

exempt in South Africa.

- Of the 24 countries with conscription that recognise conscientious objection, South Africa is one of only 7 that limits the recognition to religious objectors.
- Of the 16 countries that offer alternative service outside of the military, South Africa is one of only 5 that limits this service to government bodies.
- The maximum period of alternative service in South Africa is the longest in the world.
- The maximum period of imprisonment for refusing to do military service in South Africa is also the longest in the world. The six year jail sentences imposed on South African conscientious objectors David Bruce and Charles Bester in 1988 are longer than those recorded in any other country over the past 15 years.

APPENDIX 3

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, 1977-1983

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- 1977 Anton Eberhard sentenced to one year in military detention barracks (DB), 10 months suspended.
- 1978 Johann van Wyk sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment, suspended for three years.
- 1979 Peter Moll sentenced to 18 months in DB; served 1 year.
- 1980 Richard Steele served 1 year in DB.
- 1981 Charles Yeats served 1 year in DB, then sentenced to a year in civilian prison for refusing to wear a military uniform.
- 1982 Mike Viveiros sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, served 1 year in Pollsmoor Prison.
- Neil Mitchell served 1 year in DB and a further 6 months in Pretoria Central Prison.
- Billy Paddock served a year in Pretoria Central Prison.
- 1983 Etienne Essery served 1 year in the SADF and then objected to doing army camps; served 4 months in Pretoria Central Prison.
- Adrian Patterson sentenced to 4 months' imprisonment; did not serve due to a legal technicality.
- Peter Hathorn sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment; served 1 year in Pollsmoor Prison.
- Steven Granger prosecuted for conscientious objection but charges dropped for technical reasons.
- Paul Dobson objected after serving 14 months in the army; sentenced to 1 year imprisonment.

APPENDIX 4

INTERNATIONAL LAW ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AND ALTERNATIVE
 =====

SERVICE
 =====

Since World War II various international conventions, declarations and forums have made pronouncements that support, or are interpreted as supporting, the right of conscientious objection. It is a matter of debate as to whether the pronouncements establish this right in international law. Some commentators believe they do not, either because they lack the requisite juridical status or because their reference to conscientious objection is inferred rather than direct and explicit (Herz, 1986:142-147).

Nevertheless, the pronouncements are of significance internationally in that they have contributed to the liberalising of national policy in many countries (Appendix 2), influenced the attitude of many conscripts and been used by conscientious objector movements and individual objectors to justify their stands (Evans, 1989b:2).

In South Africa the pronouncements have been invoked in the trials of conscientious objectors and in submissions presented by the war resistance movement to the military and government (see for example ECC, 1985b and 1988b). They have not had any impact on state policy however.

The most widely cited authority for the recognition of conscientious objection is Article 18 of the 1944 Universal Declaration

of Human Rights. The Article states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom... to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship or observance". Although the terms 'conscience' and 'observance' are not defined or related specifically to conscription, Amnesty International and other human rights groups argue that the provision inherently recognises the right to refuse military service for reasons of conscience (Amnesty International, 1988:2).

A similar interpretation is given to other international, regional and national declarations and conventions. These include Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Article 3 of the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man, Article 12 of the American Convention on Human Rights and Article 8 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. According to Amnesty International, the first three of these conventions "do not permit derogation from the freedom of conscience under any circumstances" (ibid).

Support for the right of conscientious objection is also drawn from the principles contained in the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal, endorsed in UN Resolution 1 of December 1946. These principles, which emerged from the trials of Nazi war criminals after World War II, make an individual responsible for certain action contrary to international law. A person under military authority who is ordered to commit "war crimes", "crimes against peace" or "crimes against humanity" has both a right and a duty

to object to participating in them (Evans, op cit:2-3).

The UN General Assembly has not formulated general policy on the issues of conscientious objection and alternative service, primarily because 1/3 of its member states have conscription with no recognition of objection. The Assembly has however taken a stand on military service in South Africa (Chapter 9).

In 1987 the UN Commission on Human Rights accepted conscientious objection as a general right. It resolved to call on states to: "take measures aimed at exemption from military service on the basis of a genuinely held conscientious objection to armed service"; refrain from imprisoning objectors; introduce forms of alternative service "which are compatible with the reasons for conscientious objection"; and establish "impartial decision making procedures to determine whether a conscientious objection is valid in a particular case" (Evans, op cit:3).

The European Parliament and Council of Europe have similarly endorsed the right of objectors to perform alternative service and have made proposals on the nature of such service. For example in 1983 the European Parliament resolved that: alternative service should not be regarded as a sanction; it should be organised in such a way as to respect the dignity of the person concerned; it should benefit the community, particularly in the social field and the field of aid and development co-operation; and it should be equivalent in length to military service (Baker, 1986:139-140).

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 youth 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.

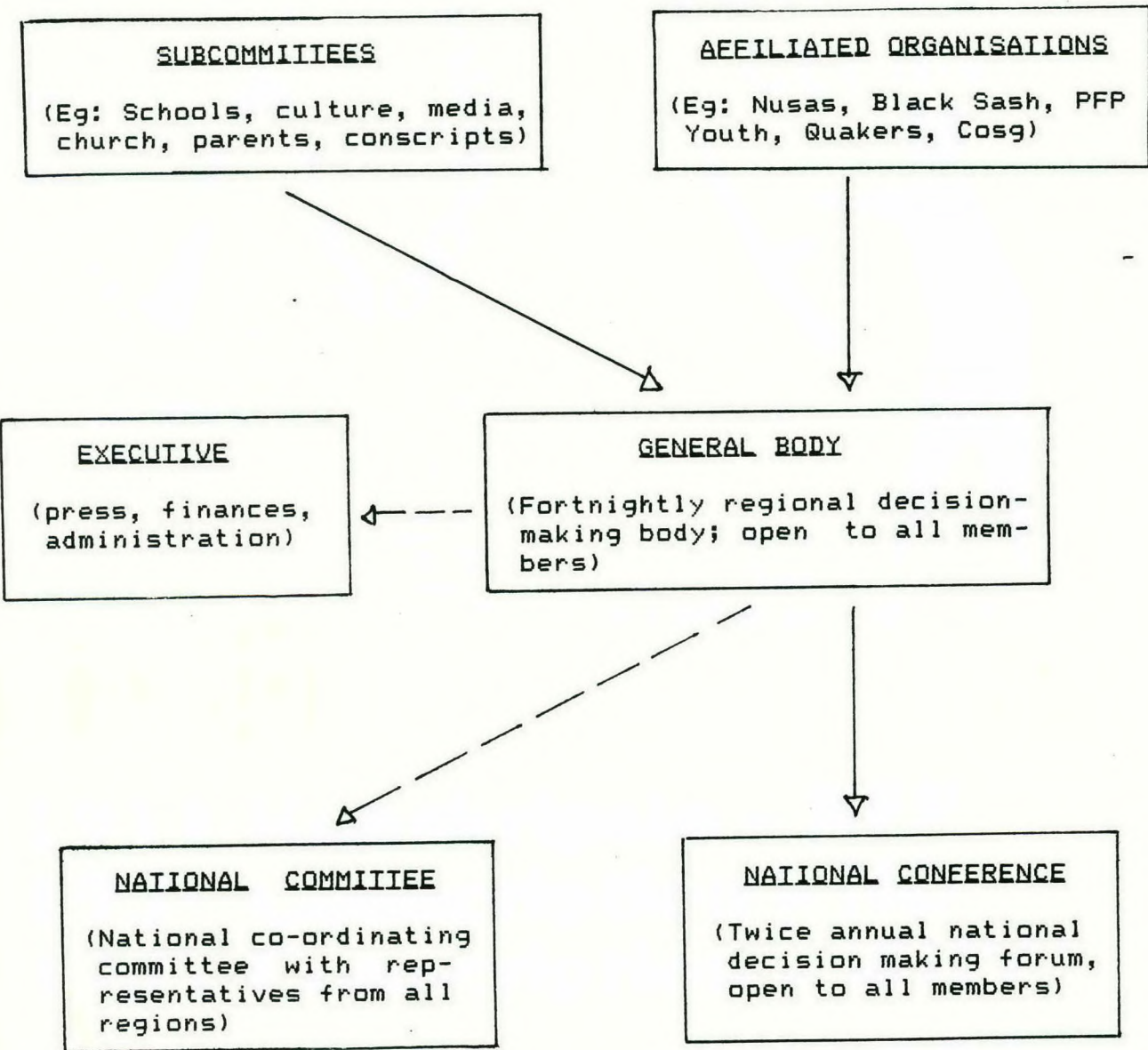
WE CALL FOR AN END TO CONSCRIPTION

WE CALL FOR A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND

ECC
End Conscription Campaign

APPENDIX 6

DIAGRAM OF ECC STRUCTURES
=====



ECC AND ANTI-ECC MEDIA
=====



Ever thought about helping build a children's home, painting a hospital ward or laying a rural water pipe instead of patrolling the township in browns?

These are the kind of things the End Conscription Campaign will be doing in April this year.

ECC is committed to solutions to the conflict in our country that do not involve military or police intervention. We are opposed to conscription into the SADF and to the militarisation of South African society. We believe in constructive community service that crosses racial barriers, building bridges to a better future. To illustrate this, we have embarked on an ambitious country-wide campaign: "Working for a Just Peace".



1914 Konskripsie - NEE
1939 Conscription - NO
1987 Conscription - WHY?

ECC
 End Conscription Campaign



FREE US
from the
CALL UP



End Conscription Campaign

Issued by End Conscription Campaign, 10 Belmont Road, Mowbray

Printed by Equine Press (Pty) Ltd, Vanguard Drive, Athlone Industria 1, Phone 837-1880/1

concert against conscription



dYNAMICS

SOCIAL CAMOUFLAGE

Back to normal

two swords

YELLOW LEVEL

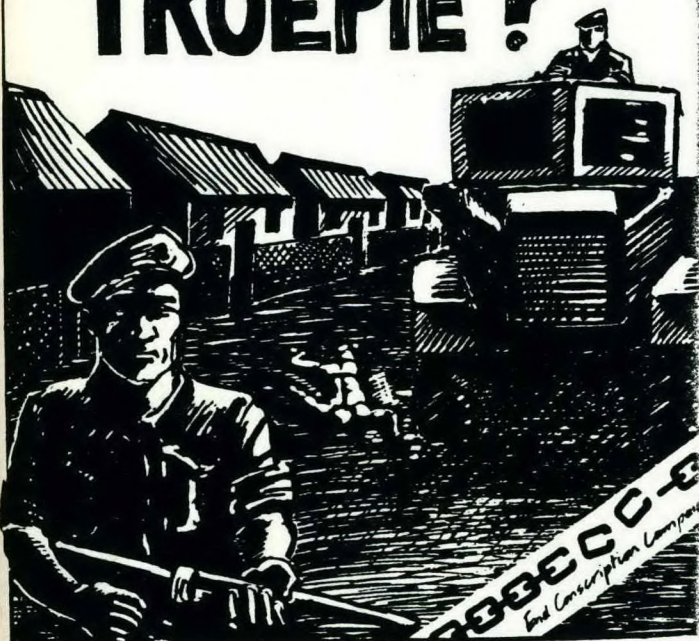


UCT

TUES.

9 OCT.

WAT SOEK JY IN DIE TOWNSHIPS TROEPIE ?



'What are you looking for in the township, soldier!'

WHERE'S THE BORDER NOW?

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

Attacks on! arre.

THE detention of the members of the Conservative Campaign Committee (CCC) and political activists, known as CCC members, were condemned yesterday by several organisations.

Those detained were Mr Michael Shaba, chair man of the Western Cape CCC, Mr Richard Snee, Mrs Anne Krumb and Mrs Sue Brit. CCC members in the Eastern Cape were Mr Richard Snee, Mrs Anne Krumb and Mrs Sue Brit.

The police said that the CCC members were arrested on the grounds of suspicion of involvement in the activities of the CCC.

The police said that the CCC members were arrested on the grounds of suspicion of involvement in the activities of the CCC.

The police said that the CCC members were arrested on the grounds of suspicion of involvement in the activities of the CCC.

'No hope' for 'Gaut digging'

SADF GET OUT!



THE PROBLEM WITH THIS GENERAL ELECTION IS YOU DON'T KNOW WHICH GENERAL YOU'RE ELECTING



E C sCene

Pietermaritzburg End Conscription Campaign

August 1986



S.A. EINDIG KONSKRIPSIE VELDTOG/ S.A. END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

Registrasiebeampte ECC or UCT Campus
Registering Officer ECC SRC Desk
1 Rhodes View
435 Main Road
Observatory

LEES HIERDIE INSTRUKSIES NOUKEURIG
READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY



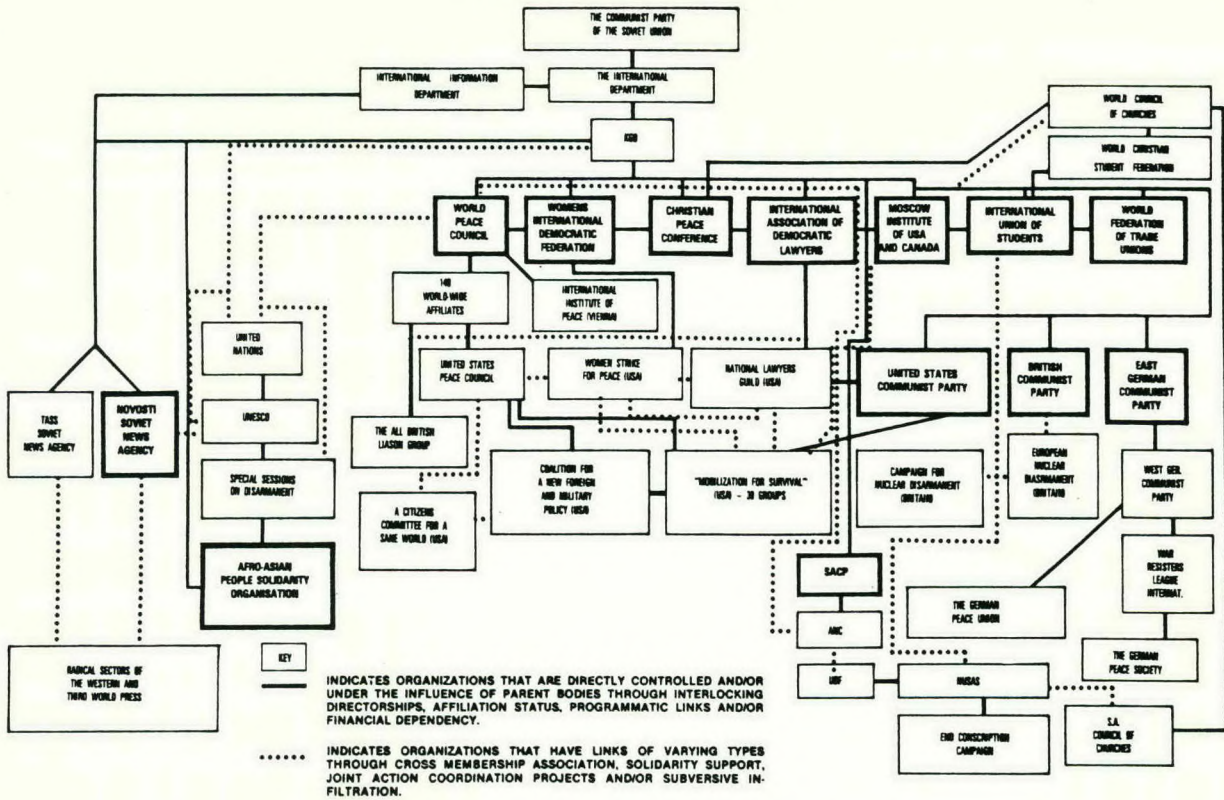
Vredenommer/Peace Number.....

KENNISGEWING VAN TOEWYSING VIR VRYWILLIGE DIENSPROJEK NOTIFICATION OF ALLOTMENT FOR VOLUNTARY SERVICE PROJECT

NEEM KENNIS: GEEN HERTOEWYSINGS WORD GEDOEN NIE
NOTE: NO RE-ALLOTMENTS WILL BE MADE

- U is kragtens die bepalings van die Vredewet, 1987 toegewys aan:
In accordance with the provisions of the Peace Act, 1987 you have been allotted to:
- EENHEID/UNIT **ECC**
- FUNKSIONELE GROEP ... **Creche decorating, mural painting** ...
FUNCTIONAL GROUP ... **playground building**
- DUUR VAN DIENS
DURATION OF SERVICE .. **Sun 17 May 9 am – 4 pm**
- PLEK VAN DIENS
PLACE OF SERVICE **New Crossroads**
- National Service need not mean military service. The ECC believes that the option of community service as an alternative to military service should not be limited to religious pacifists but should be available to all those who in good conscience cannot serve in the SADF.
- If you are committed to a peaceful and constructive alternative to military conscription join us in decorating a New Crossroads creche, building a playground for the children at the creche, and painting a series of educative murals.
- Report to a VOLUNTEERS MEETING where the day's projects will be discussed, and the campaign outlined.
When: Sunday 17 May, 9:00am.
Where: Cambria, Stanley Road, Rondebosch.
- All enquiries regarding this period must be directed to the Registering Officer, ECC, P.O.Box 208 Woodstock, or phone the ECC office at 479170 between 12:00noon and 2:00pm, or at UCT campus at the SRC desk.

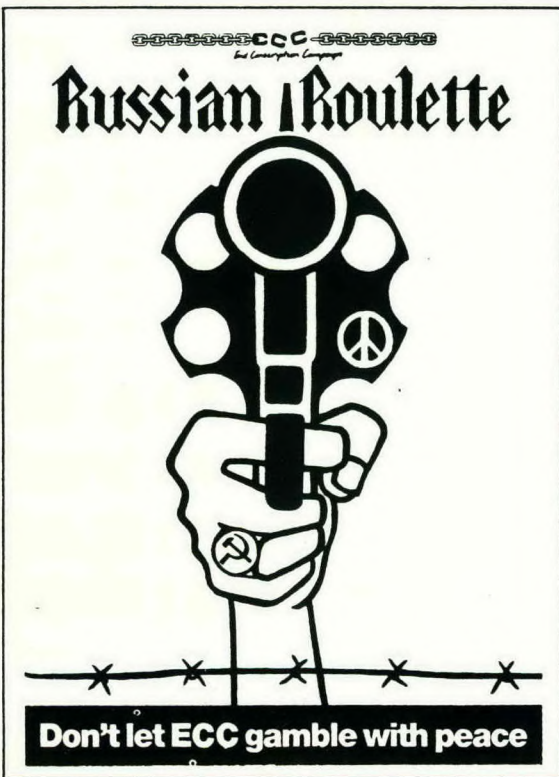
THE WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT IN PERSPECTIVE



Above. How ECC is linked to the KGB, in a glossy brochure produced by the National Student Federation.

Left: 'Defence makes sense' according to anti-ECC leaflet from the National Student Federation.

Below: SADF pamphlet, crudely mimicking ECC's broken chain motif, distributed in Cape Town's townships.



• SADF •

OUT OF THE TOWNSHIPS

IN ORDER THAT THERE CAN BE:
 STONE THROWING!
 PETROL BOMBS!
 ARSON!
 DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY!
 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS THROUGH THREATS!
 CONSUMER BOYCOTTS THROUGH THREATS!
 BURNING OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN!

THE **SADF** IS THE PROTECTOR OF PEACELOVING PEOPLE. THOSE AGAINST THE **SADF** PRESENCE IN THE TOWNSHIPS ARE EITHER NOT EXPOSED TO THE VIOLENCE OR ARE THE ORGANIZERS OF IT !!

Issued by the Officer Commanding, Western Province Command, The Castle, Cape Town

THE DEBATE AROUND 'TOTAL REFUSAL'
=====

For some years the international war resistance movement has debated the position of 'total refusal' which advocates non-co-operation with both civilian and military forms of compulsory service. Its adherents are opposed to participation in, and campaigns in favour of, a system of alternative service for conscientious objectors.

Total refusal is advanced from a range of ideological perspectives: anarchist, socialist internationalist, radical pacifist, libertarian and the 'religious retreatism' of groups like Jehovah's Witnesses. The position is based in part on arguments of principle: a compulsory system of alternative service is incompatible with individual liberty and self-determination; it is imposed by the state which is founded on violence and militarist values (Baker, 1986:127-137); and it implies an acceptance of the concepts of national citizenship and the state (Young, 1984:102).

Total refusal is also motivated along strategic lines: alternative service accommodates the majority of conscientious objectors, thereby defusing and compromising the struggle against conscription. This in turn facilitates the process of drafting young men into military service.

In some countries, conscientious objection is a minor right, but an exception that still confirms the universal responsibility. The formal incorporation of

dissidence in this way ensures the legitimation of the larger duty. (Young, op cit:102)

Pacifists have to ask whether in conforming with any of the provisions of a draft law, and especially in rendering conscript service regarded as of 'national importance' by a war-making state, they are not helping conscription to run smoothly, helping thus to force conscription on millions of youth and thus in turn promoting war. (US pacifist A.J. Muste, in Baker, op cit:136-137)

In relation to South Africa the argument is put more strongly. Some European objector groups maintain that "by co-operating with the authorities in state organised alternative service one is prolonging the life of apartheid" (Baker, op cit:137).

Although total refusal is a minority tendency within the international war resistance movement it has been a source of some tension. Its supporters sometimes present themselves as the 'radical edge' of the movement and regard objectors who accept alternative service as 'second-class citizens'. They in turn are accused of 'self-righteousness' and 'ideological puritanism', and of adopting a strategy that undermines public perceptions of objectors (ibid:138, 140-141; Solomon, 1986: 125).

The position does not appear to have much support amongst ordinary conscripts in Europe. For example 45 total refusers were imprisoned in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1975 and 1983, compared with nearly half a million men who applied for

conscientious objector status and alternative service (Baker, op cit:137).

In the United States a small number of objectors in the 1950's refused to do alternative service on the grounds that it was not "service for human fraternity" (ibid). Total refusal is currently the response of the US anti-war movement to the compulsory registration of young men for the draft. The movement argues that the process of applying for conscientious objector status is such that it militates against the building of a mass movement around objection, making total refusal the most strategically viable call (Meyer, 1986:231).

In South Africa, Jehovah's Witnesses are the only group with a principled stand of total refusal. Since they do not recognise the authority of the state they are not prepared to do alternative service 'voluntarily'. An accommodation has been reached with the government whereby they perform this service as 'punishment' instead. Similar arrangements have been made for Jehovah's Witnesses in some European countries (Baker, op cit:137).

The anti-apartheid war resistance movement is not opposed in principle to a system of compulsory civilian service, provided the service is not limited to apartheid structures. Given the urgent development needs of the country, the movement would support such a system under a democratic state.

The movement also believes that the call for alternative service is appropriate from a strategic perspective. The ECC's "Working for a Just Peace" and "Alternative National Service" campaigns

(Chapters 8 and 10) highlighted the merits of the call: it is seen by the white community as more constructive and attainable than the demand to end conscription; it underlines the movement's commitment to peace and development and the commitment of objectors to serving their country; it thereby counteracts state attempts to portray war resisters as 'negative' and 'unpatriotic'; and it is viewed with enthusiasm by the black community.

Furthermore, a substantial number of conscripts would accept a broad based system of alternative service as a preferable option to military service, jail, exile or draft evasion. The war resistance movement would alienate itself from these people if it advocated total refusal. While individual activists might take such a position in relation to their own call-ups, the movement as a whole is convinced that it constitutes a greater challenge to apartheid by being mass-based than by adopting a highly principled vanguardist approach.

There is no doubt however that a more liberal accommodation of conscientious objectors would defuse the struggle against conscription. Yet the likelihood of any change in the law does not depend solely on the stance of the war resistance movement. The government is under pressure to reform the legislation on objection from business, the universities, the churches and the liberal parliamentary party. In this context it makes political sense for the war resistance movement to try to influence the debate around alternative service in a progressive direction. A position of total refusal would simply sideline it from the debate.

FOOTNOTES
=====

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

- (1) Advocate Denis Kuny in the trial of Andrew Zondo (Star 11.4.1986).
- (2) Fundamental developments in the area of militarisation during 1989 have made it necessary to add a postscript on the current state and future of war resistance in South Africa.
- (3) To justify and illustrate this point a comparison of Israeli and South African conscientious objectors is presented in Appendix 1.
- (4) The 'international war resistance movement' is used here and throughout the thesis to refer to the 'family' of national and international organisations, based predominantly in Western Europe and North America, that focus exclusively or partially on issues of militarisation, war and conscientious objection from a radical pacifist or liberal perspective. The organisations are gathered mainly around the War Resisters' International (WRI), an international federation of conscientious objector groups, but include also the International Peace Bureau, the Quakers and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Chapters 8 - 10 discuss further the WRI, its relationship to the South African war resistance movement and the similarities and differences between the ECC and anti-war groups in

other countries.

- (5) The similar features of the ECC and the NSM's include a creative and dynamic style of campaigning, an outreach to a range of different constituencies, the incorporation of diverse ideological and cultural perspectives, an emphasis on grassroots politics, the building of democratic structures and a 'single issue' political focus (Cohen, 1985:663-670).

CHAPTER 2: THE SADF IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND NAMIBIA

- (1) These administrations included the Turnhalle Conference (1977), Multi-Party Conference (1983) and Transitional Government of National Unity (1985). They shared a number of common features: they were all based on ethnicity, they were not democratically elected, they comprised politicians with little or no credibility and they remained under the ultimate control of South Africa. As a result they were all soundly rejected by the international community and the majority of Namibians.
- (2) The SADCC states include Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Botswana, Malawi and Zambia.
- (3) This assessment was made prior to the SADF's 1987/8 invasion of Angola, the most costly of its operations in terms of white life.
- (4) In addition to the South African-Angolan peace agreement signed in 1988, the MPLA and Unita have arranged a ceasefire

in anticipation of a negotiated settlement and Frelimo is attempting to draw Renamo into a similar process.

CHAPTER 3: TROOPS IN THE TOWNSHIPS, 1984-1987

(1) The SADF's predecessor, the Union Defence Force (UDF), was repeatedly used against militant struggles in the first two decades after Union. The army brutally defeated strikes by mainly white workers in 1913, 1914 and 1922, and helped suppress the 1914 rebellion of Afrikaner nationalists (Lacey, 1989).

In more recent history troops were mobilised in 1961 after the Sharpeville massacre and in 1976/7 during the Soweto uprising. The prevailing Defence Act provides that one of the SADF's functions is "service in the prevention or suppression of internal disorder in the Republic" (Act no. 44 of 1957, Section 3(2)(a)). Soldiers are also regularly employed in what the Minister of Defence called "ordinary crime prevention operations" (Cape Times 19.5.1984).

(2) The chapter is based on research done by the writer (Nathan, 1989a).

(3) A survey conducted by University of Natal academics in Lamontville township near Durban revealed similar results. 90% of the residents canvassed felt that the security forces did not make their area any safer and 45% thought they increased the level of violence. 70% believed the security forces were there to repress community organisations, com-

pared with 8% who felt they were there to 'maintain law and order' (At Ease, ECC, May 1986).

- (4) See for example Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (1984 and 1987), Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights (1986), Black Sash (1986) and Detainees' Parents Support Committee (1986).
- (5) The new strategy was consistent with that employed by reactionary forces in Central America, the Philippines and Southern Africa. The security establishment in South Africa relied particularly on the writings of US Colonel John J. McCuen (1966). See further Swilling and Phillips (1989:144-148) and Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4: THE MILITARISATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

- (1) Frankel (1984:18-28) shows how the militarisation of South African society and government has its roots in the social formation of the Boer Republics in the 19th century. See also Lacey (1989).
- (2) This definition of militarisation is drawn from Cock (1989:2-4).
- (3) Since this thesis was written FW de Klerk has replaced PW Botha as State President and considerably reduced the military's influence within the state (see Postscript).
- (4) This section and the following sections on the State Security Council and National Security Management System are based

mainly on Swilling and Phillips (1989), Evans and Phillips (1988) and Selfe (1989).

- (5) For a more detailed survey of these theories, and in particular that of the French military strategist André Beaufre, see Frankel (1984:46-70).
- (6) See Boraine (1989) for a case study of the WHAM programme in Mamelodi.
- (7) Civil Defence units are comprised of civilian volunteers whose role is to help co-ordinate and maintain essential services in times of political and natural emergency. The military objectives of the system are to relieve the police and army of this role and provide a means of mobilising the civilian population in an SADF controlled network. See further Cawthra (1986:135-137).
- (8) The AWB is a neo-Nazi movement. Central to its policy is the concept of the Afrikaner *volk* (people/nation) governing themselves in an all-white state. As part of its strategy to attain power and crush opposition the AWB has established a uniformed military corps and a more broadly based 'civil defence' network. It is likely to be a powerful reactionary force in the transition to a democratic South Africa. See further Hyslop (1987).

CHAPTER 5: THE SYSTEM OF CONSCRIPTION

- (1) This section is based mainly on Frankel (1984:19-28).

- (2) In many respects the system of conscription in South Africa, as outlined in the text, is one of the most onerous in the world (Appendix 2). Since this thesis was completed however the length of military service has been substantially reduced (see Postscript).
- (3) For reasons of 'security' the SADF refuses to publish figures on the size and composition of its forces. Estimates of these figures vary considerably. Those cited in the text are drawn from Grundy (1988:21) and Cawthra (1986:262).
- (4) The SADF has segregated units for black volunteers. Coloureds serve in the Cape Corps and Indians in the naval unit SAS Jalsena. Africans are allocated to 21 Battalion in Soweto, a bantustan army or a regional battalion in a 'non-independent' black homeland. See further Grundy (1983b), Evans (1983b) and Cooper (1989).
- (5) The 'peace churches' include Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventists, Christadelphians and other small religious groups whose tenets prohibit their members from participation in any war.
- (6) These and the following figures on the Board for Religious Objection were provided by the Board's current chairperson, Mr Justice Edeling (1989:7-9).
- (7) The position of the mainstream Christian denominations on the question of participation in war is based on a selective or 'just war' perspective rather than a universal or pacifist

approach. The 'just war' perspective was formulated in the 4th century and subsequently developed by theologians like St Augustine, St Thomas Aquinas and John Calvin. It establishes a set of criteria by which a particular war may be judged 'just' or 'unjust'. See further SACC (undated:8-12) and Winkler and Nathan (1989:328).

CHAPTER 6: THE DILEMMA OF CONSCRIPTION

(1) A survey of attitudes to conscription was recently conducted by the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies (CPS). The survey, as yet unpublished, found that 59% of white male matriculants were looking forward to National Service. The remaining 41% said that they would serve in the army "only because the law says so" (interview with CPS researchers).

(2) For an account of such a case see At Ease, ECC, October 1986 and February 1987.

(3) These figures were provided the government's Central Statistical Services (CCS) (Weekly Mail 27.4.1987). They were probably an underestimation of the exodus. For example CCS statistics show that from April 1986 to April 1987 nearly 5 000 South Africans emigrated to the United Kingdom. The British Home Office reported that over the same period 19 000 people who had lived in South Africa for more than a year arrived in Britain intending to stay for more than a year (Star 1.7.1987).

- (4) See for example Argus 8.12.1987, Cape Times 8.11.1989, Financial Mail 23.12.1988 and 10.11.1989, Star 24.7.1988 and 10.6.1989 and Finance Weekly 4.8.1988.

In 1987 a University of Cape Town faculty dean worked out that 80% of the chartered accountants who had qualified from his department over the previous twenty years had emigrated. They left primarily because of the "waste of their time and skills when in the army and because of the army's role in the townships" (Progressive Federal Party MP Jasper Walsh, ECC meeting, Cape Town, 10.12.1987). A survey conducted at Rhodes University in 1987 revealed that 50% of white students were considering leaving South Africa after graduating; 56% of these gave conscription as a reason (ibid).

CHAPTER 7: EMERGENCE AND GROWTH OF THE WAR RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.

- (1) This chapter is based mainly on CIIR (1982), SA Pressclip Supplement (1982) and ECC (1985a).
- (2) South Africa's participation in both World Wars was fiercely contested in the white community. Afrikaner nationalists were bitterly opposed to fighting alongside the British army which had inflicted a humiliating defeat on them in the Anglo-Boer War (1898- 1902). They were also deeply unhappy about supporting the Union government which favoured the development of British capital in the country at the expense of rural Afrikaner economic interests.

The response of government was to avoid introducing conscription and to rely instead on a volunteer army. Many young men who were later to play key roles in government or the military under the National Party, like PW Botha and Defence Minister Malan, took advantage of this and refused to enlist.

The Afrikaner churches supported these and other acts of war resistance. In complete contrast to their current position they argued that individuals have an obedience to God before the state and therefore have a right to refuse to participate in particular wars.

See further McIntosh (1980), Saayman (1980), Durand and Smit (1987) and Lacey (1989:35-39).

(3) The mainstream English-language churches include the Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist churches. The leadership of these churches is predominantly white and their membership 80% black. All are members of the South African Council of Churches.

(4) The Conscription Advice Service (CAS) remains active throughout the country. Its role is to provide conscripts with information about military service and the alternatives and to help them make informed decisions about their call-ups. CAS workers employ 'non-directive' counselling methods and if necessary refer the conscript to a priest, psychologist or lawyer familiar with the issues.

CHAPTER 8: THE POLICY, CHARACTER AND CAMPAIGNS OF THE ECC, 1984-6

(1) This section and the following two sections are based on internal and public ECC documents.

(2) This position of the ECC differed from that of many anti-war groups in other countries. See for example Felker (1986:236) on 'counter-recruitment' and anti-draft registration programmes in the United States, Field (1986:249) on the stand of the Committee on South African War Resistance (Cosawr), various pamphlets issued by the German Peace Society-United War Resisters (DFG-VK), and the approach of Yesh Gvul ("There is a limit") in Israel (Appendix 1).

(3) The mass democratic movement is a broad alliance of internal anti-apartheid forces committed to a 'non-racial, democratic and united South Africa'. It is comprised of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. See further Chapter 1.

(4) In this respect too the ECC's position differed from that of many anti-war groups in other countries. For example the War Resisters' International (WRI), an international federation of conscientious objector groups, has a principled or universal opposition to conscription from a radical pacifist perspective (Solomon, 1986:122-126).

(5) National affiliates of the ECC included the National Union of South African Students, the Black Sash, the Progressive Federal Party Youth, the Conscientious Objector Support Group,

the Catholic Justice and Peace Group, the National Education Union of South Africa and the Methodist Christian Citizenship Department. Regional member organisations included the Quakers, Women's Movement for Peace, Jews for Justice, the Anglican Board for Social Responsibility, Diakonia, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and other white affiliates of the United Democratic Front.

(6) The ECC branches were represented on a National Committee that met six times a year to co-ordinate campaigns and regional policies. National policy was made at bi-annual conferences open to all members. There was a national office in Johannesburg and local offices in Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg and Durban. In 1987 the ECC's full-time national workers included two organisers, a secretary and a treasurer.

(7) These demands are essentially the same as those made by the international war resistance movement and most national conscientious objector groups (Baker, 1986:127-141).

In addition, objector groups in Europe are currently pressing for alternative service to be made available in the form of international peace and development work. The underlying principle is that the nature of civilian national service should be consistent with the commitment to 'international peace and co-operation' that is part of the motivation of most objectors in refusing to do military service (ibid:129; McCormick, 1986:183-187).

There is not however unanimous support for alternative ser-

vice within the international movement. A minority position, referred to as 'total refusal', opposes both military and civilian forms of compulsory service. This position and its relevance to the situation in South Africa are discussed in Appendix 8.

CHAPTER 9: THE BROADENING OF THE WAR RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

- (1) In 1978 the UN General Assembly unanimously called on its member states to "grant asylum or safe transit to persons compelled to leave their country of nationality solely because of a conscientious objection to assisting in the enforcement of apartheid through service in military or police forces" (Resolution 33/165). In 1980 the Assembly went further and called on "the youth of South Africa to refrain from enlisting in the South African armed forces" (Resolution 35/206B). (Field, 1986:248-249)

CHAPTER 10: THE ECC UNDER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

- (1) It emerged in a court case a year later that the SADF had in fact been responsible for this action (Star 15.10.1988). The Ministers of Defence and Law and Order denied any knowledge of it at the time.
- (2) Some political commentators believe that this figure is a considerable underestimation of the total number of deaths. The SADF did not include in it the number of soldiers who died as a result of 'accident' or disease in the 'operational

area', nor did the military announce the death of any black troop or member of its special parachute and reconnaissance battalions (Gavin Evans in Weekly Mail 29.4.1988).

- (3) See Rauch (1989) for a description of the motivation and social background of these objectors.

CHAPTER 11: AN ASSESSMENT OF ECC AND THE WAR RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

(1) The ECC's efforts to transcend the doctrinaire chauvinism of the 'white left' are mirrored in developments within the peace, feminist and ecological 'new social movements'. These movements have replaced the centralised structures and "revolutionary Marxist political culture" of the Old and New Lefts with democratic associations, a focus on grass roots politics and a willingness to debate and incorporate diverse ideological and cultural perspectives (Cohen, 1985:663-670).

(2) Because war resistance inherently challenges the legitimacy of the state, war resisters and conscientious objectors have historically experienced some form of state harassment in virtually every country they have taken a stand. They have been subjected to smears on their personal integrity, tortured and physically assaulted, imprisoned, forced into exile, confined in labour camps and psychiatric hospitals, and sometimes killed.

In World War I for example many objectors served prison sentences of up to ten years, while others were forced into uniform and taken to the frontline under sentence of death

(Solomon, 1986:123). US President Theodore Roosevelt remarked during the war that he would not shoot objectors but would take them to a place where they could be shot (Baker, 1986:128). In 1988 Iranian draft resisters were reportedly sent to the battle front and used as human mine detectors (War Resisters' International, 1988:6).

The repression currently experienced by objectors and war resisters throughout the world is recorded in Amnesty International reports and the War Resisters' International's annual 'Prisoners' Honour Roll' (see for example Amnesty International, 1988 and War Resisters' International, op cit).

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