

# OUT OF STEP

PUBLICATION OF THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN CAPE TOWN

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## JMCs' 'dirty tricks' continue

The SADF together with the Joint Management Committees (JMC's) are intensifying their efforts to win the 'hearts and minds' of township residents. This emerged at the recent launching of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) in Cape Town on the 28 March.

Delegates reported on the insidious 'dirty tricks' of the JMC's in their attempt to undermine township organisations.

The SADF plays a key role in the running of the JMC's. Recent research has exposed these locally-

based committees as part of a nationwide network controlled by the secretive State Security Council. The JMC's were established with the intention of undermining organisations working to end apartheid.

According to Natal youth representatives, the SADF 'is involved in a youth programme which includes organising excursions to the beachfront.'

In joint projects the JMC's and Community Councils in the Southern Transvaal have been organising "reactionary cultural

groups", and trips to places like 'Club Image' with the intention of demoralising our youth."

Said the Southern Transvaal delegation, "The JMC's were introduced to reverse the people's gains in the struggle after the collapse of the Community Council."

A similar picture has emerged in the Southern Cape.

"Shortly after the emergency the SADF tried to co-opt the youth by taking some of them to youth camps outside the townships and

to places like the Congo Caves and holiday resorts. During these outings people are given indoctrination lectures."

Allegations that the JMC's were deploying vigilantes against township organisations came from the Eastern Cape and Orange Free State.

In an attempt to dispell its unpopular image the SADF was giving children sweets in the Northern Transvaal. In a statement SAYCO strongly condemned the "infamous programme of implementing the JMC's to subvert our organisations."

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OUR BOYS YOUR TOYS. A child plays in a tank at the 75th anniversary celebration of the South African Defence Force last month.

# Objector Speaks

On the 13th of May Philip Wilkinson was found guilty of failing to heed a call-up for a military camp in April last year.

When sentencing Wilkinson to a fine of R600 the magistrate, Mr C.E. Schutte, said that although he had taken all the mitigating facts into account, "No individual can be allowed to disrupt the South African Defence Force and, for that matter, the entire administration of the country".

Evidence in mitigation was given by a former member of the elite 'parabat' parachute battalion (who told the court he is now an End Conscription Campaigner), and a pro-SWAPO Namibian student leader. They held the court visibly spellbound as they spoke of their view of the war from opposing sides.

Here we publish extracts from Philip's statement at his trial.

I am a Christian, brought up in the beliefs of the Catholic Church. I am committed to peace and to working for a better future for all South Africans.

I abhor all violence and have consciously not used violence myself since my childhood.

I have been brought up to respect all people, regardless of their colour, sex, religion or status.

I believe that all armies legitimise the use of violence and dehumanise the 'enemy'.

The SADF defends Apartheid, which in terms of my Christian understanding is a heresy. For me to participate in the SADF would therefore be a betrayal of all that I know to be good and just.

The Bible and the teachings of the Catholic Church call on me to identify with the suffering and the oppressed. As a Christian, I must therefore involve myself in the community around me.

It is this concern for peace and for justice that has led me to work at the Port Elizabeth Crisis Inform-

ation Centre, a centre which helps people who have been hurt by security force actions, for example detention, harassment and assault.

My work therefore brings me into daily contact with victims of apartheid and has confirmed my belief that service in the SADF is not national service. It serves only the ruling minority. National service under the present system should rather involve defying this government and working for a better one.

The SADF commits crimes against humanity as long as it defends the universally condemned system of apartheid. Apartheid has been legalised, reformed and enforced to give power to a minority over a majority of South Africans. This power is used not only to ensure the vast wealth of our land is held in a few hands but also to deprive millions of people their basic human rights.

The SADF is one of the most powerful tools in the hands of the present day rulers. This is demon-

strated by its repressive actions both in Namibia and South Africa.

A report by the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference concludes that there is a universal consensus - with South Africa being the only dissenting voice - that South Africa has no right to be in Namibia.

Back in South Africa, SADF troops have been responsible for brutally repressing resistance to apartheid. Troops have been used to harass, detain, maim and kill South Africans. They have cordoned off whole townships for days at a time, slowing down residents' movements while passes and I.D. books are checked. At the same time other troops go on house to house searches - smashing windows, breaking down doors, destroying personal property, stealing possessions and insulting and assaulting occupants.

Troops have also been used to remove forcibly whole, productive and thriving communities into resettlement camps situated in dusty and barren wastelands.

For all of us there comes a point when we can no longer compromise. A situation becomes so

difficult to live with, that we have to stand up for what we believe in - no matter what the cost to ourselves and our loved ones.

I have reached that point with military service. I cannot justify going into the SADF politically, morally or theologically. I suspect the government has also found it increasingly difficult to justify conscription and has therefore restricted public debate on the subject.

Your Worship, I have stated my reasons for refusing to be conscripted into the SADF clearly and honestly. If this court should choose to punish me on account of them, so be it.

I have in my heart an absolute conviction that what I am doing is right. I will not sacrifice my life or lend my body to the defence of apartheid. Apartheid is a crime against humanity and many of those leading its armed forces are its foremost criminals. I can foresee the day when those responsible for calling me up are themselves on trial for their crimes.

As I stand before you, I stand for peace and I stand for justice. I stand here in the spirit of the South Africa we have yet to build.

## Cadets: not child's play

"Cadets are a military orientated organisation. The uniform worn by cadets corresponds to that of our soldiers who are fighting on the border. The cadet thus in a sense represents these soldiers when he puts on his uniform. Together with his uniform he also puts on all the military traditions and usages. Cadets also learn some of the basics of military life, which gives them an advantage during their national service over those who did not enjoy this training - easing the transition from school to life in the military." - SADF Yearbook, 1986.

Cadets has been an integral part of Christian National Education since 1976 when cadet programmes were first incorporated under the direct control of the SADF. This move formed part of a wider strategy to increase and improve the armed forces after Mozambique and Angola won their independence.

There is a standing inter-departmental committee which oversees the cadet programme. This comprises the Departments of Defence and Education and meets once a year. Schools are divided into commands which correspond to SADF delimitations. Equipment for schools is provided by the different area commands. The cadet curricula and guidelines for training are the responsibility of the SADF's College for Educational Technology.

Cadet training is usually carried out by teachers who have been trained as cadet officers. After student teachers qualify, they are sent to Oudtshoorn to do

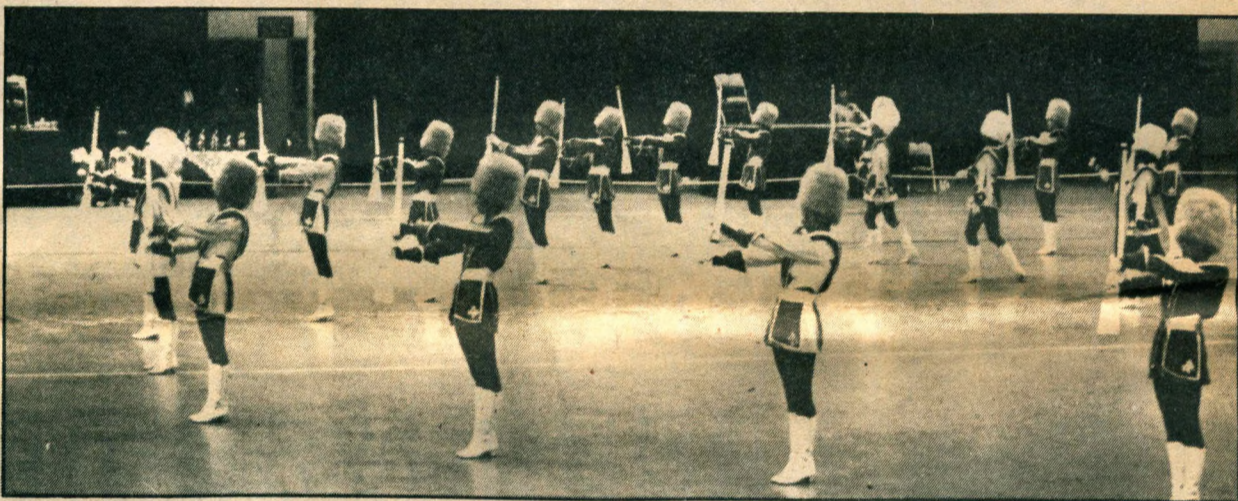
their military service and are trained as cadet officers. They are then responsible for running the cadet detachments at their school. These 'teacher-officers' are then exempt from doing camps. An incentive for schools to participate as fully as possible in the cadet programme is that extra staff allocations are often made on the basis of their numbers of cadets.

Exposure to militaristic attitudes and involvement in military exercises from an early age (13 yrs in Std 6) obviously decreases one's ability to question these later on. One is forced to participate in the military in an environment which generally does not encourage an enquiring mind. In relation to this specific area, this is encouraged even less.

The aim of the cadets programme is to make the military acceptable and 'normal' in the eyes of white South Africans. Most men face their call-up after completing their schooling and, after five years of cadets and Christian National Education, are hardly in a position to make a responsible decision about the SADF and their involvement in it.

However, cadets is not compulsory. All that is needed for one not to have to participate is a letter from one's parent.

Paratus observed in 1978 that "Schools are rapidly approaching the state where the whole cadet programme will be completely integrated into the schools system in general and to the needs of the SADF in particular". It would seem that that state has now been reached.



Drum-majorettes drill with wooden rifles at an inter-schools competition.

## Drummies: girls on parade

Ta-ra-boom-de-ay! Drum majorettes is a "sport" at many white schools today. While it is completely voluntary, it serves to fill the military gap in girls' education catered for in boys' schools by cadets.

The military parallels in the training of drummies may not be as blatant as in that of cadets, but they nevertheless do exist. The most striking of these are that some of the squads carry wooden or plastic rifles or mock swords. Some wear uniforms modelled on military styles with insignia and medals; and some squads are trained by military personnel. A military style of drill and discipline is also used. For example, if drummies are in any way "undisciplined" they have to run specified distances. This is a common form of punishment employed in SADF basic training!

The language associated with drummies, too, is extremely militaristic. DRUM MAJORETTES MARCH in SQUADS and put on DISPLAYS. They often march to CADET or ARMY BANDS, or certainly to a MILITARY BEAT.

It is also interesting to look at some of the criteria on which these squads are judged. The

combined squad, the combined leader group, the leader, and the sub-leader are all judged separately on grounds which include: precision marching and completion of movement skills; music interpretation; general impression and suitability of uniform; integration and synchronization (of leaders with the squad); and body movement skills, showmanship and degree of difficulty (of individuals in leader roles).

The uniform is judged separately on criteria such as uniformity, headdress and boots, uniform detail, props and general impression.

Precision timing (dressing, spacing, marching in step and exactness of movement) and display (variety of formations, utilization of movement within demarcated area, degree of difficulty, effectiveness in use of arm-hand movements and manipulation of props) are also separate judging categories.

Squads can also be penalised for arriving late for uniform inspection, for the absence of headdress and/or boots and for not keeping exactly within the time allowed for the march on and for the display.

The military aroma pervading the drummies scene is obvious. In addition to its militarism, however, the institution has long been seen as a bastion of sexism. A troop of 'girls' being trained to march in very revealing dress in time to military music in order to titillate and delight the crowds doesn't have particularly liberated connotations. Drummies are also usually chosen for reasons of their appearance rather than their ability to execute the required movements.

"Leggy" is an adjective widely applied to these 'girls', who could be said to be on display while putting on a display!

Drum majorettes is yet another step in the increasing militarisation of white schools in South Africa. Using military symbols (guns, swords, uniforms) only serves to glamorize and normalize war.

Within the context of an already heavily militarised society, doesn't making drummies and cadets an everyday part of school life help to make the military acceptable, militarised norms inescapable, and a war psychosis inevitable?

# First Cape Town dads' army camp

When the SADF decided to call up Southern Suburbs dads in Cape Town last year they didn't know where to start. So they approached a well-known mail order company and used their mailing list.

They initially sent out 77000 letters, including one to a 90 yr old woman. Next, 4700 registration forms were sent out and, they claim, 4200 of these were returned. Subsequently, 108 people arrived for a five-day camp, held at an unused Diep-river school. It is not known how many were actually called up.

A participant reported that the unit went through a small amount of rifle drill. Most of the time was spent listening to lectures from high-ranking officials spelling out the evils of the "revolutionary tactics" of the "Moscow controlled UDF and ANC" and the "communist onslaught against civilized norms." The participant interviewed objected constantly to what was being said and was eventually asked to leave the lecture. He commented that most of the dads seemed very moved by the talks, feeling they were

now equipped to defend their country.

The dads were told they would not be sent into the townships. Instead their duties would include staffing roadblocks and relieving SADF personnel from clerical duties.

The participant interviewed felt that the men did not learn anything useful during the short 5 day camp. It was too brief to be of any use and a very expensive exercise. All were issued with uniforms to take home and keep. Notions of regular camps seemed to be dispelled when the specially renovated school was dismantled after the camp ended.

Deferments for the Dads' Army are apparently given serious consideration. The SADF seems to accept that middle aged men are in very different circumstances to school leavers and are treated much more leniently. Single parent status or a single business ownership, for example, would be regarded as valid reasons for not attending the camp.



Singing an anthem of peace - part of the gathering at the ECC Day of Concern meeting, held in St George's Cathedral hall.



"I JUST WANT TO GO BACK TO THE OFFICE"



**WAR IS NOT COMPULSORY**

**LET'S CHOOSE A JUST PEACE**



End Conscription Campaign

## UCT ECC forges ahead

The newly formed branch of the End Conscription Campaign at the University of Cape Town is forging ahead.

One of the main aims of the UCT ECC has been the building of a strong alliance of organisations in support of ECC's aims. This process began three weeks before the ECC's launch on the campus. This took the form of a cheese and wine function attended by members of dozens of campus groups. About thirty of the groups attended the launch itself.

Once these links had been forged, UCT ECC has tried to strengthen them. Although ECC is now working on its "War is not Compulsory - Let's Choose a Just Peace" campaign, a whole subcommittee is dedicated to building the alliance. ECC believes that links should be as strong as possible.

The aim is for organisations not only to affiliate to ECC, but to send regular representatives to meetings - or even set up their own anti-military groups.

Michael Briggs, UCT ECC chairperson, feels that UCT is a very healthy environment for a group like the ECC. He hopes that new membership and alliance-building will reach impressive proportions. With over a hundred members already, the UCT branch of the ECC seems fit to fulfil this promise.

## Malan's 'facts' are discredited

Aida Parker rides again! This time in Grahamstown, where Magnus Malan showed once more that you can't keep a good smear down.

Addressing an election meeting in April, he delivered yet another tirade about the ECC. His "facts", however, seemed to coincide almost completely with those posited in the Aida Parker Newsletter - discredited by the Media Council in November last year.

Malan described the ECC's aims as being to:

- Accuse the SADF of being a threat to peace and the guardian of an unjust system;
- Oppose public support for the SADF and to make defence spending suspect;
- Discredit the school cadet system;
- Discredit the chapel service;
- Propagate conscientious objection to military service among all the population groups;
- Gain more sympathy from overseas for their struggle, with the accompanying financial aid

Aida Parker, coincidentally, ascribed the following aims to the ECC:

- To project the SADF as a threat

to peace because it is allegedly used to defend an unjust system;

- To erode public support for the armed forces;
- To seek to discourage and destroy the cadet system at White schools;
- To sustain the attack on military chaplains;
- To propound the theory that military service is a violation of human rights;
- To promote conscientious objection among Coloureds and Indians;
- To help focus international opprobrium on South Africa.

The Aida Parker Newsletter has, in the past year, been widely distributed within the SADF and in schools. It contained a number of "untrue and incorrect" allegations about the ECC. It was also found to have "breached the media code of conduct in a number of respects".

Malan's comments therefore pose an interesting question. Is the National Party using the APN as a standard text, thereby passing off discredited and untrue statements as the official party line? Or has the official National Party propaganda, as set out in the APN, been judged to be factually incorrect and misleading?

# ECC under attack

Once again the seemingly orchestrated, national attack against the End Conscription Campaign rears its ugly head. The current spate of attacks aimed at smearing and undermining the ECC seem to stem from both official and unofficial sources.

Sneak attacks against the ECC in Cape Town range from smear posters and graffiti to theft and crank telephone calls.

Pole posters advertising the ECC Day of Concern in April were defaced by a set of phoney posters carrying slogans such as "National Day of Mourning for Victims of Terrorism" illustrated with an armed half-human, half-gorilla, the hammer and sickle emblem emblazoned on its forehead and a baby with a burning tyre around its neck.

The posters purported to have been issued by the ECC and printed at Esquire Press - both allegations are untrue. After advice from their lawyers, ECC has decided to open a case with the police.

A second batch of smear posters emerged a few days later, claiming that "ECC members are yellow", "ECC does it from behind" and "ECC believes in fairy tales." When ECC member Ivan Toms spotted the culprits at work late one night he alerted the police. When going to apprehend them, the policemen managed to 'lose' all four men.

Graffiti attacking ECC members and slurring the ECC have sprouted up all over Cape Town recently. A car of one member was broken into and all ECC material inside was stolen. In Johannesburg recently, the car tyres of ECC members were slashed.

The government has also tried to smear the ECC. At a National Party election meeting in Grahamstown recently, General Magnus Malan flung wild and unsubstantiated accusations at the ECC. A comment on radio South Africa also launched a diatribe against the ECC. A new bumper edition of the conservative newsletter published by Aida Parker has once again been devoted exclusively to attacking the ECC, despite the Media Council finding a previous edition to have made unfounded accusations against the ECC.


"This systematic smear campaign seems to have the intention of setting a climate which would justify a crackdown on the organisation in the eyes of the public" said ECC Press Officer Tracey Clayton.

But the ECC is game to continue the ideological war in the streets of Cape Town. "It's the support for the issues which ECC takes up, such as the lack of choice offered to conscripts, that worries these right-wing groupings. The current attempts to undermine the ECC cannot remove the very real and urgent need to address these issues" added Ms Clayton.




An ECC member gets a helping hand during the ECC's refurbishing of the Educare Centre in Old Crossroads. This formed part of its current campaign.

**THE COUNCIL**



**CITY OF NEW YORK**



# Proclamation

**W**hereas: THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, IN PASSING LOCAL LAW 19 OF 1985 AND LOCAL LAW 81 OF 1986, AND ON MANY OTHER OCCASIONS, HAS INDICATED BY WORD AND DEED ITS ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID AND THE RACIST STATE VIOLENCE THAT APARTHEID INSTITUTIONALIZES; AND

WHEREAS: THE COUNCIL WISHES TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF NONRACIAL, DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA IN SPEARHEADING THE OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID AND IN WORKING TOWARD A JUST PEACE IN THE FACE OF REPRESSION AND DETENTIONS; AND

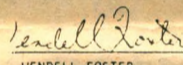
WHEREAS: AMONG THESE COURAGEOUS ORGANIZATIONS, THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN HAS COME TO REPRESENT A NEW MOVEMENT OF RESISTANCE TO MILITARY SERVICE AMONG SOUTH AFRICAN WHITES; AND

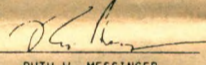
WHEREAS: IN THE WORDS OF ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU, THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN'S CONSTRUCTIVE WORK "REPRESENTS THE HOPE OF SOUTH AFRICA"; AND

WHEREAS: LAURIE NATHAN, NATIONAL COORDINATOR OF THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN AND FORMER SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS, HAS COME OUT OF HIDING TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES TO TESTIFY AT THE UNITED NATION'S SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, AND EDUCATE CITIZENS HERE ABOUT THE CURRENT SITUATION UNDER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN SOUTH AFRICA; THEREFORE BE IT

RESOLVED: THAT UPON THE OCCASION OF LAURIE NATHAN'S VISIT, THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK DOES HEREBY DECLARE ITS SUPPORT FOR THE WORK OF THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN, AND ALL DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS WORKING FOR PEACE WITH JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

DATED THIS TWENTY-THIRD DAY OF APRIL, THE YEAR NINETEEN-HUNDRED AND EIGHTY SEVEN.

  
WENDELL FOSTER  
COUNCIL MEMBER

  
RUTH N. MESSINGER  
COUNCIL MEMBER

## Mercenary or missionary?

Who is Rob Brown, head of the newly established anti-ECC organisation "Veterans for Victory"? - sergeant, missionary, gameranger, professor, mercenary, evangelist or war activist extraordinaire, or all of the above?

For the past five years, Brown has been a member of Frontline Fellowship, a group of "evangelical Christians" who deliver Bibles to "suffering churches" in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola and the Cape Verde Islands.

At a "Let ECC speak" public meeting in Sea Point, he was asked to leave the meeting after causing a disturbance. He later pointed a gun at an ECC marshal Justin Hardcastle in an apparent display of anger.

Brown, described as a missionary, has been on trips to Mozambique and Angola to give Bibles to Renamo and Unita troops. Frontline Fellowship evangelists travel on motorbikes and are armed. Other activities have included the distribution of Gospel records and the showing of films of people being 'necklaced'.

According to Peter Hammond, Chairman of Frontline Fellowship, Brown has seen active service in Cambodia, Korea, Northern Ireland, 'Rhodesia' (where

he was wounded twice), and Namibia. He has served in the Australian Special Services, the Rhodesian Special Air Services and the South African Reconnaissance Unit.

The evangelical nature of Rob Brown's activities seem to have changed direction in 1987 with his involvement in the new organisation "Veterans for Victory".



Their first newsletter comprised almost entirely an attack on ECC and described its members as "a bunch of weak-kneed, pimply faced youths with bad breath".

In an insert to the newsletter, entitled "The Psychological War: Part One", they outline a "pressure group" strategy to counter the influence of ECC.

"Once you have found another person of like mind to yourself, form a group. This group will grow. Come together once a

month. You say you can't? Why not? You get together all right for a braai don't you? OK. Spend an hour making plans on how to beat the ECC before you get falling down drunk."

Some conscripts in Durban claim to have been lectured by a "Professor Brown". At the end of the lecture he handed out copies of an edition of the right wing Aida Parker Newsletter attacking ECC, and a pamphlet issued by "Veterans for Victory".

A conscript described Brown's manner as that of a "born again missionary". He stated that most conscripts did not take him seriously and viewed him as a form of light relief from their daily chores.

While Sergeant Brown has been kept busy with his missionary work, his involvement in Veterans for Victory, and his lecturing, he is faced with a dilemma.

Peter Hammond says that the Frontline Fellowship executive has given Brown a choice: - he must leave either Frontline Fellowship or Veterans for Victory. "If he continues with Vets he must leave because it is not compatible with Frontline Fellowship. Vets is a secular and controversial organisation", said Hammond.



# SA:

## the garrison state

The recent election results point to an increasingly paranoid society. A society fuelled by the hype and bluster from Pretoria's information bureau about the forces of evil and the external threats. And to add to the fortress image of South Africa, closing itself off from the world, there now exists another frightening spectre. That of South Africa's northern and eastern borders fortified by 4000 watt electrified fences and

impenetrable sisal "walls".

Already two such fences exist. One between Zimbabwe and South Africa and the more recent barrier between Mozambique and Kangwane in South Africa. These were electrified at a cost of R6,7 million.

They have been dubbed "Berlin walls" by political opponents,

and "inhumane" by people living in the areas surrounding them.

The Kangwane border fence separates people of the same families, who until it was erected used to regularly cross the existing border to visit relatives. In an appeal to Pretoria, Chief Minister Enos

Mabuza, said the fence would "divide people who should not be divided and kill people who should not be killed".

"These people are not part of the war. They only want safety with their friends and relatives on this side of the border. Now they will run headlong into the fence and die." His pleas were ignored. Defence Force won a great victory.

Behind the fences life for white farmers and their families goes on as normal. Normal in the sense that all farmers and their families carry weapons supplied by the SADF. They are in constant touch with each other and military headquarters by radio, are protected by more fences and in many cases the children are driven to school in armoured personnel carriers and military trucks.

## 'Homeland' armies

The Verwoerdian dream of independent tribal states became a bizarre reality during the 1970s. It was easy to provide these states with armies, for the SADF had ready trained ethnic battalions for their use.

Yet these armies would have no frontiers to defend and no enemies outside their own borders. The military forces of the 'constellation of states' touted by P.W. Botha, former Minister of Defence, were difficult to take seriously from the start.

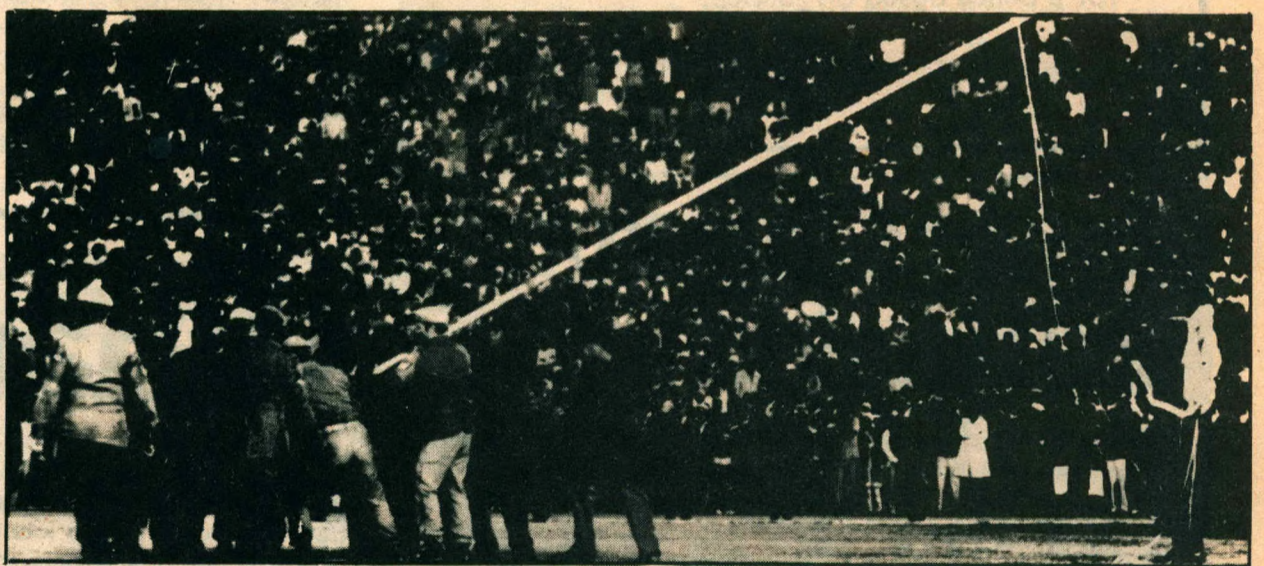
The Transkei keeps details about its Defence Force secret. Until recently, it was privately run and headed by the ex-Rhodesian officer Ron Reid-Daly. He was expelled from the Transkei along with his company, when the army mutinied against him after he failed to topple the President of the Ciskei.

The Ciskeian Defence Force (CDF) numbered 893 in 1985. Conscription was in force but there was no call-up. Training was minimal (except that taking place

in South Africa and Israel). A small force was also sent to the Namibian war. This lack of action may stem from the fact that in January, Ciskei had expelled four high-ranking South Africans, including the CDF's commander. South Africa then withdrew all its personnel and the CDF suffered accordingly. The new commander, Brigadier Mlandu, had been the Deputy Commissioner of Police.

The CDF army was in sad shape. One of the main bases at Sandile comprised twenty wooden huts with scant ablution facilities. Another 'base' was no more than a farm. Still, the CDF Annual Report said that internal security problems had been noted and that action would follow.

But the CDF seems a marvel of efficiency beside the Venda Defence Force (VDF). It has a white commander and his deputy, Colonel Ranushwana, had been a policeman. 76 percent of the required posts for officers are vacant. The army's sole casualty in 1985 was a suicide -



Ciskei Defence Force props up toppled flagpole at independence celebrations.

whose name nevertheless went on the Roll of Honour! Despite such handicaps, the VDF sent a company to the Namibian border in 1986.

Security is more important. The VDF Intelligence Branch visited every chiefdom in 1985, spreading (and perhaps gathering) information. A Joint Operations Centre was set up, linking police, military, security and civilians. It resembles the South African Joint Management Centres and may be linked to the National Security Management System. (When Venda became independent, it left the bounds of the Far Northern Transvaal JMC.)

The whole force cost R5 775 000 in 1985.

The Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF) is the only 'homeland' army to appear viable. It is the only 'independent homeland' with a foreign border (though this is only peaceful Botswana). But the BDF is also concerned with security. Its Air Wing has cooperated with the SADF in anti-guerilla operations.

All these forces display the absurdity of the homeland system. In theory the SADF want these armies to swell its own ranks and cooperate in forming JMC-like structures.

But the homeland governments are too inefficient to run effective armies. The homelands are so unstable that they need troops to maintain regimes which have little or no support from the inhabitants. This leads to obvious excesses like the attack on President Sebe's palace in February by the Special Forces of the Transkeian Defence Force.

These sham armies bolster the myth of independence. A sham for which the people of the homelands must suffer. Both because of the taxes which they must pay to finance it, and because of the often appalling behaviour of the armed forces themselves.

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