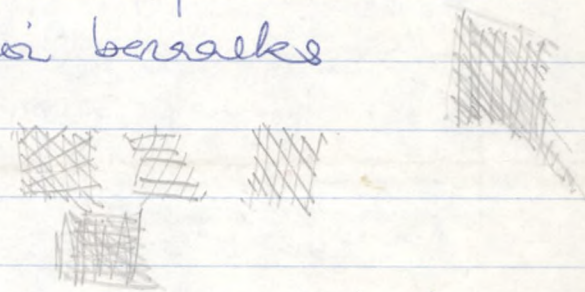


— Compulsory service ~~for~~ ^{for white men} was introduced in 1967; its duration was gradually extended to the current two years continuous service plus 70 days of "camps" spread over 12 years, and a further 12 days per year up to the age of 85.

— The earliest incidents of war resisters involved Jehovah's witnesses & other "peace church" members refusing military service on the grounds of opposition to fighting in any war. Their stand was strongly apolitical & they shunned publicity about their imprisonment in army detention barracks



← 1974 first public & explicitly political opposition to participation in SADF at SACC conference. Church to do something practical to change status quo conference stated "army defending" ^{fundamentally} "an unjust society" urging people to become CO.

— State in response amended Defense Act Section 12(1) makes it an offence punishable by a maximum fine of R6000 or six years' imprisonment to encourage or assist anyone to refuse or fail to render military service.

Between 1975-78 \pm 5,900 conscripts went civil or ^{Shir} ~~stop~~ evaded authorities in SA. Searches

q CO's 79-83 - differing philosophies but all "all opposed SADF in defending the violence of apartheid against

② against people who are not foreigners but generally S.A. citizens.

- C.O.S.F. formed in 1980

- '83 Defence Act amended in response to pressure - broadening category of C.O.'s to include religious pacifists outside the "peace churches". If their bona fides were accepted they could apply for non-combatant status in the S.A. & F or community service in a government department. The amendment increased the jail sentence for other objectors to a maximum of 6 years.

Ⓐ Positive response created potential to advance movement but increased jail-sentences meant ~~no~~ no longer could we be dependent on individual C.O.'s - needed co-ordinated campaigns & clear focus

Inspiration from ^{the 1982} Black Salt conference which demanded that government abolish all conscription for military service "At the ~~first~~ annual COSF

- At the 4th annual COSF conference 12 days later that year - delegates decided to launch a national campaign against conscription

CONSCRIPTION & THE WHITE COMMUNITY

Townships

The permanent use of the army in the townships politicised military service & heightened the dilemma of liberal conscripts. The arena of conflict was not just far away in Namibia against SWAPO-^{"terrorists"} guerrillas & the "Cubans"; it was so close and easy to understand, and "the enemy" were ordinary black South Africans!

A

In the experience of the ECC & the military advice bureaux, an increasing proportion of young people opposed to apartheid automatically oppose conscription.

3AA

Who is mainly
Mum! Go to school
Held

Before October 1984 an average of 1500 men failed to report for duty at each call up.

2

In the first call-ups after troops were used in the townships this number rose by 500%

A

according to figures released by the minister of defence (licensing to the minister of defence

7589 conscripts failed to report for duty in January 1985) The SADF then said figure was "incorrect" & the minister has refused to release figures for subsequent call ups.

Attendance at army camps between 40% & 60%.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CAMPAIGN TO
END CONSCRIPTION

End

THE CHARACTER OF THE CAMPAIGN TO END CONSCRIPTION

The ECC's success was due to its development of a political style that captured the breadth of opposition to conscription

- a) Public activities
- b) Domestic single issue

7 Primary objective was to put white community pressure on government to end conscription

4 In doing this raise awareness + build opposition to militarisation and the S.A. D.F.'s role in defusing apartheid

Involve as many people as possible in its sub-committees by mobilising education + organising around

7 military issues in the community from which soldiers are drawn, the ECC hoped to contribute to the broader struggle against apartheid (+ build non-racialism)

8 ECC has always had a very creative way of organising and putting its message across. Activities contributed to the development of an anti-war culture + consciousness in the white community

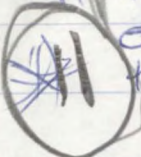
National campaigns centred on activities - mass appeal in the white community.

8A "Dump Troops Out of the Township" campaign in 1985 several CO's fasted for 3 weeks.

21000 people signed visitor book
41000 attended funeral rally in the city hall.

All over peace - fast " high level of public participation. First time funeral, lunch + music groups were involved in war resistance

The WORKING FOR A JUST PEACE" campaign in 1980 involved about 600 ECC members & supporters working on Community projects for a month in back areas. These demonstrated constructive alternatives to military service. Over 6,000 people attended mass meetings at the end of the campaign.



- ECC launched education in Prince - Stellenbosch in 1985-86 changed the war resister movement's predominant English speaking character. Stellenbosch banned ECC Anti-ECC propaganda widely distributed in Afrikaans-speaking areas.

ECC's character was shaped by structure of a coalition of church, student, women & human rights organisations. The coalition reflected the unity & diversity of a war resister movement made up of different political & theological perspectives: liberal & radical, religious & secular, pacifist & those specifically opposed to an unjust war. Over 50 orgs. were involved in the campaign.

5
OR
7

→ (insert) Go back to bottom of page III.

ECC Declaration 1984. Launch coincided with the start of widespread & continuing troop deployment in back areas. This became key factor in ECC's opposition to conscription & the call for immediate withdrawal of troops from townships became the central theme of its activities.

8A

ECC argued that the escalating cycle of violence could only be ended by removing the root cause apartheid. The use of the army raised the levels of violence & was strongly opposed by township residence.

ongoing focus on SADF internal role culminated in "Troops Out" campaign.

9A

ECC demanded troops should have right not to go to townships.

2nd
WHEN

I'M
NOT
SURE

Portrayal of individual soldier as the enemy insensible to dilemma conscript opposed to conscription & township duties but for whom the alternatives of jail or exile were unrealistic. ECC projects itself as opposing conscription, not conscripts.

it was with and on behalf of the conscripts that the campaign was conducted (6)

(II) Interim demands - broadening of community service options while conscription remains.

(II) It proposed to the Goldenhays Committee that the 1983 Defence Amendment Act be changed, making community service

- * available to all who in good conscience cannot serve in the S.A. D.F. & not limited to religious pupils

- * the same duration as military service rather than one & a half times long.

- * available in religious & welfare orgs, not confined to government departments.

(II) The working for a 'Just Peace' campaign aimed to illustrate these demands is a symbolic but practical way

* that "real national service" involved volunteers entering the townships "with tools not guns" after thorough consultation in the community

2nd State of Emergency declared in June 1986

affected ECC focus on conscription

Emergency regulations prohibited making "subversive statements" that undermine or discredit the system of compulsory military service

ECC on defence

- Right to speak

Release detainees

Fudge / Allegation (Fays etc) was my own

Learn "870 solution"

} Campaign

STATE + THE RIGHT-WING RESPONSE TO THE ECC (7)

SA gov branded her recorder as "subversive" revealed 2 punitive legislation.

Defence Act amendments 76 & 83 touch of political ^{opposition}

SA pos on CO's one of honesty in the world.

As ECC grew so did sophisticated & well organised smear campaigns.

SADF accuses ECC of breaking the law
linked to banned orgs
"assisting terrorism"
"having hidden agenda"

10

- High the activity - more the repression

a) Troops out - 4 members detained
- members assaulted rounded
Publication banned
ECC banned from white schools

b) 2nd state of Emergency 60 members detained
90 homes rounded

Police action so heavy many thought ECC was banned.

c) Further crackdown at end of Dec 1986.

The intensity of state action against the ECC is due to the SADF's central role in safeguarding minority rule both physically & ideologically

WATERS STRAITS THIS

10

SADF indispensable to maintain & defend apartheid from late 70's

Between 83 - 84. 4500 soldiers were used in ordinary police work.

In 85 black resistance seriously threatened the government's civil control of black areas, 85000 troops were deployed in over 95 townships.

1986 Defence force said conscription (70% of SADF manpower) absolutely necessary for the army to play this role

So foreign sees opposition to conscription & the SADF as a threat to "the nation's physical capacity to survive" and therefore ECC is "the enemy"

Minister of Law & Order "ECC is one of SA's four major enemies" along with United Democratic Front, ANC, SACP.

The state has attempted to unite the white community through the military doctrine of "national security". Conflict is reduced to a struggle against communism. The state has the use of force presented as the appropriate symbol.

The very existence of the war resistance movement challenges these notions, casting doubt on the state's interpretation of society & conflict. The ECC is perceived as trying to weaken cohesion of white community & undermine its will to defend the country. State ECC seen by many white people as a Stellenbosch student leader not just the enemy but as traitors.

maybe some time like hand to be brave when everyone in your community sees you as a traitor

The future of the ECC & war resistance

Ongoing police harassment & the emergency restrictions on opposing conscription make the ECC's future particularly precarious. However, ECC is determined not to pan itself. At end of '86 - "The democratic oversight to challenge the government's ability & right to outlaw peaceful opposition"

War resistance will continue but ecc because ecc gave expression & direction to resistance didn't cause it. Resistance there because of 4 yrs compulsory military service in an army defending apartheid.

(a)

CAMPAIN IS ACTION FOR RESISTANCE SERVICES
MARCH
APRIL
preparation period for
campaign

STRUCTURE OF THE END-CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE

I. REPRESENTATION

The committee shall consist of representatives of organisations who accept the committee's working principles as the basis for co-operation to oppose conscription.

II. POWERS

The committee shall make recommendations to member organisations, through their representatives on activities to engage in.

The committee shall decide as a whole on programmes of actions and tasks to engage in to implement the campaign.

III. EXECUTIVE

The committee shall elect an executive from representatives on the committee.

The executive shall include :

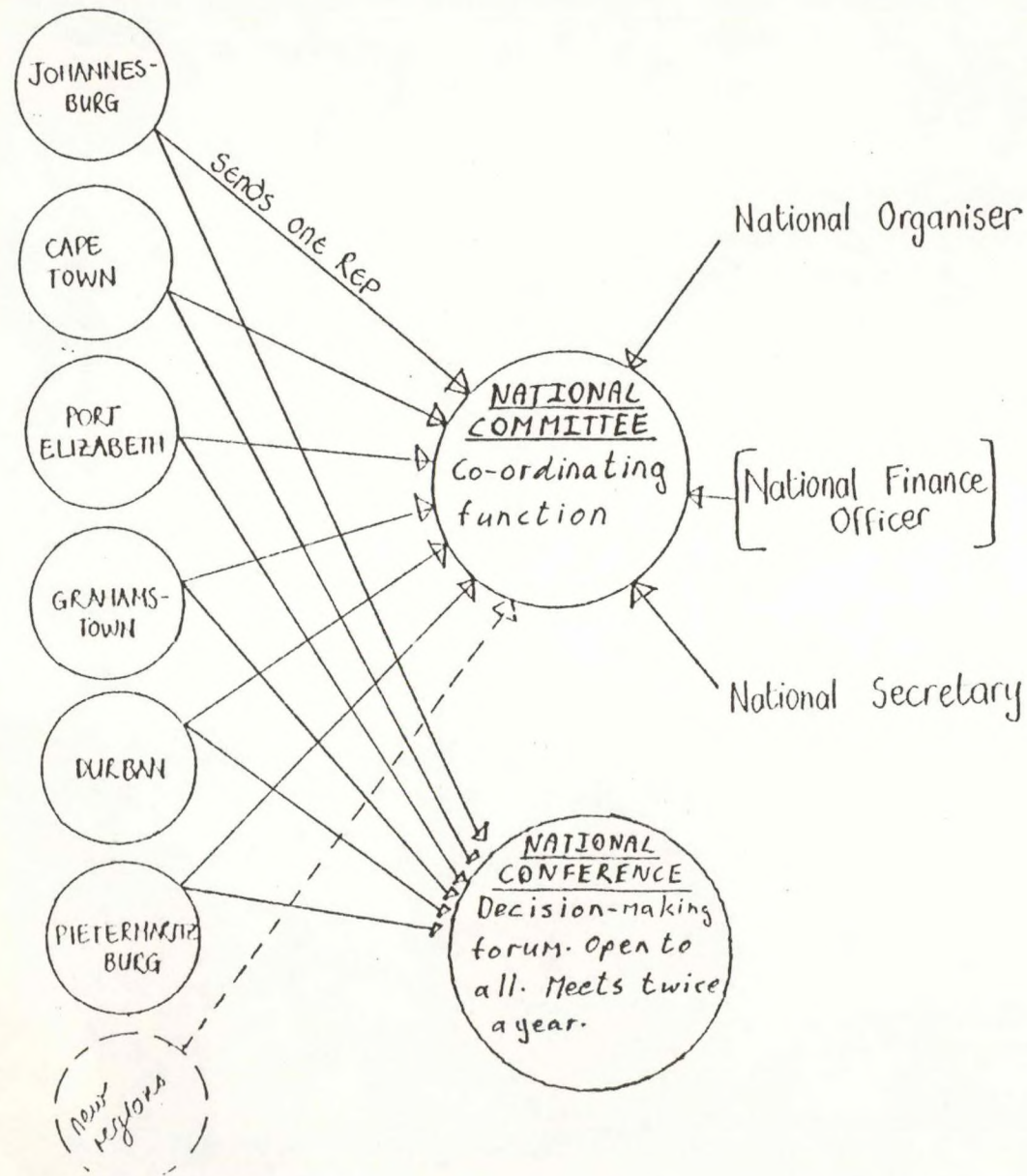
- Chairperson
- Vice-chairperson
- Secretary
- Liason Officer

The executive shall be responsible for :

- a) Convening regular meetings of the committee.
- b) Undertaking any administrative tasks which may arise.

NATIONAL STRUCTURE

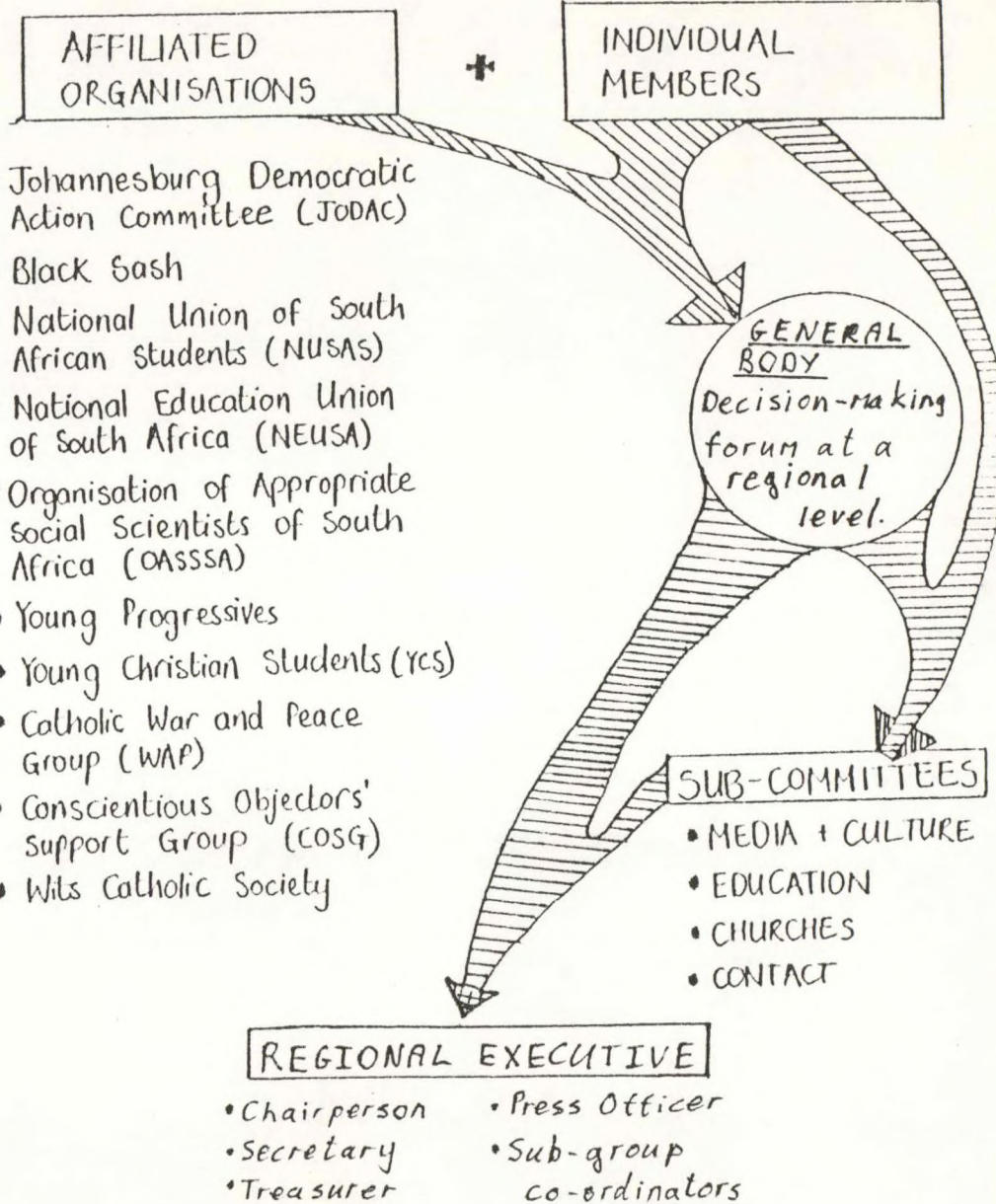
REGIONS



EMPLOYEES

REGIONAL STRUCTURE

A)



- Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC)
- Black Sash
- National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)
- National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA)
- Organisation of Appropriate Social Scientists of South Africa (OASSA)
- Young Progressives
- Young Christian Students (YCS)
- Catholic War and Peace Group (WAP)
- Conscientious Objectors' Support Group (COSG)
- Wits Catholic Society

	RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID	EXPANSION OF SADF	RESISTANCE TO CONSCRIPTION
1960 ~ 1966	1960 - Sharpeville, state of emergency, banning of ANC + PAC, over 20000 arrested 1961 - launching of armed struggle	1961 - conscription introduced on a ballot basis - 7000 men for 9 months service - increased to 16500 by 1964 - budget increases from R44m in 1960/1 to R210m in 1964/5	No CO allowed in law; non-combatant status granted to members of "peace churches" (Ethiopian Witness, Christadelphians, Quakers, 7 th Day Adventist, Plymouth Brethren) - either allotment to non-combatant duty - 567(3) or exemption from combatant service - 597(3)
1966 ~ 1971	1966 - armed struggle launched by SWAPO (following Angola-1961, Mozambique-1964, + Zimbabwe-1966) - little active resistance internally	1967 - universal military conscription for all white males - 9 months service But SAP remains major repressive force + SADF grows little in numbers + budget.	Refusal to serve = 3 month sentence in DB, and can be repeated when called up again Very harsh treatment of JW's, some serving up to 4 years in D.B. Many served repeated 14 day periods in solitary confinement for refusal to obey orders Trickle of CO's go into exile
1971 ~ 1974	1971 - 20,000 Namibian contract workers on strike - SWAPO activity intensifies 1973 - Durban strikes herald new phase of resistance within SA	1972 - service extended to 12 months, + 19 day camps for 5 years - first serious recruitment of blacks into the SADF By 1974, SADF takes over from SAP in northern Namibia	Maximum sentence for CO's increased to 15 months But, limited accommodation for "peace church" CO's - If sentence to 12 mths or more, then no future call-up - In DB, recognised as CO's (blue overalls) 1974: SACC resolution (attached) - SACC churches begin to take up the military issue - massive out-cry against SACC - Introduction of sec 121C (R5000 and/or 6yrs for encouraging or assisting CO)
1975 ~ 1982	1975 - Independence of Mozambique and Angola - defeat of SADF in Angola	1976 - 3 month operational duty camps introduced 1977 - conscription doubled to 2 years, + 30 day camps for 5 years	1975-78: Each year between 3000 + 4000 fail to report for military service - some charged, but was most unaccounted for - estimated 5900 leave SA + go into exile
	1976 - Student and worker uprisings in Soweto + elsewhere - upsurge in guerilla activity 1979 - ANC begins to attack police and military targets 1980 - Widespread student, worker + community uprisings herald the emergence of a broad-based + non-racial movement of resistance	By 1979, SADF annual intake = 30000, and budget = R1940m - ANC Action Programme introduced to woo black support - development ofbantustan armies	COSAWR set up in England + Netherlands In SA, up to 1000 charged each year for refusing to render military service Many = JW's. 1978 - change in law (a) "Peace Churches" - up to 36 months, but no future call-up (b) Others - up to 2 years and/or R2000, but can be called-up again + no CO status 1979 - Peter Moll = first CO to "go public" - sentenced to 1 year in DB - Spurs on established church to again give vocal attention to the military issue - setting up of COSCs - issue taken up outside churches, eg 1978 - MOS sets up MILCOM 1980 - Moll + Richard Steek become only objectors outside "peace churches" to be recognised as CO. after long stretches in solitary confinement By end of 1982, 9 'non peace church' CO's had been sentenced to terms of DB or prison, including first non-religious CO (Etienne Esery)
1982 →	- Intensification of war in Namibia and SA - Continued growth of internal movement of resistance	Conscription extended to 2 years service + 70 days camps over 12 years + 12 days per year up to age 55 (Dad's Army) - Rumoured extension of conscription to coloureds + Indians	In response to growing movement of resistance to SAID new law is passed in 1983: - up to 6 years alternative service for religious pacif - up to 6 years gaol for other CO's LD COSC initiates protest meeting against new law - Black SASH calls for end to conscription - COSC conference 1983: decision to launch ECC. - 'Objector' set up as national CO paper 1984: Board for religious objection begins sitting - 341 cases - 1596 fail to report for service; increased to 7589 in Jan 85 - ECC TAKES OFF

Proposal for national publication

The National Conference proposed that ECC produced a national publication. There were general suggestions about the target constituency, style, content etc. which are pulled together / modified in this proposal.

Target constituency and style. The unhappy marriage of Esme Everaad to Sid Vicious

There was much debate at the conference as to whether we were aiming at supportive sections of 'the establishment' or at trendy youth culture types. Phrased in these terms the two aims are clearly contradictory. However, with a bit of compromising and some fancy footwork there may be solutions that will satisfy (if not delight) everybody. The following are three limitations in order of priority that define the constituency the publication should be aimed at:

- 1) The publication should be as slick and professional as possible.
- 2) The publication should be readable by and acceptable to our member organisations' broadest membership and potential membership eg. a UDF activist must be able to find it interesting and readable, and a supportive member of the Chamber of Commerce must be able to brandish it at a full sitting as a respectable source for his argument.
- 3) The publication must not be stodgy or boring. "Respectability" does not mean uncreative lay out and encyclopaedic articles. The information and analysis must cater for those who relate to the campaign mainly through the medium of culture. It's a little arrogant to assume that someone who's into the 'bent joll' is not capable of and interested in reading articles examining the growth of an anti-war culture amongst white youth, reviewing the growth of militarism and anti-militarism in Hollywood films or any article about militarisation in SA.

Thus the publication would reflect on youth culture without becoming an organ of youth culture.

We feel it is important to leave this question open until we have produced a copy, assessed it and had feedback from the readership. We are not able to give a more specific description of style and target constituency. Hopefully Sid and Esme will live happily ever after.

Content

The emphasis in the content should be on analytical / debate type articles. Extensive news coverage is unrealistic if we only come out 2 or 3 times a year. However if there is news of an enduring quality we would cover it - a massively successful action etc. The publication would not be an in-house affair. The focus on ECC itself would be downplayed in relation to the focus on the role of the SADF, moral *debate* about conscription, pacifism, analysis of parliamentary debates, militarisation etc.

The kinds of things that might appear in a first issue:

- an interview with Philip Wilkinson
- coverage of parliament, Geldenhuys and the defence white paper
- openings at Stellenbosch and the Jhb afrikaans group.
- assessment of WJP
- analysis of current base of troops in the townships
- the role of the SADF in Namibia / the sub-continent
- impact of our very own "Forces Favourites"
- ECC's cultural impact generally
- did you know?
- media and the military
- Crossroads
- quiz
- satire
- debates about conscription in a liberated SA or conscription in Nicaragua

- International Peace Movements
- comparative review of conscription in other countries
- Sanctuary Movement
- World Peace
- cartoons
- film reviews
- childrens page - anti war art / games
- literature analysis

NOBODY is suggesting we include all of this in a first issue. This list is included here to show how the group sees the content, balance etc.

Structures and processes

The national committee felt it was essential that the 'national character of the publication never be lost. At the same time bitter experience has shown that editorial collectives whose members reside in different regions are notoriously inefficient. It would be an extremely bureaucratic process if we were to try and get the full content of each publication mandated by each region.

Thus we recommend:

- 1) that an editorial committee is set up in Cape Town. Their function would be to oversee production, layout, co-ordinate articles etc.
- 2) that Nic B. (nat. comm. member for CT) sit in on this committee at the level of article selection, content etc.
- 3) that Nic report to nat. comm. who have final say over content

but further

- 1) that regions put forward ideas for content to the CT editorial comm.
- 2) that where appropriate articles are written in different regions.
- 3) that regions seek out good journalists and big name literary types who may be appropriate people to write particular stories. (we felt that it was important that the style was professional and where possible we get pro's to write or at least sub articles.)

Regularity

We felt we should establish a momentum and therefore come out at regular intervals, meet promised deadlines etc. At the same time we probably couldn't handle more than three to four issues a year. For this year we suggest at least one and possibly two issues of about 32 pages.

Distribution and advertising

Of course the publication is of no use if it doesn't get to who its intended for (which is often the case). We felt David was in the best position to examine and plan distribution, see if we can plug into InterMag, work out numbers for printing etc.

The financing of the publication might be a problem especially if we have a wide distribution, good quality paper and low cover price. We recommend that David investigate advertising possibilities from national concerns.

We would appreciate it if regions could discuss this proposal as soon as possible and respond in detail to the suggestion. We would hope to have a proposal for the first issue ready for the nat. comm. meeting in early May, which might mean we could have the first issue by the time of the July call-up.

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