

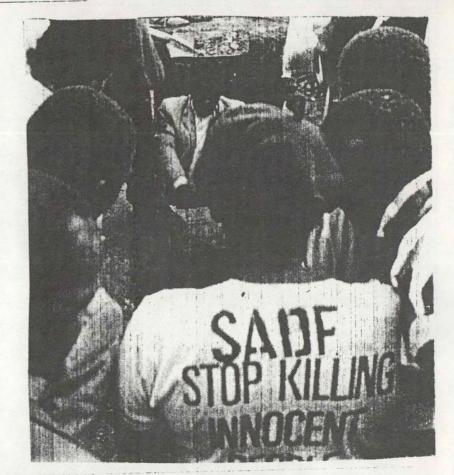
# INFORMATION KIT

INTRODUCTION This information Kit aims to:

 provide you with a perspective of the role of the SADF
explain the system of conscription
to provide an understanding of the reasons for calling for an end to conscription

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Structures of ECC.
The Law.
A Soldiers letter.
Troops in the townships.
SADF in Namibia.
Some Say NO!
Conclusion.
END CONSCRIPTION NOW!!



# CONSCRIPTS with NO RIGHT TO CHOOSE

B1.46

# TOWARDS A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND

### A Declaration to End Conscription

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

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

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

We call for an end to conscription.

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

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

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

We call for an end to conscription.

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

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

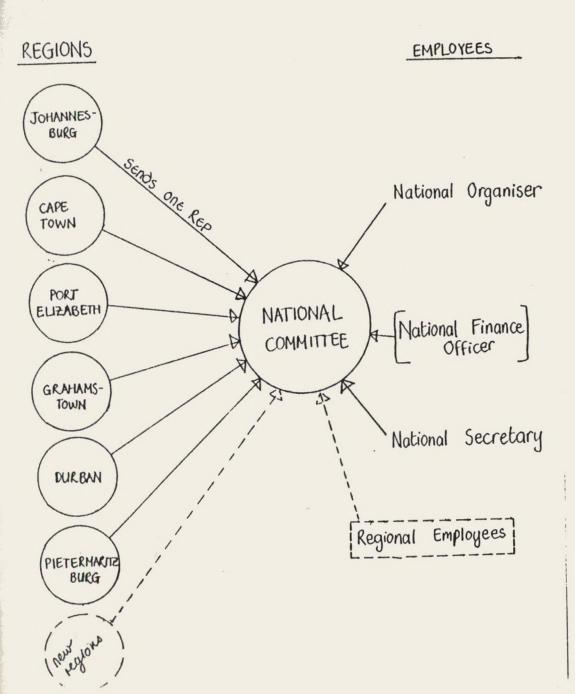
WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE MORAL RIGHT OF SOUTH AFRICANS TO EXERCISE FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND TO CHOOSE NOT TO SERVE IN THE SADF.

## WE CALL FOR AN END TO CONSCRIPTION

WE CALL FOR A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

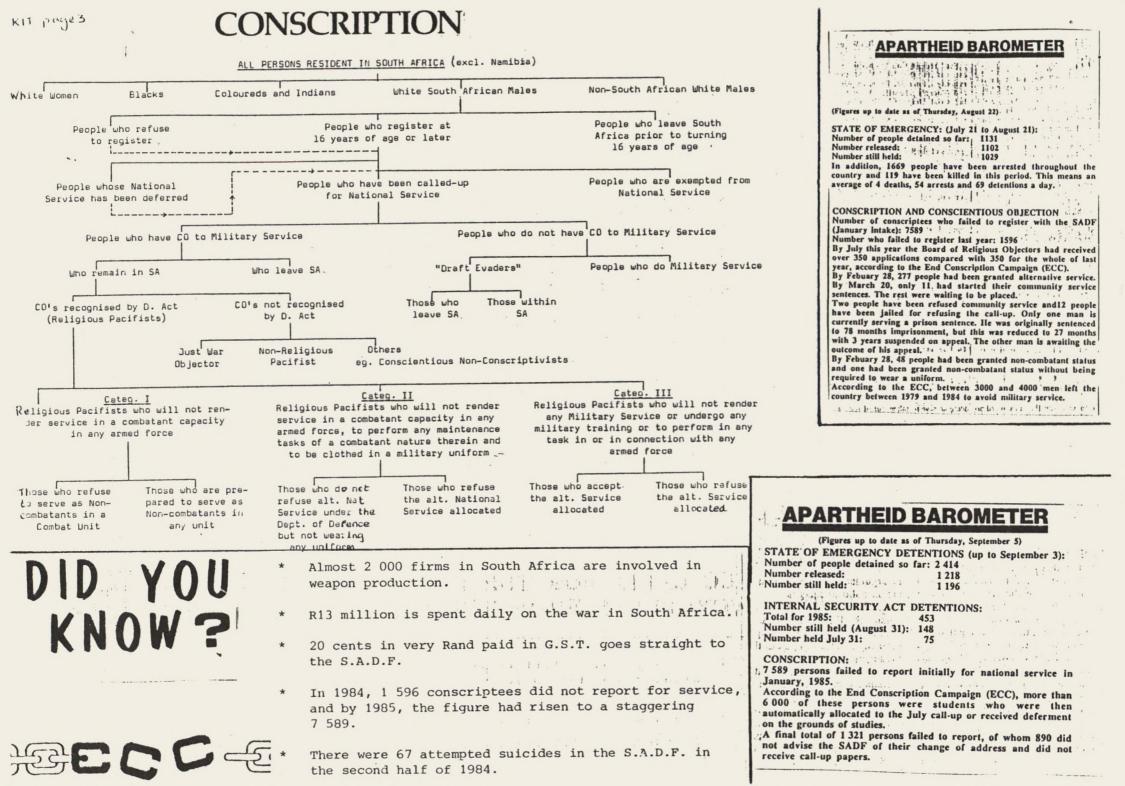
# NATIONAL STRUCTURE



# JOHANNESBURG E.C.L. REGIONAL STRUCTURE

INDIVIDUAL AFFILIATED MEMBERS ORGANISATIONS Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC) · Black Sash National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) GENERAL National Education Union BODY of ECC of South Africa (NEUSA) · Organisation of Appropriate social Scientists of South Africa (OASSSA) · Young Progressives · Young Christian Students (Ycs) · Catholic War and Peace Group (WAP) SUB-COMMITTEES · Conscientious Objectors' · MEDIA + CULTURE support Group (cosG) · Wits Catholic Society · EDUCATION . CHURCHES . CONTACT

BBCCC-B



#### A JOLDIERS LEITER ....

I am a National Serviceman who has been involved with the SADF in the unrest for the past four months. I am taking a chance in writing this, a report of some of my experiences, but unfortunately it is all trues a reality that has been concealed by the stranglehold on the press and our own self-cerving blindness. It bears little resemblence to the flat reports of incidents supplied by the police, but this contradiction between what is said and what happens occurs within the security forces as well. From time to time we have been issued with cards like this: (see cards).

It must be remembered that orders are often given less to be obeyed than to protect those giving the orders, but there is still a staggering gulf between these instructions and the actual behaviour of the security forces in the townships, so I feel that perhaps I will be doing the military as well as the public a service by exposic() a portion of the truth.

When we first deployed for the unrest, it was something of a joy-ride, despite the atmosphere of anticipation amongst the troops (hooray, we're off to kill the kaffirs). We were used to protect a white suburb for the duration of a large (black) funeral procession, but it was mostly a release from army camp, and an opportunity to chat up the neighbours' daughters. Everything changed the next time we were called out and began doing patrols with the police in. the black townships. I will not forget my first patrol in a Casspir. The Casspir is the police vehicle of choice in the townships; huge brutish machines loaded with a plethora of weapons and equipment, invincible and inhuman in scale. They are the bronces of the cowboys in blue who drive them.

We entered one of the sprawling Fort Elizabeth townships and began our run, as in a bad dream, through the maze of streets, buildings, sbacks and people. The policemen express contempt at the rubbish and dirt aroudd, but they kept their litter to dump in the township, throwing refuse out of the vehicle at pedestrains minding their own business. The streets are full of activity ; there is a funeral of one of the persons shot by the police, and vehicles overloaded with blacks roar back and forth. The policemen respond to the change and clenched fists with shouts of abuse and of "white power". We move on to a less crowded area. The cops keep a watch for members of the media, especially camerae. We come upon a bakkie loaded with children and youths who show us the clenched fist salute. The cope go into action: the bakkie is overtaken and forced to stop, the pile of black bodies spill off in all directions as the cops tumble out of the back of the Camepir in pursuit. Shortly they return in triumph with their catch ; a boy of about ten who they are hitting and elapping as they drag him into the vehicle where they continue to slap and punch him while he recites the littany: "Weet niks baas, weet niks baas". The pneumatic steel daors shut, the vehicle moves off. They force him to slap himself, eventually with both hands, while telling us "He won't show a black power sign again in a hurry". And this, for me, is the central image of this time; the small black boy with wild frightened eyes ( but no tears) slapping himself, and the sudden stream of bright, bright blood appearing from his nose and dropping from his chin on the carpeted floor of the caspbr. Drip, drip, drip . Slap, slap, slap.

A few blocks later we pause and he is dumped. For the first time I look at the other army guys and only ong shows and discomfort. On the faces of the rest I see only a leer. The police sergeant commanding the vehicle (he is English speaking) says, "It's that age, the kids that cause a lot of trouble and throw the stones". He went to the police instead of the army. Next year he wants to study to be an architect. I'ts just as well to deal with a misconception at this stago. Well meaning people (I recall an article in a parish magazine) have imagined the young police and army members sitting in their vehicles as fearful, confused: somehow as deserving of pity and understanding as the angy mobe autside. This is not so. Even I have never been afraid, sitting in this huge, powerful vehicle behind thick glass and steel. The magority of my peers are not afraid or confused. They are in turn bored and ercited, they want action, they are callous, they are enowmously arrogant.

So we trundle on. The cops are talking about white politicians interfering on behalf of blacks and Helen Suzman, Molly Blackburn are mentioned. One constable says "Ek sou graag n rubber ( from the 37mm stopper gun) in haar doos op skiet." There is a loud dong as a large ston e hits the armour and bounced in through the roof opening. The sergeant reacts immediately sending a 37mm gas cannister in the direction the stone since from. It lands on a youse and the residents pour out coughing, their eyes streaming. We go and watch briefly, the cops laughing loudly, pointedly. A neighbour, and old, chd man, wags his finger at us and the cops bawl at him threateningly before we move or.

The funeral is over. We head towards the returing crowd which seems to be starting to break up. Knots of people form on street corners singing and shouting their defiance. The sergeant radics his commander asking permission to disperse a small crowd. The lieuteneant wants to keep things cocl. "wokken bang gat" responds a cop. "Gooi julle bliksems, kommaan, gooi!" A sudden hail of stones is just what they've been waiting for. "yahoo, let's go!" and we launch into a hurtling, lurching circuit, past streams of panicking, running people, pumping gas and rubber bullets. I'ts over in a couple of minutes: the cops have reached for their shot guns for the second roung but the crowd has dispersed. The whole thing had the atmosphere of sport: kaffir baiting, beating and hunting.

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We eventually return to the police station. While we waited there the police brought in a man (ostensibly a stone-thrower) and derived much sport from beating and poking him with their sjamboks and truncheons, both on the ground in front of the station and in the back of a van. After balf an hour be was released.

The sjambok is perhaps the truest symbol of the police in South Africa : for herding humans, baiting and punishing them - the tool of a base and perverted shepherd. Bright orange government stock, mass produced (the boere are great technologists now) - I have seen policemen wielding them an trapped or covering offenders with all their might, while a wrist flick is enough to produce a yelp of pain from any one of my fellow soldiers.

This is a fairly detailed account of one day - the days stretched out. Almost throughout these four months, the army has been mixed in with the police, with a couple of policemen in each Buffel and usually a few more SADF members in the police vehicles. Sc, for the black populmation, there has never been an opportunity to differentiate between the two forces, and the SADF almost immediately inherited the lack of credibility and bad reputation of the police. Not that there is always that much to choose between the forces. Discipline and things like communication controal are greatly superiorfin the Army, but the separition of proofs into small allocated units has often allowed SADF members to get into the spirit of being a law unto themselves, and mirror the behaviour of the police, not merely their attitudes. It is not so much that the acts of violence that are shocking as the exposure of a general level of racism that allows them to flourish: so many people who are normally fair and reasonable but who simply ' hate kaffirs'. For some, there is no other description but 'white trast'; they have an attitude of hatred, boathing and contempt for blacks and a complete lack of human feeling and compassion towards them. Blacks ('Kaffirs') are a base subhuman plasm, a parody of man, whole pain is merely sport. And there is an awful lot of white trash in the infantry and the police. The level of violence within this group itself is high; indded a broad mass of whites seem to have sunk into a state of moral bankruptcy their main concerns sex ( or rather some distortion of it), drink , material possessions and violence, into which is mixed a twisted self-cerving christianity and an ironically 'kaffir-like' reasoning based on 'what has always been'.

"Wev's always called them kaffirs - that's their name - why should ve change it?" or "When there's shit we should just go through from one end (of the location ) to the other with gas so they'll if they don't identify the guilty ones they'll all get it."

Action, especially for the young serviceman, is often a thrill, an ego trip. There is a tremendous sense of power inbeating up someones even if you're the most put-upon, dumb son-of-a-bitch, you are still better than a kaffir and can beat him up to prove it. In one of the small Eastern Cape towns involved, the boys in brown massi evolved quite sophisticated techniques for catching stone-throwers. During their night patrols the location became a giant playground for a serious game of cops and robbers, the occasional injury (someone running into a barbed wire fence) only adding to the excitement. To start with the captives were hadded over the to the police who beat them up and lat them go. So eventually the cmps were cut out of the equation, though sometimes kids were taken home to their parents for punishment of . . much the sam kind.

Having givern you some idea of the insame situation I found myself in, it is more difficult to describe my reaction to it. My own guilt at my inaction in the face of this brutality, as well as the sheer physical impact of it, creat an enormous tension and conflict of behaviour. My response was enough to get me labelled a 'kaffir-boetie' and a 'kommunis', and the experience undid much of the effect of nine months of infantry training (which is aimed at making you part of a unit which is basically a function, a machine, without a mind or direction of its own.) Yet it is almost impossible to isolate yourself completely - you've been living 'fart to fart' with these people for nine months ( they have humanity, though they abuse it in others ) and you have to continue to live with them - so you are forced to compossible yourself, and , treacherously, you lose that sense of outrage. Until the next time.

In the townships themselves, your behaviour is confused. Normally only a spiectator, in something like a cordon and search operation (where the SADF provides the cordon) I was at a loss. You are there to stop people going in or out, and of course they come to you and want to go to work, visit their sick aunt, etc. and one feels one has no right to be friendly and helpful because the situation is so grotesque and mostly they will be subject only to rudeness or abuse. Do I have a right to dent their bate, which is their strength? At the same time I found it impossible to act out an indifference or

contempt.

The uniform one wears does not only hold a certain association for blacks. Particularly in the samll towns white people were keen to show their solidarity : "Is jully die ouens wat die kaffirs so lekker moer?" ( the local doctor); "Ons is gatvol vir hierdie kak wat die kaffirs maak. Die manne is lus om in the gryp" ( the salenman); "We're so bappy you're taking care of these blacks - you should shoot them " ( the pretty bank-teller).

One's superiors are not much help either . Although they step in whe\_n breaches of instructions become obvious, they seem not to want to know what is going on and won't interfere with another security force. Once we reported by radio that the cops were beating up a drunk in full view of the community, and the H.Q. radiced a reply which amounted to "What must we do about it?"

I have made a great number of generalisations seemingly drawn from one day's experience, but they are based on incidents over a period of months. A litany of incidents might become meaningless, but I will try and provide enough to be convincing and yet remain some impact. 12

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P.E. nights, township-ctyle: the 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. shift, having about in the back of an SAP landrover. Surreal scenes. Smoke darkening the night sky a school burning - the fire-brigade, a Casspir and us. Flashing lights, flames and smoke but no crowd: they have been told to stay inside, and aot report the fire, or have their own homes set alight. The township is huge, sprawling, never sleeps. Throughout the night, there are lights here and there, cars nosing about, scattered figures, shbbeens showing a quick blast of warmth and light form from a narrow door. A stolen vehicle is spotted - we give chase and , siren going, we career through the alleys. We catch up; others are already there, they haul the man out and start laying into him. As we leave they are smashing his head into his stolen car.

Another night, another fire, we are hanging around while the fire-tanker does its work when individual stones start dropping about us with deceiving harmlessness. Suddenly one smashes the windscreen of an SAP bakkie and two cops with shotguns bound off like dogs let off the leash. They stalk the lone stonethrower and corner him; he continues his desperate barrage. They shoot him dead. He is about sixteen. He is a kill.

Daytime - a vegetable seller is shot at with teargas for fun. He stops us to

complain: "The police are supposed to help us. What must we do if they abuse us?"

As we arrive to take over from another group at one small town, a policeman is whipping a black man with his sjambok. He is surrounded by a samll knot of army spectators. The officer in charge must have known what was going on, as the man's groans were clearly audible. In another town, a couple of army boys took to removing the points from their ammunition and pinching the cartridge closed to make blanks. "Jy most sign hos .lekker duik n kaffir as jy op hom skeet". Boredom also leads to drining on duty and, more innocuously, 2 o'cloc in the morning brazie on the location outskirts. Many of these incidents ster from a lack of discipline; h in one town our commanding officer, though a man of right-wing politics, was what we term "parait" ( a stickler for going 'by the book' ) which made him a better man for the job than many a pseudo liberal would have been. It is ironic that, stringent as our laws are, conditi would be far better if they were strictly adhered to. In practise, those who enforce the law have a contempt for it as an independent entity : they do not grasp the importance of upholding the law as a process rather than as merely a tool ( one of a number) for maintaining a certain set of circumstance ( such as 'public order'). It is an attitude worthy of the best banana republi

You may think that I have presented an over-pessimistic picture. After all, there are great changes taking place in our society : the abolition of the mixxed marriages act, political interference act eto are quite radical steps and whites are making big concessions. This is true enough, but at has hardly touched the reality of township life for most Africans and the character of the largest black -white meeting point: the police and the administration boards etc. The daily assault on the dignity and self-respect of the black man goes on, if anyghing made worse by the economic situation and the unrest.

What are we to do ( particularly those faced with conscription ) ? I think the only thing to do is to look honestly at how constructive your personal alternatives fo two years national service would be. For me, the flight overseas would have been just that - flight, motivated more by my own fears concerning the army than by political or moral objections. You may also find that the social cauldron that prompted you to leave, suddenly removed, leaves a vacuum that is bard to fill. That very intensity is out of leave overegat. National Service can be an opportunity for strengthening your beliefs and ideals by imposing them on an organisation not used to dealing with

#### such abstractions. Do so from the start though.

create. The war began the day the majority o. Africans were denied their rights as people. have been forced to go to the army since

THE REAL

THING!

For me the army and my involvement in the unrest has been an education ( if a traumatic one) that has situated me more concretely : I can now try to think and act on the basis of experience ( rather than intellectual posture). However, others have long ago had that aducation. History moves both faster and slower than we imagine. Perhaps if we do not take sides now, the decision will be made for us.

#### BRIG. JOFFEL VAN DER WESTHUIZEN Officer Commanding Eastern Province Command

The time has come to re-establish law and order. As members of a disciplined, effective and respected security force, each individuals' conduct must at all times be responsible and courteous.

We are confident that we shall win.

Our cause is just.

Always act honourably. Be a soldier that commands respect. Have confidence in your training.

Remember: Respect human dignity.



CARDS

End Conscription Compaign

1. Lt. Col. G. van Rooyen, SAP, is responsible for all media enquiries.

Be courteous at all times.

Respect property and ownership-

4. Your image is part of the operation. Conduct yourself militarily correct.

5. Avoid conflict.

6. Do not react aggressively in the face of provocation.

You are being called up to fight a war that you did not create. Africans were denied their rights as people. and R26 have been forced to go to 'defence' since then. If billion has been spent on 'defence' since then. have been forced to go to the army since l967 an billion has been spent on 'defence' since in milit colution to south Africa's problems lay billion has been spent on 'defence' since then. If solution to south Africa's problems lay in military force. then surely the war would have been over long solution to South Africa's problems lay in military force, in a surely the war would have been over a demo ago ?! then surely the war would have been over long a democration would have been over long a democration would not be necessarily where conservation would not be necessarily where we necessarily would not be neces ago ?! It is obvious that the answer lies in a democ-ratic society. Where conscription would not be necessary. Sebokeng · Soweto Kwanobuhle · Tembisa **Duduza** New Brighton Galeshewe · Bhongolethu · Joza KwaThema · Guguletu · Langa...

# **TROOPS OUT NOW !**

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Issued by ECC 126 Chapel Street Woodstock Printed by: Esquire Press (Ply) Ltd.: Vanguard Drive: Athlone Industria 1

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Young men

If the

# Township troops OUT!

Soldiers and riot police are everywhere to be seen in fort Elizabeth. They stroll in the middle of town, with their sums holstered or unarmed.

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

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

OUT OF STEL stoke to Mr Stone Sizane, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, East Cape Parion, to try and guage the feeling of those directly affected by the presence of the soldiers and jolice in the town-hips.

OUT (F STEL: What do local residents feel about SAUF troops being in the townships?

STUNE SIZAME: The SADE and the SAP act jointly to pick up large numbers of young people who are on the street, If you happen to resist arrest because you don't know why you are being arrested, they can shoot at you. Everyday reuple are being shot. You can see it in the press. At the moment people are becoming too afraid to move in the streets, especially after dark, mainly because they are terrified of being confronted by a wearon weilding eighteen-year old in browns. We have reached the stage where it is no longer possible to sit peacefully in a shebeen - our equivalent of a sports club, or ladies bar -

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for fear of being raided by a patrol of SADF's looking for a drink, or maybe throwing teargas inside just for the fun of it. We have beard of cases where they claim people are

people are disturbing the peace! How do you expect people to be quiet when they are relaxing after a week of grinding work and are drinking.

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

STONE SIZANE: ] want to point out that simply walking in the township streets thesedays has become dangerous bedause of these forces. Law and order, as stoken about by these guys, has become terrifying to our people. Huge, loud, lumbering vehicles and the way they use their weapons has become a major source of intimidation for township folk. By this stage, merely to be seen talking to the representatives of law and order in the townships could result in reprisals from some people. We have always been a non-violent people. Ask anyone who employs an african person. I ask you, "w did happen that by merely being

seen talking to a soldier or riot joliceman could result in intimidation by residents. How has it happened that this hostility and aneer has arisen on both sides? The SVI has always been with us in the townships. Nothing has have ened to them until the situation was militarised with these para-military flot cors and the SADE soldiers. We are not saying the ordinar, julicemum should get out the townships. we need them to take care of crime prevention. It is these armed forces, who behave in such a hostile and accressive fashion, we want out.

WI OF STEL: How do you see the situation unrest. developing if the army and riot police continute to keep up their prescence at a ce in the african townships?

STUNE SIZAME: Please, we are saying the troops and riot police should withdraw because pretty soon there will not be a single person here who has not lost someone close in this violence. What we have experienced so far with the loss of life may

be a picnic in comparison with what could come. They really must withdraw forthwith for everyones sake . We are even appealing to those white people who feel they must support the armed forces because 'somehow' cannot see any alternative, to realise that civil war is not a solution. Our reople grow angrier by the hour when they see how their residential area, already so delapidated and neglected, is being used as a testing range for the army and relice forces. It is like a battle fleld in there scmetimes. It connot continue. Remember, we are not shulting off avenues of communication with white people whom we earnestly believe are benefitting from our suffering either directly or indirectly. We are still prepared to hold discussions and forums with them with the hope they will aiandon the laager, and relax their preju dice to speak to us. Hut, and of this we are certain, we will refuse to welcome anyone who wears the uniform of oppression, who pretends to be our friend, while holding us at bay with automatic weapons.

# The stories crying

# for relief

Relief Centers are starting to appear in Fort Elizabeth and Uitenhing to respond to people suffering the effects of the unrest.

One organiser, who is working at a center in Uitehhage said numerous reports of SADF entering shebeens, some times twice a day had been recieved. Affidavits had been taken documenting the incidents. de said that allegations were being made that soldiers in uniform were taking the liquor and drinking it. He said several owners and ratrons had alleged that they were taken to the bush and beaten by uniformed SALF men. There had also been reports of soldiers giving youths money to buy dagga and liquor. Residents wearing [-shirts with slogans such as 'Stop this killing - Uitenhage massaccre 21 March, 1985' were also allegedly stopped and assaulted. Their shirts were also destroyed. One 20 year-old township youth has also alleged that he was beaten severely, before being buried alive. "itnesses who followed shouted and the soldiers ran away. The youth was saved.

Allegations had been made that security force vehicles were forcing civilian cars off the road and one jerson had been run down by an SADF 'Buffel'. He was one of two buried after such accidents.

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\*This report emerged from an ECC meeting which was addressed by a relief work organiser from Uitenhage.

ECC has adopted a range of long and shortterm demands:

we call for an end to conscription 🗰

drawn from the townships

we call for the troops to be with.

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we ask that conscripts be given the right to choose not to enter town-

# NAMIBIA: What now . . .?

#### by SARAH CROWE

Independence to many Namibians seems to be fading more and more into the future.

How can they (South Africans) say they are going to leave Namibia when every week we see more and more homes going up for military personnel at the bases and their presence is more noticeable now than before?" said one Ovambo teacher. "And now they are calling up all Namibians to light with South Africans — against their brothers. How can independence or a settlement be at hand, in that case?"

'Yes, how much longer must Namibians wait for their freedom? South Africa's occupation was ruled as Illegal in 1971, and since then the war — as well as *talk* of peace — has only increased in intensity.

The end of South Africa's own Vietnam seems no closer now than it did six years ago when the army first Invaded Angola in a mission carried out to "flatten SWAPO."

The United Nations, the International Court of Justice, government heads, pressure groups and church organisations around the world and in South Africa have called for withdrawal from Namibia. And, in recent years, the South African government itself has muttered about its intention of implementing Resolution 435 to make way for democratic elections in the territory.

But the muttering has gone on too long and, it appears, very few Namibiaris believe South Africa has any intention of withdrawing.

Politically it would no doubt be to South Africa's advantage to postpone Namibian independence as long as possible. Victory for SWAPO would mean victory for armed liberation struggle. And that would mean defeat on two fronts --- in Namibia and in South Africa, where it would bring great hope to liberation forces inside and outside the country (as happened with the Frelime victory in Mozambique in 1974) The South African government would clearly avoid this at ail costs

Reallsing however, that it will eventually have to give up Namibia, South Africa is, according to reports in an international magazine, stock-piling uranium, and mining other resources in Namibia – such as diamonds –

at an alarming rate. But a new style of warfare has energed in recent months — and the occupying South African ariny is now trying to give itself a 'good guy' image — an attempt at winning the hearts and minds of the people. As one Ovambo church worker described it:

"They tried to force us to accept them through the barrel of a gun, and that didn't work. Now they're trying the soft approach and that's not going to work either. We know our real friends. They call themselves 'security forces' but they don't make us feel secure; the people fear them and hate them. We know our real friends and they are not among Ihem."

The infiltration of soldiers at hospitals, clinics and even the viltages has intensified. Collectively called 'Etanga' (a word meaning sun) by the people of Ovamboland, part of their role is to socialise with the locals, as well as become more involved in the schools and hospitals as teachers and doctors. However, it appears even the soldiers themselves are sceptical about the effectiveness of the new tactic:

"You can't expect to be their (riend ... go and drink beer with them during the day and shoot them at night" said one soldier at the Oshakati military base in Ovamboland. (He was referring specifically to the shoot-on-sight curtew which has been in operation for years.)

An Ovambo church leader said the new strategy was clearly the final desperate measure of a loser.

"It's come too late!" he said. "For years the soldiers have been seen as killers not as protectors; it's not an image you can change.

Arms and the man: A common sight in any Namibian town.

The people see doctors and teachers in the same uniform as the one who killed their brother or their sister and SWAPO is our people too. The 'omakakunya' (the Ovambo word used to describe the soldiers — meaning blood sucker or bone picker) will always be that."

It is clear South Africa has 'won' the war — with such an overpowering advantage it would be hard not to — but, to quote one of the many propagande posters plastered all over the walls in the military bases "the most important part of any was is the psychological war". And that they clearly have not won.

A worker at one of the mission stations put It this way: "I feel really sorry for some of the South African soldiers. Many of them are ordinary boys, far from their homes. They are fighting a war some of them really don't believe in. More are beginning to ask themseives the question: Why are we here?' It's what I often hear at the mission from some of the soldiers who work with us. All of them are counting the days until they go home: 'min dae, min dae' (few more days), they all say. And that's why they wil never win this war — the soldiers don't have their hearts in it, they don't choose to come here. Not like SWAPO — they have chosen to fight..."

And an Ovambo teacher said that soldiers are never welcome in the classrooms and that children shoul at the soldiers teiling them to "go home".

But still, the people feel they have to be seen to be accepting the soldiers. The overwhelming fear expressed by many Namibians (especially in the north) from learned bishops to humble peasants, makes relatively sure the people's true feelings are never aired.

Informers, say the people, are everywhere. And the shortage of jobs meant an increase in the number of people desperate to survive — forcing more people to become informers.

As one missionary from the north put it: "The only person I can really trust is my mother. I don't even know if my brother is 'safe'. Everyone is so desperate 'they are easily bought — sometimes even for a pouch of tobacco.

"But," he added, "even the informers don't want the South Africans here."

KWAFELENI ETANGA LEAMENO

OPO LI MUMANGULULE KOMBINGA

The South Africans seem will-

ULUKLA DEKULO JASTVAPO ETANGA

OTO HONO OND A HAN I KINASH TASHI LANCUL

and in the start

"People of Owambo; Help Elanga,

the protector so that it may liberate

you from SWAPO. Report SWAPO

fighters to Etanga the protector. You

will be rewarded according to the

following tariff ... Liberate Owam-

bo!! Report on SWAPO!!

LEAMENO LE AND

DETACHAT TO COMMANDER

MPAKA:

ing to pay good blood money too. The price on the heads of the guerillas Is not easily turned down by an Impoverished people — R20 000 for a SWAPO commandant, R10 000 for an official, R2 000 for an ordinary guerilla, R1 000 for information on a guerilla's whereabouts and R200 for locating a land mine. (These figures were contained in pamphilets the army distributes by helicopter from time to time.

However, SWAPO undoubtedly has popular support. The organisation claims to have 100 000 members (out of a population of one million), and the people are right behind the guerillas.

But the element of the new 'subtle' was which seems to disturb people most is trapping SWAPO supporters. Although this trapping method has been used in the past it is now taking place on a far greater scale. Instead of the old clumsy operation, when Koevoet contingents would - under order of their white superiors - allegedly terrorise villagers into giving them information about SWAPO, residents say they now dress up in SWAPO latigues to play the part of a guerilla seeking aid; if villagers or missionaries help the 'guerillas' in any way - even with a cup of water - they are either charged with assisting 'terrorists', or assaulted.

And still the war goes on. But South Africa, with all its might and millions is not winning the real war — the psychological war. SWAPO has, through its de lermination and courage, won the admiration of the people. It's not difficult to see why, when you know the formidable conditions under which the 'freedom fighters' have to operate. The heat is often unbearable and the terrain flat and desert-like.

Back in South Africa, however, in the South African media, Namibian independence appears imminent ... a few problems exist with resolution 435 which will probably soon be ironed out at a Lancaster House-type meeting ... so the public are led to believe.

But the day of truth seems much further off when you're in Ovamboland surrounded by South African military bases, ground to air missiles, tanks and soldiers. A free Namibia and an end to this forgotten war seems an unlikely dream. The people are disillusioned. They feel the world has truly forgotten them — and they in turn seem to have forgot ten the hopes they once pinned on a few brave but poorly equipped treedom fighters'. They view American — and for that matter. International — involvement in Namibia, with suspicion.

"I don't understand how the Americans expect us to believe they are sincere about working for our freedom. The war is costing the South Africans R1 million a day. Can they foot the bill on their own? They all want our mines, our uranium and our natural resources and they are afraid we won't give it to them when we are free"; said a Windhoek politician.

Others say there's no other way than to wait for an international solution to their problem. Many, however, see more hope for Africa's last colony from within South Africa's borders.

"It's only when South Africans themselves start to feel and express the pain we feel that things will start to happen. When South Africa can no longer afford the economic pressure of this way, or when South African soldiers begin to rebel, or when dissatisfaction with apartheid grows to breaking point so that the South Africans cannot be fighting on two fronts ... only then can we hope for peace" said a Namibian (Lutheran) bishop.

"The people are longing for peace — as Christians we cannot lose hope and laith. But the people are now looking to the church as never before. They have no voice. They cannot speak, or mael, or organise or express themselves, so they took to us in the church to be their toudspeaker. And that is our duty!"



KIJ pugell

# CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION - A POSITIVE

BRETT MYRDAL

Throughout my life, one of my fundamental principles has been a desire to serve South Africa and it's people. Going into the SADF would so blatantly contradict my ideals, that I could not reconcile this with my conscience and continue my committment to me fellow South Africans.

My ideals have led me to strive with many other South Africans for a new South Africa, free from the hatred of apartheid. The Freedom Charter, drawn up in 1955 by the representatives of millions of South Africans, best reflects these ideals: of a non-racial and democratic South Africa in which the people shall govern.

My committment to a free South Africa has led me to oppose the government's new racist constitution, which can only strengthen apartheid, and to support actively the United Democratic Front in it's opposition to the constitution and the Koornhof Bills. If the new constitution is implemented, the militarised state of our society will not be lessened; if anything the situation will worsen, with the inevitable conscription of 'Coloureds' and 'Indians', and the formal incorporation of the military into government structures.

I see conscientious objection as the best way I can serve the people of my country, in the face of compulsory conscription. The consequences of my stand are but a small price to pay, when compared with the suffering endured daily by the majority of South Africans. As the conflict intensifies, more and more South Africans are refusing to do military service. Already more than 4000 conscriptees annually fail to report for their call up. Some have already objected, others evade their military service and many more have left the country. From next year. conscientious objectors will face a prison sentence of up to six years. Only those accepted as religious pacifists will be able to render 'community service'. This not only divides all those who object to military service, but will also lead many more to leave the country and go into exile. This wasteful drain on the country's resources will be exacerbated with the extension of conscription.

I fully support the call to  $\epsilon$ conscription made recently by the Bla Sash, and demand that there should alternatives to milita adequate national service. I would be prepar to render non military service whi would benefit the people as a whol This must be no longer than the prese period of military service and must no way contribute actively to t maintenance of apartheid. Until the demands have been met, I see my decis: to conscientiously object as the be way in which I can serve South Afri and it's people.



ETEHATHDRIVE

ty objections to service in the SADF revolve aroung three points.

Firstly, since the conflict in this country is a vicil rather than an external war, participation in the SADF cannot be regarded as an action which serves the interest of all the people of this country. By going into the army one is taking sides in the conflict one is actively contributing to the continued domination of one group of South Africans over another.

Secondly, the guerillas cannot simply be dismissed as terrorists. They have behing them a long history of non-violent resistance, and the violence now employed seems designed to avoid civilian casualties. Their standing is further enhanced by the fact that they appear to have the support of a large proportion of the population.

thirdly, the SADF does not restrict it's activities to defence. It operates primarily in Namibia where it acts as a force of foreign occupation. The SADF also occupies a large part of Southern Argola and strikes at will into Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. There is also virually incontrovertable evidence that South Africa is actively destabilising the economies of neighbouring states.

Given these three factors, given the 'profoundly unjust and immoral' nature of South African society, I cannot see that the question of how one ought to respond to conscription raises any profound moral dilemma. For me, going into the SADF would involve a complete denial of the ideals I value most highly, of standards I have held throughout my life.

The only way I can do my duty to the people of this country is by taking an uncompromising stand against the call to fight, and to accept the consequences of that action.

#### SADE INVOLVEMENT IN CIVILIAN ACTIONS

No-one who goes into the SADF can escape the fact that they are putting themselves in a situation where they can be commanded to act against South African civilians.

The military has been used on a number of occasions to assist the police in 'resettling' people at gunpoint.

During the Durban strikes of February 1973 citizen force troops in the Umgeni and Highway Commands were put on continual stand-by. At one stage, when it was thought the police were unable to deal with the strikers, troops from the Umgeni Commando were issued with live ammunition and loaded into Bedford trucks. Only news of the workers' dispersal prevented the commandos being used.

In the 1976/77 student uprising troops were used to protect key installations and placed on stand-by for deplyment in the townships.

During the schools boycotts in June 1981 troops were used in 'coloured' townships (Bosmont and Eldorado Park) along with the SAP to carry house-to-house searches.

To go into the SAUF is to take sides in the struggle in our country - for one is putting oneself in a situation where one could be commanded to forcibly "resettle" people, where one could be issued with live ammunition and instructed to disperse striking workers, or go into townships to 'put-down' a student uprising.

One cannot go into the army and take on the role of soldier and oppressor, and then protest about the system of white domination and oppression in this country.

PETE HATHOENE

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#### STATEMENT BY ETTIENE ESSORY

The crystalisation of my opposition to war and violence came about in 1977 when serving in Ondanwa, Namibia. For the first time I saw the lack of respect and dignity accorded to human life. How was i involved? I was simply 'maintenance personnel'. All I did was run an ammunution depot - supplying ammunition to anyone and everyone without reserve. My position led me to believe that I was not involved, after all I wasn't actually pulling the trigger - it takes very simple things to jolt one from complacency; like seeing a little girl staring at one through barbed wire, a little girl in a pink dress whose life had effectively been shattered because 'she needed to be protected'. i began to realize I was part of this 'protection' - I was a reponsible as the men who pulled the triggers.

At the end of 1980 I started a career in theatre. In theatre I began to learn the meaning of creation. Theatre functions on the organic being; the same being I helped to kill in Ondangwa. I was placed in the position of having to create for 11 months of the year and sedate my conscience for the remaining one. That is something we South Africans have honed to a fine art sedating our consciences.

I don't believe that violence is necessary to support a system, if the system is valid, it will support itself by it's virtues., The violence I oppose, is not only that which is being used on our borders and in Namibia, but the violence which is 'built in' to our social system: division, the opposite of union which is surely a moral objective, is violently upheld - the barbed wire is not limited to Namibia. this barbed wire keeps one person in Durban North and one person in or one person in Chatsworth, Johannesburg and one in Soweto. This institutionalised violence has set brother against brother and deported whole families to 'pie in the sky' reserves. (The dehumanising process it too involved to mention in such a limited statement).

Not for a moment must a man in the street be allowed to think. Make him afraid with talk of 'a Communist behind every tree, Swart Gevaar, the total onslaught,' and similar rubbish. This absurd situation could not exist in anything but a restricted violent society. This unequal society is violent as it is a system in imbalance, using 'unjustifiable force' to perpetuate it. Why did I do two further training camps if I felt the way I did? The answer is quite simple, I am ashamed to say, I did not have the guts to refuse.

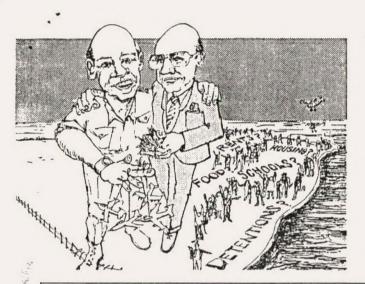
I have said that we sedate our consciences; we make statements such as 'we have inherited the situation', or 'what can I do'. We say we are defending Christian principles. Looking at the suffering and pain in this country these principles seem to be very much those of the anti-Christ.

Every month young men are leaving their country of birth because of their opposition to the draft, in desparation I too booked a ticket to England intending to go into exile. I cancelled the ticket - I couldn't trade my physical freedom for my spiritual freedom - I am a South African. I will not support any war and I will certainly not support this war.

I believe one defines oneself by one's actions. I am prepared to take responsibility for my actions. I belorg to no political organization. I believe sincerely that what I have done is in the best interests of South Africa.

I am prepared to render any sort of non-violent national service not connected to the SADF.

I would like it to be noted that I have not, although I had the opportunity to, evaded my responsibility, but have presented myself.



### Destabilisation

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The SADF is often accused of destabilising Southern Africa.

- Angola gained independence in 1974.
  - SADF invasion of Southern Angola in late 1975. The SADF was defeated.
  - Numerous raids by SADF which virtually occupies Southern Angola. Latest raid - "Askari" in December 83/January 84.
  - SADF no longer denies giving aid to UNITA.

#### Mozambique - gained independence in 1974.

- allegations that S.A. is financing, arming and training the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MMR now called Renamo). The MNR used to operate out of Rhodesia, now is alleged to operate out of the Northern Transvaal. Renamo has caused severe damage in Mozambique destroying 840 schools, over 200 clinics, roads, railways, the oil pipeline and has blown up convoys of trucks carrying food to drought stricken villages.
- January 1981 SADF raid on Matola 12 ANC members killed. - May 1983 - SADF raid on Maputo. S.A. claims that 64 people
- including 6 civilians, 17 Frelimo soldiers and 41 ANC members were killed. Mozambique government and foreign journalists claim 6 people including 2 women, 2 children and 1 ANC member were killed.
- October 1983. SADF raid on Maputo. 5 people injured including 3 ANC members.
- Lesotho Lesotho has always been economically dependent on South Africa, but has maintained some degree of autonomy as it has always accepted South African refugees. These refugees have included ANC and PAC members.
  - May 1983. South Africa slowed down all traffic entering and leaving Lesotho by checking every car at border posts. This resulted in food shortages in Lesotho.
  - Lesotho alleges that South Africa backs the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA). Many LLA attacks occur within 3 km of the Lesotho/ SA border which supports the allegation that the LLA operates Ofrica.

# THE DEFENCE FORCE

# Conscription

- 1967 Compulsory conscription introduced for white men, administered through a ballot system.
- 1970 ballot system abolished. All white male SA citizens called up.

#### Present situation:

All conscriptees render the following service

National service: An initial period of 2 years continuous service,

followed by 720 days over the next 12 years, in 6 two-year cycles of 120 days in each cycle. Not more than 90 days can be done in one year.

Active Citizen Force Reserve - for the next 5 years.

<u>Commando Force</u> - until the age of 60 can be called up for regional duty for 12 days a year.

The new constitution will allow the SADF to conscript coloured and Indian men into the SADF.



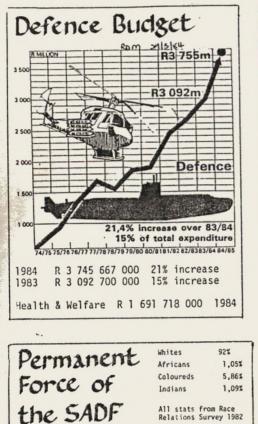


## Militarisation

The effect of the military is felt in all aspects of South African life.

The State: The State Security Council. which is alleged to be the highest decision-making body. consists of leaders from the government, the business world and the SADF. Schools: cadets veldschools drum majorettes Community: parades civil defence Southern cross fund ride safe schemes Media: almost daily TV coverage of the SADF adverts using military

themes radio programmes such as "forces favourites".



# Statement of the Catholic Bishops 1977

### "Hearts and Minds"

The SADF has said that it sees the war in S.A. as being 80% socio-economic and only 20% military. To win the '80%' the SADF launched a "hearts and minds" campaign to project the SADF as the friend and protector of all South Africans.

The Civic Action Programme (CAP) tries to promote this image among black people especially schoolchildren.

- CAP provides teachers, doctors, dentists and agricultural advisers in SA and Namibia.
- In Namibia the CAP is not very successful Archbishop Hurley said "Local communities do not want to co-operate with an army they distrust."
- \* In S.A. a CAP strategy has been to take black schoolchildren on holiday camps. In Cape Town's Hanover Park a SADF Camp had to be cancelled because of parents' protests that they had not been told the SADF was running the camp. The parents said the SADF was holding the camps for children 'to catch them early' and to teach them to "associate good things with the army". (Argus 10/3/84)

In contrast to the Civic Action Programme, the SADF is often active with the SAP in activities that can only be described as repressive:

- Roadblocks the SADF often helps the police and security police in roadblocks.
- \* House to House searches in the 'coloured townships during the school boycotts, the SADF cordoned off areas so the police could conduct house to house searches.
- Removals there are indications that the SADF is involved in forced removals for example Magopa was rumoured to be an "operational" area during the period of forced removals.

"In this matter of conscientious objection we defend the right of eveny individual to follow his own conscience, the right therefore to conscientious objection both on the grounds of universal pacifism and on the grounds that he seriously believes the war to be unjust. In this, as in eveny other matter, the individual is obliged to mate a moral judgement in terms of the facts at his disposal after trying to ascertain three facts to the best of his ability. While we recognise that the conscientious objector will have to suffer the consequences of his own decision and the penatries imposed by the State, we uphold his right to do this and we urge the state to make provision for alternative forms of non-military national service as is done in other countries in the world."

### Conscientious Objection

In World War II provision was made for conscription but this was not enforced. People could choose to serve overseas, in South Africa or not at all.

When conscription was enforced in 1970 there were some religious groups that objected to military service (e.g. Jehovah's Witnesses). But, in addition, the issue of conscientious objection as a response to apartheid, was raised.

In 1974 the SACC resolved

"to challenge all their members to consider .... whether Christ's call to take up the cross and follow him in identifying with the oppressed does not in our situation, involve becoming CO's."

CO's have objected for different kind of reasons:

Universal pacifists believe that all wars are always wrong and would not serve in any army.

These CO's included Presbyterians, Baptists, Anglicans, Catholic and 'non-religious' pacifists.

Selective Objectors: - "Just War" objectors object to service in the SADF, because it defends an unjust system and is engaged in an unjust war, on theological or moral grounds.

Until recently all CO's were sent to prison or detention barracks (military prison) for up to 2 years.

Apart from CO's who are prosecuted, a large number of conscripted men leave the country and go into exile rather than serve in the SADF. It has been estimated that more than 5 000 CO's had left the country by 1980.

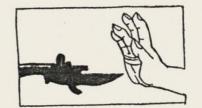
In 1983 new legislation was introduced for CO's. This legislation divides CO's into two groups. Religious pacifists who are recognised as CO's and non-religious pacifists (selective objectors) who are not recognised as CO's.

Religious pacifists. Different arrangements are made for these CO's on the basis of the extent of their objection.

- If the CO will do non-combatant service in the SADF, this will be arranged for the normal period of military service.
- If the CO won't wear an army uniform non-military service in a non-military uniform is arranged for 1½ times the normal service (i.e. 6 years or 1½ x length of service owed).
- 3) If the CO won't be associated with the army at all he will do community service for l1 times the normal service (i.e. 6 years or l1 x services owed).

These concessions are only made if the CO can satisfy a selection board that he is a bona-fide religious pacifist.

4) Any objector who objects on selective grounds (i.e. who for theological, moral or ethical reasons will not join the SADF, but would join a "just" defence force) is not recognised as a CO. Such objectors are sentenced to a prison term of 1½ x the length of service (i.e. 6 years or 1½ x the service owed).



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