

- The "Vaz diaries" are captured clearly revealing that the SADF was continuing to support the MNR in Mozambique, despite the Nkomati Accord. Shortly afterwards the Head of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, resigns.

The ECC establishes branches in six centres with three more being in the process of formation.

- In January 1985 7589 conscripts (including 6 000 students who were automatically deferred) fail to turn up for their national service.
- Approximately 25 percent of people fail to turn up for their SADF camps.
- An estimated 7 000 objectors are living overseas.
- Between July 1984 and December 1985 758 people apply to the Board for Religious Objection. 421 are granted full objector status and 11 are refused.
- In November 1985 ECC member Harald Winkler is refused by the Board for Religious Objection because they find he is not a "universal religious pacifist".
- In August 1985 Alan Dodson, a Pietermaritzburg law graduate, is fined R600 for refusing to enter a township while on an SADF camp.
- 26 895 people emigrate from South Africa between January and November 1985. - an increase of over 40% from 1984.
- New powers of arbitrary detention given to SADF members.
- By the end of 1985 an estimated 1 000 people have died in the township conflict - most through the actions of the security forces.
- The ANC increases its attacks by 309 percent during 1985.

1986: The blockade of Lesotho leads to the downfall of the Maseru government in a military coup.

- Philip Wilkenson, a Port Elizabeth butcher, becomes the 12th objector to be refused by the Board for Religious Objection and announces his intention of objecting on political grounds.
- The government refuses to release the figures of how many troops are in the townships or how many conscripts failed to report for duty.
- The government decides to keep the findings of the Geldenhuys Commission secret.
- ECC continues to grow, sets up a national and two regional offices and plans a national campaign around the issue of alternative service.
- Official Defence Budget goes up by 20% to R5 .23 billion plus R323 million for Special Defence Account. Police budget rises by over 12% to R1.02 billion. But this does not include Namibian defence expenditure, "Homelands" defence expenditure, Defence buildings etc - real expenditure on security forces +/- R8,7billion. (23 % of the budget).

THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN - A CHRONOLOGY

1974: The South African Council of Churches calls on the members of its churches to consider becoming conscientious objectors. The government responds by making it a criminal offence to encourage conscientious objection.

1977: The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference supports the right to object to military service on religious or political grounds. Later the Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian and Congregational churches also take up the issue.

- In December 1977 Anton Eberhard becomes the first conscientious objector outside of the recognised peace churches to be tried for refusing to do military service.

1979: Conscientious Objector Support Groups are set up in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and later in Grahamstown, Pietermaritzburg and Port Elizabeth.

- The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) sets up Militarisation Committees on its campuses.

1980 - 1983: The conscientious objector campaign draws increasing support. By the end of 1983 12 people have been charged with refusing to render military service (outside of those in the peace churches). In each case the stands taken by the objectors were politically related. By the end of 1983 the campaign has developed a high profile - particularly on the campuses and in the churches.

- In 1982 students at the University of Cape Town set up a Conscription Action Group drawing in a wide range of student societies to campaign against militarisation and conscription. Students on other Nusas campuses follow suit.

- In March 1983 a bill comes before parliament lengthening the maximum prison sentence for conscientious objection from two to six years, but also sets up a Board for Religious Objection allowing "bona-fide religious pacifists" to do one-and-a-half times their military service in non-military forms of community service. Bill is enacted at the end of 1983.

- In April 1983 the Black Sash National Conference calls for an end to conscription.

- In July 1983 the Conscientious Objector Support Group National Conference decides to initiate a national end conscription campaign.

1980 - 1983 ctd: In November 1983 12 organisations are represented at the inaugural meeting of the End Conscription Campaign in Cape Town. End Conscription Committees are also set up in Johannesburg and Durban.

1984: In March an ECC national workshop decides on drawing up a policy declaration and to collect endorsements from organisations and individuals.

- A survey on conscription conducted at the University of Cape Town, the University of the Witwatersrand and Rhodes University - in which over 6000 students responded - shows that over 70 percent of English speaking white students are opposed to compulsory conscription.
- In May 1984 ECC organises focus campaigns on Namibia in Cape Town and Johannesburg with public meetings, extensive media, church vigils picketing, concerts and press conferences.
- In October 1983 ECC is launched nationally, a national steering committee is established and "Towards a Just Peace in our Land", the ECC declaration, is launched publically.. Over 1 500 people attend the Cape Town launch addressed by Dr Alan Boesak, Mrs Sheena Duncan and Dr Ivan Toms.
- ECC protests against the "Invasion of Sebokeng" of October 1984, when 7000 troops and police occupied several townships in the Vaal and later the Eastern Cape. Concerts, public meetings and press conferences held to protest against this action.
- November 1984 - the Progressive Federal Party federal congress passes a motion calling for an end to compulsory conscription.

1985: National pamphlet distribution in protest against the January call-up. Pamphlet is banned by the Publications Control Board.

- In January 1985 ECC's first National Council meeting is held in Durban. Laurie Nathan is elected ECC National Organiser. Security Police raid the conference.
- - In April 1985 ECC is launched in Port Elizabeth.
- In Johannesburg ECC debate with Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, Mrs Sheena Duncan and Dr David Webster is attended by 600 people.
- In May 1985 ECC is launched in Pietermaritzburg.

In June 1985 ECC committee is established in Grahamstown with a sub-branch at Rhodes University.

- In June 1985 ECC "Stop the Call-Up" national festival is held in Johannesburg and is attended by about 5000 delegates and observers. Cardinal Paulo Arns, Archbishop of San Paulo in Brazil, has his visa withdrawn at the last moment. Speakers include Carol Tongue, a European

ECC "Stop the Call-Up" festival continued:

Parliament MP and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament member, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Molly Blachburn, MPC, Di Bishop, MPC, Murphy Morobe and Cheryl Carrollus of the UDF, Mokganedi Thlabane of Swapo, Dr Beyers Naude, Nadine Gordimer, Sir Richard Luyt and many others. Workshops, seminars, plays, concerts, art and poster displays, cultural events and vigils held during the course of the festival.

- Janet Cherry, ECC Port Elizabeth chairperson, is detained on the eve of the festival and held in solitary confinement for 18 days before being released without trial.

- ECC National Conference held in Johannesburg and decides to launch a "Troops Out of Townships" campaign involving a three week national fast.

- On July 21 the State of Emergency is declared. ECC leaders Richard Steele, Anita Kromberg, Sue Brittan, Gavin Evans and Michael Evans are detained and held in solitary confinement for between one and three weeks. All are interrogated by the security police about ECC. About twenty members of ECC member organisations are also detained. About 30 houses of ECC members are raided by the security police, many ECC members questioned about their activities, several ECC meetings broken up by the security police, publications, pamphlets, t-shirts banned, sand castle ECC protest on Clifton Beach in Cape Town ordered to be an illegal gathering and ECC members arrested for illegally entering a black township without a permit - during the course of the emergency.

- Early in 1985 the PFP National Youth Conference calls for the immediate end to conscription and expresses support for the ECC. In Durban, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg the PFP Youth join ECC. In July 1985 the PFP National Federal Conference calls for the rapid phasing out of conscription.

- August 1985 ECC submits evidence to the Geldenhuys Committee on the SADF. ECC makes interim proposals that a volunteer army would be preferable to a conscripted one, that all objectors be recognised and allowed to do alternative service - not only religious pacifists, that the maximum length of community service be reduced from six years to four years, that those doing community service be permitted to do it in non-state organisations, and that individual conscripts be permitted to refuse to enter the townships, Namibia or other southern African countries. All these proposals were made within the context of ECC's call for an immediate end to conscription.

- Cape Town ECC conduct "Cadets Out" campaign in white schools. Two Catholic schools abolish cadets and one Anglican school gives students the option of alternatives.

1985 continued: In September 1985 Dr Ivan Toms (Cape Town), Richard Steele (Durban) and Harald Winkler (Johannesburg) fast for three weeks in protest against the presence of troops in the townships. They are joined by over a thousand others who fast for shorter periods during the ECC's "Troops Out" campaign. Pickets, vigils, mass rallies, mothers meetings, discussion forums, media displays, pamphlet drops, art exhibitions and church services held as part of the campaign. In Cape Town over 4000 people attend a public rally in the City Hall.

- In November ECC broke new ground internationally through a tour by ECC national organiser Laurie Nathan and conscientious objector Peter Hathorn organised by the War Resisters International and the Catholic Institute for International Relations. They visited nine European countries and India.

- ECC sets up media, culture, churches, contact and other committees in each of its regions to allow people who are not members of ECC member organisations to participate in the campaign in an on-going way. Hundreds of people join ECC nationally.

1986: In January the second annual ECC National Council is attended by 100 delegates from each of the regions. Laurie Nathan is re-elected National Organiser, David Shandler is elected National Secretary, Paula Hathorn is elected Cape Town regional secretary, a national office is set up in Johannesburg and regional offices are set up in Cape Town and Natal. ECC decides to launch a national "Working for a Just Peace" campaign.

- By the beginning of the year ECC has 45 member organisations.

- ECC branches in the process of being set up in East London, Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Bloemfontein and the Karoo.

- Students at the Rand Afrikaans University and Stellenbosch University become active in the campaign.

- In January 1986 a "Stop the call-up" day held to draw attention to compulsory conscription. Public meetings, pamphlet drops and candlelight vigils held on call-up day. Cape Town peace run and sand castle protests banned.

- March 1986 - the build-up phase of the "Working for a just Peace" campaign begins. Public forums, the public painting of a half kilometer peace ribbon, concerts, fetes and workshops held to publicise the campaign and attract volunteers. Over 100 000 items of media distributed. A national questionnaire on conscription with a target of 50 000 responses is distributed. Hundreds of people volunteer throughout the country to participate in the campaign.

"Working for a Just Peace" campaign continued:

- Some of the campaign activities planned for April are:

Johannesburg:

- \* April 1 - 5: Childrens holiday week in Western Coloured township. The holiday programme, organised in close cooperation with community groups working in the area, will involve five days of peace-related holiday activities for children who would not otherwise have access to recreation facilities and programmes. 500 children expected to attend.
- \* April 12: Public painting of the Peace Ribbon involving prominent artists.
- \* April 17 and 18: The building of a park at a home for mentally handicapped children in the "coloured" area of El Dorado Park.
- \* April 27: Non-racial picnic involving black and white adults, youth and children in various activities. Parents and children will discuss their perspectives of troops in the townships.

Cape Town:

Some of the projects decided on in Cape Town are;

- \* Renovating a community art centre, a children's home and an old age home.
- \* Running a driving school for people in the black townships.
- \* Building a playground for children in Crossroads squatter camp.
- \* Cleaning up Table Mountain, some of Cape Town's beaches and other polluted areas.

Durban:

- \* Painting two children's wards at a black hospital.
- \* Cleaning up a site to build a playground in Wentworth Coloured township.
- \* A non-racial picnic

Pietermaritzburg:

- \* Planting trees at the Compensation resettlement camp.
- \* Planting sage (for local residents to use for weaving) along a local river.
- \* Cleaning up a woodlot.
- \* Painting a peace wall at a Child Welfare Home

"Working for a Just Peace" campaign continued:

Port Elizabeth:

- \* Renovating two old age homes.
- \* Helping renovate two creches.

The campaign will end with public rallies in each of the regions on April 30.

The main aims of the campaign are:

- \* To protest against the presence of troops in the townships and draw attention to the activities of the SADF.
- \* To pose viable alternatives to compulsory military service and show that patriotism does not require one to wear an SADF uniform.
- \* To publicise the current lack of alternatives for young men facing conscription into the SADF.
- \* To promote the ECC campaign generally and draw more volunteers into active forms of participation.

APPENDIX 4ECC MEMBER ORGANISATIONSA. NATIONAL

- 1) Black Sash
- 2) Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
- 3) Catholic War and Peace Group
- 4) Conscientious Objector Support Group (COSG)
- 5) Methodist Christian Citizenship Department
- 6) National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA)
- 7) National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)
- 8) Student Union for Christian Action (SUCA)

B. LOCALi) Cape Town

- 9) Anglican Board of Social Responsibility
- 10) Civil Rights League
- 11) Koeberg Alert
- 12) The Ecumenical Action Movement
- 13) United Democratic Front Claremont Area Committee
- 14) United Democratic Front Gardens Area Committee
- 15) United Democratic Front Observatory Area Committee
- 16) United Womens Organisation
- 17) University of Cape Town Students' Representative Council
- 18) Western Province Council of Churches
- 19) Womens Movement for Peace

ii) Durban

- 20) Detainees Support Committee
- 21) Diakonia
- 22) Durban University Conscription Action Group
- 23) International Fellowship of Reconciliation
- 24) Methodist Church Christian Education and Youth Department
- 25) Natal Organisation of Women
- 26) Natal Youth Forum
- 27) National Youth Leadership Training Programme
- 28) Religious Society of Friends
- 29) Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference Youth Department
- 30) Women for Peaceful Change Now



iii) Johannesburg

- 31) Human Awareness Programmes
- 32) Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee
- 33) Presbyterian Church
- 34) South African Council of Churches
- 35) Wits University Catholic Society
- 36) Young Christian Students
- 37) Young Progressives (Southern Transvaal Region)
- 38) Organisation of Appropriate Social Scientists of South Africa (OASSSA)
- 39) Catholic War and Peace Group (WAP)

iv) Pietermaritzburg

- 40) Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Action and Awareness
- 41) Progressive Federal Party Youth Branch
- 42) St Mary's Social Concern Group

v) Port Elizabeth

- 43) Grahamstown Advice Centre on National Service
- 44) Progressive Federal Party Youth Branch
- 45) United Democratic Front Port Elizabeth Area Committee

APPENDIX 5A SELECTION OF THE ORGANISATIONS WHICH HAVE ENDORSED THE ECC DECLARATION

1. Anglican Bishops Conference
2. Anglican Students' Federation
3. Black Sash
4. Congress of South African Students
5. Detainees Parents Support Committee
6. Evangelical Lutheran Church
7. Joint Academic Staff Association of Durban and Pietermaritzburg
8. Methodist Synods, Cape Town and Grahamstown
9. National Catholic Federation of Students
10. National Medical and Dental Association
11. South African Council of Churches
12. South African Institute of Race Relations (Western Cape)
13. Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference
14. United Congregational Church of Southern Africa
15. United Democratic Front

A FEW OF THE INDIVIDUAL ENDORSERS OF THE ECC DECLARATION

1. Rev Alan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches
2. Archbishop Denis Hurley
3. Rev Beyers Naude
4. Sheena Duncan, President of Black Sash
5. Oscar Mpetha
6. Helen Joseph
7. Dr Wolfram Kistner, SACC
8. Molly Blackburn MPC (deceased)
9. Di Bishop MPC
10. Bishop Bruce Evans, Bishop of Port Elizabeth
11. Prof Jakes Gerwel, Afrikaans Department, UWC
12. Prof David Welsh, Politics Department, UCT
13. Prof Michael Savage, Head of Sociology Department, UCT
14. Sir Richard Luyt
15. Dr Margaret Nash
16. Prof Francis Wilson, Head of Economics Department, UCT
17. Rev David Russell
18. Dr Oscar Wollheim
19. Fr Timothy Stanton, C.R.
20. Archbishop Robert Selby-Taylor
21. Mary Burton, Cape Chairperson of Black Sash
22. Rev Lionel Louw, Chairperson WPC
23. Brian Bishop (deceased)
24. Rev Doug Bax
25. Prof J V O Reid, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, UCT
26. Nadine Gordimer
27. Zoli Malindi, Western Cape President, UDF
28. Curnick Ndhlovu, National Chairperson, UDF
29. Rev George Irvine, head of the Methodist Church in the Eastern Cape
30. Keith Gottschalk, Chairperson of Civil Rights League
31. Steve Tshwete, Border President, UDF
32. Rev Robert Orr
33. Rev Ian Booth
34. Rev Trevor Bosman
35. Ann Colvin, Natal Chairperson of Black Sash

36. Prof Fatima Meer, Sociology Department, UND
37. Andrew Verster
38. Aidan Walsh
39. Peter Kerchoff, Director PACSA
40. Rev Phillip Le Feuvre
41. Fr Theo Kneiffel
42. Prof Prozesky, Head of Religious Studies, UNP
43. Douglas Irvine, Head of Political Department, UNP
44. Prof Colin Gardner, Head of English Department, UNP
45. Prof Maughan-Brown, English Department, UNP
46. Prof Hunnings, Head of Philosophy Department, UNP
47. Dr Wittenburg
48. Rev Vernon Lund
49. Rev David Doveton
50. Sue Williamson

STATEMENT BY LENA RASMEN

Statement made to Brian Francis Bishop of 70 Molteno Road, Gardens, Cape Town.

I live with my husband at 71 Mazosiwe Street, Lingelihle, Cradock.

On Saturday 3 August 1985 I saw two vehicles patrolling the streets around my house. I think they are called hippos.

In the late evening I walked to a relative's house. I was alone. A hippo drove up behind me and stopped. Two white soldiers jumped out. One said, "Here walks a bitch, alone at night, probably looking for a man. We'll help her". The words were in Afrikaans. (Note by Brian Bishop: This lady speaks enough Afrikaans to have repeated the words to me "Hier loop 'n bitch, aleen in die nag, seker 'n man soek. Ons sal haar help".)

One soldier lifted me by my shoulders and one by my ankles. I struggled and said, "Where are you taking me?" The same soldier said "You'll see". There were other soldiers in the hippo but I don't know how many. The hippo drove to the National Road and went towards Port Elizabeth. The soldiers did not speak or interfere with me, but the same two held me. A few kilometers away the hippo stopped. The one soldier jumped out and the other pushed me out. The two soldiers lifted me over the fence, and climbed over. The hippo drove in the same direction. I can identify the spot. The two soldiers dragged me to some nearby trees. The two soldiers were very young. The one held my arms while the other lifted my dress and removed my slip and panties. I said, "What are you doing, children?" The one replied, "Ons gaan jou naai. As jy nie wil gaan ons jou doodmaak". "We are going to fuck you. If you won't we'll kill you".

They then pushed me down with my hips on a big stone. The one soldier held my arms over my head on the ground. The other soldier (who had done all the talking) raped me. He was rough and I was bleeding when he finished. The other said, "Maak gou. Ek is hastig. Ek wil ook naai". "Hurry up. I'm in a hurry. I also want to fuck". The two men switched positions. The one held my hands over my head. The other raped me. He was also rough.

Statement by Lena Rasmen Continued

The two soldiers then walked away towards the road but more towards PE than direct. The first soldier asked me "Sal jy vir ons ken?" "Will you recognise (know) us?" I said, "Ek sal nie vir julle ken". "I will not know you".

I pulled my dress down, left my slip and panties, and walked to Michalsdal. I was too afraid to go home and went to my brother's house, and told him. He wanted to take me to hospital but it was dark and I was scared that the hippo soldiers would see us. It was about 9 p.m. My brother gave me coffee and put me to bed with hot water bottles. I was in pain and still bleeding.

The next morning my brother fetched my husband, who hired a car to go to hospital. I told the Admissions clerk and a doctor and nurse that two white soldiers had raped me. The doctor treated the pelvic area, gave me pills, and discharged me. He advised me to go to the police the next day. I went home and to bed. I am still in pain (a week later). I have an appointment at the clinic on Monday 12th.

On Monday 5th August I went by taxi to the police station. It was early. In the charge office was one white man in civilian clothes. He heard my story in Xhosa and told me to go to SANLAM (the normal term for Security Police Headquarters).

I saw one coloured and one black security policeman together and told them the story in Xhosa. They recorded the facts and asked questions. I was not asked to sign anything. They asked if I knew the soldiers or the hippo number. They said they would contact me but have not done so. The coloured policeman was flippant.

Signed and sworn before me at CRADOCK, this 10th day of August 1985, the deponent having acknowledged that she knows and understands the contents of this statement to be true, that she has taken the prescribed oath and that she considers such oath to be binding on her conscience.

M. BLACKBURN : Commissioner of Oaths, Member of the Cape Provincial Council.

Mrs Rasmen does not know her age. Mr Goniwe and Judge Jones (US Federal Appeal Court) estimate it at 70. She has 8 children and "many" grandchildren, who are at High School. Mrs Rasmen has received a State old-age pension for two years.

APPENDIX 8 "Out of Step" Interview with UDF Eastern Cape Publicity Secretary,  
Stone Sizane.

Soldiers and riot police are everywhere to be seen in Port Elizabeth. They stroll in the middle of town, with their guns holstered or un-armed.

In the townships they drive in huge armoured vehicles, with their weapons at the ready. Often they are involved in combat with angry youths who throw stones at them. This is our city in a nutshell.

The rapid increase in incidents of unrest and violence, and the deaths of hundreds in the East Cape and elsewhere has been disturbing. But the response of some has been to try and ignore it and to hope that things will return to normal.

OUT OF STEP spoke to Mr Stone Sizane, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, East Cape Region, to try and gauge the feeling of those directly affected by the presence of the soldiers and police in the townships.

OUT OF STEP: What do local residents feel about SADF troops being in the townships?

STONE SIZANE: The SADF and the SAP act jointly to pick up large numbers of young people who are on the street. If you happen to resist arrest because you don't know why you are being arrested, they can shoot at you. Everyday people are being shot. You can see it in the press. At the moment people are becoming too afraid to move in the streets, especially after dark, mainly because they are terrified of being confronted by a weapon wielding eighteen-year old in browns. We have reached the stage where it is no longer possible to sit peacefully in a shebeen - our equivalent of a sports club, or ladies bar - for fear of being raided by a patrol of SADF's looking for a drink, or maybe throwing teargas inside just for the fun of it. We have heard of cases where they claim people are disturbing the peace! How do you expect people to be quiet when they are relaxing after a week of grinding work and are drinking?

OUT OF STEP: General Magnus Malan said the SADF was in the township to assist police in maintaining law and order. What of this argument?

STONE SIZANE: I want to point out that simply walking in the township streets these days has become dangerous because of these forces. Law and order, as spoken about by these guys, has become terrifying to our people. Huge, loud, lumbering vehicles and the way they use their weapons has become a major source of intimidation for township folk. By this stage, merely to be seen talking to the representatives of law and order in the townships could result in reprisals from some people. We have always been a non-violent people. Ask anyone who employs an African person. I ask you, how does it happen that by merely being seen talking to a soldier or riot policeman could result in intimidation by residents. How has it happened that this hostility and anger has arisen on both sides? The SAP has always been with us in the townships. Nothing has happened to them until the situation was militarised with these paramilitary riot cops and the SADF soldiers. We are not saying the ordinary policeman should get out the townships, we need them to take care of crime prevention. It is these armed forces, who behave in such a hostile and aggressive fashion, we want out.

OUT OF STEP: How do you see the situation developing if the army and riot police continue to keep up their presence in the African townships?

STONE SIZANE: Please, we are saying the troops and riot police should withdraw because pretty soon there will not be a single person here who has not lost someone close in this violence. What we have experienced so far with the loss of life may be a picnic in comparison with what could come. They really must withdraw forthwith for everyone's sake. We are even appealing to those white people who feel they must support the armed forces because they 'somehow' cannot see any alternative, to realise that civil war is not a solution. Our people grow angrier by the hour when they see how their residential area, already so delapidated and neglected, is being used as a testing range for the army and police forces. It is like a battle field in there sometimes. It cannot continue. Remember, we are not shutting off avenues of communication with white people whom we earnestly believe are benefiting from our suffering either directly or indirectly. We are still prepared to hold discussions and forums with them with the hope they will abandon the laager, and relax their prejudice to speak to us. But, and of this we are certain, we will refuse to welcome anyone who wears the uniform of oppression, who pretends to be our friend, while holding us at bay with automatic weapons.



Statement BY MARGOT LYNN (teacher in Cape Town) 3 December 1985.

While on my way to school one morning, I passed the remains of a poster entitled "Where is the border now?". An ironic question, but also an ominous and foreboding one. Indeed, as I got to school, I watched the border extend yet again, and engulf our school grounds, our corridors, my classroom.

The police and army moved into our schools at the onset of these farcical examinations, supposedly to provide protection for those students who wished to write. The presence of the security forces has often been the direct cause of so-called disruptions and walkouts, and I have heard of instances where the policemen on the school grounds have been the very same ones who were sjambokking and arresting students a week before.

Assaults and arrests have continued at many schools during the examinations. Students have been arrested in the corridors, in the classrooms and some have actually been hauled from their desks. At least three students have been assaulted during school hours in casspirs parked on school premises.

A student who, after handing his script in, conscientiously crumpled up his scrap paper, was snatched out of his desk without any questions and was only released when various teachers and his mother had convinced the police that he had no intention of disrupting the examination in any way.

Although these actions have been carried out largely by the police, the army is seen no differently and the students with whom I have contact certainly do not differentiate between the two. In fact, the only difference that I have heard expressed is that the army are the ones who wear brown "en wie daai groot gewere dra" \* - R1s strapped across their backs.

The students give them a wide berth, and those who stray too close out of curiosity or who hesitatingly respond to what appears to be a friendly gesture are hastily pulled away by friends. Teachers do not greet them and walk past them, if unavoidable, with averted eyes.

What has struck me about the SADF members at our school, is their youth. Some are arrogant, full of swaggering bravado, some are even seemingly nervous, but all of them are so young. On a charitable day when I can see past the uniforms and weapons, and see the human beings, I find myself wondering where they have come from; wondering perhaps if some were at university last year, or perhaps even at school still themselves. Logically it follows that one has to ask if they even know what they are doing in our schools, let alone why.

And herein lies one of the tragedies of our country. The civil war is intensifying, our children are being squared up against each other over the barrel of a gun in the classroom, and I am convinced that many of those, who after years of misinfomation and who are then forcibly conscripted into the SADF, do not know why or what it is that they are ultimately being asked to die and kill for.

At present, the soldiers in our school are perhaps trying to understand just the animosity and hostility which greets them every day; next year it will be the bitterness and hatred. Unless we work, and groups like ECC work with everything they have, we must face the example of an American GI dying in a field in Vietnam who said, "All my life I have been told about the communist threat, and for three years I have been fighting the communists, and for the first time in my life I am wondering what a communist really is."

\* translated: "and who carry those big guns"

## AFFIDAVIT BY BENEDICT SITHOLE (seventeen year old student)

My name is Benedict Sithole. I am seventeen years old doing my form four at St Matthews School in Rockville. My home address is 2869 Rockville, PO Moroka, 1860, telephone 9847873. My parent's name is Clara Sithole. On 9 October 1985 I was doing garden at home. There were students who were being chased by the police. They went through my house which the front door was opened and went to hide in the nearest houses. Then I went into the house and left the garden tools and went inside the house. They went into the house (SADF) and without asking questions took me away. They were still chasing the other people and holding me by my jersey. When they didn't find them, they took me inside the Casspir and said I must sit right flat. They moved through the township with me and they smeared something green in my hands and said that I must smell it. Then they poured another one on the head and one of them said that they must light me. Willem and Marks refused. They said, "Why did I perm my hair, because - ek is n kaffir. I'll never be like Michael Jackson." They said if I can give them Cosas members addresses they won't beat me. They said they were looking for "Siyayinyova" and I told them that Siyayinyova is not a person and explained what that means and they started beating me with fists and I fell down and they trampled on me. They made me stand up and sit in the corner of the Casspir. Then they beat me on the neck with the butt of a gun. Then I fell down and they trampled me drink the water. At the same time one of the soldiers was bleeding and they said I should lick his blood. I was forced to do that. I did lick his blood. The driver of the Casspir asked them where they were going to now, and they said, "Moroka". Then Marks said the condition I was in they can't take me to Moroka because they will be in trouble. Then when we were next to Sonap Garage in Vundla Drive they threw me from the Casspir to the ground. I rolled and saw the registration: R45502 (13A)

## AFFIDAVIT BY FLORENCE NTAI AND AGGRINETH MAKUTU

Name: Florence Ntai and Aggrineth Makutu

Address: 821A Phiri and 822B Phiri

Date of assault: 27 November 1985

Age: 14 years and 15 years

On 27 November 1985 there was a car that was burning. I was coming from the shops. One hippo was going to look at the burning car. I was standing at the yard of my friend. Then they came to us and we went inside the house at my friend's home and locked the door. They kicked the door and broke it down. They pointed a gun at us through the window and they said we must open the door because if we do not open it, they will shoot us. One of us opened the door and they came in. Six soldiers came in, we were four in the house. They asked us who was staying in this house and they then assaulted us. They said we must tell them who burnt the car and when we said we did not know they started kicking and beating us. They then said that three of us must go into the hippo. Then the hippo stood at a corner and they said to the dog that it should bite us. The dog was also in the hippo. They then took us to Moroka Police Station. They then interrogated us and eventually said that we should go home and come with our parents the next day. We went home and they didn't take us home from Moroka. Then on 28 November we went with our parents to Moroka. At Moroka it was said that the case was useless. I had sustained dog bites on the left leg next to the knee. My leg was swollen and painful. Aggrineth Makutu was kicked and beaten and I have pains on both sides of the body next to each rib cage.

AFFIDAVIT BY CLEMENT MOSUHLI 2 December 1985.

Name: Clement Mosuhli

Address: 1747 B Naledi

Date arrested: 1 December 1985

Date released: 1 December 1985

Date of assault: 1 December 1985

There was a birthday party at home on the above mentioned date. I went to the shop to buy myself a cold drink and I saw a casspir parked near the station. From the shop, I went back home and sat outside the yard. Then this casspir came past and the soldiers called me. They chose me among the group I was sitting with. I went to them. They said that I must climb into the casspir, which I did. Immediately after I had climbed into it, they started beating me. It was at about 8am. Asking them why they did that to me, they said that they were told that I am the person who always takes parcels and breaks things from people at the station. They said that they were told that I am the leader. They wanted to know where the other comrades were and I told them that I knew nothing about that. They said that I would tell the truth. They had a list and one soldier who had pressed my hand with his foot said that I should write on the list so that they can see if I could still write.

The pen fell and one soldier broke it when he was trying to hit me with his rifle. They then beat me for breaking their pen. After all the screams I was quiet again but the beating continued and before they left me at about 10am, they said that they would come where they picked me up every day for information. When they left me they threw me off the casspir and left me lying on the ground. They threw about one km away from my home in the veld.

APPENDIX 13: AFFIDAVIT BY BUSHY KELOBONYE

1. I am a 16 year old Std. 9 pupil at the Mosuphatsela High School and reside at 890A Mangope Street, Munsieville with my parents.
2. The facts herein contained are both true and correct and are within my personal knowledge.
3. On Monday the 27th January 1986 I and four friends of mine, BETHUEN TLOU, MICHAEL MAWENI, LEFFENTSE MPETE and CHARLOTTE MAAKE were on our way to a students meeting called by the Munsieville Youth Congress at the Pentecostal Holiness Church in Munsieville when the car we were travelling in was forced to stop by members of the South African Defence Force in two armoured vehicles.
4. It was also the intention of the Executive of the Munsieville Youth Congress to urge the students returning to school to behave in a proper manner and not to take advantage of the present unrest situation in the country, as well as to ask them to show the necessary respect to their teachers.
5. From the manner in which the soldiers in the two armoured vehicles who had stopped us were acting, it appeared that they had chosen us to practice their drills as members of the SA Defence Force they displayed excessive force in ordering us out of the car which was unnecessary under the circumstances.
6. We all disembarked from the vehicle we were travelling in and after we had done so a soldier still sitting in the armoured vehicle with some other soldiers who had remained there shouted to the lieutenant in charge, whilst pointing at me, that I was smiling.

7. The apparent second in command of the soldiers then came up to me and asked me why I was smiling. I did not reply and he proceeded to hit me on my face with his open hand.
8. Some of the soldiers thereafter proceeded to search us after which they searched the car.
9. In the car they found a file I had been compiling containing extracts of the resolutions taken at the recent conference at Wits on the crisis in education, as well as press clippings of BISHOP TUTU'S return to South Africa from the United States and the propose exam timetable issued by the Department of Education, which clippings had appeared in "The Sowetan".
10. On opening the file and seeing the contents therein, we were asked whose file it was and I replied that it was mine.
11. I was pulled forward and at the same time my friend CHARLOTTE MAAKE was made to lie down on the ground on her stomach.
12. After a short while CHARLOTTE was told to get up and the rest of us were told to get into the armoured vehicles. I and BETHUEN TLOU in the one and MICHAEL MAWENI and LEFFENTSE MPETE in the other. The said CHARLOTTE was allowed to go.
13. Some of the soldiers heaved us over the side of the armoured vehicle I had been ordered to get into, as a result of which I fell on a blanket inside the vehicle.
14. After I had landed a soldier still sitting in the back of that armoured vehicle started accusing me of dirtying his blanket and proceed to kick me in my back.

15. I was thereafter ordered to sit on the bottom of the surface of the back of the armoured vehicle with my head forward and my torso resting on my knees. When I tried to lift my head, my head was pressed down by one of the soldiers using his boot.
16. Sitting in the same position, I was thereafter made to hold a teargas cannister between my legs and warned that if I should open my legs the teargas would escape from the cannister. I realised that the safetypin had not yet been removed and knew that there was no danger of teargas escaping if I should open my legs.
17. Shortly after I had put the teargas cannister between my legs I was, however, told to open my legs which I did. When the soldier who had ordered me to do this saw that I did not get a fright he started hitting me on my back and neck with his fists.
18. Thereafter, and until the armoured vehicle I was travelling in stopped at the temporary base of second respondent in Munsieville, next to the West Rand Administration Board I was left alone.
19. All the soldiers who were in the said armoured vehicles then got out and we were also told to disembark.
20. I was then told to sit underneath a tree whilst my three above friends were told to sit on an open space a distance apart.
21. Another officer who was not with the soldiers and the soldier who appeared to be second in command of the said armoured cars referred to in paragraph 8 above, started questioning me about my 'comrades' and the contents of the file they had found in the car.



22. Everytime I gave them an answer they did not like I was hit by the soldier who appeared to be second in command either with his fists or with his knees in my chest.
23. Thereafter the soldier who appeared to be second in charge, took a flat stone and proceeded to ask me who BISHOP TUTU was and when I replied that he was the Bishop of Johannesburg, he hit me on my knees with this stone.
24. Thereafter he asked me where I had obtained the contents of my file to which I replied that I had obtained the extracts of the resolutions at a conference I had attended in Johannesburg and the press clippings out of "The Sowetan". Thereupon he again hit me, this time on the side of my jaw with his fist.
25. Thereafter I was left alone while the two said soldiers who had been questioning me went to question my three said friends. After a while these two soldiers returned to me and the soldier who appeared to be second in command told me that my friends had said that I was a liar, after which he proceeded to press his fingers in the soft tissues at the top of my jaw just below my ears until I cried from the pain. He stopped doing so when he realised that my crying had drawn the attention of taxis that were passing in the road adjoining their said base.
26. I was thereafter left alone for a while while some of the soldiers were apparently discussing what they were going to do with me and after a while I and my friends were told to get into the back of the armoured vehicles again.
27. We were again thrown over the side of the said vehicle, after which we were taken to the police station.

28. After waiting a while in the charge office, we were taken up to the fourth floor of the police station where the security police's offices are, where I was again separated from the other three.
29. I was again asked questions similar to those the two soldiers had asked me, referred to in paragraphs 21 to 24 above and on replying to these questions was hit on the face with an open hand from time to time.
30. After the questioning had ceased, one of the security policemen showed me a piece of paper on which there was something typed and told me to sign at the bottom of the typing.
31. I tried to read what was typed on the paper, but everytime I tried to do so, the paper was pulled away from me.
32. I asked them why I should sign the piece of paper. Again I was hit on the face with an open hand by one of the security policemen. I signed in fear of being hit again.
33. After I had signed this piece of paper they gave me another piece of paper to sign which I also signed.
34. Thereafter I was left alone. After a while the said security policemen, who were three in number, returned with a camera and I was told to hold a R10 note in my hand whilst they took a photograph of me. I refused to do so and one of the said security police held the R10 note that they had told me to hold against my chest whilst the photograph was taken.
35. After the above photograph was taken I was told I could go and left with my three friends who were waiting in another room.

36. I have not taken part in any subversive activities which could pose a threat to the security of the State.
37. I see no reason why I should have been subjected to the above treatment. I am of the view that the treatment I received at the hands of both members of the SA Defence Force and S A Police, were directly as a result of the said members acting arbitrarily and abusing their powers.
38. By their above actions the above said members of police and the Defence Force are not doing anything to further peace in our township.

APPENDIX 14: AFFIDAVIT BY SOLOMON MASALA

1. I am 27 years of age and I reside at 321 Munsieville.
2. The facts contained herein are within my personal knowledge and are true and correct.
3. On the 26th January 1986, which was a Sunday, I was leaving my home to visit a friend. I was accompanied at the time by one SOLOMON MATLHASE and one JOHANNES KOPELA.
4. As we went past the house situated to the back of my house at 321 Munsieville, two SADF vehicles stopped, and approximately five soldiers alighted therefrom.
5. They came towards me and one of them started grabbing me around the neck, while they all pressed me against a fence. The soldiers swore at me, calling me all kinds of derogatory names, and after a while I was told to go home.
6. There was no reason whatsoever for the assault on me. I had never even seen these particular soldiers at any occasion before.
7. In support of the foregoing I respectfully refer to the affidavits of the said SOLOMON MATHLASE and JOHANNES KOPELA who witnessed the above assaults.

APPENDIX 15: AFFIDAVIT BY JOHANNA MOKOWE

1. I am a 40 year old married female residing at 909A Momagale Street.
2. The facts contained herein are within my personal knowledge, and are to the best of my knowledge and belief true and correct.
3. I am a member of the Munsieville branch of the Krugersdorp Women's Organisation, which organisation is affiliated to the first applicant.
4. As the said branch was formed in the second week of December 1985 as a result of a need we as women in Munsieville felt to get involved in the affairs of the community and in an attempt to play a moderate role therein.
5. The Munsieville Youth Congress had, in response to a call from the Consumer Boycott Committee, successfully called for a boycott as from the 8th December 1985.
6. We as parents, however, experienced harassment and intimidation from some youths trying to enforce the boycott, and this was one of the main reasons for the said branch being formed when it was.
7. Very shortly after our formation, we called for a joint meeting between ourselves and the said Munsieville Youth Congress, at which meeting several issues concerning the community were raised, discussed, voted on and the following resolutions were unanimously accepted.

- 7.1 That all harassment of parents should be stopped and that the boycott should be continued in an orderly and a civilised manner.
- 7.2 That in endeavouring to maintain the boycott, there would be no violence and in particular burning of trucks bringing supplies to shops in Munsieville or delivering goods from shops in Krugersdorp. The latter trucks would simply be asked to return to Krugersdorp.
- 7.3 That crime would be combatted and all dangerous weapons removed from residents carrying same.
- 7.4 That drinking amongst the youth be stopped, and
- 7.5 That the usual Christmas celebrations would be tempered.
8. I am proud to state that the above resolutions were carried out willingly by the community as a whole and that as a result of the adoption of the above resolutions there have been no stabbings since the resolution was adopted, no further harassment of parents, only one or two sporadic incidents, by unknown elements of burning of trucks delivering goods to residents from shops in Krugersdorp and, despite great harassment and provoking behaviour by the police and the SA Defence Force, very little unrest.
9. The above meeting also united the children with parents and was there a far greater willingness by parents to abide with the boycott.
10. The incidents of unrest have been very few and far between and I believe, I have been caused by outside elements who, because of the peace that has prevailed in Munsieville, despite unrest throughout almost the entire country, have been trying to force unrest upon us.

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