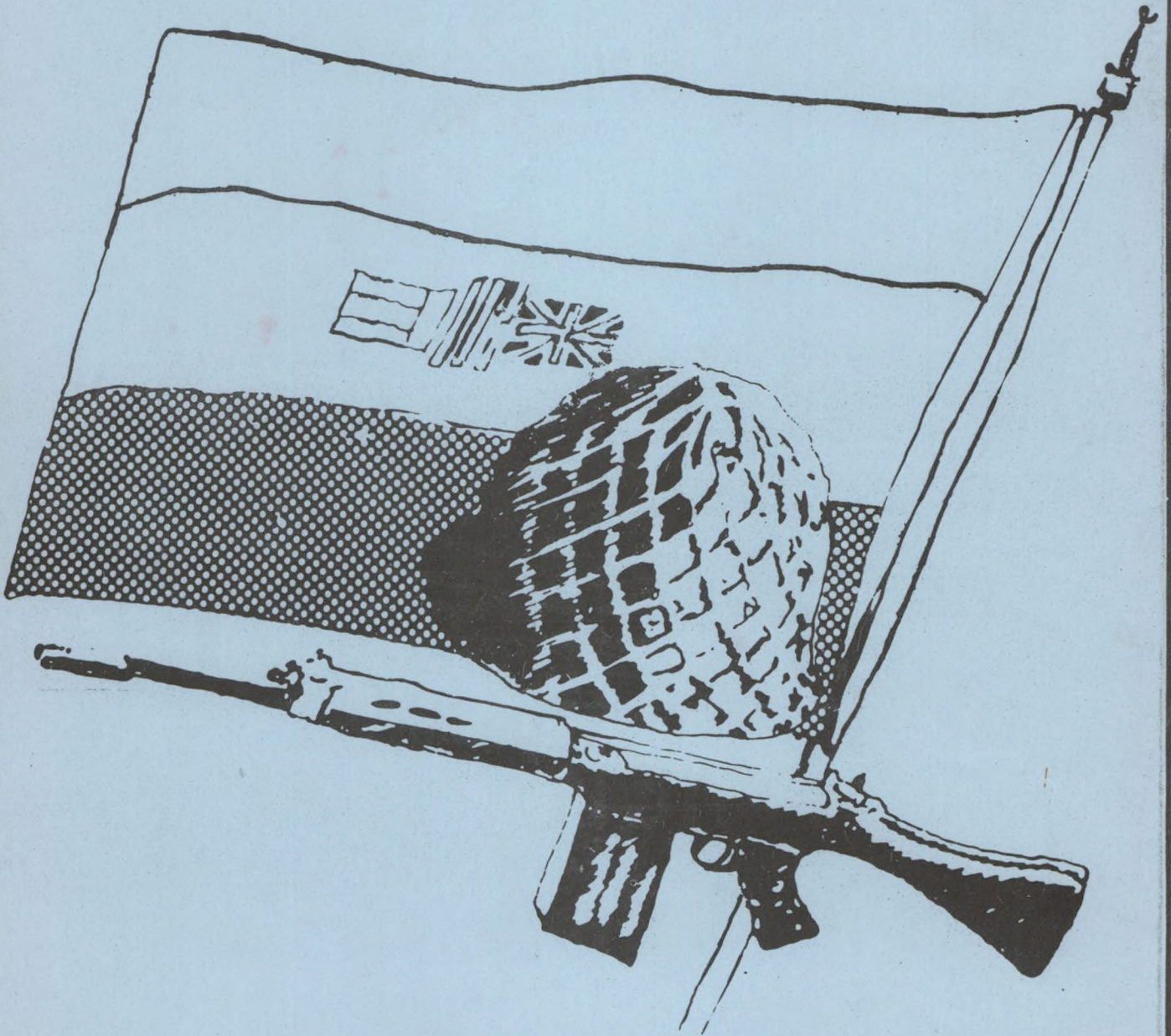


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# militarisation focus



# speeches

may '82

This is a selection of talks given at the UCT FOCUS ON MILITARISATION in May 1982. Their compilation is to provide resource material on militarisation.

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# ESCALATING MILITARISATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

ROGER HULLEY - M.P.

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Ms Chair

It is my view that South Africa is becoming an increasingly militarised society. This is happening partly because of the SWA/Namibia conflict, partly because it is one of the costs of the Apartheid laager, and partly because of policies and practices arising from the present PM's background and style.

The objective evidence of this increased militarisation is plain for all to see. For example, the present level of National Service has greatly increased since my day 20 years ago when a ballot applied for only nine months service followed by three camps. Today, The Defence Amendment bill presently before Parliament envisages a level of call-up which many would call a mobilisation.

There is the evidence of the daily media in the form of articles, TV programmes, news reports of deaths in action and the increasing phenomenon of Generals as public figures.

What I would like to do today is firstly to motivate what I call "P W Botha's era of a militarised South Africa", and then I would like to briefly highlight the milestones down the road of increasing militarisation which occurred in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, so you can judge for yourselves how far down that same road we have moved ourselves in South Africa.

The leader of the Opposition, during the Prime Minister's Vote, made the observation that each Prime Minister has brought with him a characteristic of his era.

We had the characteristic of bantu administration which developed under Dr Verwoerd, a heavy emphasis on police matters during the era of Mr Vorster, and now the public is beginning to say that the era of Mr P W Botha is the era of a militarised South Africa.

There is a feeling at large among certain sections of the community, in fact, I would say large sections of the community and responsible sections, that the power and influence of the military establishment has grown dramatically in the general policy-making of the country.

It has reached unusual proportions and the public is uneasy about the role that the military is playing behind the scenes.

I would like to refer to some published evidence in this regard: Firstly, I should like to refer to a documentary article which appeared in the magazine "Now". This article is entitled "The Day of the Generals". The article begins as follows:-

The tapping of Pieter Botha's phone in 1977 lit a fuse that led to Muldergate and the defeat of Boss. John Fullerton traces the conflict which ended in a quiet coup d'état by the military.

The article goes on to say:-

The hitherto unrealised effect of the incident....has been to put South African policy-making under the direct control of the military with immense consequences in the future for the whole of South Africa. It led to the demise of Boss, the rooms of which have also been taken over by the military. As a result the South African generals are now in a position of power unrivalled in the so-called Free World.

Then elsewhere in a long article - this is a surprisingly informed article. It says:-

The South African generals want, it appears, to know everything about Government. A senior commerce official complained to a Western diplomat recently that he had to waste too much time teaching intricacies of exchange control regulations "to the generals". Another example of the political role of the generals occurred over a Government survey into the impact of apartheid in an area of Cape Town's District Six, a suburb for the city Coloureds.

According to one source the investigation was being carried out by military intelligence.

An interesting thing about this article is that it was written in October 1979. The other day we had an article which was published in the Financial Mail on 2nd April, 1982. It reads as follows:-

As early as 1979 John Seilor writing in the International Affairs Bulletin claimed that "SADF representatives now take part in all inter-departmental meetings regardless of their subjects or whether direct SADF interests are involved."

They go on to say in the same article that according to the London International Institute for Strategic Studies "role and influence of South Africa's military establishment seems likely to continue to grow."

Finally, an article published in the F.M. on 23.4.82. the following is reported:-

Rumblings out of Pretoria and Cape Town indicate growing resentment in the Department of Foreign Affairs over what officials see as military trespassing on their preserves."

Now I would like to turn to the question of the Military Service Countdown in Rhodesia:-

early sixties	National Service - 4.5 months
1964	first small groups from Zambia; Zambesi raids
1966	National Service extended from 4.5 months to 9 months
1971	Home front quiet
1972	Farms attacked in centenary district
1973	National Service extended from 9 months to 1 year (Supposedly only a precautionary measure)
late 1973	- Dad's army, reservists between 38-48 activated

- Every white male between 17 and 50 had to register for national service
  - Coloureds and Asians called-up
- 1974
- Regular forces increased
  - Foreign recruitment started
  - Study deferments tightened
- 1975
- Women volunteers recruited
  - New immigrants eligible for service after 2 yrs not 5
- 1976
- War spread across the country like cancer
  - Almost every able-bodied man under 38 actively involved
  - National Service extended from 12 - 18 months
  - Whites 18-25 placed on continuous service
  - Security forces moved from "contain and hold" to "seek and destroy"
- 1977
- Under 38 had to spend 190 days/year
  - All fit 38-50 called-up to do 75 days/p.a.
  - Over 50 whites urged to volunteer
- April '79
- Whites 50-59 called-up to supervise internal election
  - 22 000 guerillas in collection camps for independence election.

Now let us consider the details of our National Service and the present Bill before Parliament.

The Bill provides broadly for a four-stage involvement with the SADF on the part of white male South African citizens:-

1. Full-time Force - career soldiers
  - National Servicemen on 2 years service
2. Citizen Force
  - 720 days over 12 years
  - 6x2 year cycles of 120 days involving 90 days maximum in 1 year (still credited if not used)
  - Compares with approximately 240 days over 8 years, but no more part credit for 90 day camps
  - Will provide SADF with another 100 000 men.
3. Active Citizen Force
  - Part of Latent Manpower pool for not less than 5 years with obligations only at Minister's discretion
  - The ACER will start with all those with less than 5 years with present CF and Commando Reserve
4. Commando Force
  - 12 days per annum until 60 for those 35 years and who have completed 1,2 and 3 above
  - Maximum of 60 days per annum until a max of 1 000 days for 20 years in lieu of 2 and 3 above for those granted "area bound" status on business or compassionate grounds or "season bound" farmers. After 20 years they revert to 12 days per annum until 60.

Commando Force - Those previously untrained and without service would do 30 days training in first year and the 12 days per annum until 60 (800 000 eligible men in this category).

Of special interest to students is that no change is proposed to the present system of study deferments. Those who study after doing 2 years National Service will be expected to put in 60 days of CF service per annum during varsity vacations. Retrospect credit will be given for those who have done 90 days but have been credited for less.

That is the summary of the Bill as it stands after passing its Second Reading in Parliament. I think it presents the sombre prospect of a lifetime involvement in an increasingly militarised South Africa.

At the second reading debate at which the principle of the Bill is debated, the Bill was supported in principle by all the Parliamentary parties except the P.F.P. The P.F.P. took the view that the Bill should in its entirety be referred to a Select Committee of Parliament before the principles were accepted, and we therefore voted against the Second Reading.

I must record that the Bill has now finally been referred to an all-party Select Committee.

Unfortunately the principles of the Bill i.e. and extension of the call-up will not be changed, but the P.F.P. will be fighting as hard as possible to achieve whatever improvement to the Bill we can before it is taken to the next stage in Parliament. It is therefore possible that the final Bill could be different to the present one, although I am not very optimistic about it.

What can be done to check this growing militarisation?

In a nutshell - vigilance, exposure and reform.

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# TOTAL WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA

MICHAEL EVANS NUSAS RESEARCH OFFICER

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On Saturday night I opened the weekend Argus, to read, in a double-page colour feature that an Anti-Terrorist school, the Ten Einde Survival School, has been established at Stilbaai to train bodyguards for VIP's.

The day before, I read the April edition of Paratus to learn that Bishops, the elite Anglican Church school, had developed what is probably the most sophisticated cadett system in the country.

There have, further, been frequent reports recently of Black schoolchildren from Cape Town's African townships, being dragged off to a Defence Force School in Hermanus for week-long training camps.

Advertisements are increasingly adopting war as a theme. A light truck is advertised as "a little tank". A lawn mower is promoted to fight "the battle of the lawn". And a video camera is insidiously marketed under the banner: "Shoot the workers; it's the only way they'll learn."

These few examples reflect the increasing militarisation of South African society. I could list many, many more: the co-option of General Magnus Malan into the cabinet, the 30% increase in the defence budget last year, the extension of the call-up, the growing number of people killed on both sides of the border, the licensing of 3/4 million whites to carry light arms and the 500% increase in just one year in the sale of war games.

It's with this militarisation that I am going to deal today. And I am going to examine it from two angles. Firstly, I am going to examine the growing militarisation of our society over the past 20 years. And, secondly, I want to look at the related, and absolutely central questions: Who are we fighting for, and who are we fighting against? Hopefully, an examination of these 2 issues will serve as an introduction to the rest of the week, when the more specialised areas (such as Education, Women and Alternatives to Military Service) will be focussed on.

## 1. MILITARISATION - THE PAST 20 YEARS

The growth of the South African Defence Force can more or less be traced back to 1961, with 2 events sparking off that growth. On May the 31st, the white Republic was established, marking the final consolidation of National Party rule.

And just over 6 months later the first act of sabotage was committed by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. The African National Congress had been formed in 1912, and over the following 49 years every peaceful means of protest against the racist South African state and against the institutions of oppression and exploitation, had been attempted. These attempts had culminated in the protest campaigns of the 1950's which had been brutally crushed by the South African police. But, for many, the last straw was the Sharpeville demonstration of March 1960, in which 69 unarmed people were massacred by the police. The subsequent banning of both the ANC and the breakaway PAC convinced many that further peaceful protest would be futile. In this context the first ANC guerilla's left for training, with the aim of mounting a campaign of limited sabotage against government installations throughout the country. So the emphasis was on selective violence, directed against installations, not individuals.

Also in 1960 SWAPO was constituted as an anti-colonial organisation, aiming to

give political expression and unity to the oppressed people in Namibia. And once again, it was a violent act of the state which sparked off the movement's growth, for in the previous year, 1959, 65 Namibian demonstrators had been gunned down by police in Windhoek.

It is necessary that we understand - and examine in a lot more depth than I am able to do today - these beginnings of armed struggle, if we are to understand fully the unfolding South African struggle. We also need to understand these beginnings if we are to come to terms with the growth of the SADF.

For compared to its size today, the SADF in 1960 was a relatively small force, with only 10 000 permanent employees and volunteers, and with an expenditure which accounted for only R39 million, or 7% of the budget. Today, the defence budget is 70 times that figure, amounting to nearly R2,7 billion.

Massive expansion of the SADF took place in 1967 when universal conscription was introduced for white males between the ages of 17 and 65, thus immediately increasing the number of trainees by 50%. The introduction of universal conscription came as a direct result of the deteriorating situation in the white-ruled states of Southern Africa. The late 50's and early 60's had been marked by the emergence of independent African states which were hostile to apartheid and supported its opponents. In Angola in 1961 and in Mozambique in 1964 guerilla wars of liberation were launched. Then in 1966 SWAPO launched its armed struggle in Namibia, by which stage the guerilla war had begun in Zimbabwe with the active participation of units of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

With each intensification of the guerilla struggle, the SADF has attempted to draw a larger number of people into its ranks. Thus by 1977, when military service was lengthened to 2 years plus 240 days (excluding border camps), the size of the SADF's standing operational force had swollen to 105 000. And this came one year after the 1976 Soweto uprising, when thousands of new ANC recruits left for guerilla training. By 1979 the size of the operational force had risen to 180 000.

Further defence force expansion has taken place through the growing incorporation of women and blacks. The issue of women and the military will be dealt with by Margret Nash tomorrow; suffice it to say that 1000 are being trained each year for a variety of roles - not only the traditionally 'female' roles of nursing and clerical assistance, but also in a number of operational roles, including intelligence and the Signal Corps.

Blacks, too, are increasingly being recruited, so that today they constitute 5% of the SADF, but, significantly, almost 20% of the operational force, which begs the question: Are they being used as cannon fodder? But probably more important are the Bantustan battalions, which having been trained by the SADF, are used to enforce viciously the repressive and corrupt rule of the "homeland" leaders.

Another reflection of the growing militarisation of South African society is the growth of the arms industry. The industry was launched in 1961, and by 1964 Defense Minister, Jim Fouché was able to announce that South Africa was "practically self-sufficient". This announcement was made a year after the United Nations called an arms embargo against South Africa, an embargo which has been continually broken by Western countries such as Portugal, France, Britain and the USA. But the embargo did serve to spur on the growth of Armscor, the controlling body for arms manufacture in South Africa.



Today Armscor has assets of over R1,2 billion and ranks second only to Barlow Rand as the country's major industrial giant. Besides ensuring that 80% of South Africa's arms are locally produced, Armscor draws large sectors of business into the defence force machinery. Over 800 companies are involved in production, and together they employ over 100 000 workers.

But private industry's contribution to the war effort extends well beyond the production of arms. The provision of transport, food and administrative, communications and training equipment make South Africa's low level civil war a profitable venture for large sectors of big business.

At the political level, too, the military has achieved a great deal of power. The "Muldergate" affair of 1977/78 marked the coming to power of the generals in what has been described as a "bloodless coup". Military strong-man P W Botha became Prime Minister, Defence Force Chief, Malan, succeeded Botha as Defence Minister, Kobie Coetsee was promoted to Minister of Justice. It was these, and other military and business representatives who came to formulate what has become known as "Total Strategy".

Increasingly emphasis came to be placed by military leaders on the non-military aspects of the struggle. The war came to be described as being 80% socio-economic and only 20% military. "If we lose the socio-economic struggle," said General Boshoff, "then we need not even bother to fight the military one."

With this in mind the defence force set about on what has become known as its "hearts and minds" campaign, the intention being, according to General Charles Lloyd:

"to project an image of the soldier as a man of action who is nonetheless a friend of the Black man and who is prepared to defend him. We want the national serviceman to teach the Black man whilst his rifle is standing in a corner of a classroom."

Using the education system, the army chaplains and various publications as propaganda weapons, the defence force has attempted to buy off support. But this will be the subject of Friday's paper.

At the same time we need to note that the growing militarisation has not been entirely successful. The National Party's Mr J Vermuelen, stated in Parliament last month that SWAPO presently had 35 000 guerillas in training, which reflects the failure to curb the expansion of the guerilla forces.

And the SADF's "hearts and minds" campaign, too, has also failed to convince. If I might quote from a paper on this same subject delivered here at UCT 3 years ago by Margaret Nash:

"When a government defines the enemy as Marxism; rejects the socialist idea, of "from each according to his ability to each according to his need"; labels as communist any and all opponents; and gives itself total powers over the rights and liberties of all inhabitants, it gives up on that 80% of the struggle which has to do with the hearts and minds of the people. Which raises the question for many of you, whether such an ill-conceived and morally indefensible 20% struggle deserves your support and participation."

And many people have answered this question in the negative, people who have chosen the horrors of detention barracks rather than participation in the military. And I think that the very least we can do on an occasion such as this, is to salute people like Peter Moll, like Richard Steele, like Charles Yeats, and like Mike

Vivieros - people who, on the basis of careful study, have shown total preparedness to act according to their consciences and their political convictions and by so doing have played a vital role in the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

Thus in voicing the very legitimate call for non-military alternatives to military service, I can only echo, once again, Margaret Nash's sentiments, applicable as much today, as in 1979:

"I would hazard a guess that nothing would more rapidly produce results in the "alternatives campaign" than the emergence of not ones and twos, but dozens and scores of young men preparing themselves in a thoughtful and disciplined way for the rigours and frustrations of 3 years in detention barracks."

(Although, of course, Mike Vivieros was recently sentenced to only an effective one year in civilian prison.)

## 2. WHO ARE WE FIGHTING FOR, AND WHO ARE WE FIGHTING AGAINST?

Having examined briefly the militarisation of our society and some of the responses to that process, I want to turn to the second, issue - what are we defending and who are we fighting against?

In answering these questions I want to begin with the PFP's position. I am going to quote in some depth from Harry Schwartz's comments in the recent debate on the Defence Amendment Act:

"The PFP is committed to peace and stability and the preservation of law and order in South Africa, and it is clear that for this purpose both a police force and a defence force are necessary. The party's commitment to change is a commitment to change exclusively by peaceful and constitutional means. To achieve this, those who seek to use violence must be opposed, peace must be maintained internally, and the territorial integrity of the country must be defended against both conventional and insurgency attacks.....The Defence Force acts as a shield to enable South Africa not only to live in peace, but also to effect changes by constitutional means, and particularly by means of negotiation. The Defence Force is a shield to protect South Africa from aggression and violence while South Africans seek by peaceful means to find solutions for co-existence."

Now friends (and with due respect to Mr Hulley who probably had little say in the formulation of that policy) - this must be one of the most bankrupt defence policies that any so-called liberal party could ever have formulated. For it displays a total misunderstanding of South African history and represents a complete slap in the face for the millions of South Africans who see the SADF as an institution of repression. It is both extremely naïve and politically reactionary to believe - as Schwartz obviously does - that the defence force is some neutral body which can help effect peaceful change; for the defence force has over the years been used to defend - not South Africa - but apartheid. And it has done this both directly (assisting in pass raids, manning road blocks, etc.) and indirectly - by helping maintain - in a violent fashion - the whole political and economic fabric of our society.

As General Malan said in 1979

"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 Dr. H.F.Verwoerd, namely multinationalism and self-determination of nations."

At the same time let me add, that if Harry Schwartz and the other PFP right-wingers, were to leave the party (as they may very well do over precisely this issue in the next few months), then the way will be opened for the PFP to adopt a more enlightened defence policy which unequivocally recognises the extent to which the SADF bolsters up apartheid policies. This is just too big an issue for the PFP to pander to a conservative white electorate.

Returning to Schwartz's statement - he speaks of protecting South Africa from "aggression and violence". In similar vein, government speakers frequently trot out their "Marxist threat" rhetoric. But who is South Africa fighting against? - certainly not against faceless communist hordes from behind the Iron Curtain. For the SADF is fighting fellow South Africans, a guerilla army of young people who have fled South Africa - people who were shot at by the police in '76, who had brothers and sisters killed, whose parents work for poverty wages - it is these people who, in their anger, leave South Africa to be trained as fighters in Angola or Botswana, Mozambique or Tanzania.

South Africa's generals often talk of a "Total Onslaught" on South Africa. Well, I say there is a total onslaught - an onslaught being waged by the forces of democracy in South Africa - in the schools, in the universities, in the factories, and in the communities. It is in these areas that the struggle is being waged against the minority ruling regime.

And have no doubt, friends, the South African generals are scared. There is no way that they would extend the call up, raise the possibility of conscription of blacks and women and incur the displeasure of large sectors of business - there is no way they would do these things unless they were scared.

In February this year General Malan admitted:

"The permanent force and the present number of national servicemen are no longer able to guarantee your safety."

The implication? All previous attempts at militarisation have proved insufficient. And the new conscription measures will in time prove equally ineffective, for rampant militarism is no answer to the legitimate demands and aspirations of the majority of the people.

So what are the implications for us as we sit here and dwell on the injustices of South Africa's indefensible war? I want to make 2 comments, aimed particularly at those faced with a military call-up in the near future.

Firstly, as white intellectuals, we should not fall into the trap of drawing a distinction between those engaged in operational activity, and those doing back-up work. Last month Malan pointed out that it requires a back-up of 7 SADF men and women to keep one man on active service in the operational area. Furthermore any soldier can at any time be called on to render service on the border or in the townships. So remember all the time, each individual in the defence force doing research, or sitting behind a desk or patrolling the coast, is as responsible for the death of each SWAPO and ANC guerilla as the rifleman who pulls the trigger of the R1. The war is not being fought by individuals - it is being fought by an entire military apparatus.

My final point relates to the incredible applause Peter Moll received at Monday's mass meeting, when he asked the audience whether they were going to be non-

violent, or whether they were going to go to the army next year. The response to Pete's question was incredibly encouraging - a spontaneous outburst of applause for the sentiments he was expressing, seldom seen at UCT.

But the response was also disturbing. It was disturbing because of the implications for each individual who applauded. For each of us put ourselves in the dock - do we act in line with our feelings.....or do we hypocritically turn our back on them?

The answer to that question must be determined by each of us individually. I can't - legally or ethically - make that decision for you. But what I can do is to urge you to consider very seriously the implications of your decision; to act according to your conscience; and finally, to remember all the time, that as far as participation in the military is concerned - there is no middle road.

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# WOMEN BEHIND THE WAR

MARARET NASH

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## THE WASTE OF WAR

War lays waste human lives, relationships, possessions and environments. Worse than that, war and dependence on war to resolve conflicts, can lay waste all that makes and keeps human life human.

A society that relies on brute force and military technology to settle differences is morally bankrupt. It is no better than a jungle in which survival depends on the kill-and-eat, be-killed-and-eaten cycle.

The media, in reporting the war in the South Atlantic, have been confronting us with the immediate destructiveness of modern warfare. But for all its vividness such reporting fails to expose the malignancy of the disease that is militarism and the dangers inherent in militarisation.

## MILITARISM AND MILITARISATION

Yet behind the dramas - Exocet and the sinking of the Sheffield, for example - lies the ominous reality of militarism and the militarisation of society.

Militarism is an attitude that feeds on fear and the deliberate propagation of the "enemy image". It seeks military solutions to political problems, which is about as appropriate as resorting to firearms in a marital dispute. Militarism both fuels and results from the process of militarisation which affects all spheres of life.

Militarisation is the process whereby military values, ideology and patterns of behaviour achieve a dominating influence on the political, social, economic and external affairs of the state. As a consequence, the structural, ideological and behavioural patterns of both the government and the people comprising the society become militarised.

There is a chicken-and-egg relationship between militarisation and militarism. Each feeds, and feeds on, the other. Each is self-justifying; together they are mutually justifying, mutually reinforcing.

In the South Atlantic warfare relatively few people are actually involved in the blood-and-guts horror. But we live in a world that each year spends as much on armaments as the gross national income of 1 000 million people in the Third World countries. So are we not all exposed to the military virus that is the invisible destroyer of human life, physically and qualitatively?

## THE CHALLENGE TO WOMEN

Although relatively few women are actively involved in military activities and direct support operations in either the South Atlantic or the Southern African wars, all women are directly challenged by the deadly disease of militarism - a disease that is reaching epidemic proportions in South Africa.

So whether you are a first year student still enjoying, or floundering in the freedom of campus after the restraints of school, or an older woman with more experience of the world, the issues are fundamentally the same.

As women we are already emotionally involved through brothers, boyfriends, husbands or fathers serving in the operational area - or through young men due to be called up in the next 12 months or so. And we are existentially involved in a more comprehensive way, as citizens in a society that retains the trappings of democracy but is basically as much a military dictatorship as is Argentina.

Further, as white women - I do not presume to speak to or for black women - we are part of a dominant minority that is imposing its will on an indigenous majority by means of force. We may disagree with apartheid and perhaps vote Prog. We may even harbour intellectual doubts about the extent or malevolence of the communist bogey that is constantly said to menace our "bastion of Christian civilisation".

For all that, you and I are accomplices, we are partners in crime. The challenge to us, as much as to our male counterparts, is to recognise the criminality of war - particularly the South African war - and to repent of our complicity. That means not just beat one's breast mournfully, but to change direction - in respect of attitudes, behaviour, lifestyles, relationships, etc. We must become makers and builders of peace.

#### COMPLICITY OF WOMEN

As women we are involved in the pervasive militarism of South African life, from the cradle to the grave. Let's look quickly at this:

- at the early childhood stage: war toys, corporal punishment, indoctrination ("boys must be tough and not cry, girls must be submissive");
- in school: the unquestioning-obedience-to-authority syndrome; accommodation to the pattern, including cadet corps and veld kampe;
- in social life: defence bonds, southern cross fund, ride safe campaigns, military fashion in clothing, pistol clubs and civil defence - which so quickly slips over into commandos acting against civil unrest and urban terrorism;
- in occupational life: from research scientists to canteen assistants, from telecommunications staff to conveyor belt workers, women are enmeshed in army activity and the R1 000 million p.a. Armscor-directed armaments industry;
- in cultural attitudes: letting war be romanticised and even glorified, so that our affluent boredom is titillated by the excitement of military exploits, defence force festivals and the glamour of heroes in uniform. We respond emotionally to the martial/sentiments and evocative music associated with military funerals and armistic day services - not to mention the banalities of Pat (kiss, kiss) Carr and forces favourites. All of which distracts and discourages women from grappling with the issues of injustice and the causes of social unrest/armed struggle in South Africa.

Am I being too harsh and hurtful? I do not want to distress those who have suffered bereavement or crippling injury to their menfolk as a result of border warfare or urban guerilla activity - or who live in fear of this. None of us is exempt from such distress, whatever its cause, therefore all have the duty of compassion and sympathy towards any who suffer.

But true compassion; the compassion that heals and reanimates, is grounded in realism and social responsibility as well as sentiment. It not only sympathises with the individual sufferer. It is angered by unnecessary suffering and wants to prevent it in the future. A truly compassionate friend would not stand by and let a distraught mother cling to a husband who had died of smallpox or diphtheria. Likewise, truly compassionate people must take a stand against a sentimentalism that can only breed further suffering and sorrow.

#### WOMEN AND THE SADF

Since 1970 the South African Defence Force has undergone a massive expansion programme. Included in that programme has been the recruitment and training of white women. Although they still comprise a tiny proportion of the whole, their numbers trebled during the decade and, more significantly, their role was re-defined. Women were identified as useful "management" or "officer" material, and by 1980 more than 60% of women in uniform had been commissioned. (Sunday Times, 30/11/80)

"In 1981 the full-time army comprised 16 000 regulars (Permanent Force), 2 000 of them women, and 60 000 national servicemen. Through mobilising reserves this number could be brought up to 400 000 men and women."  
(Cape Times, 16/2/82)

While most recruiting was from the younger age group, the Army has also called on older women. For example, a married woman who had left teaching to have children subsequently became assistant to the Chief of the Defence Force.

Even in its recruitment to the Citizen Force the Army was pitching its educational requirements noticeably higher than the male conscription average. Whereas 48 per cent of the latter had standard nine or less (Defence White Paper 1979), the under 22 Citizen Force women volunteers were to have senior certificate or its equivalent.

The reason for this was made clear in the April 1982 issue of Paratus. Any expansion of the national service force is dependent on the leadership and training capacity of the Permanent Force. Modern warfare calls for many skills which can equally well be exercised by women. Therefore, women have progressed from welfare and medical work to all spheres of administration and personnel management; telecommunications and signals; logistics and finance; military police and instructional activity.

The women are given basic training, with a 9mm pistol instead of the R1 rifle. The pistol is more suitable physically and in dealing with urban terrorism (paratus 04.84, page 25). Women regarded as officer material are encouraged to study (at army expense) and three have already obtained the B Mil degree (Saldanha Bay and Stellenbosch University). They are being used to extend the capability of the SADF and its sphere of influence - including the training of cadet corps in girls' schools.

Inducements include patriotic motivation, stress on career- and sports-opportunities, much reassurance regarding femininity and protection from border duty, and no doubt many "perks" c.f. P W Botha "We can't expect the 'coloureds' to fight for us if we don't treat them decently."

## CONSCRIPTION FOR WOMEN?

"Women could play crucial roles in community improvement projects (civic action); as air traffic controllers, nursing aides, radar operators and pilots of light aircraft, and release a lot of the men from administrative work for fighting." Willem Steenkamp, Defence Correspondent of the Cape Times, 16.4.1982.

In April 1981, when addressing a passing out parade at the S.A. Army's Women's College in George Prime Minister Botha said that "compulsory national service for women might be instituted in the distant future". By October 1981 there were suggestions about possible selective drafting of women (Rapport 18.10.81). Speaking to a Cape National Party Congress General Magnus Malan said national service for women was being investigated (Cape Times 19.10.81).

In February 1982, shortly before the great Defence Force Amendment Bill debate, Magnus Malan warned OFS farmers that "the responsibility for defence cannot be confined to white men. The writing is on the wall for a more comprehensive national service system, the details of which would be announced shortly". (Argus 26.2.82).

March 1982 produced the fireworks, in more ways than one. Reacting to the possible conscription of white women into the army Mrs Marie van Zyl, chief of the Kappie Kommando said :

Under no circumstances will we allow our daughters to be taken up into an integrated army for the purposes of prostitution. This is what happened in the last war. Only women from the lower classes joined the army and they were used for prostitution. (Argus 20/3/82)

Backing her up in the ensuing row, Dr Buchanan, leader of the Kappie Kommando's White Sash, made the same point:

Women in the army during the last war were used for prostitution. If they were recruited to the army now, the same thing would happen. They would definitely not come out of the army as virgins. War and the army destroy women's moral standards.

Sixty-four year old Natal grandmother Dr Buchanan also described the Broederbond and Freemasons as "subversive secret organisations" whose members were "extreme liberals and responsible for giving the country to the blacks and would be equally responsible for selling their women into the army" (Argus 23/3/82).

On a more discreet note Mrs Velia Kirkpatrick, chairperson of Womanpower 2000 - part of P W Botha's total national strategy apparatus - "had reservations about the bill because it would deploy more people who were desperately needed in the economy". On the other hand, recruiting women would "illustrate true equality not only of opportunity but of responsibility" (Argus 20/3/82).

So much for the kite-flying and reactions to it. We shall hear more about the possible conscription of women but not before a great deal of further softening up has been done - not to mention repression of unwanted opposition from right or left.

Meantime men up to the age of fifty are being faced with the prospect of intermittent military service and the country has shifted into a decisively more committed stage of militarisation. Which raises the question: given the slide into civil war, what, if any, is the peacemaking role of women?



## PEACEMAKING ROLE OF WOMEN

There are no short cuts or assurances of success, but these are some of the things we can still do:

1. We can uncover and expose the militarism and militarisation of our society - from the home to the sports club, from the school to the board-room and shop-floor. This is particularly important for students as "intellectual workers". We have the ability and training to collect, analyse and interpret the data, and communicate it in reader's digest form to others less privileged than ourselves.
2. As people not yet subject to conscription we can discuss freely and comprehensively the issues of conscientious objection and alternative national service. We can do this for the sake of our menfolk who are so inhibited by the law, and we can do it for our own sakes - for there will come a time when we too will run the risk of incitement if we discourage other women from going into the army. Let's use the scenario of conscription for women and really work at the issues.
3. As women hoping to be mothers of a future generation we can contribute to fundamental decisions about their inheritance - whether it will be the horror of prolonged civil war or the prospect of a painful but positive building of a peaceful and prosperous society comprising all the inhabitants of a reunited South Africa.
4. As citizens and South Africans we can share in the struggle to end the structural violence of apartheid and to build a society based on developing and using the common wealth to meet the basic human needs of all members. In other words, a society based on justice for all and compassion for the weak - be they the elderly, small children, the physically and mentally handicapped or whoever.

The military machine wants us, all of us.

We can decide to feed it - or give it indigestion.

The choice is ours.

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Dr Margaret Nash was ecumenical education officer of the South African Council of Churches 1976 - 82 and is author of the book Christians, make peace, published by Diakonia in Durban in April 1982.

# MILITARISATION IN EDUCATION

BRUCE MEIER

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I think the following quote will dispell all illusions about the type of education system in operation in South Africa. It is from a speech by Dr H F Verwoerd to the Senate in 1954 and concerns Bantu education:

"It is the policy of my department that education would have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the Native environment and Native community. There, Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open."

The point I am trying to make in quoting Verwoerd is this - the aim of the various education systems operating in South Africa is to fit people into the roles which the government creates for them. In Verwoerd's case the role of the black person was that of a labourer and the education system, Bantu Education was designed in accordance with that role.

And the role which is being forced on the white South African, male and female, in the 80's is that of soldier. What could be more clear than the statement made by P W Botha a few years ago (in 1976). "Our education systems must train people for war."

Education is an extensive process involving the individual from early childhood and continuing throughout his or her lifetime. When combined with militarisation, the two have an overwhelming influence on any individual. Although I shall deal with them later the main force is not cadets, it is not youth preparedness or veld schools. These become powerful later but depend on more subtle forces, which operate throughout the system, particularly the absence of any balance in the education system. School children are never taught to question what they have been told; never given two ideas to choose from, but merely told one line of thought.

Through this careful and unquestioned indoctrination, the education system molds individuals into appropriate roles.

Young boys are taught aggression and young girls domestic roles; both are taught the glory of nationalism.

The whole ethos of the South African white school and its authority structures help to slot the individual into the military role. The education system, with few exceptions, teaches directly, by implication or by omission that nationalism is right, that Afrikanerdom must be protected, that apartheid is natural and that what is "good" must be defended. In the context it becomes clear that sexism, racial discrimination and militarisation are not unrelated - all are taught and are necessary for the protection of the white tribes.

South African history is learned from a white point of view in tales of old battles and lessons of the rise of the Afrikaner - all symbolized in the South African flag that is constantly hosted and saluted. Geography homes in on apartheid and incorporates it as a natural phenomenon within the subject. Coloureds are like this, live in certain areas, have certain jobs, etc., Indians are

different, Blacks have certain characteristics and live in homelands or black townships and so on. The names of the capitals of the bantustans probably appeared in the geography textbooks before anyone else knew them! We could go on for the rest of the time quoting from textbook after textbook, the type of things which pupils are taught which indoctrinate them into acceptance of the principles of nationalism, apartheid and Western culture.

The education system brings up children to preserve the status quo instead of giving them the means to look objectively at their situation and question the society and values that are being forced on them. In South Africa the education system can in fact be said to be perpetuating war, itself creating a willingness to die for one's country instead of trying to make it a better place to live in.

I have come across some further indications of the extent to which the military ethos has penetrated the schools. Speaking to an English teacher recently, he related how increasingly essays are being written describing imagined experiences on the border, usually heroic adventures. Of course schoolchildren have always read war comics and had romantic ideas of war, but now these are being identified with our situation. The enemy is SWAPO not the Japs or Jerries. The setting is Namibia or Angola.

Another teacher told me how primary school children, when on a field trip, were taught to see alien vegetation as "terrorists". "Terrorists" come to "take over the land and choke out all the inhabitants". "Terrorists" must be destroyed. The eradication of alien vegetation was likened to a military campaign. More and more allusions are being made to the war that South Africa is fighting.

Let us not forget the Youth Preparedness programme in schools which is geared to emphasize military preparedness, patriotism and discipline. At least one period a week is spent in teaching children things which vary from cultural history to civil defence, security vigilance or indoctrination about "terrorist atrocity" and the "communist onslaught".

These forces operating in schools though sometimes subtle are overwhelming. One must realise that there are many agents operating at the same time which are reinforcing these ideas - Television, youth organisations, military type games and sports, religion, parents often too.

What we have been considering is militarisation within education and the inculcation of a military ethic in the youth. But there is still actual involvement of the South African Defense force in the education of children, in the more direct form of cadets.

There are over 200 000 white South African schoolboys between the ages of 13 and 17 undergoing paramilitary training as part of their schooling. This usually involves an afternoon a week of drilling, rifle practice and other military exercises. The training is compulsory and takes place during school hours. On that day of the week the boys arrive at school wearing brown military-style uniforms. Teachers who have been to the army will be wearing full military uniforms and pupils are expected to salute them when passing them in the corridor. The cadets are not only trained by teachers but also by local commandos and ex-SADF officers. Senior pupils, usually prefects, are picked out and given extra intensive training by the commandos so they can become cadet officers and in turn drill and shout at their fellow pupils.

There are probably over 200 000 pupils involved in cadet training in schools. Cadets are compulsory in every male (white) school and various measures are used by the army to make sure that even co-ed schools have cadet programmes for the boys. A teacher was telling me that her school had refused to have cadets. The army had unofficially threatened to call up all its male teaching staff to camps if they did not comply. They had been forced in this way to have cadets. Some of the male teachers were still called up to camps.

It is alarming how seriously the private schools take cadets. I think of Bishops and St Andrews for example which are extremely proud of their cadets and have very advanced training.

Why cadets? Listen to Colonel Viljoen the director of school cadets. He says that the youth must be involved in the total national strategy and that the purpose of cadet training is to prepare the youth for military service. In effect then, military training extends right down to the 13 year old boy in Standard 6.

On top of this school-based programme, many white schoolboys take part in cadet camps organised by the SA Defence Force. Here things are taken a step further and more intensive military training is offered in a solid week of nothing but militance. Schoolchildren receive fairly advanced training involving parades, inspections, PT, rifle shooting, route marches, guard duties and perhaps even assault courses or grenade throwing.

These cadet camps have an important militarising function. For the younger pupils the functions are concerned with military orientation and the discovery of leaders and for the senior selected cadets it consists in their having developed as leaders to go back to the schools and instruct platoons during cadet exercises at schools.

Cadets venture beyond the theory of "patriotism is nationalism is militarism" and actually put it into practice.

In the Transvaal which does not have cadet camps, another means of militarising South African youth has been devised - Veldschools and leadership camps. Much "vlaghysing" national anthems, prayers, PT, lectures, seminars etc. goes on at these wonderful places. Lectures discuss "Total onslaught against the fatherland" and all the rest, and further "education" involves learning to handle and fire an R1 rifle. During the day, activities include inspection and flagraising, survival training, tracking and camouflage, marching and practical field training. Veldschool camps are compulsory for all standard eight pupils in Transvaal - boys and girls, so each one is programmed in this way while only fifteen or fourteen years old.

The army is also involved in the education of white male teachers. After completion of studies they commence their national service and are put through a special course at Oudtshoorn. This has been described as "the most effective brainwashing course the army has". After completing the course they will perhaps be deemed suitable for taking part in the army's Civic Action Programme and for doing cadet instruction in schools when they finish their period of service. Teachers, of course, are also regularly called up to camps and thus further militarise the schools.

While the main emphasis of the cadet programme is on white youth, the Defence Force announced in 1978, plans for a cadet programme of "coloured" schools. This was of course linked with plans to conscript "coloureds" into the army, and I believe we have not heard the last of those plans.

But militarised holiday "adventure camps" for Coloured and Indian children have existed for six years. The SADF aims to militarise the relatively privileged and in their eyes potentially co-optable sectors of the oppressed population. Again these camps seek to indoctrinate participants through activities aimed at developing "leadership", "patriotism", "military discipline". One such camp, held in Southern Natal was organised "to instill leadership in the youth through adventure, culture and religion".

In March 1981 a more militarised camp for young coloured boys took place near Middelburg. According to the defence force magazine "Paratus", it was held with the aim of developing "leadership" through sports and activities encouraging "personality growth". In keeping with one of the aims of the camp, that is "to inculcate the South African way of life", white members of the army were responsible for the organisation and assessment of competitions while the kitchen staff was drawn from the "coloured" SA Cape Corps.

The full extent of military involvement in schools was recently disclosed with the views that the SADF is involved in running "youth camps" near Hermanus for primary school pupils from schools in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu. This came with quite a lot of shock even to those of us who were aware of the SADF's activities in schools. According to parents of the children, they were taken away in army trucks without the parents being fully informed of the facts, and were subjected to a programme organised and run by army instructors. Varsity newspaper quoted Major Gert Britz, head of Civic Action, as saying that "while on the camps, army instructors did "a form of talent scouting to identify leadership elements. The instructors keep in personal contact with these youngsters. Usually they come back to us. If they want to get a project going in their own community, we help them. The army is neutral. It is everybody's army. We are trying to make people realise this and to win their trust. And we are succeeding in doing so."

The bankruptcy of the apartheid government is certainly revealed in the desperate lengths to which it has to go to win the hearts and minds. As a parent said: "We want to ask one simple question - "What business is it of the Defence Force to be involved in so-called educational and recreational camps for our children?"

But let us look more closely at this so-called hearts and minds campaign. Its out-working occurs in what the army calls its Civil Action Programme. Essentially it consists of the deployment of military servicemen in non-military forms of service but always as members of the SADF. After basic training and a six month course, participants are seconded to other government departments or bantustan governing bodies. The army is investing a tremendous amount of time, money and equipment into this programme. The idea behind it is "to project an image of the soldier as a man of action but who is nonetheless a friend of the Black man, and who is prepared to defend him. We want the national service man to teach the Black man whilst his rifle is standing in the corner of the classroom." (quote from Brigadier Lloyd)

One of the major areas of the Civil Action Programme is teaching. There is an undisclosed number of national servicemen who are teaching in black schools (yes, teaching in full uniform with the rifle standing in the corner). Some schools in the "operational area" are staffed entirely by soldiers. These soldiers are not necessarily professional teachers - most have only passed matric.

Under the Civic Action Programme these soldier teachers work in a number of bantustans - KwaZulu, Bophuthatswan and Ciskei. They also operate in other rural areas, especially in Namibia, in black townships such as Soweto and Umlazi and in some Colored and Indian schools. Apart from bantustan bureaucrats, leaders of the black community have rejected the CAP. The deployment of SADF personnel in schools in Soweto have also led to class boycotts on a number of occasions.

What is the purpose of this programme? Obviously to buy the support of the local populace, especially in areas of conflict. But furthermore, it is also a form of spying. The teachers are in contact with the community and are expected to keep their ears wide open. They have to give regular reports on the mood and feeling of the local people and on particular people if necessary. We must not be naive in thinking that if one goes into the army to teach one will be left alone to teach one's subject. As it is there is a very strict selection procedure which only allows certain teachers who hold the right views to teach in the programme.

As a last point let me mention universities. Over the years the SADF has also made serious attempts to introduce a military presence into the white universities. Already commando units consisting of students and lecturers have been established at all the Afrikaans universities. These units are used to maintain servicemen in a constant state of preparedness and to guard buildings and installations in times of civil unrest. In 1980 the commando detachments of the Pretoria, OFS, Port Elizabeth, and Potchefstroom universities were incorporated as units of the SADF. Regular parades, camps and shoots are held and they usually do border duty in the long vac.

To date the military has been unable to introduce a similar presence at English language universities because of opposition from students and staff. How long the universities can withstand this pressure remains to be seen.

Nevertheless, all white universities have been incorporated to a greater or lesser extent in the state's research programme. The Official Secrets Act makes it impossible to find out what is exactly being done but we can be sure that a lot of research grants come with strings attached and much of the research done at universities is directly or indirectly of use to the military.

These are some of the ways in which education in SA is being militarised. The militarisation of education is also only one part of the overall militarisation of apartheid society which is being extended everyday. The intensive militarisation of white youth, coupled with "civic action" programmes and "adventure camps" directed at sections of the black population are clearly part of the government's preparations for a last stand in defence of apartheid rule.

This indoctrination process must be countered by anyone who believes in the possibility of a peaceful, just democratic future. Students will have to find ways of working with schoolchildren and exposing them to the real South Africa. Those who are going to become teachers have an important role to play. Alternatives must be provided through all the means available. Commercial newspapers as well as other publications can be used. Dissent and contradictions must be highlighted. I believe that the CO stand is a very powerful statement in this regard.

The universities must provide alternative information also for their own students, many who have been misled by the school education they received.

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# ALTERNATIVE NATIONAL SERVICE

ADI PATERSON

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## Definition

National service performed under the control of an authority or institution designated by the central government to people recognised by the central government as conscientious objectors.

## The present situation

- (a) The government does not recognise any form of alternative service for declared conscientious objectors.
- (b) We have heard that certain categories of JW detainees have done fence building in the Kruger Park (this may however be a co-opted form of service - military presence).
- (c) On occasion mention has been made of service in the prisons department or merchant marine.

However both these occupations apparently involve small arms training and periods of service that are so long that they are not viable options. They constitute a career rather than national service. They provide no governmental recognition of the conscientious belief of the objector.

- (d) The civic Action Programme (under the control of the Department of Defence) had been suggested as an alternative.
- (e) Various attempts notably those of Prof. A H Hare and associates in the Cape Town group have been made to establish voluntary service organisation that could provide an alternative model. These were largely undermined by poor planning and execution of the communications with the Press and the SADF. In addition ill-advised attempts were made to precipitate service in Namibia which resulted in high profile confrontation with the military.
- (f) Individual CO's have prior to their trials found work that could be interpreted as alternative service as an indication of good faith.
- (g) Recently in parliament M Malan suggested that legislation will be introduced in 1983 for "religious objectors" who wanted alternative service.

## CO's criteria for alternative service

These vary from individual to individual but general guidelines have been the following :

- (1) That the service be rendered outside the military complex.
- (2) That the period of service be as long or up to twice as long as military national service.
- (3) That the remuneration be same or less than that of national servicemen.
- (4) That the service be rendered at a distance from the objectors home town.
- (5) That when the factors above are evaluated the CO is seen to endure similar hardships, dangers and dislocation to the average military serviceman.

Potential Government Criteria for alternative national service

- (1) That the serviceman undergo a period of basic military training without weapons (cf Methodist statement).
- (2) That the period of service be longer.
- (3) That proper control and discipline be exercised.
- (4) A period of imprisonment may be incorporated to discourage large numbers.
- (5) That the CO be identifiable by distinctive garb.
- (6) That the service be under control of a government department. The service may be manual labour under SADF control.
- (7) Heavy penalties for non-compliance.

It seems likely that the government will require a period of about 5 years continuous alternative service.

They will not allow CO's in teaching, research institutions, social work or other places where they may seriously influence people.

The pay will probably be commensurate with the services rendered.

It will probably only be allowed for religious objectors.

There is a distinct possibility that the government will introduce legislation that will appear to be liberal but which in its formulation will make it impossible for most CO's to make use of its provisions and that the government may try to co-opt religious leaders to support this legislation.

The two elements of the possible legislation that should be specifically opposed are :

- (i) A long continuous period of service which would constitute an impossible burden.
- (ii) Types of alternative that do not involve training for meaningful participation in a process of service. Thus manual labour should be rejected as an alternative.

What should we do about alternative national service

- (1) Each group in each centre should formulate proposals like the ones submitted to the Naude Commission and Charles Yeats' request for an alternative.
- (2) CO's awaiting trial should find a job/activity that fits his/her conception of alternative national service.
- (3) Every opportunity should be taken for church synods and meetings of secular groups and other relevant bodies to draft resolutions requesting alternative national service of a reasonable form.

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