (3) that the current "reform" initiatives are nothing more than a tightening of that control and a way of ensuring that education is streamlined to serve the needs of the capitalist economy

hereby resolves:

- (1) To fully support the struggle of the students movement
- (2) To encourage the building & strengthening of ongoing and United Student Organisation
- (3) To call on the N E C to address a letter of protest to the Dept. of Education and Training and the Dept. of Internal Affairs regarding the treatment that is meted out to teachers involved in community organisations
- (4) To continue the fight and demand for a single, non-racial & democratic system of education based on the needs of the people in a free and United South Africa

Mover: Sue Lund - Nusas

PEYCO (On Constitution & Koornhof Bills)

This conference Noting:

- (1) The attempts by the Botha-regime towards reform, by way of the new Constitution and Koornhof Bills.
- (2) The co-option of certain sections of our community into an unacceptable governments.
- (3) The reform initiatives as the most cohesive attempt to undermine the democratic Organisations of the people.
- (4) The growing strength of the democratic movement inside S.A.

Believes:

- (1) That the hardships experienced in our daily lives at present will continue unabated under the so-called new "dispensation".
- (2) That the needs of our people can only be addressed by the establishment of a non-racial democracy in this country.

Therefore Resolves:

- (1) To reject and resist attempts to co-opt our people by actively campaigning against the constitution and Koornhof Bills.
- (2) To work towards the drawing-up of a democratic constitution which will allow the participation of all South Africans, and which is therefore based on the will ^{of} the people.
- (3) To call for a national convention for the purpose of drawing up such a constitution, preceded by the release of all political prisoners, unbanning of banned persons and the unconditional return of all political exiles to allow participation of our leader. in the drawing up of the constitution.

Proposed: Peyco

Seconded: Descom

AD3

During the past year a number of "reforms" have been made.

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AD4



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

P. O. Box 25063
FERREIRASTOWN
2048

Reu "AD - 4"

Dear Comrades,

On the 15th July, the UDF conscription committee held a workshop on militarisation and conscription for all UDF affiliates. The workshop was attended by about 35 people.

During the workshop many ideas were discussed. Many of these were suggestions on how organisations could take up the issue of conscription during the anti- election campaign. We are sending all affiliates a copy of the minutes from the workshop. We hope you will use some of the suggestions during your campaign

the Anti-conscription Committee.

PRESENT: Winterveld Action Committee; Lenasia Youth League; NUSAS;
YCS; TIC; SAYO; ZAKHENI

The workshop started with three speakers giving input on:

1. CONSCRIPTION

The development of conscription in S.A. - a historical analysis

Conscription and the new constitution - the extension of the call-up to "coloureds" and "indians".

Various forms of resistance to conscription.

Conscription as a new terrain of struggle - the loopholes and the importance of us taking the initiative in challenging enforced conscription.

2. MILITIRIZATION

Increasing militarization of our country - the building up of the army.

The increase in the Defence Budget linked to the increase in GST.

Analysis of why the increase in militarization.

The "hearts and minds" campaign of the SADF - veld-schools, camps etc.

The importance of analysing the issue of militarization and taking up a campaign against it.

3. NAMIBIA

The present situation - role of the SADF; Koevoet and other units.

Extension of conscription to Namibians - linked to the hearts and minds campaign.

Why the hearts and minds campaign failed in Namibia.

S.A.'s resistance to implement U.N. resolution 435.

Possibility of a settlement and the implications for us in S.A.

The position of SWAPO and the level of internal organisation

Lessons to be learnt from the Namibian situation and our response to it.

GROUP DISCUSSIONS

- 1) How can individual organisations take up the issue in the short-term?
- 2) How can UDF take up the issues in the short-term? (before elections)

PUBLICITY - Individual organisations can produce media - newsletters; pamphlets; posters and stickers for distribution amongst their own constituencies. The media produced should focus on the role of the SADF in Namibia and South Africa; raise the issue of increased GST in relation to the increased Defence Budget; focus on an anti-election campaign, particularly linking the new constitution to conscription.

If any of the above suggestions are going to be carried out at a mass level it is suggested that it should be produced by UDF and distributed through affiliate organisations.

Religious groups should try and take it up in the churches and other religious places where the priests will be co-operative. It is important that this kind of issue be taken up in the church.

Student organisations should try and take it up in the schools by organising debates and discussions around it. It is also important to talk to friends about it. The same would apply to youth organisations.

Community organisations should make an attempt to link the issue of militarization and conscription to the people's struggle around electricity, rent and community councils.

It is important to note that different organisations will take the issues up differently and it will also differ from area to area.

OTHER SUGGESTIONS

Emphasise the issue of conscription at the Youth rally and all other mass meetings and gatherings that are going to take place before the elections.

Organise relief groups to counter the SADF

"Save your sons" campaign - letters to parents

Press statements and letters to the press.

SWAPO solidarity campaign

Work closely with the ECC and invite them to the media workshop

SUGGESTIONS FOR SLOGANS

NO TO SADF

CANCEL THE CALL-UP

NO TO BOTHA'S ARMY

STOP THE WAR AGAINST THE PEOPLE

NO TO ARMY CALL-UP -DON'T VOTE

AD5

MILITARISATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE

This UDF rally noting:

- 1) the increasingly crucial role of the military in the country's decision making process;
- 2) the diversion of resources from housing, education and social welfare to expand an already bloated war-machine;
- 3) the continued acts of naked aggression perpetrated by the SADF against liberated African States on our borders;

and believing:

- 1) that the new constitution is a thinly-veiled manoeuvre aimed at forcing Indians and Coloureds to join the SADF;
- 2) that the SADF is the governments' primary instrument for maintaining white domination;

Hereby resolves:

- 1) to resist the MILITARISATION of our country;
- 2) to resist any attempt to impose compulsory conscription of Indians and Coloureds;
- 3) to demand that the SADF ceases its campaign to destabilize our neighbouring states.

AD6



"Bew AD-6"

FACTSHEET

UDF(W.Cape) Conscription Commission

A HISTORY

The story of conscription is the story of how the oppressors have responded to the resistance of the oppressed to apartheid and exploitation.

In 1961 there were 10 000 whites in the SADF with 9 months military service required. By 1980 60 000 national service men and 2000 women with 2 years military service required and 30 day camps for 8 days.

In 1963 the Cape Corps was established. It had been disbanded in 1949 by the Nationalist govt. From 1963 the main role of CC was auxiliary. From 1975 its role began to change. It became full member of SADF's fighting units 1983. 1500 "coloureds" serving in CC.

Over 90 percent of these are drawn from from the rural areas.

In 1975 the first group of indians began training.

In 1973 recruitment of African began. 1975-SADF began with training of Bantustan armies -Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophutatswana.

1980 - various ethnic units were formed - Battalions 111, 112, 113, 121.

Since 1961 because of the demands of the military, resistance has increased.

1974 SACC adopts resolution recognising right of conscientious objectors.

1977 Bishop Coull supports this.

1978 110 persons sentenced to 3 years for refusing to fight.

1979 3 - 4 thousand conscripts fail to report for military service.

1982 By 1982 thousands of white males have gone into exile.

1983 400 in detention barracks for refusing to fight. In this period a number of conscripts have objected on political, moral and religious grounds.

AMERICA

Because of the increasing demands the Vietnamese war made on the American people and their resources, a strong anti-war movement grew.

Huge demos were held. Many American especially Black, refused to fight, a notable example being Mohamed Ali, (Cassius Clay), the then heavy weight boxing champion of the world.

In Portugal too, because of the suffering the wars Portugal was fighting in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea was causing the people in Portugal, strong resistance within Portugal grew. It grew to such proportions that it led to the army staging a coup, setting up a new govt which signed peace with Frelimo.

On 20 December 1978 the General Assembly of the UNO adopted a resolution recognising the right of conscientious objection to military and police service used to enforce apartheid.

ROLE OF THE SADF

Among the internal roles of the SADF are:-

- * Border protection commandos.
- * Anti - insurgency units.
- * Increasing use of SADF personnel in Township roadblocks; as well as removals.
- * Training of bantustan armies.
- * Ideological role of attempting to win the hearts and minds of the people through Civic Action programmes.

NAMIBIA

In Namibia the SADF is an occupying army illegally present in that territory.

Its hearts and minds campaign has been a hopeless failure according even to the SADF. This is especially the case in the north where the majority of the people live; and the majority of whom support SWAPO.

DESTABILISATION

Since 1977, the SADF has been in control of a large part of Southern Angola with the result that no infrastructure exists in that part of the country.

It also makes regular "pre-emptive" raids into Mozambique, Angola, Swaziland etc..

The destabilising role also extends to giving aid to UNITA and MNR.

The destabilisation of the frontline

states ensures that those countries economies remain weak and as a result dependent on South Africa.

THE SADF'S PLACE IN THE STATE AND THE ECONOMY

SADF officers are members of the State Security Council which has great power within the state. It was the military who was one of the prime motivators for reform. Within the 'new deal' the SADF will have representation on all parliamentary committees.

There are close links between big business and the SADF. Armscor is the 3rd biggest company in South Africa.

The recent increase in GST is mainly to provide for defence.

PRESENT CONSCRIPTION

*Although the Defence Act provides for the mobilization of a National Reserve, for all men under 55, irrespective of race, only white men are presently liable for registration and conscription.

*In order for members of other national groups to be liable to register for military service, and to be conscripted, an act needs to be passed to amend the present legislation.

*There has been a system of registration for coloured youth in the past.

*In 1967 the registration of men between 18 and 24 for cadet training was made compulsory. It was never strictly enforced.

*Those that were to be recruited were those who were unemployed or not undergoing education.

*The system of registration was abolished in 1981.

Call-ups were based on a selective basis, with a committee deciding on who to recruit.

NAMIBIA

*In January 1981 conscription was extended to all men between 18 and 24.

* it did not apply to men in Ovambo, Kavango, Kaokoland and Caprivi - the official reason given for this is that suitable facilities did not exist for people from these areas. It is, however,

more likely that this was due to the strong support for SWAPO in these areas and that an extension would have met with strong resistance.

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*At present there is a trial in Namibia of a man, Eric Binga, who refused to serve because he supports SWAPO and because his brother is a fighter for SWAPO.

In the three months following the extension of conscription more than 8000 Namibians joined SWAPO.

Demonstrations of support were held throughout the country with one common theme:

"The so-called enemy is your own brother who was forced to leave the country because of oppression. The enemy of the South African army is SWAPO - Who is SWAPO? SWAPO is the people."

EXTENSION OF CONSCRIPTION

A year ago the Transvaal leader to the National Party, F W de Klerk, stated: "You can't ask a man to fight for his country if he can't vote. Among the terms of the new constitutional dispensation is the guarantee that coloureds and indians will get full voting rights. It follows that their responsibilities will increase accordingly, which means they will hold obligations to defend these rights."

This points to one of the major reasons for the likely extension of conscription to coloureds and indians. The government is attempting to sell the idea that it is committed to genuine power-sharing. And if power is to be seen to be "genuinely shared", then coloureds and indians must be seen to be defending their newly acquired rights. In some more conservative parts of the country, government spokespersons have even argued that one of the major reasons for introducing the new constitution, was to allow for the conscription of coloureds and indians.

The second reason concerns the nature of the war in South Africa. For the SADF, it is important that the guerilla activity is not perceived by the international community as being directed against the apartheid system, for it then gives the liberation movements a greater legitimacy

Large scale black participation in the SADF reinforces the idea that the guerillas are not inspired by anti-racist sentiments, but by a "Marxist imperialist doctrine"

Thirdly as the civil war intensifies, whites will become too thinly-spread to counter guerilla insurgency. It is already clear that the ANC has moved from a campaign of limited sabotage towards a sustained guerilla war, and that the SADF is preparing to counter this through its area defence system whites already do 2 years national service, 2 years of camps, and then (possibly) a limited period each year in commando units. As the war worsens there will be little or no room for extending the call-up within the white male population, making the call up of coloureds and indians both militarily and politically important.

A fourth aspect should be seen in the state attempting to divide the oppressed by attempting to draw in those it recruits

POSSIBLE SCENARIO

During 1982 Magnus Malan said that the government had considered conscripting coloureds and indians through the establishment of a ballot system (ie a certain laid down percentage of conscriptees) but had decided against it in the short term due to lack of finances, facilities and manpower.

These logistical factors are the major problems which the government faces in introducing conscription for coloureds and indians. The SADF could not at the stroke of a pen, force over 30 000 black youth into their training camps.

How, then, is conscription likely to be extended? Last year Magnus Malan suggested that a law extending conscription would be passed at the earliest possible stage in this session of parliament.

This possibility now seems quite remote. There is no indication that such an amendment to the defence act is even on the parliamentary agenda. Even, then, it would have to go through 3 "readings" as well as a select committee stage. It thus seems very unlikely that a law will be passed before parliament goes into recess in June.

This leaves 2 possibilities open to the govt. Either they could amend the Defence Act in a special session of parliament before the new constitutional system comes into operation, or they can bulldoze it through the tri-cameral system, once they've offered cabinet posts to the likes of Hendrikse, Rajbansi and Franklyn Sonn. It should be remembered that the Labour Party Conference passed a resolution opposing an extension of conscription.

Even then, the full implementation of the act will take many years. The SADF will probably begin by enforcing the registration of all coloured and indian youth over the age of 16. At a later stage they will probably introduce ballot conscription. (as happened with whites in 1961), possibly concentrating on the rural areas. An initially small percentage could be called up and drawn into some of the expanded work of the SADF. In the rural areas the commando system could be strengthened, while nationally the Civic Action Programme could take on a new form, with black conscriptees engaging in an extensive "hearts and minds" campaign.

IMPLICATIONS OF AN EXTENSION

- *intensification of civil war
- *expansion of MK
- *extensive use by the govt of the new 6 year prison sentence for objectors.
- *dramatic increase in the cost of running the SADF (already R8 million per day!)

WESTERN CAPE

Factors hampering/influencing conscription campaign in the Western Cape especially.

MEDIA

- * magazine - CONTACT, distributed at schools.
- * Metro Burger - a supplement to the Burger which helps to popularise the SADF.
- * Adverts and military fashion.
- * Sweaters "Beveg terrorisme" "I kill all terrorists"
- * Films - commercial "Hollywood" films which glorify involvement in the military.
- * Picture story books for example Saboteur and Grensvogter.

SCHOOLS

Guidance Programmes
Sports - involvement by SADF
Camps for primary school kids "kom speel saam"

UNEMPLOYMENT AND RURAL AREAS

Problems include boredom and adventurism which is made worse by lack of facilities. As a result people see the SADF providing benefits and subsidies Navy - skills training.

GENERAL IMAGE OF SADF

Civic Action has its effects. Army is used in resettlement programmes as well as assisting in natural disasters.

AD7

UDF NUUS

STELLENBOSCH



Kew "A D 7"

November 1984

Die army soek jou

Sebokeng wys vir ons die toekomsrol van die army. Ons is altyd deur die polisie onderdruk, en nou gebruik hulle ook die army. Om die hele kwessie van diensplig te verstaan moet ons kyk na die volgende:

Die regering gee jaarliks massiewe bedrae op die army uit. Vanaf 1959 se 29 miljoen rand het dit vanjaar gegroei tot omtrent 4,000 miljoen rand. Dit is 25 keer meer as wat hulle op behuising uitgee. Terselfdertyd praat die radio, TV en koerante van vrede. Watter soort vrede

is dié?

Omtrent 100 000 Suid-Afrikaanse mense moet jaarliks diensplig doen. Tot dusver was almal 'wittes'. As hulle weier om te gaan, moet hulle vir ses jaar in die tronk sit of hul geboorteland verlaat. Nou wil die regering begin om 'kleurlinge' en 'indiërs' army toe te stuur. Volgens hulle is ons nou deel van die nuwe bedeling, en daarom moet ons ook ons land verdedig.

Maar die mense vra: 'Wat se oorlog is dit waarin ons moet veg? Wat soek die army in lande soos Angola en Namibië?

Hoekom praat P.W. Botha van vrede met ander leiers as daar nie eens vrede in ons eie land is nie? Dit doen hy terwyl ons eie leiers in die tronk sit of aangehou word sonder verhoor!

Met die Minister se aankondiging beteken dit dat die army nou ook 'n politieke rol gaan speel in ons land. Die mense wat nou deur die army onderdruk word is gewone burgers en nie ons vyand nie. Dit is mense wat kwaad is omdat huur, dienstefooie, kospryse en G.S.T. alles opgaan terwyl loms dieselfde bly. En as hulle ontevrede is kan hulle niks daaraan doen nie. Hoekom? Omdat die Nuwe Bedeling 'Swartes' uitsluit van die regering van die land.



Sharpeville 1984.

BURGEROORLOG

As ons nou by die army gaan aansluit, sal ons gebruik word om ons eie mense te onderdruk. Le Grange se besluit beteken dat Suid-Afrika nou teen homself oorlog maak. Dit is burgeroorlog. Is jy bereid om spartheid te verdedig en onderdrukking nog erger te maak?

Die UDF het die regering sterk gekritiseer vir sy nuwe plan om die army te gebruik. 90% van mense in Cloetesville en Ides Vallei is teen diensplig gekant. Dit is wat mense sê:

'Ek is 'n tweede-handse burger in die land. As ek gaan, dan beskerm ek net die 'wittes' se belange. So vergeet daarvan.'

'Wit kan baklei en diensplig doen, want dit is hulle wat skelm is. Dit is ook die mense wat agter Hendrikse en Curry aan hardloop wat dié sell-outs sal beskerm.'

Hendrikse sit nou saam met Botha-hulle in die kabinet. Stem hy saam dat die army gebruik word om ons eie mense te onderdruk? Ja! Volgens Abe Williams.

Ons vra: Hoe kan die regering jou dwing om teen jou eie mense te veg? Daarom verwerp ons die regering, want ons verwerp die gebruik van geweld en die army om ons mense se regverdige eise te onderdruk. So sal daar nooit vrede kom in Suid-Afrika nie.

Soldate in Sebokeng

Op 23 Oktober het 7 000 soldate en polisiemanne Sebokeng omsingel om opstande te kwel. Dieselfde dag het hulle 'Operasie Palmiet' in Sharpeville en Boipatong voortgesit.

Die soldate het in die strate pamflette uitgedeel om die mense se guns te wen. Meer as 350 inwoners is gevang en verhoor in spesiale howe. Volgens Louie Le Grange, Minister van 'Wet en Orde', was die doel om 'die area van kriminele en revolusionêre elemente te bevry'. Hulle het net gewone oortredes gevind.

Die regering se aksie is sterk afgekeur deur die mense se organisasies. Die leier van die Federasie van Suid-Afrikaanse Vakbonde, Joe Fester, het gesê dat 'dit 'n duidelike poging was om die inwoners te intimideer wat bloot probeer om hul lewensstandarde te verhoog'. Die UDF sê die regering moet voldoen aan die eise van die meerderheid en nie met geweld antwoord nie.

Gaan jy?



Huurders sê nee

Op 3 September het inwoners van townships in die Vaal-driehoek na hulle council se kantore gemasjeer. Hulle wou NEE sê vir die hoër huur. Die optog het vreedsaam begin maar kort daarna is mense doodgemaak, winkels geplunder en geboue afgebrand. Die volgende dag is 26 mense dood en 48 beseer. Mense wil weet waarom dit gebeur het. Wat beteken dit?

In Augustus vanjaar is inwoners van Evaton, Lekoa, Sharpville, Sebokeng en Boibatong deur hul councils ingelig dat hulle huur gaan styg. Op Sondag 3 September is drie massavergaderings gehou en 'n huurkomitee is gekies om teen die verhogings te veg. Die mense het sterk gevoel oor die saak omdat hulle nie vir die council (net soos bestuurskomitee) gestem het nie en nie geld vir die hoër huur het nie. Hulle het besluit om werk en skole te boikot en na die council se kantoor te masjeer.

GEWELD NEEM OOR

Op Maandagoggend het die mense vreedsaam begin masjeer. Hulle het 'n lid van die Evaton council, Leburu Diphoko, gevra om saam te stap. Hy het geweier en het op hulle geskiet. Twee mense is doodgeskiet. Die skare het daarop gereageer en hulle het hom doodgemaak.

Ander sê dat die teenwoordigheid en die geweld van die polisie mense uitgelok het. Op een stadium was 660 mense deur die polisie gearrester toe hulle begrafnisse van slagoffers van die opstand bygewoon het. Alhoewel die polisie eers rubber koeëls en traangas gebruik het, het hulle later met gewone gewere en koeëls geskiet.

NET TOT HIER

Die mense voel dat hulle al te veel moes opvreet. Die huur verhogings was die laaste strooi. Die mense word vir jare onder die broodlyn betaal en behuising is haglik. En in Augustus het die regering gevra dat 'kleurlinge' en 'indiërs' vir Botha se 'new deal' moet stem. Dit is die 4-2-1-0 deal omdat vir elke 4 'wittes' is daar 2 'kleurlinge', 1 'indiër' en geen 'aricans' nie. Mense se menswaardigheid word van hulle ontnem, want keer op keer word die deur in die meerderheid van die land se gesig toe-klap.

Om die situasie in die Vaal driehoek te verstaan, moet ons dit sien as 'n reaksie teen die nuwe grondwet wat die meerderheid van Suid-Afrika uitsluit. Dit is 'n NEE vir apartheid en ekonomiese uitbuiting. Dus moet die regering die skuld van die verlies van lewe en die miljoene se rande skade dra.



Skole boikot

Dwars oor die land boikot 160 000 studente hulle skole - 93 000 daarvan in die Vaaldriehoek. Hulle staan saam met hulle ouers teen die hoër huur. Hulle staan saam teen ongelike onderwys en vir 'n einde aan inferior 'Bantu Education'. Hulle staan vir 'n Suid-Afrika vry van apartheid en uitbuiting.

ONS EIS SRC'S

Lulu Johnson, president van die Congress of South African Students (COSAS) het gesê dat daar nog twee belangrike redes is waarom studente boikot. Eerstens wou hulle hulle woede wys oor die hou van die apartheidskiesings in Augustus. Tweedens eis hulle die volgende by skole:

- SRC's wat werk vir die studente in die plek van die prefekte-sisteme;
- afskaffing van die ouderdomsbeperking wat studente bo 20 jaar verbied om St. 10 te doen;
- 'Bantu education' moet uitgegooi word;
- al die kinders van die land moet in een gelyke en vrye sisteem leer.

New Deal is No Deal

Net 18% van die 'kleurling' stemregtigdes het gaan stem. In die Skiereiland was die stem persentasie nog laer - net 5%! Met die indiërs was dit dieselfde storie.

Die uitslae van die verkiesing vir die 'kleurling' en 'indiër' huise is 'n oorwinning vir die UDF en almal wat staan vir 'n verenigde, demokratiese Suid-Afrika. Rajbansi en Hendrikse was slim om te vra dat 'n referendum nie gehou word nie, want hulle het geweet wat die gevolge sou wees. Ons kon dus die 'New Deal' net teenstaan deur die verkiesing te boikot. Dit is ook wat die mense gedoen het. Op stembag het duisende mense weggebly. Baie van die stemme wat uitgebring is, was spesiale stemme.

Dit beteken dat Rajbansi, Hendrikse en Barry geen mandaat het om die hulle verlis

Hulle is egter nou vas in P.W.Botha se hande en moet met hom saamspeel. Hulle verdien nou groot salarisse - parlamentslede kry R43 000 en minister R75 000 - terwyl die mense nog swaarder kry.



AD8

AD9

United Democratic Front

(Natal Region)

Rev AD 90

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27th April 1984

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Yours in Struggle

Malored

1. Insufficient ^{too} energy
2. Reputation.
3. There should have been a public questionnaire.
4. Too intellectual approach.
- 5.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
NATAL REGION
MILITARY - SUB-COMMITTEE
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The purpose of this report is to give information to member organisations to enable their members to have a broader understanding of militarization in Southern Africa today. In many ways this report is introductory and further exploration is needed for a deeper understanding.

The following areas are covered.

- 1) Historical development of Militarisation 1950 - 1977.
- 2) The Present Crisis
- 3) The Marriage of Big Business and Military State
- 4) Armscor and Arms Production
- 5) Destabilization
- 6) The Role of Blacks in Military
- 7) The Battle for Control of Minds

1)

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARISATION 1950-77.
INTERNAL RESISTANCE AND STATES
EXTERNAL FACTORS RESPONSE

1950's

Consolidation of National Party rule. The building of institutions Apartheid based on economic and racial exploitation.

1952 - the defiance campaign where 8000 volunteers jailed for defying unjust laws.

STATE attempts to crush mass peaceful protest and resistance

ANC membership 100 000
1954 Federation of South African Women formed
1955 The Freedom Charter drawn up by the Congress of People in Kliptown
1956 20 000 women march on Union Buildings

CONFLICT REACHES

ANTI-PASS LAW DEMONSTRATION SHARPTVILLE

The shootings spark off a wave of resistance country-wide

16th December 1960 ANC launches first series of sabotage acts.
- hundreds leave for guerrilla training
June 61 - net outflow of capital R298 m.

External situation
Independence of African states hostile to South Africa. In Southern Africa the 60's saw liberation war being launched and progressing in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

1963 - UN imposed an arms embargo on South Africa.

by banishments, banishments, detentions, cudgels and bullets
Police force was states major repressive tool
Between 1945-1960 Police Force more than doubled
Arms imported mainly from U.K & U.S.A.

CLIMAX 21 MARCH 1960

Police shoot Killing 67 wounding 186.

State declares a State of Emergency
mobilizes army bans ANC & SAC
over 2000 people arrested
1960 Defence Expenditure R46 million

These events shock the Apartheid State and it realized that its survival depended on its military capability.

In 1961 it introduced a Ballot system of conscription. Jim Fouch called on White Mothers to "give up their sons in defence of their land."

1961 - intake of 9000 men.
- SA launched its own arms industry

1964 - intake of 16527 men

1967 - ballot system abolished and the universal conscription

67/68 The State sent its SAP para military units into the Rhodesia to aid Smith's Military forces.

Since 66 S.A. troops have been increasingly under in conflict with SWAPO.

1970's

The early seventies saw an intensification of the efforts by liberation armies, MPLA in Angola, SWAPO of Namibia, Frelimo of Mozambique. ANC and ZANU & ZAPU

The seventies saw the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement

1973 - Durban Strikes shake the economy.

1975 - MPLA defeats S.A.D.F. FRELIMO WINS ITS STRUGGLE.

These two victories inspired hope into all liberation movements in Southern Africa and helped raised consciousness about of many South Africans

Educational strikes brewing

CONFLICT REACHES

Soviets and country-wide boycotts

The State under increasing pressure extended compulsory military training to an initial period 12 months and 14 days a year annually for 5 years.

1973 - Defence Budget R422m

1976 - S.A.D.F. 'withdraws' from Angola.

CLIMAX 16th June 1976.

1000 shot and killed by 19 Organisations banned.

77 School boycotts continue Thousands leave country to join ANC.

18 Organisations banned Conscriptors extended to 2 years.

①

The Present Crisis

During the seventies and early eighties a number of factors contributed to our present crisis. These factors pushed the government to come up with the new constitution and the Koozoff Bills. The first set of factors are structural ones like the shortage of skilled labour, unemployment, inflation, foreign exchange problems, limited internal market mainly due to another structural problem, uneven ^{income} distribution, and the huge housing problem. The other set of factors are, the intensification of struggle and resistance. The growth of militant trade unions, the independence of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, growing working class, student, struggles, the armed struggle and outside foreign pressure.

②

Marriage of Big Business and State

The combination of structural and resistance factors have shaken the state. Torn by economic and political instability, Big business and the State needed a more pragmatic policy of capitalism was going to survive.

After 76 uprising we see a growing relationship between business and state. It is clear that both parties have taken their marriage vows very seriously. It is a matter of "till death us do part." A re-structuring took place and central to that process was the military. It was called "total strategy" to combat 'total war' against South Africa.

Not members of parliament but also prominent, even non-nationalist businessmen and senior military officers. These committees fall directly under the Prime Minister's Office and are amenable to him.

The most influential decision making body in the country is the State Security Council. The former Advisory Body is the main forum for planning and implementing Total Strategy. Senior Military officers and businessmen sit on 15 interdepartmental committees they are directly responsible to the Prime Minister's Office

Since 76 we see: ①

- ① a closer relationship with business eg. Urban Foundation
- ② Business and government trying to create a Black Middle class close to cities.
- ③ Commission for so-called reform
- ④ The New Constitution, Black Local Authorities Act and the Koomhoff Bills
- ⑤ ~~The New Constitution and Koomhoff Bills~~
- ⑥ Encouragement of free Enterprise and economic growth
- ⑦ Tightening up of Security legislation
- ⑧ Tightening up of Press laws
- ⑨ State controlled media used extensively for State Propaganda.
- ⑩
- ⑪
- ⑫

Therefore essential to this whole process of survival the State will in and will harness all resources to maintain white class and racial domination of South Africa. The number of pretors have pushed South African Whites to the limit with border service and training. No doubt with the constitution will be encroachment of Indians and Coloureds.

④

Armcor and Arms Production.

- 1961 - S.A. began producing arms.
- 1964 - the Armaments Board and the Armaments Development and Production Corporation were established. S.A. imported - the technology from Western countries to enable it to manufacture arms. The Western countries played an economic necessary role in helping South Africa.
- 1974 - ARMSCOR was formed.

Today it ranks as a major industrial giant with assets of over 12 billion rand. ARMSCOR spends R1500m per annum producing armaments including combat aircraft, guided missiles, heavy artillery, radar and communication systems.

- 2000 companies are involved as contractors and subcontractors employing 100000 workers.

South Africa has become the 10 largest arms producer in the world and is developing a strong export market for its weaponry. It has exhibited its products at two international military exhibitions.

Top industrialists serve on a 13 member Defence Advisory Council which advises the Defence Ministry on the arms industry. This council includes Chris Saunders of Torgant Sugar.

s) Destabilization

It has been alleged that South Africa is involved in attempts to destabilize countries like Lesotho, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe

Claims of destabilization programmes suggest that they are aimed at

- damaging the economies of frontline states
 - preventing SWA and SWAPO from using neighbouring states as bases
 - to try and install more sympathetic - pro-West governments
- eg support for MNR in Mozambique and UNITA in ANGOLA.

The following allegations have been made

- 75 invasion of Angola attempting to stop MPLA taking power and support of UNITA
- Reported raids into ANGOLA, MASERU and MOZAMBIQUE killing many people
- S.A. is alleged to be training 5000 ex Rhodesian auxiliaries in Northern Transvaal.

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- Cape Corps ("coloured") started in 1863 doing mainly admin tasks.

1973 2000 "coloureds" taken in on a permanent basis Battalion of Indians on Salisbury Island.

1972 Africans are serving in combat with whites in Namibia and then Rhodesia

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The Transkei Battalion being trained by notorious Selous Scouts.

Even before the constitution, blacks have been increasingly recruited so that today they constitute 5% of S.A.D.F. but well over 20% of operational force is black. The S.W.A.T.F. South West Africa Territory Force is 40% black. Are we being used as cannon fodder? Under the new constitution Indians and Coloureds will be called up.

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(Natal Region)

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AD10

UDF ANTI-CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE PROGRAMME

AN ANTI-CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN.

INTRODUCTION

The government has threatened to extend conscription to coloured and Indian youth, and it is systematically increasing the role the army plays in South African society. In the UDF Anti-Conscription Campaign we aim to combat both of these state strategies and to put forward our own commitment to build a peaceful future for South Africa. The Anti-Conscription Committee's (ACC) short term programme integrates an anti-conscription campaign into the UDF anti-election strategy. But UDF also needs a long term programme. The SADF will continue to try to win the hearts and minds of the people and will continue to be used against our people in their struggles inside the country.

LONG TERM PROGRAMME

UDF is building a national consciousness in opposition to Apartheid and exploitation. Our aims are to build a broad mass opposition to the extension of conscription into this consciousness of the people of South Africa.

To do so, we must build a widespread understanding of how the SADF oppresses us. It is important that the focus of our campaign is not limited to conscription. The army already reaches our communities through TV, propaganda newspapers, youth and school camps. As a result, it is making some progress in winning the hearts and minds of people both in the African townships and in the so-called coloured areas. And, the SADF is used to crush opposition to Apartheid and in the forced removals of people.

We must build a popular understanding of what the SADF is defending; and of who it is fighting against and what the demands are; and of what the conditions for peace are in South Africa.

In the Anti-Conscription Campaign, we must ensure that we build progressive organisation. Student and youth organisations are particularly important because these are the groups who will be conscripted first. All organisation must be appropriate to local conditions. The Anti-Conscription Campaign must popularise and strengthen UDF, and build alliances with other groups like the churches, teachers and affiliates of the End Conscription Committee (ECC).

The UDF is establishing area committees in the areas it calls 'the ru

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rural areas'. The government has used these areas as its main source of recruitment for the police and the SADF, especially from those classified coloured and Indian. Over 90% of the recruits for the Cape Corps come from the rural areas, especially from some of the smaller towns like Paarl, Stellenbosch and Saldanha. It is likely that the extension of conscription will have its most immediate effect in the rural areas. So it is necessary for us to work out appropriate ways in which to extend our campaign to these areas, and to assist in building organization in these areas.

All the organisations affiliated to the UDP - community, youth, student and women's organisations, and trade unions - must develop appropriate ways to counter the long term effects of the SADF's propaganda and its attempts to conscript our youth.

We must start creches, day care centres and junior youth groups in as many areas as possible, where alternative education programmes can be organised. We cannot simply oppose the SADF's attempts to win over our children. We must help our children to understand that an alternative society where we can live together in peace and friendship is possible.

The SADF has identified the schools and other educational institutions as their target. We too should pay special attention to school committee parent-teachers association and parent committees. Where necessary such organizations should be started by civic, women and youth bodies to work alongside the existing organisations in our areas. This is very important because the parents themselves must fight the attempts by the SADF to indoctrinate and influence their children.

As the Anti-Conscription Campaign develops, it may be useful to bring out a regular newsletter dealing specifically with the problems related to conscription and the SADF. For the moment, it is more convenient to use space in the UDP News and other community papers to perform this function.

The programme of action must cover both urban and rural areas. Although the dynamics of these areas differ and the campaign will have to take these conditions into account, there must be a unifying focus. This must be borne in mind when choosing slogans and demands, and in producing media.

We need to know exactly what the SADF is doing and planning to work out an effective programme of action. We need to start research in all aspects of SADF work and programmes so that we can respond meaningfully to its win the hearts and minds campaign.

SHORT TERM PROGRAMME

At each stage in the campaign, we must set ourselves identifiable short term objectives which will move us closer to our long term objectives. In order to do this we must a) carry out work amongst our affiliates b) integrate an understanding of conscription into all UDP work c) carry out work in our areas aimed at the general public.

We must build an understanding of the role of the SADF and of the importance of the conscription campaign amongst UDP affiliates. The ACC will continue to have open evenings in various areas. The unsuccessful experience of the Athlone open evening last year should be built on and improved. The ACC must assist the Signature Campaign Training sub-committee to integrate this understanding into the education of activists around the Signature Campaign and the Anti-Election Campaign. The ACC must make its resources accessible to the organisations and to activists and should inform them as to what resources are available. The ACC will collect as much information as possible about the activities of the SADF in our communities by approaching the UDP affiliates, and the area and regional committees. In this way the ACC can try to draw the link between the extension of conscription and the new Constitution and to integrate opposition to conscription as part of the UDP's Anti-Election Campaign.

The ACC must educate the public about the Defence Force's role in maintaining Apartheid and on the importance of democratic change in South Africa as a pre-condition for peace. Posters can be made to popularise the Anti-Conscription Campaign. The ACC can organise poster-making workshops to assist with this. From time to time, the ACC will organise a rally or cultural event to focus on conscription. The ACC should ensure widespread publicity on issue relating to conscription and should write articles for progressive newspapers. The UDP logo and the slogan 'No to Apartheid Conscription' will serve to identify the Anti-Conscription Campaign. The SADF camps must be opposed as widely as possible in order to build up an understanding of how the SADF is using these camps.

OTHER FACTORS TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN PLANNING THE CAMPAIGN

The government knows that there is already a growing resistance to the extension of conscription. It may implement conscription for Coloureds and Indians in such a way that it attracts least attention.

The Labour Party has decided to go into the Tri-Cameral Parliament, yet they claim to reject conscription for youth classified Coloured and Indian. UDP should expose this contradiction.

The SADF is capitalizing on the high unemployment amongst Blacks to attract young people to join its ranks. Slogans must be carefully selected to develop overtime, a rejection of the SADF as a whole. But this cannot be assumed as the starting point.

This is particularly true of the rural areas because the SADF has focused on these areas as a supply of people for its various sections and especially for the army.

The people's attitudes are important in planning a campaign. People distinguish between the army and the navy. The navy is not seen in the same unfavourable light as the army and the Cape Corps.

Our communities no longer only experience the army as an external force. The SADF encourages its members in the black communities to wear their uniforms when they come home from border duty.

Schools and so on need to be aware that the registration process precedes conscription. And it is not illegal to not register.

People do not have a clear rejection of the SADF and are scared of its power. The campaign must take this into account.

The role of the SADF is a very sensitive issue in South Africa. We must anticipate the reaction of the state, and understand the legal position vis a vis the Official Secrets Act and the Defence Act.

The role of the SADF is constantly changing. The new Defence Amendment Act reflects a significant change. The Nkomati Accord and the changing situation with regard to Namibia alter the way in which the SADF interacts with the people of South Africa.

AD11

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AD12

DIAKONIA

Kew AD-12

P.O. BOX 1879
DURBAN. 4000
Phone: 31-2609
31-2681

A joint project of the African Methodist Episcopal, African Presbyterian, Anglican, Evangelical Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic (Archdiocese of Durban and Diocese of Mariannhill) and United Congregational Churches in the Greater Durban Area.

First Floor
Ecumenical Centre
20 St. Andrew's Street
DURBAN. 4001

The Secretary
United Democratic Front
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Ecumenical Centre
Durban
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30th October 1984.

Dear Yunus,

I have been asked by the Diakonia Executive Committee to convey a request to the United Democratic Front.

We would like to suggest that the issues of militarization and conscription are two very important issues to which UDF should devote a lot of attention. This should be done in close collaboration with the End Conscription Campaign which was recently launched in Durban.

Yours sincerely,

Paddy Kearney
.....
PADDY KEARNEY. (DIRECTOR)

Patrons: Rev. Mary Abbott, Rev. John Borman, Bishop Enos Dlamini, Archbishop Denis Hurley, Rev. Sam Khumalo, Bishop Paul Mngoma, Bishop Michael Nuttall, Rev. Jacob Nyakatha, Rev. Dr. Duncan Watson

AD13

AD14

AD15

New Deal 15"

NO! TO BOTHA'S ARMY

THE government has come up with a "New Deal". In August, Coloured and Indian people will be getting second class votes for kitchen parliaments. Yet we know this Nationalist Government too well. They are the ones who shifted us out of our homes with the Group. So what is behind this "New Deal"? What's up their sleeve?

PW Botha and his government have made things very clear. They want Coloured and Indian males to be called up to the army! After the August elections, they will try to start this process. After messing up our lives all these years, forcing apartheid down our throats, shooting our children in 1976 and 1980, they now expect us to defend their evil system! "You have the vote," they say, "now you must be prepared to defend apartheid."

That is what this "New Deal" will mean for us. So let us not be fooled when the Hendrickse's and Marais' say that these elections are a step in the right direction.

THE APARTHEID ARMY COSTS US THREE BILLION RAND A YEAR!

Already we are paying for this army out of our own pockets. The government has just increased GST and the taxes so that they can find three billion (three million million) rands to pay for the army. While we pay for the army, we can't feed our children, we live in poor housing, our children receive gutter education, and play in the streets because there are not enough playgrounds and sportsfields. While we suffer, it is OUR money that is paying for the helicopters and jets, for the bullets that shot our children, and for the roadblocks all over the country.



GRABBING OUR CHILDREN

The apartheid army has been trying to take our children from schools for camps and so-called "leadership courses". But what are they teaching our children? We want our children to live in peace and friendship, in a non-racial South Africa. We don't want them in the hands of an apartheid army that defends an evil system at home and raids independent countries to the north.

BOTHA'S PEACE NEEDS A BIGGER ARMY!

They government says that they are at peace with South Africa's neighbours. If this is true, then why will they be forcing more of us into the army? The real truth is that the government needs a huge army to defend apartheid against South Africa's own people. This government isn't at peace with its own people.

The army has just been used to remove the people of Magopa by force, pushing them out of their homes into a barren wasteland. Soon the government will be trying to push all African people in the Western Cape out to the wasteland of Khayelitsha. We will not allow our sons to be forced into an army that does such things.

**WE ARE NOT FOOLED BY THE "NEW DEAL"! WE WILL NOT VOTE ON 22 AUGUST!
NO TO THE FORCED CALL-UP OF OUR YOUTH!**

APARTHEID DIVIDES, UDF UNITES

AD16

In Alpha-leer

AD17

Zulu - 62-3474

Rev "AD 17"

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE REPORT

1 Introduction

The conscription of "coloured" and Indian men has been raised and used as an essential element of the Anti-Election Campaign. However, our opposition to conscription and the increasing militarisation of our society has been limited in that 1) we did not sufficiently build up a popular understanding of what the SADF is defending; 2) of who it is fighting against and 3) what the conditions for peace are in South Africa.

A victory should be claimed for our successful anti-election campaign, through which together with other factors, has led to the state holding back on the extension of conscription for "coloured" and Indian men.

2 Problems in working on conscription

The conscription issue was raised in almost all areas during the Million Signature (MSC) and Anti-Election campaigns (AEC). We can say people did not vote because it ment "Border toe". But we cannot say that people understand why we say NO TO BOTHA'S ARMY. We did not discuss conscription in depth amongst our UDF activists and affiliates.

What are the reasons for this:

- 2.1 The Anti-Conscription Committee was not represented on the Million Signature Committee, Anti-Election Comm or the Forced Removals Committee. At GC's, often conscription was not even on the agenda. This made it difficult to integrate the anti-conscription work into the work of the UDF.
- 2.2 This structural isolation comes from another problem. UDF's work is too issue/practically oriented. The the Million Signature campaign was ment to have an educative component to it, but never implemented beyond a few haphazard workshops. In the MSC and AEC we did not focus on the long term political issues and goals that confront us.
- 2.3 Because conscription is not being made the issue of the day by the state, we have the difficult task of raising peoples consciousness through media and education, rather than through action. Conscription is not an issue that we can go all out against in a two month period and finish, it is a long slow battle. If the anti-conscription campaign is bring results, the UDF must look to it's education program to deepen our understanding of the struggle so we can move forward.

3 The work of the Anti-Conscription Committee

- 3.1 Work in Million Signature and Anti Election campaigns:
In Hannover Park and at ID Mkize, through the intervention of the ACC, the SADF camps were successfully exposed and stopped. In Mitchels Plain the local issues and the rejection of the role of the SADF were successfully liked in the mass meeting to launch the AEC in that area. In this a general UDF anti-conscription pamphlet was put out, which was subsequently widely distributed at anti-election meetings. The ACC contributed features on conscription to Grassroots and Saamstan. At the rural conference in June, input presented by the ACC raised the question of conscription and started discussion of how the campaign should be taken up in those areas.
- 3.2 Research: Have gathered together resource packs on
- Civic action Project
- Resource Pack of pamphlets, fact sheets and articles
- Conscription Booklet, recent and still available
Need better input from people working in areas on SADF activities and responses. Areas to be researched, but not clear on method: Unemployment and the SADF; Conscription and rural areas, Industry and army production; forced removals and the SADF.
- 3.3 Media:- In addition to media mentioned above ACC produced a poster for the Anti-Election Campaign but media committee did not print it. Media committee pamphlets should have had more depth on conscription. It is important to follow up with a post election pamphlet clarifying the state's current strategy, this will be issued soon. Slogan NO TO BOTHA'S ARMY did popularise the issue, but not good in raising content. New slogan for new phase of campaign needed.
- 3.4 Role of organisations:- Organisations represented on ACC are: UWO, CAYCO, CAHAC, MP region, NUSAS, AZASO (UWC) belatedly, TEAM? Youth not well represented - COSAS, AZASO and ICY. Generally organisations have had difficulty in finding how UDF can build them in the last period. This is crucial as the state can be expected to increase its hearts and minds campaign, and it is our organisations that will have to counter this in their day to day work.
- 3.5 Rural Areas:- Apart from the rural conference, and article for Saamstan, there has been little contact. The co-ordinating structure has not been operative so it has been difficult to slot into the campaign in the rural areas. This must be a major focus now.
- 3.6 Other regions:- The Western Cape has done much more work on conscription than the other regions. Our work is useful to people at these centres. But material sent via the NEC does not seem to have got through to the people working on the issue. The ACC feels input at the December national G.C. is very important to try to develop a national approach to the conscription issue.

4 Context of current work

- 4.1 The state has postponed the extension of conscription for the time being because:
- a) The economic crisis forces unemployed people to take jobs in the army, increasing the number of volunteers.
 - b) The SADF does not yet have the training facilities to take thousands of soldiers into the army.
 - c) Opposition to conscription has made the extension more difficult.
- 4.2 Tactics we use must confront this and avoid a false security that conscription will not be extended. The state will use more sophisticated strategies to achieve its ends. We can expect an intensification of the hearts and minds campaign.
- 4.2.1 Many white national servicemen do not want to go into the SADF. The conscientious objection movement is growing.
 - 4.2.2 Cadets may be introduced into schools to prepare our youth for the SADF.
 - 4.2.3 Training facilities may be extended to allow for increased numbers of 'volunteers' forced in by lack of jobs.
 - 4.2.4 Registration would have to be enforced to call people up.
 - 4.2.5 Conscription would be brought in step by step, as was white conscription, from selection by 'ballot' to lengthening the period of service to the present level.
 - 4.2.6 The war in Namibia is continuing and the SADF will try to use Namibian and black soldiers to do the fighting.

5 Where do we go from here ?

- 5.1 ACC did not address itself to the unions. Workers are directly affected by the SADF, and the parents of children who will be forced into cadets. Unemployment is the major issue here, forcing people to volunteer. ACC will be taking this up with the Cape Town Unemployment project, discussing it with civics and constituencies and raising it with the unions.
- 5.2 SADF activities in schools are a major area of work. Concrete organisation can be built through opposition to this. Here the ACC is planning to work with COSAS on this to organise against cadets and other SADF activities in the schools. Teachers and parents are very important in this area. Teachers will be needed to run the cadet programme and progressive teachers are likely to be subject to harassment. Opposition to SADF activities need to be incorporated in focuses on the position of teachers.

- 5.3 Parents are a special group the ACC wishes to reach through civics, the UWO and PTA's because they will be central to opposing the introduction of cadets and hearts and minds activities.
- 5.4 The rural areas are very important SADF targets. Here the ACC will need to find out how the SADF is operating through contact with people working in the area, and has planned to do this. Also the ACC wishes to provide material for the forthcoming Boland conference.
- 5.5 SADF action in forced removals must be exposed and this linked to UDF work on forced removals. Research into SADF and forced removals has been started.
- 5.6 Children are the target of much SADF propaganda. It is important to look at this and in the long term build alternatives to SADF camps through civics, youth and UWO. The ACC will raise this with these organisations.
- 5.7 1985 is international year of the youth and conscription must be built into the work of the UDF on this. This could be linked to anti-nuclear campaigns internationally.
- 5.8 The ACC will discuss increasing participation on the committee with COSAS, AZASO and ICY.
- 5.9 The ACC has direct contact with the End Conscription Committee. These two committees are important because they are working in different constituencies and will continue to co-operate.

6 Conclusion

While the state continues to use the SADF and the Civic Action Programme as a way to co-opt our people, the Anti-Conscription Campaign remains a crucial part of the work of the UDF in fighting the implementation of the New Deal. We have pointed to some of the problems which have limited the gains we have made from this issue so far. We believe that it is a crucial issue for the UDF and the affiliate organisations to look into and to identify precisely how it can be taken up in ways that will advance the work of each organisation and the UDF as a whole.

AD18

UD F 1000 Home

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DRAFT STATEMENT ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR BRETT MYRDAL.

"AD. 18"

UDF(Western Cape) supports Brett Myrdal in his refusal to serve in the SADF because of its role in upholding apartheid. The SADF is engaged in a civil war in South Africa, while at the same time defending South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

It is significant that despite all the government's propaganda and indoctrination, thousands of white youth are refusing to serve in the SADF. Some, like Brett, have chosen to go to jail.

The new constitution will further heighten the civil war in our country. In fact, the price that sections of the oppressed will have to pay for their sham representation in the new parliaments will be conscription into the apartheid army.

Brett's stand cannot be seen in isolation from the situation which will be faced by coloured and Indian youth in the near future. While the Apartheid constitution attempts to further divide South Africa's people, we are united in our opposition to the SADF and the new constitution, and in our struggle for a free and democratic South Africa.

Brett's participation in the democratic movement has led him to the conclusion that he cannot participate in the SADF. The UDF(Western Cape) wholeheartedly supports him, and all other objectors, in their stand.

Doc "AD 18" ①

SPEECH DELIVERED BY BRETT MYRDAL 29 SEPTEMBER 1983
AT NUSAS UCT MASS MEETING: 'STUDENTS REJECT THE
APARTHEID CONSTITUTION'

Fellow students; I greet you today in solidarity with all other objectors; with the thousands who have left South Africa rather than serve in the South African Defence Force; in solidarity with Paul Dobson who, after 14 months in the SADF, chose to object and will now join the other conscientious objectors in Pretoria Central.

Last week I heard a report on capital radio covering the Transvaal National Party Congress. A resolution was passed calling for the rapid implementation of the extension of conscription to so-called coloureds and indians. Magnus Malan, minister of defence, spoke to the resolution.

He explained that the law to extend conscription would, but for shortage of time, have been introduced during the last sitting of parliament. He said it only remained for the new constitution to be accepted, before the extension of conscription would become fact.

So, as I talk today, introduced as a conscientious objector, I am very conscious of the fact that conscription is fast becoming a reality for a far broader group of South Africans. And it is precisely because of the supposed political rights which are being 'given' to the coloured and indian people, that they now face the threat of conscription in defence of the apartheid under which they live.

F.W.de Klerk, Transvaal Nationalist Party leader, has stated this clearly I quote: " You can't ask a man to fight for his country if he can't vote Among the terms of the new dispensation is the guarantee that coloureds and indians will get voting rights. It follows that their responsibilities will increase accordingly, which means they will hold obligations to defend these rights."

This is one harsh consequence of the new constitution that we, gathered here as members of NUSAS and the United Democratic Front, reject as we reject all aspects of the government's new deal.

In July, I failed to report to Potchefstroom Medical Services Corps. I was charged at Voortrekkerhoogte and face a Court Marshall there on November 8th. As a conscientious objector, I face a maximum sentence of two years imprisonment.

But I, like thousands of others, had been morally and physically prepared for war. Why then make this choice?

I attended a high school in Port Elizabeth. Part of its 'liberal' tradition was to train us as officer material for the SADF. The military, in the form of compulsory cadet training, was a part of my life from the age of 13.

Instead of cowboys and indians, at school camps we played 'nationalists vs terrorists'. We drilled with R1's; we were trained to shoot; 600 boys went on parade four times a year for the Eastern Province Command.

Our cadet camp (and I quote from our school year book) trained us in counter insurgency warfare and attacks on mock terrorist bases.

Then in our last year of school, we all received our first call up papers. The dilemma then was-varsity or national service? This was the year after Soweto '76 - We had always been told to prepare for the war against an external communist threat. But it was clear to many of us that conflict existed within South Africa. Many who were opposed to apartheid went in: 'to get it done with' - they are still trying to get it done.

They came back, some from the border. Many friends of mine couldn't recognise themselves or come to terms with what they had done.

So I chose to come to university. Here I was exposed to new ideas. Through meetings like these, and the work of organisations on campus, I broadened my understanding of conflict in South Africa and of the role I, myself, played in this.

The question for myself and for all of us was: 'What system are we called on to defend?' For me it became clear that it was a system based on the rule of a minority; where unemployment has reached 3 million; where the country is fragmented into homelands; where people from Crossroads and KTC are removed, to face repression of the order that we see in Ciskei at the moment. A country, which calls on its top generals to mastermind a militarily defensible constitution which it then holds out to the people of the country as democracy.

For me it became immoral to participate in the SADF and defend such an unjust system. Immoral to fight against our own people - the youth of

Soweto '76 now returning. I could not participate in a war of occupation in Namibia; in cross-border raids; in the suppression of uprisings; and I could not do the work of police in staffing road blocks and resettling people.

My dilemma meant that I had to choose sides. And I had to take the side of the people working for a just and free South Africa. For me, commitment to a non-racial struggle has meant that I must refuse to serve in the SADF.

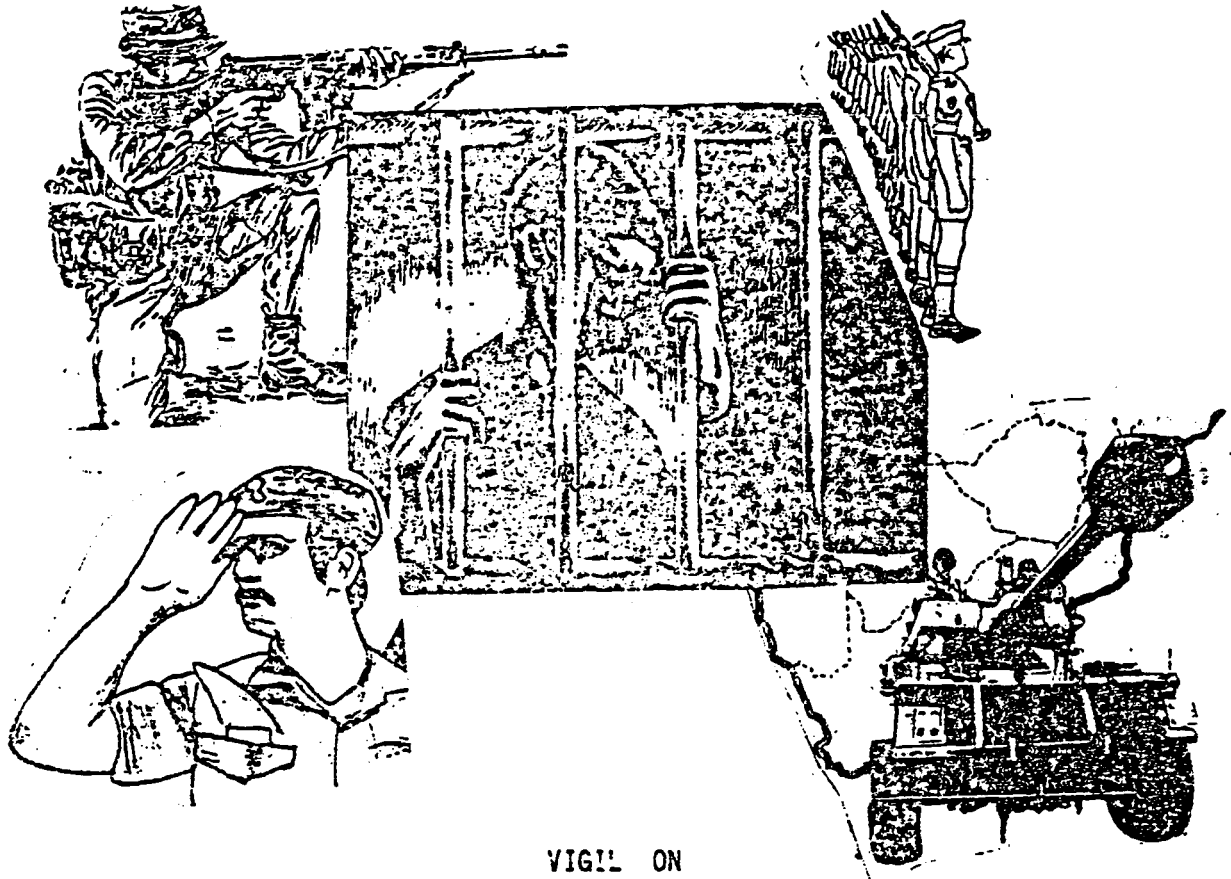
All of you ,faced with this situation, will have to make an equally difficult decision. On the one hand, the state increases to 6 years the sentence for C.O.'s . But on the other, the constitution it has constructed offers no solution to the conflict. The very foundations of the constitution lie in the Group Areas Act, lie in the maintenance of the homelands.

When we oppose the constitution today, our opposition should not be limited to only those aspects of the status quo that are being modified by the constitution.

Our opposition should be directed at every way in which an embattled white minority attempts to preserve its power and privilege : detentions, forced removals, bantustan policy, and the increasing militarisation of our society.

When we demand alternatives, we cannot limit ourselves to alternatives to the constitution. Our demands must embrace a profoundly changed society, a society where people are no longer powerless and hungry, and shunted around like animals. A society where young men are no longer called on to fight their brothers in defence of a patently unjust system, a society where the people are in control of their lives - where the people shall govern.

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VIGIL ON
MILITARISATION AND CONSCIENCE
in solidarity with Brett Myrdal, a conscientious objecter
facing a court martial on 8 November

The South African state, in order to contain the crisis confronting it, is restructuring the forms of political domination and control over the majority of the people.

This restructuring, presented to us as "reform", is intended to preserve the economic and political system and the dominance of the ruling class.

The constitutional proposals, militarisation, the Koornhof Bills, removals, and the destabilisation of surrounding states are complementary aspects of this process.

South Africa is a militarised society. Military force is used to solved political problems rather than a just dispensation for all.

SPEAKERS - DISCUSSION - POETRY - PRAYER - SONG

KHOTSU HOUSE, De Villiers Street, Johannesburg

Friday 11 November 1983. 6p.m. to 9p.m.

issued by Jhb. COSS.

AD19



Bew "A.D. 19"
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

WESTERN CAPE REGION

P.O. BOX 274
SALT RIVER
7925

S.A.D.F IN OUR SCHOOLS

Dear Parents, Teachers and members of the Community,

You may have read in the newspapers last week that a teacher at Belmore Primary School in Hanover Park organised for the Std. 4 and 5 children to go camping at Faure. The parents of these children approached UDF to help them find out what this camp was all about, and a delegation went to the School Principal. He knew nothing about this camp, even though it was organised by a teacher in his school.

Eventually, the parents heard the story from the PT teacher. He had asked the South African Defence Force (SADF) to take the children to Faure. There, they would camp, play sport and learn about Civil Defence. The teacher said that there are no facilities in Hanover Park, so the children hang around on street corners. He wanted to give the children something special.

UDF says to all parents and teachers of young children: The PT teacher is right that there are no playgrounds, libraries and sportsfields in our areas. But that problem is not solved by sending children to Faure. In each of our areas, residents have formed civic organisations to fight for better living conditions. If we want playgrounds and libraries, we should join these civics to fight for them.

The Hanover Park camp is not the only one. Last year there were similar camps in Guguletu and Mbekweni. The SADF is taking many children on these camps, and they organise programmes for the children during the holidays.

But we ask these questions: Why do the SADF and the teachers who organise these camps hide it from the parents? Why do they not tell parents who will take responsibility for the children? Can we be sure that our children will be safe with SADF soldiers? What will our children do on these camps?

APARTHEID DIVIDES, UDF UNITES

We want our children to grow up in peace and friendship. Our children must not believe that violence, war and the army are here forever.

But the Nationalist government and the SADF want to win the hearts and minds of our children. Then the government can conscript them, and force them to join the army. This is the same army which chased and shot students in 1976 and 1980.

All of this is part of the Nationalists "New Deal". They want to offer some sections of the population a vote in Apartheid so that they can force our sons to defend Apartheid.

But do we bring our children up so that they can die defending a system

- that forces us to live in Mitchells Plain, Atlantis and Khayelitsha in bad conditions,
- where prices of food and rent go up and up while our wages are kept low,
- that forces our children to go to gutter education schools
- that forces us to pay GST on everything we buy so the government can spend all their money on the army?

UDF rejects this New Deal. It will not bring an end to our problems.

We call on you to talk to people in your area about why the army is organising camps for young children. Ask the principal at the local school if he will allow these kinds of camps. Maybe there has already been a camp at that school; maybe they are planning one for the near future. Raise these questions at the PTA. Ask your priest or imam what he thinks about these SADF camps. UDF is keen to advise and assist anyone who is concerned about these camps. We are concerned because we want a peaceful and democratic South Africa for all the people of the country. We do not want a South Africa where the army controls our lives and our country.

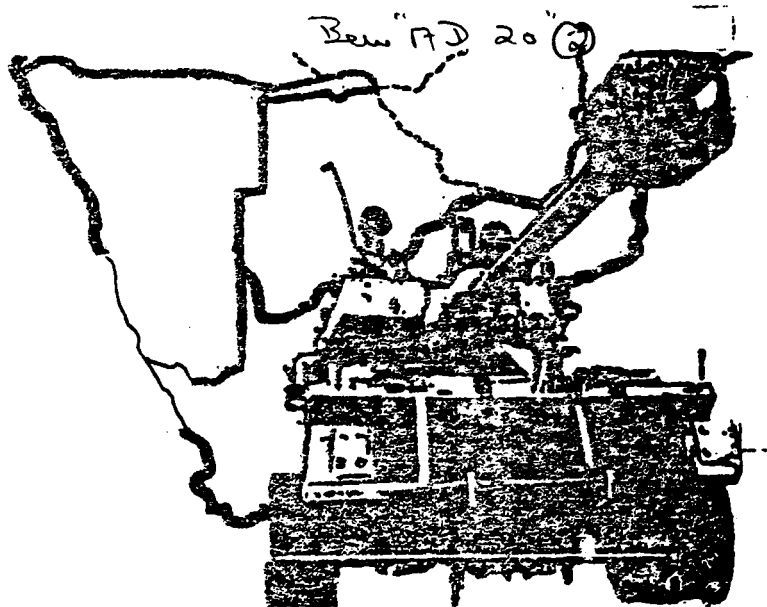
APARTHEID DIVIDES, UDF UNITES

Published by UDF; Printed 131 Lower Main Road Observatory, 7925

AD20

Prepared by
C. M. M. M. M.
11/6/86

NO TO BOTHAS ARMY - DON'T VOTE!



"You can't ask a man to fight for his country if he can't vote. Among the terms of the new dispensation is the guarantee that coloureds and Indians will get voting rights. It follows that their responsibility will increase accordingly, which means that they will be obliged to defend these rights." (F.W. de Klerk, Leader of the Transvaal Nat Party)

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

It means that "coloured" and Indian youth will be conscripted and will be forced to join the army to defend apartheid.

THE GOVERNMENT WANTS US TO DEFEND APARTHEID - SO THEY GIVE US AN APARTHEID VOTE

WE SAY NO TO CONSCRIPTION

WE SAY NO TO THE ARMY

We say **NO** because

-the government spends millions on 'defence' while our people are deprived of food, housing and education

We say **NO** because

-the army is used to strengthen our oppressors

We say **NO** because

-the army undermines the freedom and independence of our neighbouring countries

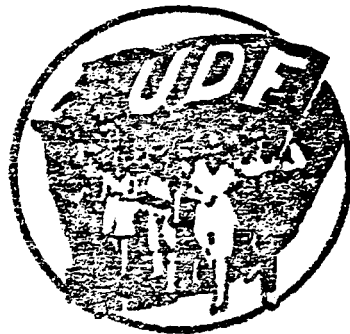
We say **NO** because

-the majority are being made foreigners in the land of their birth

WE SAY NO TO THE ELECTIONS

WE SAY NO TO CONSCRIPTION

**WE SAY YES TO FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY
AND JUSTICE FOR ALL**



UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!

AD21

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION HELD AT NATAL
UNIVERSITY FROM JULY 14 - 17, 1983

CONTENTS

1. Information of general interest

The material contained in this section could be made available to any interested bodies. Although presented at the Conference in a variety of ways, it has been compiled so as to make it more readily accessible.

- a) The political and socio-economic background to militarism in South Africa today.
- b) Destabilisation
- c) The Defence Amendment Act 1983 - a summary
- d) COSG factsheet on Recent Developments in the SADF
- e) Chronology of oppression and resistance.
- f) A reading list

2. Ideas for groups working in the area of militarisation

All ideas, issues and plans generated by the Conference are compiled in this section. Their inclusion does not mean that they received support from the Conference, or that they are either definitive or evaluated. They are included here to provide a full record of Conference discussions.

- a) Ideas and issues for further work in local groups.
- b) Ways of taking up the military issue among young people.
- c) Women and the military.
- d) Conscription and militarisation.
- e) The Defence Amendment Act.
- f) A programme for creating a civilian form of chaplaincy.
- g) Alternative Defence.
- h) Ideas for conducting a campaign against conscription.
- i) Draft SACC resolution referred back for discussion.

3. Conference decisions

The Conference made certain decisions, both as a full conference and in particular caucuses.

- a) The call to end conscription.
- b) A press statement made on behalf of the Conference.
- c) CPSA delegates resolution.

A list of delegates is available on request from the Durban COSG.

Edited and published by: Durban COSG, 1983
Printed by: Peace Print

POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND TO MILITARISM IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

THE CONTEXT

Structural/economic factors:

- growth of monopoly capitalism
- recession
- increased unemployment
- rising inflation
- price hikes in basic foodstuffs
- war economy
- skills shortage
- role of Armscor to rest of economy - ± 1 000 private businesses involved
- skilled and unskilled unemployed looking to SADF for employment
- housing - e.g. KTC
- drought

Ideological factors:

- media - threat to and of media
- myth of communist threat
- myth that the war can be won
- myth that army can be used as shield while reform happens (PFP)
- TV
- bonus bonds
- army making "he-men"
- use of language - e.g. terrorist - freedom fighter
- use of army in adverts
- apartheid - struggle of ideas
- education for perpetuation of the system

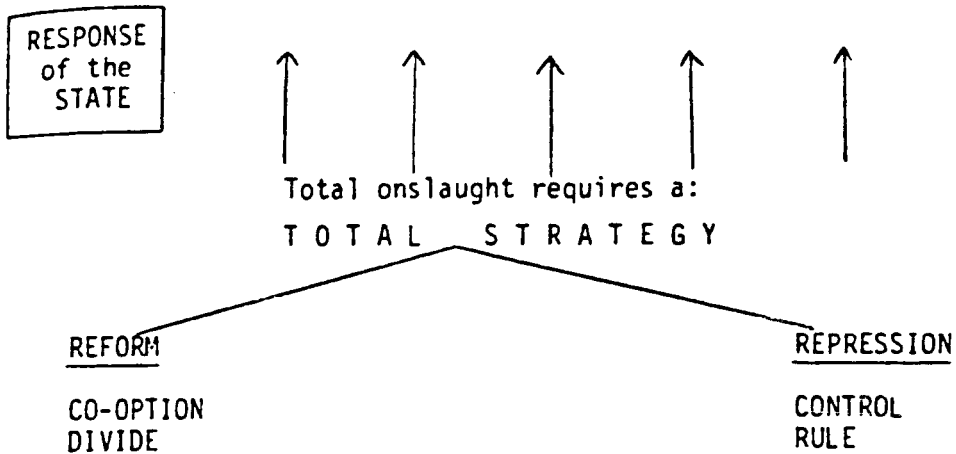


Political resistance factors:

- worker action grows
- worker-supportive action on increase
- rise of schools, youth, student, women's, community, sports organizations
- growth of exiles (white) resisting SADF call-up
- re-emergence of ANC presence in W Cape and in general
- relatively outspoken and unbiased news reports on independent radio 604

This is perceived by the State as:

T O T A L O N S L A U G H T



→ Commissions:

Wiehahn (TU recognition)	↔	Detention of trade unionists
Riekert (increased rights to urban blacks)	↔	Tightened influx control
	↔	Resettlement
De Lange		

→ Constitutional proposals:

"Power sharing"	↔	Concentration of power
"Inclusion of "Coloureds and Indians" (Extend laager)	↔	Apartheid

→ Rikhotso judgement

↔ Bantustans implementation

- KTC
- Khayelitsha
- Koornhoff Bills

- quota bill
- tightening up of security legislation
- police empowered to search cars anywhere
- Commission of Enquiry into SACC
- Army used for repression not defence and in civil issues
- atrocities in Namibia:- economic/political need for war there
- increasing role and extent of military in society
- destabilization of frontline states for economic and political reasons: keep them economically dependant on SA e.g. NMR, UNITA, LLA, Zimbabwe resistance troops
- raiding of ANC and SWAPO offices abroad
- homeland armies:
 - Transkei: 17% budget on development rest on salaries, mostly police and army
 - sophisticated recruiting propaganda
- foreign support:
 - embargos and sanctions not enforced
 - new set of international relations e.g. Israel, Taiwan, Chile, etc.
 - military technology & knowledge exchange
 - US & USA involvement:
 - training centre on interrogation methods
 - 'co-operation' with 3rd world governments

- international militarization and violence
- massive IMF loan of R1 240 million
- admittance of SADF to international military trade fair in Greece
- purchase of arms in Britain through private sales
- upward spiral of arms trade
- business involvement in military
- influence of Army in Government: National Security Council, Cabinet
- 'hearts and minds' policy: 80% political, 20% military
- extended call-up

The mood of the country suggests a
D E V E L O P I N G C R I S I S

RESISTANCE

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑
The developing crisis is met by resistance from a number of forces:

Right-wing backlash:

- political storm in Durban re beaches
- ' "battle of the Berge"
- ' Broederbond/SABRA controversy
- ' general resistance to new constitution

Big business pressure

Foreign pressure:

- negative coverage of SADF in Namibia at UN
- increase in anti-SADF reporting from journalists in neighbouring countries

Internal resistance:

- changing as economic crisis continues
- T.U. activity
- community resistance
eg. Driefontein, KTC, Lamontville, Chesterville, Clairwood
- COSAS and AZASO
- growth re-emergence of democratic organisations
- Charterists ←————→ National Forum
- non-racial struggle

Position of resisting whites:

- increasingly isolated from white community
- scope of operations narrowing

↑ ↑ ↑
D E V E L O P I N G

↑ ↑ ↑
R E P R E S S I O N

RESPONSE

- media:
 - more severe clamp-down on reporting of military affairs
 - counter-propaganda
 - detentions and prosecutions
- likely call-up of "Coloured" and Indian men
- development of more sophisticated weaponry

THE FUTURE

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Economy: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ promoting war economy to prop up sagging economy will ultimately unbalance it further |
| Politicization/education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ need for united strategy in resisting co-option ◦ need to plan ahead at a community level, to be creative, take initiatives ◦ way of approaching people is important need to show why rather than play on fears ◦ spreading information: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> e.g. business involvement in military needs to be exposed in SA ◦ possibilities of e.g. Bophuthatswana TV ◦ vigorous reporting in alternative community and student press |
| Militarization | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ create awareness of civil war |
| Conscription | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ deal with doubts and fears |
| Role of the Church | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ ? |

HELL-BENT ON DESTABILISATION

South Africa and the Frontline States

Mike Evans

If we think back ten years, and envisage a map of Southern Africa, we see a very different picture to the one we are used to today. In South Africa, the state had been able to crush all resistance since the clamp-down of the early sixties, and there was little indication of the mass upheavals which would begin with the 1973 Durban strikes. In Namibia, the war which had begun in 1966 had only just advanced to a scale where South Africa was forced to introduce the SADF to contain the growing SWAPO activity. But even this activity was confined to a relatively small portion of the Caprivi. In Mozambique and Angola the wars of independence were at an advanced stage; nevertheless, in the early 70's the colonial governments appeared to be in a strong enough position to at least contain the conflict with FRELIMO and the MPLA. In Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) the war only began in earnest in 1972, and Ian Smith was able to assert very confidently that, never in his lifetime would there be black majority rule. Finally, the BLS countries (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) were all favourably disposed to South Africa, and weren't even prepared to mount challenges to apartheid on a public level.

When we think of Southern Africa today, then we realize how dramatically the scenario has changed in a relatively short space of time. What we need to ask ourselves then, is how has South Africa been affected by these changes? How, in turn, has South Africa responded to the dramatic changes of the past decade?

Factors influencing South African Policy in Southern Africa:

The most significant events influencing South African policy in Southern Africa have obviously been the coming to independence of Angola and Mozambique in 1975, and Zimbabwe five years later. Not only did independence bring to power governments which were militantly opposed to apartheid, but also the policies of non-racialism and socialism which they espoused posed a longer-term threat to South Africa's hegemony in the region. More than that, Mozambique and Angola soon provided moral and material aid to the South African and Namibian liberation movements. There seems little doubt that the victories of FRELIMO and the MPLA, and the defeat of the SADF in Angola in 1975/6, provided massive encouragement to the students in 1976. Furthermore, soon after independence, Angola cleared the way for SWAPO and ANC bases to be established there. Today, Angola is the major training ground for Umkhonto weSizwe and PLAN (Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia) guerillas; and together with Tanzania and Zambia it provides the most significant material assistance to the ANC.

Other external factors have had an important influence on South African policy. Most significant is the increasing non-Western involvement in Southern Africa, and support for the liberation movements; in particular, the Cuban presence in Angola - itself partly a response to SADF aggression has also had an important bearing on South African policy-makers. More recently, the increasingly hostile attitude to South Africa of previously submissive frontline states (e.g. Lesotho) has influenced SA policy; so, too, have the attempts at economic independence of these frontline states, as marked by the formation of the Southern African Development and Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC).

But it is not only events outside SA which have changed SA foreign policy. Internally, we've seen in the last ten years the upsurge in resistance and the growth of popular organisation, and with it the dramatic increase in support for the ANC. Similarly, we've seen thousands upon thousands of young men and women leaving South Africa in the post-1976 period to join the ANC. Many of these - perhaps 10 000 - have been trained as guerillas of the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

South African Policy: Economic Dependency

Liberal international relations writers have often referred to the 'hawks' and the 'doves' in the corridors of the foreign affairs department. The 'doves' are those who argue that South Africa must use its strong economic base to buy stability in the region, promote regional prosperity and thus hope to weaken radical forces. The 'hawks' on the other hand, argue that South Africa should keep its neighbours economically and politically covered; that the temptation on the frontline states to seek economic assistance elsewhere should be weakened, and that whatever means necessary should be used to achieve these ends.

Now, up to the mid-70's the policy of the 'doves' was dominant. This was the period in which Vorster and co. regularly trotted off to the Ivory Coast, Senegal and whatever other African state would have them. 'Detente' was the catch-word of South African foreign policy.

Obviously the intention was to intensify the economic dependence of Southern African states on SA and to varying degrees, SA has been successful in creating and maintaining these economic ties. This economic dependency has taken on a number of forms. Firstly, SA capital owns or controls much of the economies of some frontline states, in particular Lesotho and Swaziland. Secondly, many SADCC countries are dependent on SA for the import of goods. The BLS countries all get over 80% of their imports from SA, while Zimbabwe and Malawi get over 40%.

The South African Customs Union is another way in which economic dependency is maintained. An agreement between South Africa and the BLS countries gives SA an effective veto on the development of any industry in Botswana, Lesotho or Swaziland. At the same time, these landlocked countries obtain much government revenue through duties paid on goods at South African ports. Lesotho and Swaziland each raise two-thirds of government revenue in this way, while Botswana raises one-third.

South Africa has also significant control over the transport networks of Southern Africa, as well as over the provision of electricity and fuel (it has been said that SA could switch off all Lesotho and Swaziland's lights in a second).

Finally, although this is a diminishing factor, some frontline states still rely on the income generated by migrant workers. 40% of the Lesotho workforce, for example, is employed in South Africa.

All these examples indicate the network of SA economic influence which pervades throughout Southern Africa - a network which is substantial, but very unequal, and one which has remained equally strong in the late 70's and early 80's, despite the more aggressive SA foreign policy.

The Dominance of the 'Hawks'

The turning point for South African policy in Southern Africa was the

independence of Angola in 1975. Angola was, and remains, the one country in the region which had virtually no economic ties with South Africa. SA could not, therefore, exert pressure on Angola as it could, say, on Mozambique which at that stage had also recently won its independence from Portugal. In addition, the new MPLA government immediately promised strong support for SWAPO.

The rest of the story is well-known..... SADF troops moved in in late '75, backing the dissident UNITA movement.... they were held up at the Queve River just long enough for the MPLA to call on the Cubans for assistance by early 1976, the SADF had been defeated and forced to retreat, with promised support from the West (particularly the USA) having been withheld at the last moment.

From this point onwards, SA began to rely increasingly on military and other forms of destabilisation, so as to maintain its position of control in the Southern African region. In the following seven years, a range of strategies have been employed: pressure by economic means, provocation in the form of border and airspace violations, campaigns of sabotage and terrorism, generally using surrogate forces portrayed as dissident movements of the countries affected, and commando raids. The final stage, so far reached only in the case of Angola, is that of large-scale military offensives using conventional military formations.

In the remainder of this talk, I will look at some of these forms of destabilisation in a little more depth.

Continued Economic Pressure

While military aggression has dominated South Africa's destabilisation policy, economic pressure on neighbouring states has continued. PW Botha's (unsuccessful) attempts to form a 'Constellation of States' have been aimed at breaking the moves towards greater economic independence on the part of the 9 SADCC countries (Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi and the BLS countries). Indeed, South Africa's attempts to give KaNgwane and Ingwavuma to Swaziland, can be seen at least partly as an attempt to woo the conservative Swazi leadership to the constellation idea.

Zimbabwe has been hard hit by South Africa's destabilising intentions. Soon after independence, SA terminated its preferential trade agreement with Zimbabwe. Then, late last year, 80 trucks and diesel engines carrying maize and fuel to Zimbabwe were withdrawn. At the same time, the fuel supply line from Beira in Mozambique, to Zimbabwe, was blown up by SA backed terrorist forces. The result of this dual attack was massive fuel shortages during the packed holiday period.

Support for Terrorist Organisations

The Beira fuel-line attack is just one example of the way in which SA uses surrogate terrorist groupings to destabilise the frontline states. One of the most significant of these is the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR), originally formed by the Rhodesian SAS, but since 1980 allegedly financed, armed and trained by the SADF at a base in the Eastern Transvaal. The MNR currently has a force of about 10 000, and during the last year it managed to cause severe damage in central and Southern Mozambique. However, major FRELIMO offensives during the first half of this year have led to major setbacks for the MNR. At the same

time, South Africa has come under strong attack for its backing of the MNR from such reputable bodies as the US State Department, and the influential London weekly, the Economist. SA government disclaimers regarding its backing of the MNR carry little weight. In May this year, the effective leader of the MNR, Orlando Christina, was killed in Pretoria. And two years ago, when MNR attacks on Cabora-Bassa led to power cuts in the Transvaal, PFP MP Graham McIntosh blamed "some incompetent ass in the SADF or the National Intelligence Service".

Much publicity has been given recently to the allegedly South African-backed attacks on Lesotho by the so-called Lesotho Liberation Army. Throughout 1981/82 each attack occurred within 2 km of the Lesotho/SA border, giving support to the theory that the LLA operates from the Eastern OFS. At one point PW Botha was quoted as saying that 'there would be no LLA if you (Lesotho government) removed all refugees from Lesotho'. Clearly, SA is attempting to pressurise Lesotho to stop harbouring South African exiles.

The Mozambique and Lesotho situations can be repeated for Angola, Zimbabwe and even Zambia, where SA allegedly backed the dissident grouping led by Adamson Mushala. In Angola, SA does not even deny its active support for UNITA, while in Zimbabwe there is strong belief that SA is training 5 000 Muzorewa auxiliaries. The death of 3 white SADF members during a mission in Southern Zimbabwe in August last year confirmed the SA presence in that country. It was this mission that led Robert Mugabe to remark that South Africa was "hell-bent on destabilisation".

Actions aimed directly at the ANC

Much South African action in Southern Africa has been aimed at breaking down support for the ANC and SWAPO. However, attacks on neighbouring states have often merely served to strengthen their resolve to back the ANC and SWAPO, for the frontline states more than anywhere else realise they themselves can only achieve true liberation when South Africa is liberated.

As a result, SA has often aimed its attacks directly at the ANC; for example, the SADF attacks on South African refugees in Matola in 1981, and in Maseru in 1982. The killing of refugees (as well as innocent civilians of the host countries) has itself induced a change in strategy on the part of the ANC. Uptill this year, the ANC attacks were directed only at economic targets and key strategic installations. The Pretoria bomb blast is evidence of the fact that attacks will now be directed at military and police personnel as well.

Besides direct attacks, SA has also been involved in the surveillance of neighbouring states (the recent drone spy-plane over Mozambique, for example) and the kidnapping of South African exiles (three SA security policemen were recently sentenced in Botswana for such activity). Far more insidious is the alleged South African involvement in the assassinations of key ANC and SACTU personnel, such as Joe Gqabi in Harare in 1981, Petrus and Jabu Nzima in Swaziland in 1982, and Ruth First in Maputo last year.

Full-scale Military Invasion

The final stage in South Africa's destabilising activities has only been reached in the occupation and complete destruction of much of Southern Angola.

The SADF has huge infantry and armoured divisions, and since the frontline states pose no military threat to South Africa, and since the ANC and SWAPO are fighting guerilla wars, it can only be concluded that the SADF's massive conventional army is essentially an external strike force, for the continued invasion of Angola and, if necessary, the invasion of other Southern African states. The 1982 Defence White Paper stressed the strengthening of SA's conventional army, while new weaponry introduced in 1982 - such as the Olifant battle tank and the G6 155 mm gun are suited for conventional rather than guerilla-type attacks.

5 500 troops are currently stationed in Southern Angola, and many commentators anticipate a full-scale invasion into Central Angola in the near future. The cost of SA aggression against Angola has been enormous: many thousands dead, wounded or disabled, and R10 billion damage. The intention has clearly been to prevent any normal life or economic activity; traffic on the roads has been strafed, bridges and railways bombed, and towns and villages reduced to rubble.

The long-term goals are to devastate the entire region, break down all support for SWAPO, pressurize the removal of all the Cubans presently in Angola, and ultimately, force the MPLA government to negotiate with UNITA.

An important dimension of SADF activity in Southern Angola has been the widespread massacre of refugees. After the Kassinga attack in 1978, Bishop Desmond Tutu commented:

"If South African forces could tell me it was clear that they only attacked military targets, I would accept that. But they know it is not true. They have been able to go into refugee camps and there is proof of this and they have killed women and children and that is violence."

Even deputy defence minister Kobie Coetsee has confirmed that women and children have been killed in the course of South African attacks.

It is this continued onslaught that has allowed SA to force its hand in the Namibian settlement issue. With the backing of the Western 5 (the USA in particular) it has been able to play two trump-cards - Cubans out of Angola, and Unita presence in the Angolan government. For Angola the possible advantages of compliance are not inconsequential; the war will be stopped, the 25% of the budget which now goes to defence can be ploughed into development projects, the Benguela railway will be opened, the mineral and agriculturally wealthy southern province will be opened for development, and, with US negotiation, foreign loans and aid will be easier to procure.

This, then, is another example of the way SA has been able to block progressive development in Southern Africa, attempt to break down support for genuine liberation movements, and force its own demands through brute military power.

Conclusion: The Destabilisation of Southern Africa

The picture presented in this talk has been entirely negative. Yet, amidst all the gloom, there are still some signs of hope - notably, the paths of change followed by a few of South Africa's neighbours. So I would like to conclude by quoting from Samora Machel, a man who, I believe, has made a more significant contribution to peace and constructive change in Southern Africa than any other individual. In a speech responding to Magnus Malan's allegations that South Africa was being destabilised by its neighbours,

NKOMA

"A few days ago the South African regime alleged that Mozambique is threatening it by concentrating sophisticated weapons on its border. What are these sophisticated weapons that the regime is referring to?

We do not represent a threat to anyone, neither militarily nor economically. No sensible person could think that an underdeveloped and poor country like ours, with so many wounds of war still bleeding, could threaten the sovereignty, territorial integrity or stability of any state, especially a power like South Africa."

In fact, the only thing the regime has to fear is our example. This, yes. What is the sophisticated weapon that the regime refers to? The answer is the work we are doing. What is this work?

Giving worth to women as mothers, as wives, as educators, as companions and comrades, the example of protecting them and loving them as symbols of affection and peace, as the guarantors of future generations.

This is what South Africa fears.

The sophisticated weapon is making the home the centre of fulfilment and not, as in South Africa, a prison and a guarded residence.

The sophisticated weapon is having children as the only privileged sector of our society, keeping the best for them, keeping the most beautiful for them. It is surrounding children with love and affection, innocence and happiness, and not, as in Soweto, making them targets for police brutality and murderous weapons.

The sophisticated weapon is the people's right to create their own history, by directing their own destiny, by exercising their sovereign power.

In short, the sophisticated weapon that really threatens apartheid is the alternative of civilisation that our society now represents.

DEFENCE AMENDMENT ACT, 1983

SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS RELATING TO RELIGIOUS OBJECTION

<u>1. Boards for religious objection:</u>	<u>Section</u>
There may be one or more boards for religious objection appointed by the Minister of Manpower.	72A(1)(a)
1.1 There will consist of:	72A(2)
- a judge or retired judge as chairman	
- three theologians of different denominations	
- one military chaplain	
- one SADF representative	
- one co-opted theologian of applicant's own denomination if none of appointed theologians or chaplain are of that denomination	
1.2 Rules for hearings:	
- No legal representation	72C(4)
- Witnesses allowed	72B(2)(e)
- All decisions final	72D(5)
1.3 Powers of the boards:	
- Granting of applications	72D(1)(a)
- Allocation to other categories	72D(1)(b)
- Refusal of applications	72D(1)(c)
- Referral to an exemption board	72D(2)(3)
- Reviewing of cases	72F
1.4 Applications to boards need:	<u>72B</u>
- To be made in writing and signed by applicant	
- To state the category required	
- To set out facts and grounds for application	
- To state the "books of revelation and the articles of faith upon which the religious convictions of the applicant are based"	
- To include affidavits from any supporting witnesses	
- To be received by the board within thirty days of delivery of notice to render service	
1.5 Applications can be made after a person has started his service.	

Categories of religious objectors provided for:

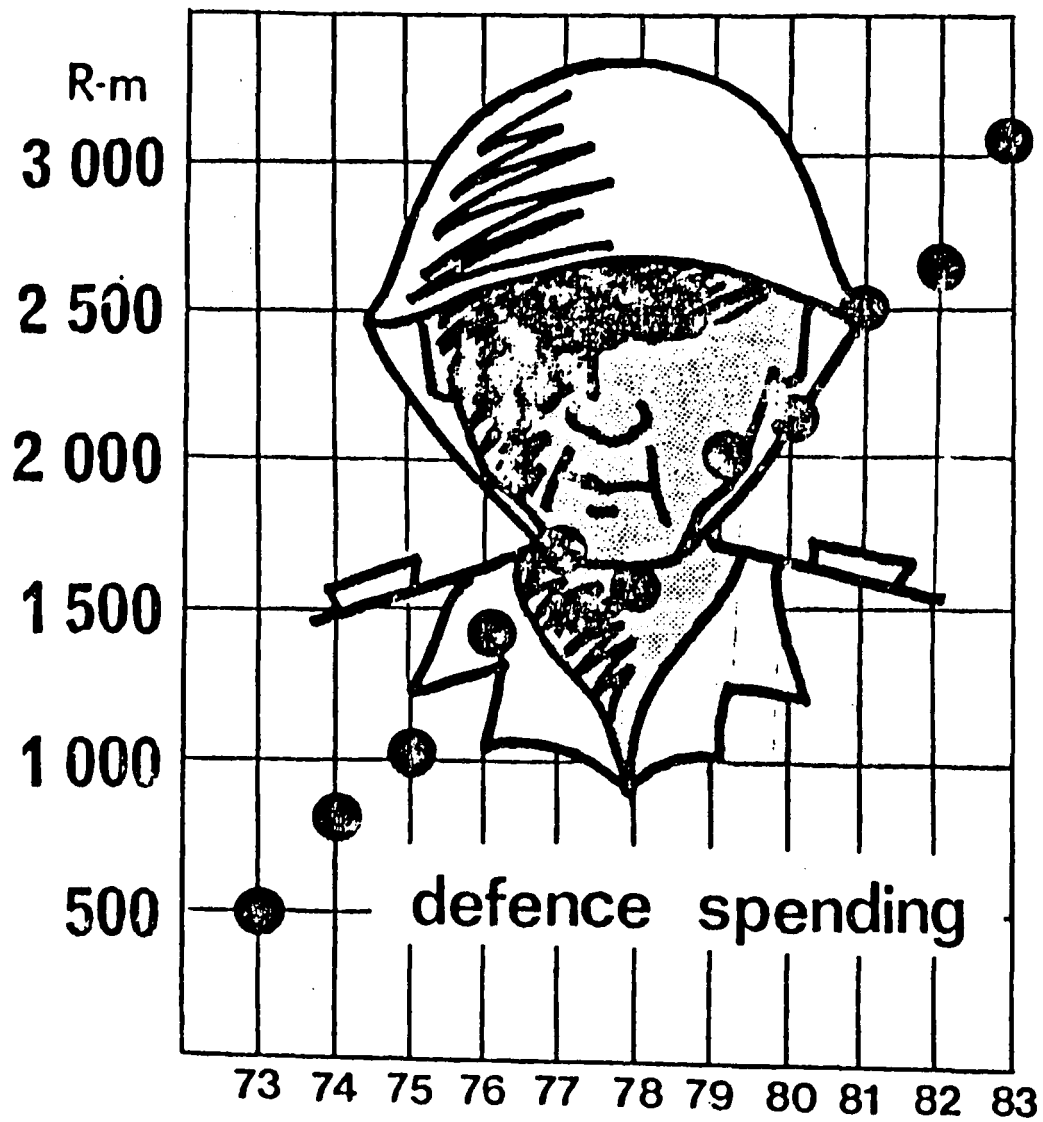
- 2.1 "A religious objector with whose religious convictions it is in conflict to render service in a combatant capacity in any armed force." 72D(1)(a)(i)
- Length: Normal call-up 72E(1)
- Type: Non-combatant duties in military uniform
- Discipline: Normal SADF
- 2.2 "A religious objector with whose religious convictions it is in conflict to render service in a combatant capacity in any armed force, to perform any maintenance tasks of a combatant nature therein and to be clothed in a military uniform." 72D(1)(a)(ii)
- Length: One-and-a-half times each call-up 72E(2)
- Type: Non-combatant duties in a non-military uniform
- Rank: If an officer, reduction to the ranks 72D(4)
- Refusal: Equivalent prison sentence 72I(1)
- 2.3 "A religious objector with whose religious convictions it is in conflict to render any military service or to perform any task in or in connection with any armed force." 72D(1)(a)(iii)
- Length: a) One-and-a-half times the full period of service owed, served continuously 72E(3)
- b) For Section 44, periods equivalent to 1½ times call-up period; minimum 18 days
- Type: a) "Community service" in Public Service or Municipal Service 72E(4)
- b) Conditions of service laid down by State President 72G
- c) No promotion, increases, etc., by employers for first two years where already employed in a category deemed "community service" 72E(5)(c)
- d) No political activities other than those prescribed by the State President: voting in election or referendum a right 72H(1)
- e) No publication of written material relating to restricted activities 72H(2)(3)(4)
- Refusal: Detention of equivalent length with parole possibility 72I(2)(a)

3. Objectors not provided for:

All persons refusing to render service who do not fall into the above categories. 126A(1)(a)

Penalty: Imprisonment of one-and-a-half times length of service owed or 18 months whichever is longer

cosg factsheet . . .



budget

- * Over the last 10 years the Defence budget has increased six-fold.
- * This year R3 092 700 000 was allocated to Defence out of a total budget of R21 billion.
- * This represents nearly 15 percent of the total budget.
- * It was the third-highest budgetted figure. The Departments of Constitutional Development and Finance took the biggest slices of the budget.
- * The 83/84 Defence budget is up 15,9 percent on the 82/83 figure.
- * In the Auditor General's '83 report the Defence Force was shown to be overdrawn by more than R134 million.
- * In the '83 budget, compared with the R3 billion budget for Defence, black education got R561 m, national education got R725 m, Agriculture got R467 m, Housing got R390 m, Welfare and Pensions got R1,3 billion and Co-operation and Development was allocated R1,5 billion.

objectors

- * In the last 10 years 5 181 people have been prosecuted for failing to report for military service.
- * There were 355 men in DB in March '83 for refusing to do training.
- * Two national servicemen were kept in solitary confinement for two weeks during '82 for refusing to wear army browns.
- * One man is presently serving year-long jail sentence in Pretoria Central Prison, and one in Pollsmoor.
- * Boards for religious objection have not yet (October '83) been established.

CHRONOLOGY OF OPPRESSION

AND RESISTANCE

Extract from a chronology prepared by the Media Commission, UCT, Cape Town

Sharpeville massacre on March 21. 69 people killed. Eleven people killed at Langa. Nationwide stay-at-home in protest at the Sharpeville massacre called by the ANC. Extensive pass burning takes place in this widely observed stay-at-home on March 28. March 30 state declares a State of Emergency and arrests over 2 000 people. ANC and PAC declared unlawful organisations.

PAC leader Phillip Kgosana leads march of 30 000 into central Cape Town in anti-pass demonstrations.

An All-In African Convention is held in Pietermaritzburg with 14 000 delegates and chaired by Nelson Mandela. Conference resolves to call for a national convention to design a "new non-racial democratic constitution for S.A."

May 31 declaration of Republic of South Africa. State mobilises army to squash nationwide strike call to reject Republic Day celebrations. Three quarters of the workforce in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth respond.

Chief A J Luthuli, President of the ANC, receives the Nobel Peace Prize.

The African Students Association is formed as the student wing of the Congress movement - and serves as a forerunner of the student organisations which emerge in the late 1960's.

On December 16 the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) launches the first series of strategic sabotage attacks.

1962 Congress of Democrats banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The PAC armed wing Poqo (Pure) engages in random acts of violence against white civilians and black policemen.

The African Resistance Movement comprised mainly of whites embarks on a sabotage campaign.

Helen Joseph first person under house arrest. Rioting at Cato Manor against police raids.

PAC/Poqo leaders lacking organisation; quickly apprehended after acts of violence. Eleven hanged.

1963 State places blanket ban on all banned and listed persons. ANC sends members abroad to establish a external mission.

Headquarters of Umkhonto we Sizwe at Rivonia are raided and high command members are arrested. Mandela, Mbeki, Sisulu, Goldberg, Kathrada, Mhlaba, Mlangeni, Motsoaledi sentenced to life imprisonment. Four people arrested at Rivonia - Goldreich, Wolpe, Moola and Jassat escape.

1964 Braam Fischer, SACP leader, is arrested and put on trial with 13 others.

Many members of Umkhonto, Poqo and ARM are arrested and tried for sabotage. 1 604 people are convicted of offences relating to safety of the state.

Three prominent SACTU trade unionists - Mini, Mkaba and Khayinga - are executed.

1965 Braam Fischer jumps bail and announces that he has gone underground. Arrested eleven months later, he receives a sentence of life imprisonment for sabotage.

1966 SWAPO launches its first guerrilla operations.

Chief A J Luthuli is killed in an accident on July 21.

ANC announces a military alliance with ZAPU and the 'Luthuli combat detachment' cross the Zambezi and conduct the Wankie and Sipolilo campaigns. South African Police sent to reinforce Rhodesian security forces.

8 15 Namibians are sentenced to life imprisonment and 16 are sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for 'acts of violence'. Herman Toiva Ja Toiva, SWAPO founder member, receives 20 years.

9 Seven security detainees die in detention. Official reasons given are "slipped on piece of soap"; "fell down stairs"; "died of natural causes" and "fell from window while under interrogation".

Major policy shifts in the ANC at the Morogoro Conference in Tanzania where strategy and tactics in line with the new situation were adopted.

South African Students Organisation (SASO) inaugurated at Turfloop to mobilise black university students against apartheid education. SASO plays a crucial role crystallising ideas of the Black Consciousness movement.

Major policy shifts in the ANC at the Morogoro Conference in Tanzania where strategy and tactics in line with the new situation were adopted. ANC becomes a non-racial mass-based revolutionary organisation incorporating coloureds, Indians and democratic whites.

22 people including Samson Ndou the leading accused and Mrs Winnie Mandela were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act relating to furthering the aims of the ANC. Charges were dropped and re-applied but all are acquitted. 19 receive banning orders.

Benjamin Ramotse receives a 15 year sentence for taking part in Terrorist Activities. Botswana government claims Ramotse was arrested in Rhodesia.

71 20 000 Namibian contract workers bring mining industry to a standstill in a strike against the system of migrant labour and influx control.

NUSAS leads opposition to the Tenth Anniversary celebrations of the Republic. SASO and the Black Sash condemn celebrations.

Port Elizabeth bus boycott in the coloured community result in major clashes with the police.

James April, a coloured student at U.C.T., receives a 15 year jail sentence for membership of Umkhonto.

972 South African Students Movement formed to organise black students in schools.

973 100 000 workers in Durban go on strike and win wage increases. South African economy shocked by militancy displayed. Strikes mostly spontaneous but proved impetus to development of independent black trade unions.

975 Mozambique achieves independence on January 25 under the leadership of FRELIMO. SASO organises rallies to celebrate which result in bitter clashes with police at Turfloop and Durban.

O R Tiro, president of SASU, is killed by a parcel bomb in Botswana. BOSS is widely believed to be behind the murder.

Countrywide boycott of the Coloured Peoples Representative Council is launched.

Bus boycott at Newcastle, Natal involves 4 000 industrial workers who walk 8 - 11 miles a day to and from work.

South Africa invades the Peoples Republic of Angola.

Several security trials including white democrats and academics for furthering the aims of the ANC.

defeated and humiliated by the Angolan Peoples Armed Forces the SADF retreats into Namibia.

On June 16 Soweto students protesting racist, inferior Bantu education are fired on, unleashing a nationwide uprising of students and workers involving mass demonstrations, boycotts, arson and sabotage. Unrest continues throughout the year. Police kill over a thousand people and detain and arrest many more. In August and September half a million workers stage successful strikes throughout the country. ANC pamphlets back the SSRC call for workers to support the student's struggle.

Six reported incidents of sabotage.

1977 School boycotts continue involving 190 000 students. The SSRC organises demonstrations against rent increases.

Steve Biko dies in detention on September 12. SACTU unionist Laurence Ndzanga and eight others die in detention.

10 organisations including newspapers The World and Weekend World as well as Christian Institute and B.C. organisations are banned. 500 political activists are detained and many receive banning orders. More than ten trials take place relating to ANC activities.

Twenty-four reported incidents of sabotage.

1978 Genocide at Kassinga. 600 Namibian refugees killed in SADF raid into Southern Angol

30 000 squatters living in Crossroads resist state efforts to remove them under the slogan 'Siyahlala' (we will not move).

12 people charged with being in an ANC conspiracy to overthrow the state. Six receive sentences of 7 - 18 years.

30 000 squatters living in Crossroads resist state efforts to remove them under the slogan 'Siyahlala' (we will not move). Continuous struggles waged at Modderdam and Unibell in 1977.

Soweto Students Representative Council tried with sedition and treason. Receive sentences ranging from 3 to 7 years.

Thirty-two reported incidents of sabotage.

1979 ANC guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu is executed after being convicted under the Terrorism Act after the Goch Street shooting without himself firing a shot. 20 000 people attend his funeral.

Pietermaritzburg security trial of James Mange and 11 others for treason. All found guilty, Mange to hang, sentence later commuted to 20 years. Mange received death for planning without having actually committed any act.

Robert Sobukwe dies.

A boycott of Fatti's & Moni's called by the unregistered African Food and Canning Workers Union receives wide support. After 5 months of community solidarity with the dismissed workers the workers win all their demands.

The Azanian Students Organisation and the Congress of South African Students are progressive organisations formed to represent university and school students respectively.

Umkhonto guerrilla attacks occur with increasing frequency directed against targets such as police stations and railway lines. Twenty-six reported incidents of sabotage.

1980 Twenty-Fifth anniversary of the drawing up of the Freedom Charter is celebrated. South Africans unite in a massive Free Mandela Campaign. A petition launched by the Sunday Post receives 75 000 signatures.

Tens of thousands of school and university students begin a sustained boycott of inferior racist 'gutter education' and put forward demands of an 'education for

SADF raids into Angola in operations Smokeshell and Sceptic.

Trial of Lubisi, Manana, Makhogo and others for sabotage at Soekmekaar and elsewhere. Death sentence for the three. Lost case on appeal, granted reprieve in 1982.

Community organisations develop mobilising people around the issues that affect them in their homes - rent, transport, health, poor facilities, lack of democratic representation.

On March 13 Lillian Ngoyi dies. As the first president of the ANC Women's League and second president of the Federation of South African Women she won recognition as a symbol of the struggle.

ANC guerrilla attacks escalate. Targets include police stations at Booyens and Soekmekaar. SASOL refineries sabotaged.

800 striking meat workers in Cape Town receive support from the community with a red meat boycott.

10 000 Johannesburg municipal workers strike for improved conditions and recognition of their unregistered union BMWU.

Cape Town bus company CT Tramways boycotted in protest to a fare hike. State intervenes and represses boycott. Countrywide blanket ban placed on meetings.

ANC becomes the first liberation movement to be a signatory to the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the 1977 Protocol of the Humanitarian Conduct of Wars of National Liberation.

Eighteen reported incidents of sabotage.

1981 SADF commando raids Mozambique and assassinates 12 ANC members and kidnaps 3 others at Matola, a suburb of Maputo.

SADF raids southern Angola in operation Protea leaving large-scale destruction and loss of civilian life.

Trade Unionist and Community Leader Oscar Mpetha and 17 others are put on trial on charges of terrorism and attempted murder.

Joe Gquabi, leading ANC activist, assassinated in Zimbabwe.

Community organisations around the country continue to develop. In Durban militant resistance shown to rent increases and deteriorating conditions in community struggle

Massive rejection of Republic Day celebrations from university, trade union, community and political groups. The masses declare there is nothing to celebrate.

Anti-SAIC boycott and demonstrations receive wide support and back-up by strategic sabotage. The people decisively reject dummy councils.

Twenty-seven reported incidents of sabotage.

1981/82 Increasing unity moves within the trade union movement.

Massive state security clamp down and hundreds of activists detained nationwide.

1982 Trade unionist Neil Aggett and detainee Ernest Dipale die in detention.

20 000 African mine workers strike on the rand. 8 killed in police repression.

ANC activists Petros and Jabu Nzima assassinated by car bombs in Swaziland.

Professor Ruth First, academic and activist, assassinated by letterbomb in Maputo.

Reading list

Recent material published on militarisation in Southern Africa.

1. Conscientious Objection: Occasional Paper No. 8, Centre for Intergroup Studies, Cape Town, 1983
2. G Evans, "SADF and Civic Action" in Work in Progress 28 and Work in Progress 29
3. SA Outlook May 1983 "Destabilisation and the Church"
4. SA Outlook August 1983 "Destabilisation without and within" containing a reprint from the Economist entitled "Destabilisation in Southern Africa"
5. South African Review: Same Foundation, New Facades, Ravan Press Johannesburg 1983. Articles on "Military policy and the Namibian dispute" and "Restructuring: the role of the military" in Section 1
6. T Weaver, "Caught in the crossfire: the war in Namibia" in Work in Progress 29

SECTION 2

IDEAS AND ISSUES FOR FURTHER WORK IN LOCAL GROUPS

1. Combatting militarization

- * C.A.P., Armscor, and other influences in society.
- * military influence in schools.
- * the role of the SADF.
- * discussion of the SACC proposal
- * exploration of the global dimensions of militarisation.

2. Conscientious Objection

- * CO a human right or an act of resistance?
- * What are the implications of "Apartheid is a heresy" for just war theorists?
- * Continued action on the legislation.
- * Contact with international organisations.
- * Explore alternative forms of service and action by objectors.
- * Continue the debate about universal/selective objection.
- * Explore refusals to register.

3. Active Peacemaking

- * Apart from combatting militarisation, establish clear alternative action.

4. The Church

- * Role in Boards for Religious Objection
- * Participation in chaplaincy services
- * Programmes of support for NSM, including prayers for 'boys on the border'.

5. Odds and Ends

- * Focus on cadets and inform about Section 57 which parents can invoke to stop their children from participation.

WAYS OF TAKING UP THE MILITARY ISSUE AMONGST YOUNG PEOPLE

- * Establish personal contacts.
- * Provide an alternative to veld schools.
- * Use existing youth groups.
- * Provide an alternative to the present Youth Preparedness manual.
- * Work through Church schools.
- * Prepare fact sheets and pamphlets aimed at parents and children.
- * Work through church and youth groups to penetrate the Black constituency.
- * Use media, arts, youth culture.
- * Make contact with the educational faculties of Universities.
- * Include information in Church syllabi for formation/membership.
- * Arrange workshops and camps.

WOMEN AND THE MILITARY: IDENTIFYING INFLUENCES, IDEAS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

1. The possible conscription of women:

This issue should be dealt with prior to conscription. Ideas which will need clarifying include:

- * differentiating between the feminist call for equality and participating in militaristic systems.
- * the relationship of combat and direct military duty to 'civil defence'.
- * the difference between military conflict and patriotism, and community service and alternative patriotism.

2. The present military conflict:

Focus on:

- * mothers of children on both sides of the civil war.
- * schoolgirls and young adults and the pressures on them to support men in war - also focus on the sexual violence which appears to result from rising militarisation.
- * women coping with families while fathers are in SADF.
- * families which are under stress as a result of the personality shifts caused by military service.

3. Particular ideas:

- * Encourage correspondence with women's magazines.
- * Appeal to justice, and encourage women to identify with suffering and oppression of others.
- * Challenge media images of women.
- * Work with women and not through men.

CONSCRIPTION AND MILITARISATION

Discussion points and programme ideas:

- * Conscription is the culmination of a process which includes: veld schools, memorial/Armistice day services, cadets, peer pressure, school syllabi and Registration.
- * Focus on registration at schools - make parents aware of the procedures and penalties.
- * Question the moral authority of the State to conscript people.
- * Explore the possibility of refusal to register by Section 44 people and 'coloureds' and Indians.

- * Focus on reasons why conscription is 'needed' - unjust society, internal threat, co-optio: of certain groups in society.
- * Explore the possibilities of incorporating a focus on homeland armies.
- * Make use of future CO trials to raise the issue of conscription.
- * Relate to other organisations such as NEUSA, Women's Movement for Peace.
- * Ending conscription would not end militarisation - this would need to be made clear.
- * The necessity of making moral judgements about the conflict and about violence would remain.
- * Explore the relationship with international movements and with peace campaigns.
- * Use all possible opportunities to raise these issues.
- * Explore conscription in other civil war and national situations.
- * Analyse other campaigns and use methods already tried.
- * Arrange workshops, petitions, etc.

THE DEFENCE AMENDMENT ACT 1983

Ideas for action:

1. Participation in Boards:

- * Churches should not serve on these Boards. Reasons for this are given in separate resources (cf Roux and Louw, The Theology of the Naudé Commission).
- * Should this strategy not be possible, then churches should nominate in advance the theologian whom they will allow to serve. This person would respond with the churches' viewpoint in arguing any application.

2. Community Service:

- * It was pointed out that those who could receive classification to this faced a moral dilemma because of the narrow nature of the legislation. Two options were suggested:
 - * refusal to appear before the Board.
 - * appearing before the Board, but refusing to serve the prescribed duty.
- * In relation to the length of community service, it was possible to serve an agreed length and then refuse as a protest.

3. Goal Sentence:

- * It was pointed out that for those who had completed initial service this was only a maximum of 3 years, decreasing to 18 months.

AD22

In Alpha-ter

DIESEL LETTER
Bew "AD22"
AS "W 26" & "AD14"

OBJECTOR

1984:



Townships

ECC launch

Namibia

NEW DEAL TO CIVIL WAR

AD23

THE UDF SAYS NO! TO CONSCRIPTION

We say NO! because
the government spends millions on 'defence' while the people
starve

We say NO! because
the SADF defends apartheid

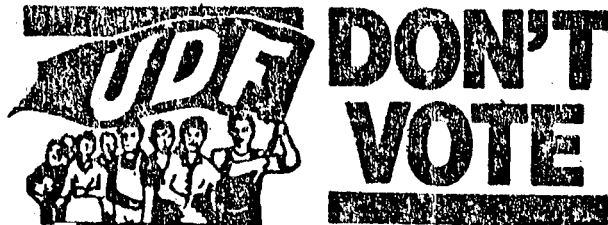
We say NO! because
the SADF undermines the freedom and independence of our
neighbouring countries

We say NO! because
the new constitution entrenches our oppression

We say NO! because
we don't want soldiers teaching our children

We say NO! because
we don't want to fight our brothers

**WE ARE RATHER FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL
OUR PEOPLE.**



issued by the UDF Anti-Conscription Commission, Tv1.

UDF REJECTS BOTHAS ARMY

DON'T
VOTE!



Ben "A.D." 23⁴

'THE RIGHT' TO FIGHT

"You can't ask a man to fight-for his country if he can't vote. Among the terms of the new dispensation is the guarantee that coloureds and Indians will get voting rights. It follows that their responsibility will increase accordingly, which means they will hold obligations to defend these rights."

(F.W. de Klerk, Tv1 NP leader)

THE 'RIGHT' TO VOTE IS THE 'RIGHT' TO FIGHT FOR APARTHEID !

Obligations to defend these 'rights' means the extension of conscription to 'coloureds' and Indians.

WHAT IS CONSCRIPTION ?

Conscription means compulsory military service in the South African army for two years, with a possible two further years of army 'camps'.

Conscription means you have no choice - you have to go. Those who reject conscription face going into exile or six years jail.

CONSCRIPTION AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The new constitution - Botha's 'reform' - is an attempt by the government to co-opt some of the oppressed onto its side. Now 'coloureds' and Indians will be forced to fight for the system which oppresses them - in exchange for a sham vote in the new apartheid constitution !

The new constitution will not change the Group Areas Act. It will not change the Pass Laws. It will not change forced removals. It will not change high rents. It will not change the 10% GST that is eating our money. It will not change apartheid which is oppressing us.

CONSCRIPTION AND GST

GST goes up so that the government can have money to buy guns. Our children do not have enough food or clothes because Botha's army is taking all our money. In 1983 the SADF spent R 4000 000 000. The government spent only one tenth of that amount of money on health, and one twentieth of that amount on housing for the people. Our money is buying guns for Botha !

WHAT DOES BEING A MEMBER OF THE SADF MEAN ?
WHAT IS THE SADF DOING ?

The government says that the SADF is protecting all our people
BUT

the SADF means roadblocks with the police
the SADF surrounded Lamontville
the SADF helped the police with house to house searches in the 1980 school
boycotts
the SADF is used to overcome the resistance of our people who refused to
be moved from the places they have lived for generations

The government says the SADF is protecting Namibians against SWAPO 'terrorists'
BUT
the people of Namibia say that SWAPO is their liberation movement and that
the SADF is an army of occupation

The government says that the SADF is protecting us against the Cubans
BUT
the SADF has invaded and occupied large sections of Angola
and supports the UNITA bandits in their fight against the Angolan people

The government says that the SADF is protecting us against international
terrorism'
BUT
the SADF is building up its forces to fight our youth who have left the
country because they can no longer live under apartheid

The government and the SADF talk about a 'total war'
BUT
it is a civil war in which the majority are subjected to the violence of
starvation, poverty, poor education, removals and pass-raids

**WE SAY
NO!**



AD24

January 6th, 1984

Minutes, END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN meeting, Durban, Dec 8th, 1984

Rev "AD 24"

1. Gathering and introductions.
2. Agenda review.
3. Report-back from groups. Not many groups had had a chance to meet since the ECC workshop on October 27th, but generally the feedback from groups and individuals is supportive and enthusiastic.
4. Structure of ECC, LOCAL.
 - a. Rather than just meeting as a forum, the group felt it would be better for groups to formally affiliate with ECC. This would involve a greater level of commitment.
 - b. Work will be done mainly by the organisations rather than the ECC meeting itself.
 - c. The procedure for affiliation has not yet been decided on.
 - d. A simple constitution is being drafted for presentation to the national meeting in January. This could be used as a basis for affiliation.
 - e. Groups not wanting to formally affiliate, and individuals, are still very welcome to be part of ECC.
 - f. A coordinating group is to be selected from the meeting to help maintain coherence and continuity in the Campaign. They can also be resource people for the organisations of ECC and anyone else. This group will be selected from the working group who are preparing for the national ECC meeting in January.

NATIONAL:

 - a. The group agreed that a national organiser/field worker be appointed for 1985. The appointment will take place at the national meeting. This worker will live in each region for a while, and work according to a timetable and agenda set by the regions. This person's salary will come from the national budget.
 - b. The three areas with active ECCs are Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg. The Eastern Cape is becoming more involved, and Namibia is actively mobilising against conscription. Links are being established with these two regions.
 - c. At the national meeting in January, national campaign themes will be decided on. Each region will still be able to run their own campaign campaigns as well if they so wish.
5. Looking forward to 1985
 - a. The national meeting, January 25 - 27, at Koinonia (just outside Durban). This will be a working meeting, with 8 - 10 representatives from each of the three main regions. The main aims of the meeting are to decide on (i) structures (e.g. fieldworker, national administration etc.); (ii) budget; (iii) national campaign theme/s. We agreed that the Durban reps to the meeting should be from the following organisations: NUSAS (Fiona?), Black Sash (Ann?), COSG (Richard), NOW (?), Youth Forum (Alvin?), Diakonia (Sue), AZASO (?), NEUSA (Jeremy), IFOR (Anita), Methodist CEYD (Paul), Klaarwater (Mike), (Nozipho), (Lindani). These people will function as a planning group for the national meeting.
 - b. The twice-yearly call-up for conscripts is between Jan 9-15. We decided we would like to go there to feel what happens there, and to register some sort of symbolic protest. We thought we would wear T-shirts with peace slogans on. We planned to meet on Jan 2 to silkscreen T-shirts and plan the action, but the meeting did not go ahead because of the low turnout.

- c. Time line: those present were given a year planner calendar, with the ECC logo, and were asked to fill in important dates relating to their own organisations. These can be amalgamated at the next meeting so we have an idea of how ECC can fit in with upcoming activities.
- d. Campaign themes:
- conscription of taxes for military purposes
 - "economic conscription" - economic pressures on blacks to volunteer for the army
 - conscription in the homelands by homeland governments
 - civil defense e.g. employees being called on to help with the security of factories
 - conscription of older white men
 - the extension of conscription to women, Coloureds and Indians
 - links between the military and industry and the economy
 - highlight the civil war
 - SADF in the rural areas e.g. as teachers, doctors
 - SADF in the urban areas, enforcing apartheid laws
 - shops, businesses and universities which support the military
 - SADF indoctrination through the media - exposing it and countering it
 - opposing war toys for children
 - build up community groups as the building blocks of resistance against SADF influences
 - alternative peace weekend camps for youth, and programs for children in the holidays
 - schools - teachers, parents, pupils, school committees
 - SADF recruitment activities in schools, especially black schools
 - publications for youth
 - demonstrations against the January and July military call-ups
 - links with the international peace movement
 - the arms trade - SA exporting and importing arms
 - opposition to military parades e.g. the Durban Tattoo.
- These themes will be shared at the national meeting where a theme or themes will be chosen. Local groups can still work on any of the others if they so wish.

3. Budget

The group agreed to the proposal that money be raised nationally rather than regionally. Each region will draw up a budget and draw money from a central fund. The working group will draw up a proposed budget to be taken to the national meeting in January. The central fund is not yet a reality - donors are still being approached. The national budget being motivated for looks like this:

1. Field Worker:	salary	R6000	
	travel and additional expenses	4000	R10 000
2. National Coordination:	travel	4500	
	phone	1000	
	postage	500	6 000
3. National Conference, approx 100 delegates, 4 days:	travel	3000	
	accommodation & food	6000	
	speakers	1000	
	preparation and resources	1000	
		<u>11000</u>	
	less conference fees	3000	8 000
4. National Administration:	bookkeeping, auditing, bank	1500	
	legal fees	1000	
	international contact	500	3 000

Regional

5. Activities and campaigns (4 regions i.e. Jhb, Dbn, C.T. and E Cape and Namibia counting as a half each):

media (including a nat. newsletter)	20000	
video project	3000	
hiring halls & equipment	2000	
speakers	5000	
administration in the regions	4000	
miscellaneous	4000	<u>38 000</u>

TOTAL R65 000

7. Next meeting:

working group: Friday January 18, at 5.30 pm, Diakonia, Ecumenical Cent.
whole of ECC: Saturday January 19, 10.30am, Ecumenical Centre.

20 St Andrews Street

AD25

In Alpha-600