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

The definition of a 'just war' includes the following components:

- 1. It must be declared by a legitimate authority. Yet South Africa has declared no war; nor does the government represent the majority.
- 2. It must be waged for a just cause. We do not believe that apartheid or white domination is a just cause.
- 3. It must be carried out with a right or good intention. The intention of the SADF is to preserve apartheid at the expense of the majority of South Africa's people.
- 4. The war must have a reasonable chance of success the war in Namibia is 'unwinnable'. And the legitimate demands of those who suffer under apartheid cannot be suppressed forever.
- 5. The war must be undertaken only as a last resort. The South African state has refused to listen to or negotiate with the leaders of the people. Instead they have banned, detained, tortured and imprisoned those who demanded a free and democrate, society. Violence has always been the list choice of the state.

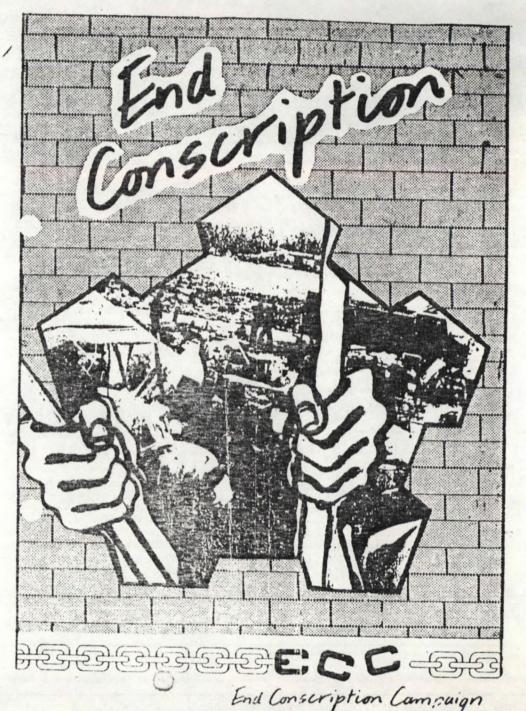
We therefore firmly believe that South Africans have a legitimate and incontestable right to refuse to serve in the SADF, and to refuse to have any association with the armed forces. The state has refused to acknowledge the right of taggividuals to follow their own consciences. They insist on involving us all in their morally indefensible bloody conflict.

We call on all South Africans to stand together on this issue. Only as a united body of people will our call for an end to conscription be heeded.



WE CALL FOR AN END TO CONSCRIPTION.

WE CALL FOR A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND.



WE LIVE IN AN UNJUST SOCIETY WHERE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS ARE DENIED TO THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE.

73 per cent of South Africa's people have no say in the government of the Republic of South Africa, no rights in the land of their birth. Blacks are forced to suffer the shame of the 'dompas' — there are over 200 000 arrests for pass law offences in South Africa each year.



In the RSA blacks are not permitted to reside in the areas of their choice, nor to remain on lands they have occupied for centuries. Since 1960 there have been

3 500 000 removals in South Africa, including those who have been moved more than once, and it is estimated that the government intends to carry out 2 000 000 more.

South Africa is a violent country, where the state is the main aggressor. Each year hundreds of people are detained for lengthy periods. Very few are ever tried. The leaders of the oppressed majority languish in prisons around the country. Torture by the security police is widely alleged and there have been 62 deaths in detention.

Housing, education and health services are basic rights, yet they are unequally allocated. As many as 390 000 houses are needed for urban Africans. Black education is very poor and has provoked widespread protest. For every teacher, there are 43 black students, compared to 18 white students. And only 23 per cent of teachers at black schools have Standard 10 qualifications.

The health status of the people reflects these inequalities. It is estimated that a third of black children in South Africa suffer from malnutrition. Of every 1000 children born, 170 in the Transkei and 240 in the Ciskei will die before the age of one.

WE LIVE IN AN UNEQUAL SOCIETY WHERE THE LAND AND WEALTH ARE OWNED BY THE MINORITY.

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 divided South Africa into the white owned farmlands and cities of the RSA, and the impoverished homelands or bantustans, which were the most underdeveloped and unproductive areas. The latter comprised o her cent of South Africa's land, ye. they were meant to accommodate the African majority in South Africa, over 70 per cent of the total population. The homelands are unable to support even a fraction of their populations. Hunger, malnutrition and disease are widespread and the infant mortality rate is very high.

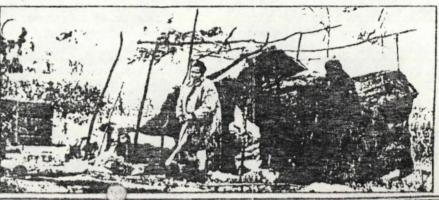
The so-called 'independance' of the 'homelands' has changed nothing. The impoverishment of the homelands has occurred alongside the growth of the industrial centres. South Africa is a wealthy country. It produces enough food to feed everyone and more in this country.

Yet that wealth is monpolised in the hands of a few, and apartheid has entrenched the economic inequalities.

The average white family earns more than 6 times the amount a black family in the RSA earns. This figure does not include the 'independent' homelands.

The household subsistance level for a black family of 6 persons in Cape Town in 1983 was R279,28.

The rise of the multinational corporations means that nearly 80 per cent of all companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange are controlled by the top seven companies in South Africa. The 30 per cent rise in food prices at the end of 1980, which severely hit blacks, has been attributed to the small number of food producers acting together.



WE LIVE IN A SOCIETY IN A STATE OF CIVIL WAR, WHERE BROTHER IS CALLED ON TO FIGHT BROTHER.

In 1974 the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, Denis Hurley, warned:

"In my view any conflict arising in the near future on our borders will be in the nature of civil conflict, with people of the same country fighting each other. I believe it is our duty to discourage people in getting involved in this military conflict because of the realities of the South African situation — a situation of oppression....."

"The enemy is not some faceless communist horde from behind the Iron Curtain. The enemy are our own people, fellow Sc uth Africans, a guerilla army of young people who fled South Africa after the Soweto unrest of 1976 in their thousands and were recruited into the army of the ANC."

(Gerald Shaw Cape Times 82)
Botha and his generals would have
us believe that South Africa faces
a 'communist onslaught' on the



border. Yet it has become increasingly obvious that one of the main functions of the SADF is to operate internally to quell the democratic demands of South Africans. As the 1957 Defence Act states: "on service in the prevention or suppression of internal disorder the Republic."

'Internal disorder' can be students out on boycott, workers striking for higher wages, or residents resisting relocation to arid wastelands. The operational area is no longer just the borders of the country—one moment it is KTC, the next Magopo the next Sharpeville, and now the Vaal Triangle.

The growth of the SADF is directly related to intensifying resistance of those South Africans who daily suffer the hardships of apartheid. The following graph demonstrates Botha's war machine to be a calculated response to the demands of an oppressed majority, calling f freedom. Following the uprising of Sharpeville (1960), the Durban strike (1973) and Soweto's unrest (1976) there are enormous increasas in defence spending. These increases also coincide with the launching of armed struggle by the African National Congress(in 1961) and the intensification of that struggle since 1976, following the independence of Mozambique and Angola.

YOUNG MEN ARE CONSCRIPTED TO MAINTAIN THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA, AND TO WAGE UNJUST WAR AGAINST FOREIGN COUNTRIES.



o' ie international Court of Justice declared in 1971 that South Africa's continued presence in Namibia was 'illegal'. The United Nations Resolution No. 435 remains a blue print for Namibian independence that South African will not accept. The escalating conflict in Namibia, already described as 'unwinnable' by Leiutenant General Jannie Geldenhuys, is daily exacting a heavy cost in terms of lives and finance.

It is estimated that 10 per cent of the total South African budget is being spent on Namibia. In 1980 P W Botha announced that R3000 million had been spent on 'infrastructure and defence' in Namibia.

The annual cost of the war alone is

Sut R600 million.

At least 10 000 Namibians have died in the 18 year war. This amounts to 1 per cent of the entire population. Intimidation, torture and brutalisation of innocent people by the South African a med forces is widespread. A case in point is Andreas Kapitingo who was spitroasted by Koevoet members.

and eventually had to have his right arm amputated.

South Africa has repeatedly conducted acts of military aggression against its neighbouring countries. Since 1976 numerous attacks on Angola have been launched, and there has been a continuous SADF presence in Southern Angola. In 1978 the SADF attacked the refugee camp at Cassinga, killing 167 women, 147 men and 298 children.



In 1982 the SADF faunched an attack on Maseru killing more than 30 people. A number of raids have been conducted into Mozambique, including the jet attack on Maputo in 1983. It is widely accepted that South Africa has been providing support to the MNR rebels in Mozambique, to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement, to super-ZAPU in Zimbabwe and to Lesotho's LEA. This amount, to a generalized policy of destabilisat-

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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.

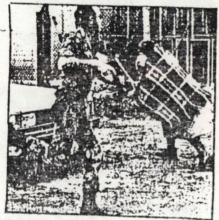
We believe that the financial cost of the war increases the poverty of our country, and that money should rather be used in the interests of peace.

We believe that the extension of conscription to coloured and indian youths 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

YOUNG MEN ARE CONSCRIPTED TO ASSIST IN THE IMPLEMENTATION AND DEFENCE OF APARTHEID POLICIES.



The SADF has been used repeatedly to crush opposition to apartheid and separate development.

1961 — Sharpeville. A peaceful protest against the Pass Laws became carnage, with 67 killed, after police opened firs. In Cape Town the situation was tense as well. Both Nyanga and Langa were cordoned off by army and police units, and many people were brutally beaten.

In 1976 there were nationwide student protests against apartheid education. The riot police, backed up by the army in Soweto were responsible for over 1000 deaths. 1980 — during a strike by 10 000 municipal workers in Johannesburg the army cordoned off the compounds and forced workers onto trucks to be dumped in the home-lands.

During the 1981 schools boycott the SADF and police sealed off the township of Westbury, near Bosmont, and conducted house to house searches intimidating the residents.

In 1983 the SADF helped force the people of Magopa to leave the land which they owned agair their will.

Following the recent unrest in the Vaal triangle over rent increases, Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, took General Magnus Malan for a tour of the area. Mr Le Grange stated that the SADF and SA police co-operated closely in 'circumstances like these'. Incidents such as these motivated the South African Council of Churches to adopt a resolution in 1974 which stated:

"... the Republic of South Africa is at present a fundamentally unjust and discriminatory society and this injustice and discrimination constitutes the primary institutionalised violence which has provoked the counter-violence of the terrorise or freedom-fighters."

"... the military forces of our country are being prepared to defend this unjust and discriminatory society and the threat of military force is in fact already used to defend the status quo against moves for radical change from outside the white electorate."

YOUNG MEN WHO REFUSE TO SERVE ARE FACED WITH THE CHOICE OF A LIFE OF EXILE OR A POSSIBLE SIX YEARS PRISON.

The only grounds on which alternative service to the military is made available are those of universal religious pacifism. The traditional arguments of 'just war' theory are not acceptable to the authorities.

by Durban Archbishop Denis Hurley as follows:

"1. If South Africa gets involved in a border war, this war will have been provoked by the policy of apartheid.

2. To defend white South African society by force of arms is to defend the policy of apartheid.

3. To defend apartheid is to defend an unjust cause.

4. It is not permissable for Christians to fight an unjust war.

Many South Africans, including Peter Molf and Billy Paddock have gone to jail for upholding these liefs. Others, like Peter Hathorn and Paul Dobson, have gone to jail for objecting to the SADE on moral and political grounds.

To hait this mave of objection the state has microsed the penalty to a maximum of 6 years in jail.

But this has not halted the origing protest of constructed youth, I very year there are a parenately 3000

A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH

people who fail to report for national service. Many of these go into exile, from which they may never return.



The views of one objector, Brett Myrdal, echo those of many others who have refused to serve.

"My dilemma meant that I had to choose sides. And I had to take the side of a 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 SADE."

(Objector 1/4/1983)

WE BELIEVF 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.

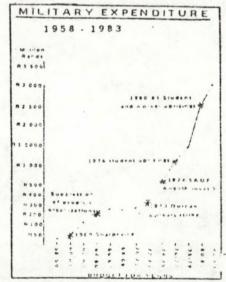
The South African defence budget has increased enormously over the last few decades. In 1960 R44 million was budgeted. By 1984 the budget had increased to R3 755 million, which is a phenomal 8534 per cent increase. Defence now takes up a total of 17 per cent of the central government's budget.

ment's budget.

The above figures are probably an underestimate. Money is shunted through to the SADF via a number of special accounts, whose contents are secret and not open to investigation. The 1984/85 budget has been increased by 21 per cent. In the talest White Paper on defence, the Minister of Defence, Magnus Malan, indicated that defence pending was going to remain a top principly, and would probably many markets.

A severe strain on South Africa's resource has been exerted by the

SADF. To finance the ongoing war GST has been repeatedly raised, as was stated by the Minister of Finance, who said the military had overspent its budget by R300 million.



In addition the military has created a severe shortage of manpower. South Africa suffers from a lack of skilled workers. Two years conscription in the army amounts to a corresponding absence of two years from the economy. For this reason, the extension of conscription to coloureds and Indians is being contemptated.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE EXTENSION OF CONSCRIPTION TO COLOURED AND INDIAN YOUTH WILL INCREASE CONFLICT AND FURTHER DIVIDE OUR COUNTRY.

Statements by PW Botha and Magnus Malan indicate that the extension of conscription is being considered:

"Up to now we did not bring this matter forward because we did no live the accommodation, we did not have the financial capability, and we had to be satisfied with the voluntary service they have rendered... When they have the vote, gradually we will extend their service too, naturally, as we did with the whites."

(Cape Times 4/11/83 - PW Botha)

Power sharing means joint responsibility. And that means equal obligation to defend the "rights" which coloureds and Indians have recently acquired. Extending con-

African conflict appear to be nonracial. Such a move is also becoming very necessary as the currently conscripted white community becomes more and more extended in combatting insurgency. As Cmdt. M Swanepoel of 21 Battalion (a black unit) said:

"With blacks in SA army uniforms you can say, 'Heck, this proves that this is not a white man's struggle any more."

But already the opposition to these moves amongst youth and democratic organisations is widespread. The UDF has formed an anticonscription committee. The National Forum has called on its organisations to set up anticonscription committees.



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