

1. Introduction

Over the past four years of our existence the ECC has received tremendous moral and financial support. We would like to express our gratitude for this support. Without it, the ECC would not have been able to have made the gains it has in organising against the militarism of the Apartheid system. This work must continue. If we are serious about the creation of a just peace in this country, our efforts to oppose the military might of the Nationalist government must continually expand and draw more people into this essential work. We hope that you might be able to help us by supporting this application and giving us that support.

2. Description

The ECC is a front of some 70 organisations around the country. Our common point of concern is the single issue of military conscription, which forces all young white men to do four years of military service. The organisations represented on the ECC Committees represent womens, human rights, religious, professional and political organisations.

The campaign although not affiliated to the United Democratic Front enjoys a close and fraternal relationship with this organisation. Because conscription affects only whites, the campaign organises primarily in this constituency. However, given the fact that the majority of South Africa's citizens suffer the raw end of conscription, through the mass deployment of troops in the townships, our relationship with this community through the UDF is essential in helping to expose the activities of the SADF as well as mounting campaigns aimed at the removal of those troops from the townships.

There are nine regions of the ECC, involving some 250 active individuals who are not members of our affiliated organisations. One of the principles of the organisation is one of participatory democracy. It is a process in which all affiliates and members in a region direct the activities of the region. A process in which all the regions participate fully in deciding the national direction of the campaign.

The work of the campaign is best described by Document 5, which is our evidence submitted to a military commission, concerning the demands of the ECC.

3. Administration

The ECC is almost exclusively administered by volunteer members. However there are three full-time employees nationally and 4 part-time regional employees.

The National Secretary is responsible for all national administration which includes liaison with our legal advisers.

The two national organisers are employed to help with the organisational tasks of the various regions particularly helping new regions establish themselves and looking for opportunities to extend the campaign into new areas of work.

The National Treasurer (not an employee) co-ordinates the funding and book-keeping of the organisation.

The regional employees are employed to help with administration if the region concerned is convinced such a person is necessary.

Our Sponsoring bodies are the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference and the South African Council of Churches.

Our legal adviser is Mr Pete Harris (BA LLB) of the firm Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom.

Our Auditor, is Mr David Douglas (B Com, C.A.) of the firm Douglas and Co.

4. Pattern of Financing to date

I will not mention here the process of our financing to date, given the investigations into ECC. However, this is not essential as you are already aware of these details.

5. Budget

Below is our budget for the financial year 1 January 1988 to 31 December 1988. I have mentioned first the expected income, then the expenditure and finally conclude with some explanatory notes.

INCOME

1. Media Sales - newsletters (4 regions selling 3 000 at 20c/issue. 5 issues through the year)	12 000	
- T-shirts (5 000 at R10/ shirt)		50 000
		<u>62 000</u>

(3)

2. Subscriptions (1) - active members (R20/member)	5 000	
- associate (500 at R10 each)	5 000	
- miscellaneous	<u>5 000</u>	15 000
3. Concerts/Public events (door takings)		<u>10 000</u>
4. Contributions (2)		<u>25 000</u>
5. Miscellaneous (bank interest, etc)		<u>1 000</u>
		<u>TOTAL: R 113 000</u>

Expenses

1. Salaries(3) - 4 National at R 850/month	40 800	
- 4 Regional at R 500/month	<u>24 000</u>	64 800
2. Travel - national organisers (3 people at R 400/month)	14 400	
- subsidisation for members to national gatherings (250 people at R 40/person)	10 000	
- National Committee meetings (20 representatives at R70/person, 8 times a year)	<u>11 200</u>	35 600
3. Administration - telephones (R500/month)	6 000	
- postage (R300/month)	3 600	
- photostatting (R150/month)	1 800	
- registration of employees, UIF, medical aid.	5 000	
- 4 offices at R150/month	7 200	
- stationery	<u>1 000</u>	24 600
4. Legal Consultation fees (4)		<u>15 000</u>
5. Auditting fees		<u>1 500</u>

6. Media (5) - newsletters (4 regions at 3000/ print, 5/year at R1/copy)	60 000	
- T-shirts (5000 at R10/shirt)	50 000	
- pamphlets (R800/month in 9 regions)	86 400	
- banners	7 000	
- postage (6) (1000/month in 9 regions at 18c/letter)	19 440	
- newspaper adverts (15 at R450/advert)	6 750	
- stickers (3000/month in 9 regions at 10c/sticker)	32 400	
- Miscellaneous	5 000	266 99
7. Cultural		
- concerts (bands, equipment, halls., 4 concerts at R5000/concert)	20 000	
- Drama(7)	5 000	25 00
8. Miscellaneous - bank charges, etc.	3 000	3 00
	<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>R 436 49</u>

EXPECTED DEFICIT: R 323 49

Notes

1. We have streamlined our subscription system in ECC. A system of associate membership has been started as we have found that there are many members of the public willing to support the campaign more actively than just through attending public meetings and events. Miscellaneous subscriptions would be from our affiliates and others wishing to donate more than their membership fees to the campaign.
2. These would be contributions made by other Church groups that would donate specific amounts for such expenses as unexpected legal fees.
3. Given the expansion of the campaign this year, we intend employing 4 full-time national employees in 1988. Given the government's constant intent to detain our employees, they have to organise from in hiding. This makes the work extremely difficult and therefore necessary that we have sufficient organisers to do the work.
4. These fees do not include court actions. A two day supreme court action costs in the region of R 10 000. When we have been involved in such actions our legal advisers usually find the funds elsewhere to cover expensive court actions.

5. The bulk of ECC work is public work directed at mobilising public opinion against the government's military policies. Thus the bulk of our expenses is in this area of awareness-raising media, aimed at informing the public.

6. In the past our approach to the public was in the form of open and public leafletting. Given the attention of the security police to such actions we have been forced to rely on mailing our material to the public. This would be done in the form of targetting different suburbs and mailing to the residents. This form of work has proven extremely successful.

7. Drama would include street theatre that we use as well as sponsoring different anti-war/SADF dramatisations that would be held in support of the campaign, at commercial theatres. Again this is a very exciting development, because it is mobilising the theatrical community to support our campaign, as well as being able to reach the public in a creative and innovative style.

6. Conclusion

This application has been as brief as possible. I am not sure how much material you have on the ECC but hopefully somebody will be able to discuss this with you in some detail, in the near future. We are also in the process of collating some letters of reference from Dr Beyers Naude, Archbishop Hurley, Fr Smangaliso Mkhathshwa and the United Democratic Front. These will be forwarded to you at the earliest.

We hope you will be able to come some way in supporting this budget. Your contribution will be a great help in the struggle for a just peace in this country.

Compiled By Stephen Lowry (National Treasurer), on behalf of the National Committee of the End Conscription Campaign.

End Conscription Campaign

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DOCUMENT 2

REPORT ON THE PERIOD JULY 1986 TO SEPTEMBER 1987

INTRODUCTION

Since the declaration of the State of Emergency in June 1986, the End Conscription Campaign has continued to maintain both its regional and national presence. Despite the more stringent Emergency regulations promulgated on 11 December 1986, it has been clear that there are still many avenues through which ECC can address its primary concern - the opposition to conscription into the SADF.

We have had to recognise that the Emergency regulations and repression used by the government against ECC, has forced us to adapt our message and the style in which we work. That has resulted in a focus on building support for our campaign at a grass roots level, which has meant holding more low profile events such as house-meetings. However we recognise that we need to continue taking the gaps wherever possible and that we need to re-assert our public presence - maintaining our visible, innovative style of work.

In the last 12 months we have focussed on our right to exist as an organisation at a public level and internally have focussed on analysis and evaluation of our content and the form in which we have presented that. During that period we have had one major national campaign, but with most regions planning actions and events according to their specific constituency needs and security situation. As a result of the emphasis placed on conceptual discussion, particularly over the last 4 months, most of our work has been one of internal consolidation, restructuring in some regions, internal review and education. At times this has meant a lack of concerted public work.

Out of the conceptual discussion, a consensus has emerged that ECC needs to maintain its single issue focus but that we need to contextualise our opposition to conscription more firmly within an anti-apartheid stance. We are clearly moving out of a period of defensiveness, we have regained some of our legitimacy and need to go more on the offensive. Generally our morale at a national level is high and there is a sense of renewed energy and vision for ECC. There has been phenomenal growth in the resistance to the militarisation of our society and participation in the SADF. This has also been reflected in the increased support for ECC activities.



End Conscription Campaign

It is clear that ECC continues to enjoy widespread support, particularly amongst church, youth, and human rights' organisations and that the issue which we address is a crucial one in the South African conflict situation.

What follows is a brief overview of the major activities and structures of ECC during this period.

MAJOR ACTIVITIES

In the last 6 months of 1986, most of the regions embarked on a campaign which called for "ECC's Right to Speak" - an attempt to assert our right to exist as an organisation and to legitimate our issue. Due to the high level of security surveillance, only two regions were able to hold public meetings, with the emphasis being on late night / sticker and poster blitzes and pamphlet drops. In some regions not even that was possible.

In November 1986, Cape Town had a very successful campaign - War is No Solution. Activities ranged from public meetings, to peace picnics and educational inputs. This campaign was severely affected by the detention of 9 ECC members during the height of the campaign. Despite these detentions, the member organisations such as the Black Sash, were able to ensure that the planned events happened to some degree.

Durban and Pietermaritzburg held a short but highly innovative campaign around Valentines Day - using stickers and cards with the slogan "Make love not War ". It received both national and local press coverage.

The 5 ECC campus branches had a major recruitment drive during the Orientation Week, prior to the first week of the new university term. As a result hundreds of new, enthusiastic members were able to be drawn into meaningful work and small actions on the campus. One of the highlights of the university year was the production of a national campus publication, simulating a comic style and called War is No Solution. Two of the campus branches (Wits and Durban) built floats and participated in the RAG procession. The ECC floats had a clear anti-military theme.

One of the first major public events to be held by Johannesburg ECC, was the opening of an Art Exhibition at the Market Theatre - P.O.W (Prisoners of War). It was an ECC project done in conjunction with several concerned artists. About 800 people attended the opening night - some had seriously come to view the art and others clearly to give their support to ECC. The Exhibition ran for 3 weeks (15 February 1987 - 3 March) and included cabaret performances. The press coverage was excellent ranging from comments on the security arrangements, to reviews under the arts, theatre and women's pages.

Laurie Nathan, previous ECC National Organiser, represented ECC on a 7 week tour of the United States. The tour was hosted by the War Resisters League (WRL) in co-operation with the American Committee on Africa. The tour was intense and involved participation in over 60 speaking forums, about 55 press, radio and t.v. interviews in 30 cities across the USA. ECC's profile was clearly raised in the US and there are now a greater number of groups and individuals keen to do protest and solidarity work on our behalf. A highlight of the tour was meeting with organisations such as the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, whose experience in counselling vets will be extremely important for our own counselling and whose ongoing actions for peace and justice could inspire conscripts in South Africa.

The Eastern Cape Region (which now has 3 branches), particularly Port Elizabeth, mobilised around a campaign in support of Phillip Wilkinson. His trial was eventually held in May 1987, after having been postponed 7 times. It was the first overtly public action that region had been able to do since the State of Emergency in June 1986. The Eastern Cape press were reluctant to give much press coverage to the trial but it received widespread national coverage and Phillip received many messages of support, especially from the international community. The trial had some key witnesses - a conscript who had served in the black townships spoke of the atrocities that were committed by the SADF; Archbishop Hurley of the SACBC; and a Namibian who was a victim of the Kassinga raid and as a result has suffered physical disabilities. Philip was fined R600 for 'failing to report for military duty'.

ECC's first major national campaign was held during the period of the white general elections, from end March through to April 1987. The campaign, "War is Not Compulsory - Let's Choose a Just Peace" was aimed at educating the public about the costs of the present war in South Africa, reiterating our call that war is no solution to the political problems in this country and that we are still able to choose peace as an alternative to what the present government is offering. ECC went on a big media hype, producing many T. shirts, posters, stickers, pamphlets. Several cultural and public events were also held during this period. Cape Town organised a very successful outdoor fair which was attended by hundreds of people. Activities included kite making, games, video shows, and children's events.

Other cultural events included 3 concerts, 2 held in Durban and the other in Johannesburg. The first one held in Durban in May 1987 was called "Rock against the War" and the second one held in August featured poetry, dance, art exhibitions and music. The one held in Johannesburg in August was called "Combat Combat" and had an attendance of about 1000 people. At all of these events ECC media is displayed and sold.

During the last 4 months we have had two internal mini-tours/report back from 2 ECC members. Ivan Toms, a Cape Town ECC member had received a call-up for an army camp to report on July 1st 1987. He decided to refuse to serve and in order to gain support for his stand did a mini-tour of all the 14 ECC branches throughout the country. The tour was low profile and its intention was to mobilise ECC members around this issue. His call-up was withdrawn 5 days before the due date of reporting. After Laurie's return from the USA tour he did a quick mini-tour of the regions. The report back generated a lot of enthusiasm, particularly around the issue of working with veterans of the war in South Africa ie : those who have served their 2 years national service and now have a crisis of conscience about rendering any further service in the SADF. Both of these tours enhanced ECC's sense as a national organisation and it enabled a flow of information from region to region.

In July 1987 , Adele Kirsten, ECC National Secretary, represented ECC at an international conference in Ireland on Feminism and Nonviolence, organised by the War Resisters International (WRI). This international contact served to strengthen our existing relations with various international organisations and provided opportunity to make new contacts.

Durban ECC has had the most consistent and comprehensive public programme over the last 2 months. Their campaign encompassed several aims and foci : the national call-up day on August 3rd; the month of compassion (August is month of compassion in the ecumenical churches' calender); International Namibia Day on 26 August. They held a "Conscripts Right to Know " meeting prior to the call-up; there was an unbroken fast from August 1st to the 26th - remembering the victims of the war; seminars and debates were held on the University campus.

One of the most exciting events around the call-up was the action and statement by 23 objectors in Cape Town, on their refusal to serve in the SADF. This event was not organised by ECC but several ECC members were involved in the action. It received widespread media coverage and has generated a lot of support both for the individuals and for organisations, such as ECC , which address this issue of compulsory military service.

The most recent national focus of ECC Has been the focus on International Namibia Day on 26 August 1987. Activities ranged from an early morning picket of about 45 people in Durban, protesting the continued illegal occupation of Namibia; a public meeting on Pietermaritzburg campus with a Namibian speaker giving the main address; the opening of a photographic exhibition in Johannesburg depicting the war situation in Namibia; a series of seminars with the focus on Southern Africa , looking at the

role of the SADF; church services remembering the victims of the war in Namibia.

REPRESSION

In December 1986 ECC was once again the target of state repression. On December 2nd, 4 Johannesburg ECC members were detained at a general body meeting. Three of those members were held for a period of 2 weeks and Clare Verbeek (now a National Organiser with ECC) was held for 3 months. In Cape Town, 9 ECC members were detained on December 3rd, and were held for about 9 days. On their release they were charged with having been engaged in 'making subversive statements' but the charges were dropped in February this year.

Presently, ECC has no members in detention. Janet Cherry, the chairperson of the Port Elizabeth branch, was released from detention on 30th July 1987 - after almost a year in detention. She has been restricted from participating in the activities of ECC, NECC (National Crisis Education Committee) and the Eastern Cape Adult Literacy Project. Her release has been some of the best news we have had this year and has had a positive effect on our morale.

We are seeing a new strategy on the part of the government with regard to repression and taking action against democratic organisations such as ECC. It has become clear that there is a much more sophisticated and co-ordinated programme in action. Direct repression (detentions, etc) has lessened and there has been a shift to indirect repression: harassment, smears, etc. We have no doubt that these nationally co-ordinated smear campaigns against ECC are the work of the JMC's (Joint Management Centres).

Since May 1987, there have been constant threats from members of Parliament and P.W. Botha himself, about clamping down on the activities of extr-parliamentary groupings. This would happen primarily through the cutting off of foreign funds and setting up Commissions of Enquiry into the activities of these organisations.

In the present climate we still need to continue with our stringent security measures to ensure that as an organisation we can continue to do efficient and effective work.

STRUCTURES

At present ECC has 14 branches across the country in Cape Town, Stellenbosch, East London, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Johannesburg and Pretoria. Most of the branches have some form of executive or co-ordinating body

and the sub-committees or working groups common to most of the branches are : schools, churches, publicity/media, culture/creative action, contact/outreach. In all the centres we have seen a growth in the membership - both active members and associates. This has resulted in more structures being set up to incorporate and involve these members - a focus on setting up more intentional internal education forums to enable a more systematic and thorough process of political and organisational training for new members.

ECC has been unable to hold a national conference since January 1986. This has hampered our national co-ordination and direction. We felt that under the present security conditions we would be putting our members and organisation at too much risk in holding a national event of that nature. This has been true for the past 18 months. However, due to slightly less direct repression and also considering our organisational needs we felt that it is imperative for ECC to have a national conference as soon as possible. This will be organised over the next few weeks under tight security arrangements. Due to this lack of national contact we have held frequent national committee meetings , about every 6-8 weeks. Each ECC branch sends a representative to these meetings whereregions can co-ordinate activities and exchange information. The national committee is unable to make national decisions and so does not fulfill all the needs of the organisation.

The number of ECC employees has grown substantially. We have 2 national organizers, Nic Borain (elected to office in January 1987) and Clare Verbeek (also elected to office in January 1987 but only able to take up this appointment in August 1987 due to her detention). Adèle Kirsten is the National Secretary.

We have 4 regional employees in the Cape Town, Durban ,Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg region. They are respectively : Jennifer Abromowitz, Howard Varney. Gill Kerchoff and Judith Soal. These positions of regional workers are not permanent but are open to review depending on the needs of the region.

ECC is considering employing a Eastern Cape regional organiser and a national campus organiser. Both of these proposals are up for discussion in the regions and some national decision needs to be reached by the end of the year. Due to our increasing financial needs and the ensuing work needed to maintain our books, raise funds, dispense of money to the different regions, we are considering a position of Treasurer/fundraiser.

CONCLUSION

ECC has certainly maintained its organisational strength during this period and we

increasingly entering the public arena on a very bold note. We are very aware that the government has not forgotten us and as we continue to gather more support at a public level, we know that there will be attempts to stop our work. We are constantly reminded that we are living in a State of Emergency. However our experience in working under these conditions has strengthened our activists and equipped us to address the issue of conscription at a whole range of levels - both how we put across our message and to whom we address it.

We have relied on the support of our member organisations, especially during the early days of the Emergency, and we have seen that the nature of our coalition work has been one of our strengths and enabled us to survive and come out a more visible, focussed and committed organisation.

There is a growing disaffection amongst young white South Africans. This is reflected in the increasing number of young men leaving the country to go into exile and the increase in the number of conscripts who daily approach the advice bureaus of the Conscientious Objectors Support Group. ECC continues to play a vital role in highlighting the injustice of the system of compulsory military service and campaigning on behalf of the conscript.

Despite our growth over the past year we have not significantly entered into the mainstream of the white population - a task which will be a major focus for ECC in the coming year.

Document 3

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN
NATIONAL OFFICE
ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
FOR THE PERIOD ENDED
31 DECEMBER 1986

Douglas & Co

Chartered Accountants (SA)

21 July 1987

TO THE MEMBERS
END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN
NATIONAL OFFICE

We have examined the annual financial statements set out on pages 2 to 3. Other than explained in the following paragraph, our examination included such auditing procedures as we considered necessary.

In common with similar organisations, it is not feasible for the organisation to institute accounting controls over collections of money from donations prior to the initial entry of the collections in the accounting records. Accordingly it was impracticable for us to extend our examination beyond the receipts actually recorded.

Subject to the effects of any adjustments which might have been necessary had it been possible for us to extend our examination of receipts, in our opinion the financial statements referred to above fairly present the financial position of the organisation at 31 December 1986 and the results of its operations for the year then ended in accordance with generally accepted accounting practice.

Yours faithfully

Douglas & Co.

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN
NATIONAL OFFICE

Page 2

INCOME STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR
ENDED 31 DECEMBER 1986

INCOME

Dominican Order	20,000
Interest Received	1,009
Registration fees	1,344
S.A. Catholic Bishops' Conference	94,000
S.A. Council of Churches	26,000
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	142,353
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EXPENSES

Allocations to Regions:

Pretoria	587
Johannesburg	16,500
Cape Town	37,200
Grahamstown	5,000
Port Elizabeth	5,500
Pietermaritzburg	7,200
Durban	13,000
Stellenbosch	500
Administration	7,750
Advertising	197
Cultural festival	2,183
Furniture & Equipment	1,656
Legal	2,111
Media	22,476
National Council Meetings	491
Refreshments	843
Salary	13,786
Travel	5,533
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	142,513
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DEFICIT FOR THE YEAR (160)

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD 148

BALANCE OF FUNDS AT YEAR END (12)

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END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN
NATIONAL OFFICE

BALANCE SHEET AT 31 DECEMBER 1986

Balance of funds

(12)
=====

Represented by:
Bank overdraft

(12)
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Financial Statement: 1 January 1987 - 1 July 1987INCOME

Grant from SACBC	88 423,42	
Loan from SACBC (to be repaid)	20 000,00	
Other (1)	<u>12 215,18</u>	<u>120 638,60</u>

EXPENDITURE

Balance B/F: (Debit balance from 1986)	10,75	
Regional Allocations (2)		
Johannesburg	14 500,00	
Cape Town	19 000,00	
Grahamstown	11 300,00	
Port Elizabeth	5 000,00	
Pietermaritzburg	6 000,00	
Durban	12 157,00	
Stellenbosch	3 700,00	
Salaries	15 980,00	
Travel	5 668,25	
Administration	5 200,94	
Media production (3)	10 620,11	
Other (4)	<u>6 177,43</u>	<u>115 314,48</u>
	<u>BALANCE</u>	<u>5 324,12</u>

Notes

1. This includes income from individual donations as well as income such as interest. A far greater amount is received from donations, but this is usually made directly to a region and so is not reflected in this statement which is based solely on the National Account.
2. These regional allocations are made to supplement the income the regions are able to raise themselves. It would be used for expenses such as Venues for public meetings, Administration, Travel, Equipment, Advertising, Media, Newsletters, ie. to fund the campaign work of ECC.
3. This is only payments for media produced at a national level. Most media is produced in the region.
4. This would include expenses such as Bank charges, legal consultation fees, etc.

END CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE

EVIDENCE SUBMITTED TO THE GELDENHUYS COMMITTEE,
CAPE TOWN 13 AUGUST 1985

SUBMITTED BY : Michael Evans
(Cape Town ECC)

Richard Steele
(Durban ECC)

C O N T E N T S

- PART I : INTRODUCTION
- PART II : STATEMENT OF COMMON BELIEF : REASONS FOR
THE CALL TO END CONSCRIPTION
- (a) Right of Individual Conscience - The
International Context
 - (b) Right of Individual Conscience - The
South African Situation
- PART III: ECC's INTERIM PROPOSALS
- NOTES AND APPENDICES
-

END CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE

EVIDENCE SUBMITTED TO GELDENHUYS COMMITTEE - AUGUST 1985

- PART I : INTRODUCTION
- PART II : STATEMENT OF COMMON BELIEF: REASONS FOR THE CALL TO
END CONSCRIPTION
- PART III : INTERIM PROPOSALS

PART I : INTRODUCTION

At the end of 1983 End Conscription Committees were formed in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. This followed a resolution passed by the Black Sash at its annual conference earlier in 1983 calling for an end to compulsory conscription into the SADF.

The End Conscription Campaign was seen as an appropriate response to the role of the SADF, the compulsory conscription of young white men, and the inadequate alternatives to conscription which the 1983 Defence Amendment Act had introduced.

The campaign is premised on the fundamental belief that individuals should have the freedom to choose whether or not to participate in the SADF.

Since its formation the End Conscription Campaign has grown rapidly and committees have now been established in the Eastern Cape and Pietermaritzburg. In June this year the ECC's first national conference was attended by 400 delegates and over 3000 participants.

The ECC is not an organisation but an umbrella body comprising a number of different organisations. It is not affiliated to any other organisation and is not aligned with any political grouping.

Nationally, 42 organisations are represented on the 5 End Conscription Committees. These include a range of church, women's student, political and human rights groupings. (See Appendix for list of member organisations).

In addition, many other organisations and a number of prominent individuals have endorsed the ECC declaration. Endorsing organisations include the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, the Anglican Bishops, the Cape and Grahamstown Methodist Synods, the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, the South African Council of Churches and the United Democratic Front. Individual endorsers include Sir Richard Luyt, Archbishop Denis Hurley, Dr Beyers Naude and Mrs Sheena Duncan. (See Appendix for a copy of the declaration and a list of its endorsers)

Opposition to compulsory conscription has also been expressed by the Progressive Federal Party, which is involved in the End Conscription Campaign through its youth wing, the Young Progressives.

Although the organisations represented on, and associated with ECC have varying policies on a wide range of issues, they are united in their opposition to conscription.

PART II : STATEMENT OF COMMON BELIEF :

REASONS FOR THE CALL TO END CONSCRIPTION

A. RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE - THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The End Conscription Campaign is based on the fundamental belief that individuals should be free to choose whether to participate in the SADF or not.

This belief is solidly based in international principles which recognise the right of freedom of conscience.

Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares :
"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to ... manifest his (or her) religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship or observance."

Other international conventions assert a similar position. (1)

Freedom of Conscience involves the right to decide and act on the ethical conviction that a particular action would be morally wrong. This conviction may be of secular or religious inspiration, and be supported by a variety of sources, religious or otherwise.

There are two major categories of convictions in respect of conscientious objection. The first is associated with the view that it is wrong under all circumstances to kill (the pacifist option). The second takes the view that the use of force is justified in some circumstances but not in others, and that therefore it is necessary to object in those other cases (partial or selective objection).

Whatever the category of conviction, or the reasoning by which such a conviction is reached, the important factor is the strength of personal conviction that to serve in the military would be wrong.

This notion of freedom of conscience with regard to military service is extended by the Nuremberg Principles, which emerged from the trials of Nazi war criminals in Nuremberg, Germany. According to these principles, a person under military authority who is ordered to commit "crimes against humanity", "crimes against peace", or "war crimes" would be punishable under international law and would thus have a right and a duty to refuse such orders. Thus the right of individual conscience with regard to participating in the military is extended to the situation where the soldier is actually engaged in his military service.

ECC believes that if the government were to uphold this internationally accepted right of individual conscience, all who face military service would be free to choose whether they participate in the SADF or not.

B. RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE - THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

The question of the individual's right to choose has particular pertinence in the South African situation. Specifically, it is the nature of the system of apartheid and the role of the SADF in upholding this system that has caused so many organisations and individuals (including a large number of conscripts) to support the call for an end to conscription.

1. The role of the SADF inside South Africa

The organisations connected with ECC have a principled opposition to apartheid. For example, many of the church denominations and Christian groupings connected with ECC have asserted this opposition by declaring apartheid a "heresy" and "a sinful contradiction of the Gospel". (2)

They believe that the denial of basic human rights to the majority of South Africans and the unequal distribution of land and wealth are the root causes of the violence in our society. The only way in which to end the escalating cycle of violence is to remove these root causes. The use of security forces to contain those who are resisting injustice and inequality is no solution but only contributes to the on-going spiral of violence.

Furthermore, the SADF is not regarded as a neutral institution independent of government, but rather as an institution whose primary function is to defend apartheid:

- i) the SADF plays an important role in formulating government policy, especially through its participation on the State Security Council. (3)

Explicit SADF support for government policy has been clearly stated by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan:

"The Defence Force supports government policy and is responsible for peace, law and order in this country. This policy is the same as that laid down by H.F. Verwoerd, namely multi-nationalism and the self-determination of nations." (4)

- ii) the SADF maintains apartheid more directly when it assists in the arresting of black people for pass law offences (5), or in the forced removal of black communities. (6)

- iii) Even more significant is its involvement in containing civil unrest. It now appears to be policy that the SAP and SADF are jointly involved in situations of internal unrest. The army has been deployed in at least 23 townships over the past year. (7) In the period since the Uitenhage shootings, the SADF has been directly responsible for the death of at least five townships residents. (8)

Having spoken to many township residents and independent observers, the ECC believes that the deployment of troops in the townships has not had the intended effect of containing unrest. Instead, the effect has been to intensify resistance and deepen the conflict.

The ECC would therefore agree with the analysis of Dr Simon Baynham, political scientist at the University of Cape Town: "Where highly trained and powerfully armed soldiers - who are equipped for a combat role and thus may take on the appearance of an army of occupation - are called in to support the civil power, it is going to escalate the level of violence. Military weaponry and training are designed for killing on a battle-field not for subduing crowds. Using a sledgehammer to crack a nut is unlikely to achieve the desired result." (9)

The SADF is directly involved in the defence and maintenance of apartheid. In this context its enemy is not a foreign, external aggressor but black South Africans. The ECC therefore believes that the cause served by the SADF is fundamentally unjust.

This perception is shared by literally thousands of young white men. It was expressed in the dramatic increase in the number of conscripts who failed to report for military service this year - from 1,596 in 1984 to 7,589 in January 1985 alone. (10)

Although there are presumably a number of reasons for this increase, the ECC is convinced, from discussions with conscripts and their families, that a significant reason is the extensive use of the SADF in the townships. For many conscripts it is clear that the solutions to the problems of our country are political, not military, and that the path to peace lies not in confrontation and the declaration of a State of Emergency, but in genuine negotiation on the basis of equality between all South Africans.

The ECC consequently believes that it is completely unjustifiable, both morally and in terms of international principles of freedom of conscience, to force young men to be part of the SADF and to commit acts which violate their conscience.

2. Psychological effects of National Service and Militarisation

The ECC believes that militarisation and compulsory conscription have raised the level of violence in society as a whole. In 1981 a number of behavioral psychologists showed how "violence, drunkenness and sexual frustration in returning national servicemen are inevitable consequences of a border war which is growing in intensity." (11) A clinical psychologist at Potchefstroom University pointed out in a court case that soldiers "who cannot handle stress are potential murderers." (12)

In the course of ECC's work a considerable number of ex-national servicemen have described the psychological pressure they were subjected to in the SADF and their difficulty in coping with life in civilian society subsequently.

3. Role of SADF outside South Africa

In 1971 the International Court of Justice declared South Africa's occupation of Namibia illegal. Yet 14 years later the SADF maintains its presence in that country, against the will of its people.

Three endorsers of the ECC Declaration have clearly stated positions on South Africa's occupation of Namibia - the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Anglican bishops and the South African Council of Churches have all called for the withdrawal of South African troops, the speedy implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, and the holding of free and fair elections so that the people of Namibia can determine their own future.

In the course of its work the ECC has given backing to these demands and has asserted that the continued presence of South African troops is the major obstacle to peace in Namibia.

In other Southern African countries the SADF has played an aggressive role. It has been involved in cross border raids, full-scale invasions, acts of sabotage and supporting rebel movements whose aim is to overthrow established governments.

The South African government's frequent but dishonest denial of its involvement in these activities is equally disturbing (for example, the recent SADF operation in Cabinda and South African support for the MNR in Mozambique.)

The ECC believes that these activities have in all cases been unjustified violations of the sovereignty of independent States. This belief is not limited to fringe or radical groupings, but is widespread in South Africa and shared by the vast majority of governments internationally.

In this context the ECC has backed the statement made by one of its endorsers, the South African Council of Churches, in response to the recent SADF raid into Botswana :

"For the SADF to act as judge and executioner against any South African is reprehensible in the extreme. That it should do so in any neighbouring territory with whom we are not at war is an act not only of aggression and violence but of utter folly, destabilising to the entire sub-continent." (13)

4. Conclusion

All these examples of the role played by the SADF reinforce the ECC's call for an end to conscription. The civil nature of the conflict within South Africa, the psychological effects of conscription and the SADF's aggressive operations outside South Africa have put many conscripts in an individious position.

Within South Africa they are forced to co-operate with apartheid against their will. This alienates them from people they may wish to be close to. Outside South Africa they have no choice but to assist in the illegal occupation of Namibia. They may be compelled to participate in acts of aggression against neighbouring states.

In this situation the ECC is saying quite simply: give conscripts the choice. South Africa managed to fight two world wars without conscription. One must surely acknowledge, without necessarily agreeing with their reasons, that some conscripts have a legitimate basis for not wanting to serve in the SADF? It would be consistent with the international principles outlined earlier to recognise this right of individual conscience.

The ECC Declaration begins and ends with the call for a "just peace in our land". The ECC is committed to working for genuine peace and justice in South Africa and has adopted non-violent methods towards this end.

Although peace can only be achieved if the root cause of the conflict - the system of apartheid - is removed, ending conscription would be a significant step towards this goal.

PART III : ECC'S INTERIM PROPOSALS

A. VOLUNTARY ARMY

This submission has asserted that the issue of conscription in South Africa cannot be divorced from the role of the SADF and the nature of the society which it defends. Thus ending conscription without other fundamental political and social changes will not in itself guarantee that the SADF plays a constructive role in building a peaceful society.

The ECC has consequently not specifically called for the setting up of a volunteer army within the context of the current political dispensation.

At the same time, however, the End Conscription Campaign essentially revolves around the issue of choice. In this sense, the setting up of a volunteer army would be consistent with the demand that individuals be free to choose whether or not they participate in the SADF. The ECC would therefore regard the establishment of a volunteer army as preferable to the existing system of compulsory conscription.

B. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

If conscription were ended, there would be no need to consider the rights of conscientious objectors. However for as long as the system of conscription exists, three issues with regard to the status of conscientious objectors need to be addressed. (14)

i) Recognition of all Objectors

Large numbers of conscripts have chosen to leave South Africa. Many of them are people who believe that they cannot in good conscience, participate in the SADF. At the same time they are not prepared to face the hardship of up to six years in prison for refusing to serve.

As stated earlier, in January this year 7,589 conscripts failed to report for military service. Even if only a proportion of these have left South Africa, it nevertheless represents a drain on South Africa's resources which this country can ill-afford. Many of those who have chosen to leave are university graduates and others with much-needed skills.

ECC's particular stand is against conscription into the SADF. None of those involved in ECC organisations or supportive of ECC have opposed the concept of non-military national service. Those involved in the campaign regard themselves as patriotic South Africans, prepared to serve the country and its people.

The ECC believes that the option of community service, as an alternative to military service should not be limited to religious pacifists, but should be available to all those who in good conscience cannot serve in the SADF.

ECC proposes that in section 72 B(1) of the Defence Act, the definition of "religious objector" be changed to "conscientious objector". This should be defined as "a person for whom - for reasons of conscience or profound conviction arising from religious, ethical, moral, humanitarian or similar motives - it is in conflict to perform all or part of their military service."

ii) The length of community service

This should be of an equivalent length of time to that served by soldiers. It is illogical that someone recognised and classified as a bona fide conscientious objector should be punished for his beliefs by serving one-and-a-half times the length of military service. From the Defence Force point of view, a maximum four years continuous service would be a sufficient deterrent to possible mala fide objectors, bearing in mind that very few soldiers complete a full 720 days after their initial service, and never in one continuous stretch.

iii) The nature of community service

Community service should be available in non-state organisations as well. One of the ECC member organisations, the Civil Rights League, has already given a lead on this issue. Their proposal for the setting up of a "Movement ad Pacem" has been submitted as evidence to the Geldenhuys Committee. Their proposal, supported by ECC, is that the concept of community service should be broadened to include "community related work, perhaps under the direction of welfare and religious bodies, but independent of government control."

C. THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL CONSCRIPT

ECC has no fixed policy on the question of participation in the SADF. ECC recognises that with few acceptable alternatives, the individual conscript faces an extremely difficult decision with regard to participating in the SADF. Many conscripts do their service only because the alternatives are too heavy to face. At the same time, ECC is cognisant of Section 121 C of the Defence Act, and in the course of its work has always ensured that this act is not contravened.

Accepting, then, that many conscripts are doing their military service under duress, ECC wishes to propose to the Geldenhuys Committee that individual conscripts be given a greater say over the nature of their service.

In the previous section particularly controversial areas of SADF activity were highlighted: its role in South Africa's townships and beyond South Africa's borders. ECC believes that, for as long as conscription exists, conscripts should be given the freedom, in conscience, to choose not to enter South Africa's townships, or neighbouring countries including Namibia. The importance of the right of conscripts not to enter townships is reinforced by the declaration of a state of emergency, as individual conscripts will now be obliged to act under wide-ranging powers, including the power to search, detain, or arrest township residents.

Implementation of this proposal would again be consistent with ECC's fundamental and frequently stated demand : that all individuals retain their freedom of choice.

NOTES

- (1) See also the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 (Article 18) ;
the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of 1950 (Article 9) ;
the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man (Article 3) ;
the American Convention on Human Rights (Article 12) ;
the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 8).
- (2) See, for example, Resolution No 32 of the Anglican Church Provincial Synod 1982 and the minutes of the 1984 Conference of the Methodist Church.
- (3) See Grundy, K The Rise of the South African Security Establishment (South African Institute of International Affairs, 1983).
- (4) Cape Times 28.10.1979
- (5) As, for example, happened during Operation Palmiet in October 1984.
- (6) The SADF has reportedly been involved in forcibly resetting people in the following areas: the Zimbabwe/Venda border area, at St Lucia where a SADF missile base was to be built, from Mafeking to Zeerust, at Ditakwaneng in the Northern Cape, at Riemvasmaak near the Augrabies Falls, in the Maremane area (now Lohotla, the site of Operation Thunderchariot) and from Kosi Bay to Ingwavuma.
- (7) Areas that have come to our attention include: Soweto, Sebokeng, Boipatong, Daveyton, Atteridgeville, Fingo Village, Evaton, Vosloosrus, Sharpeville, Uppington, Tembisa, Alexandra, KwaThema, New Brighton, Zwide, Kwanobuhle, Langa, Joza, Galeshewa, Bongolethu, Duduza, Worcester and Zwelathemba.

- (8) According to Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, replying to a question in parliament, Cape Times 13.6.1985.
- (9) Sunday Star 14.7.1985
- (10) According to Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, replying to a question in parliament, Cape Times 13.3.1985.
- (11) These conclusions were drawn on the basis of research conducted at four universities, Weekend Argus 18.3.1981.
- (12) Dr Dap Louw, quoted in Weekend Argus 28.3.1981
- (13) Cape Times 15.6.1985
- (14) One of ECC's most active member organisations is the Conscientious Objector Support Group (COSG). For five years the COSG groups have concerned themselves with the rights of conscientious objectors. They have submitted detailed evidence on this issue to the Geldenhuys Committee. ECC supports the proposals made by COSG which provide more detail on the crucial issue than is included in this submission.

A. NATIONAL

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

B. LOCAL

i) 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 (R.S.F.)
- 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

iv) Pietermaritzburg

- 37) Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Action and Awareness
- 38) Progressive Federal Party Youth branch
- 39) St Mary's Social Concern Group

v) Port Elizabeth

- 40) Grahamstown Advice Centre on National Service
- 41) Progressive Federal Party Youth branch
- 42) United Democratic Front Port Elizabeth Area Committee

APPENDIX 2

A 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 & Pietermaritzburg
8. Methodist Synods, Cape Town & 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
2. Archbishop Denis Hurley
3. Revd. Beyers Naude
4. Sheena Duncan, President, Black Sash
5. Oscar Mpetha
6. Helen Joseph
7. Dr. Wolfram Kistner, SACC
8. Molly Blackburn MPC
9. Di Bishop MPC
10. Bishop Bruce Evans
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. Revd. David Russell
18. Dr. Oscar Wollheim
19. Fr. Timothy Stanton, C.R.
20. Bishop Selby Taylor
21. Mary Burton, Cape Chairperson, Black Sash
22. Revd. Lionel Louw, Chairperson WPC
23. Brian Bishop
24. Revd. 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. Revd. George Irvine
30. Keith Gottschalk, Chairperson, Civil Rights League
31. Steve Tshwete, Border President, UDF
32. Revd. Robert Orr
33. Revd. Ian Booth
34. Revd. Trevor Bosman
35. Ann Colvin, Natal Chairperson, Black Sash

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

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