





# Hurley exposes Koevoet



Speaking out against Koevoet

continued from page 1  
ribs, the other lost an eye."

The police release bulletins from Pretoria. They say with monotonous regularity: "radicals stoned a police patrol and police were forced to open fire...A man was found dead after the crowd was dispersed with tear-gas".

But the facts and the residents tell a different story. According to the Minister of Police, Louis le Grange, of the 120 people said to have died in the ongoing civil conflict in the Eastern Cape, more than 90 were shot by the police.

"On Monday the SADF was in full force in Uitenhage. In Kwanobuhle it shot Mr Ringo Mguku in the forehead. Soldiers were kicking women and putting them in hippos. This thing really disappointed me. Because I think the army is not for peace. Army is for war," said a Uitenhage civic leader speaking of an incident three days before the Langa massacre.

The townships are abuzz with such accounts of SADF and police action in which someone is shot.

Children of two and three years old have been hit by tear gas cannisters, or have inhaled the gas and been seriously ill.

Two people have died from the effects of teargas.

Many, many people have been killed by bullets, including R1 rounds. The accounts

from people all over the sprawling townships are strikingly similar. "Police and soldiers kicked down the door and then shot my son, my daughter, my mother, my grandmother." This is a commonly told story.

And recently, with reports that the SADF is taking over the role of patrolling the townships, stories have begun to emerge from residents of soldiers going to she-beens and getting drunk and assaulting people or even asking the people for money in a bizarre effort to present themselves as the "peoples' friend".

Shortly after the Langa massacre, the SADF attempted to set up a camp inside Kwanobuhle township. Masses of people gathered asking what the army was trying to do. Urgent appeals from around the country, including PFP parliamentarians, eventually persuaded the SADF to withdraw. It was a sign of the times.

The only sign of dissent from whites in PE itself comes from the End Conscription Committee. The Committee has the support of the churches, the PE UDF area committee, the PFP Youth, the Black Sash, a sprinkling of students from the PE Technicon, and UPE, and concerned individuals.

The occupation of the towns of the East Cape will continue, and the bloodletting will go on. National servicemen are being used to bring "law and order" to the townships. The East Cape is being turned into a theatre of war. Public pressure is all that will force the SADF to withdraw.

Spontaneous applause from a packed courtroom greeted Archbishop Denis Hurley on February 18 1985. He was acquitted of charges of spreading untrue and malicious stories about Koevoet atrocities in Namibia.

The state said, that because its case had been based on hearsay alone, it would not continue the prosecution under the Police Act. This was an anti-climax: the Counsel for Defence pointed out that it had prepared its case for nearly two years only to be told at the last minute that the state's case was to be dropped.

At a press conference after the trial, Archbishop Hurley said he was relieved that the "waste of time and money" was over. He strongly regretted that he had not had the opportunity to present to the court the "devastating" evidence of Koevoet atrocities which his legal team collected in Namibia.

He also commented on the nature of Koevoet as a "police" unit: "Koevoet is a commando unit of the SADF, trained to be ruthless hunters and killers. It is called a police unit because under Resolution 435 of the U.N. Security Council the army must withdraw from Namibia but the police can remain."

The Catholic Bishops' magazine 'Inter-nos', stated after the trial that it seemed clear that the State had dropped the prosecution for fear of having Koevoet atrocities publicly exposed in a trial which had attracted much international publicity. Many prominent bishops and priests from Britain, America, Ireland, Sri Lanka and Australia expressed their support by attending the trial of the Archbishop.

"We know that brutalities are perpetrated by both sides and we accept that this has happened in Namibia. But we are aghast that accusations and charges of brutality have been made in such numbers and to such an extent against the South African security forces" the Archbishop said. He went on: "I pray that this abortive trial will be used by God to hasten the day when the horror of Namibia will come to an end and when freedom and peace will come to a country subjected to the distress and cruelty of an army for which, unfortunately, South Africa is mainly responsible." He is now suing the state for malicious prosecution.

**ECC FOCUS is the official newsletter of the End Conscription Committee (Tvl). Anyone interested in subscribing can write to:**  
**The End Conscription Campaign,**  
**P.O. Box 93118 Yeoville, 2193.**





**Laurie Nathan: organising for peace**

## ECC: on the move

"WE CALL for an end to conscription, we call for a just peace in our land," demands the Declaration of the End Conscription Campaign.

This urgent call has united 50 diverse organisations throughout South Africa.

Established regional End Conscription Campaign committees (ECC) exist in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. Additional regions are constantly emerging, the newest being in Port Elizabeth, while keen interest for the issue has been expressed in Pietermaritzburg where a new committee was launched on May 7.

Last year the Johannesburg region took up the demand by approaching organisations and asking them to send representatives to the committee which meets weekly. This request prompted organisations to discuss the issue of militarisation.

The region used the second half of the year to highlight the illegal occupation of Namibia by the SADF. ECC strongly objects to an army which legitimises its existence by sending young conscripts to occupy by force a foreign neighbouring country.

The launch of the End Conscription Declaration at a spring fair last year popularised the campaign. The declaration was discussed with a wide range of individuals and organisations, who then endorsed it. The document expresses and clarifies the reason for ECC's existence, and is an ongoing campaign. Its aim is to gain overall support from as many people and organisations as possible.

The first national gathering of ECC took place in January this year, and evaluated the front's achievements over the year as well as set the goals for 1985.

The illegal occupation of Namibia, the civil war being waged in our country, the call-up and the International Year of the Youth, are the campaigns which will be taken up this year. By focussing on these four areas, ECC will raise a questioning awareness in many people.

At the conference, Laurie Nathan was appointed as the ECC National Organiser. His role is to facilitate co-ordination between the ECC's nationally. He will spend time in each region working with the committee's and affiliates of the front. He will also help prepare the ECC festival in July.

The chairperson of the Johannesburg region, Ms Benita Pavlicevic said "I think ECC is the most significant recent development in white politics. For the first time whites are organising around an issue which directly affects them. They are the ones being conscripted. They are called to bear arms in defense of apartheid. The existence of ECC shows that more and more people are saying no to civil war."

The national conference also emphasised the need for ECC to be prepared to respond to any issues as they occur. Thus, when the brutal events in Uitenhage became known, ECC's in all regions protested. The Johannesburg region organised a protest meeting with Stone Sizane of Uitenhage, Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash and Reverend Beyers Naude.

### War in the townships

Defence Minister Malan said that in trying to make South Africa 'ungovernable' the "ANC, the SACP and the UDF" were promoting the Anti-Conscription Campaign. He also said that if township unrest continued it would be necessary to increase the Defence Budget so that the SADF could be employed in "the prevention and suppression of terrorism".

ECC believes South Africa is in a state of civil war. The majority of South Africans refuse to accept the conditions that the apartheid system imposes on them. The unrest in the townships over the last year has been sparked off by the authorities' harsh reaction to the people's protests against high rents, corrupt community councils, poor schooling and repression. The violent response of the government has led to more and more violence.

We believe that peace can only come about in a South Africa free of apartheid. The use of the SADF in the townships is aggravating the conflict. The people do not see the SADF as a protector, but rather as an aggressive force maintaining apartheid.

Public reaction to this situation has led to increasing support for the End Conscription Campaign from organisations and individuals concerned about the civil war.

We believe that in a civil war it is the moral right of young South Africans to exercise freedom of conscience in choosing whether or not to fight in the SADF. The real solution to South Africa's problems lies in building a just and democratic society - not in increasing militarisation and repression.

### MPC: Bypassing 435

After more than 25 years of Namibian resistance to South Africa's occupation, P.W. Botha has given the go-ahead to the 'transitional government of national unity' proposed by the Multi-Party Conference.

The ECC believes this move is an attempt by the South African government to bypass United Nations Resolution 435. The resolution calls for the withdrawal of the SADF from Namibian soil, and provides for the holding of free and fair elections.

The transitional government will exclude the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) which is supported by the majority of the Namibian people. This 'reform' will merely serve to perpetuate South Africa's rule. Without SWAPO, the transitional government will not bring peace.



# Angola: Has anything changed?

THE PRESS carried banner headlines on the mass withdrawal of South African troops from Angola on April 17. ECC FOCUS interviewed Max du Preez, the political editor of the Financial Mail, on the implications of this move.

## **ECC: Why did the South African troops withdraw from Angola?**

It was at the Luanda conference of February 17 last year that South Africa agreed to pull out. It was supposed to pull out a couple of weeks after that date, but kept saying that the security position was such that they couldn't.

And then late last year they had a meeting with the Angolans and said that the Angolans asked for a ministerial meeting between Pretoria and Luanda before the final withdrawal. That meeting did not take place.

A few weeks ago South Africa announced that it was prepared to withdraw "unilaterally" in other words without that ministerial meeting. I think the rationale behind this move was to let it coincide with the announcement of the Multi Party Conference and its transitional government. This was done to please the Americans, particularly Chester Crocker; the MPC is a negative thing, so give them something positive.

## **ECC: Is this a significant step forward to a genuine solution according to U.N. Resolution 435?**

No, it is not a significant step. It ends a decade of South African occupation of Angola, but the withdrawal was agreed upon more than a year ago. You know the government has this unique ability to do something totally outrageous and then to undo it - collecting praise along the way. It happened with the Immorality Act - people think the government is wonderful to scrap it - same with going into Angola and withdrawing. "Look at these nice South Africans, they are withdrawing from Angola." But they should never have been there. That was pure aggression.

## **ECC: What were they doing in Angola in the first place?**

They went in in 1976 on what they called Operation Survive. They fought on the side of Unita and the FNLA before independence, then withdrew. From 1978 they occupied the whole Cunene province.

At stages they went north as far as Cuvelai and on May 1 of that year the Cassinga



## **Namibia: waiting for peace**

Massacre took place. That's well into central Angola.

**ECC: The operational area was closed to non-residents and the non-military. A lot of people have been getting four month border camps. Church contacts in Namibia believe this is an indication that further moves by South Africa into Angola might take place. Do you think so?**

I would be surprised if that did happen. They have made a big thing of this withdrawal. Remember there is a history to this. In November 1983 the State Security Council decided to invade Angola and to take Lubango. According to reliable sources the Soviet Union heard of this plan and called Kurt von Shirndig, South Africa's ambassador at the United Nations in.

They met in a New York hotel and warned him that if South Africa did invade Angola they would step up their campaign. The government took fright and decided against the manoeuvre.

Instead they launched Operation Askari in December of that year. They walked into things they did not know Fapla had, and lost over 40 men, though this was never acknowledged.

All indications are that South Africa then decided that things were getting too expen-

sive in terms of lives, money and equipment. As they withdrew from Askari, P.W. Botha made the peace offer to Angola and a month later, on April 17, they agreed on the Joint Monitoring Commission.

## **ECC: Are they really disbanding Koevoet?**

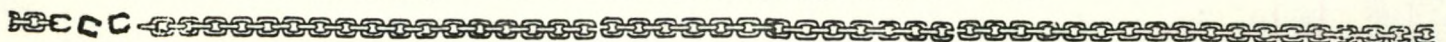
They are disbanding it. It is a trick - they are now using the South West African Police Force instead. The task force has acted with or as Koevoet for the last year or two.

It is only a change in name. Katjuonga, leader of Swanu, is unhappy with what Koevoet is doing and they know it's counterproductive for the MPC. So I suppose you will see a bit of control of Koevoet, but you won't see them disappear.

## **ECC: Now that South Africa is out of Angola, what does it mean for Swapo bases. How much of a military loss is it to South Africa?**

No I don't believe it makes any change. The agreement is that Swapo will not use the area cleared by the JMC. There is evidence that the MPLA is serious about keeping their end of the bargain.

For South Africa it is nothing because they sit with a massive air base at Ondanwa and all their troops massed in Ovambo. They know that area, every inch of it - it would only take 24 hours for them to retake the land.





**PROGRAMME**  
**END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN PEACE FESTIVAL 1985**  
"C3"

**stop the call-up**

**TOWARDS A JUST PEACE IN SOUTH AFRICA**





## FRIDAY

### 2pm - 6pm : Registration

Registration for the festival costs R40,00 for salaried individuals and R30,00 for others. These amounts are requested to help defray some of the festival expenses.

If you are intending to come for only one day, or a part of one day, you are requested to pay a R5,00 registration fee for that day. Subsidy forms are available on request but subsidies cannot be guaranteed.

### 6.30 pm : Public meeting World in conflict — the need for peace

Chair : **Benita Pavlecevic**, Chairperson, End Conscription Committee, Johannesburg.

- **Cardinal Arns**, Archbishop of Sao Paulo, Brazil, internationally recognised as the leading critic of the excesses of Brazil's military rulers.

*"The Latin American people's pursuit of justice"*.

- **Bishop Desmond Tutu**, Nobel Peace Laureate.

*"Conflict in Southern Africa : the South African Defence Force as aggressor and agent of destabilization"*

- **Dr Beyers Naude**, General Secretary, South African Council of Churches.

*"Civil war in South Africa : the need for justice, the requirements for peace"*.

- **Sir Richard Luyt**, Civil Rights League. Local and international messages of support.

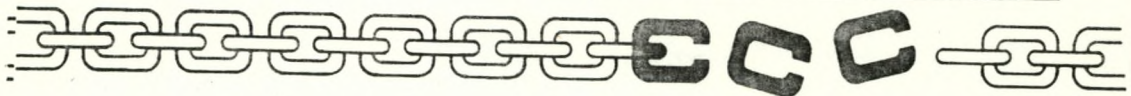
- **Laurie Nathan**, National Organiser, End Conscription Campaign.

*"ECC : where we come from, what we stand for and why we call for peace."*

- **Jennifer Fergusson** : Music and poetry.
- **Stan James** : Music.

### 9.30 pm : Concert Stop the Call-up!

- Facts
- Rapula
- The Softies
- Nude Red
- Mapansula





## SATURDAY MORNING

This morning is taken up by options. The first set begins at 9.00 am and the second at 11.00 am. Each set contains four options. You can choose to go to one in each set. Some options may tend more towards participation and workshopping; others lean more towards presentation and learning. But in all cases the options are the core of the festival where all delegates can make a creative contribution. Feel free to discuss and question. This will make them a success. For the weary, there is also the choice of a film.

### 9 am Options

OPTION 1:

**The International Cold War**

Co-ordinators : Tony Karon, UDF Area Committee. Observatory.

Max Ozinsky, National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

OPTION 2:

**The Defence Act, detentions and you**

Co-ordinators : Johannesburg Detainees Support Committee (DESCOM).

OPTION 3:

**South Africa's nuclear capacity**

Co-ordinator: John Weinberg, Koeberg Alert.

OPTION 4:

**Civil war in South Africa**

Co-ordinator : Chrispian Olver, End Conscription Committee. Cape Town.

OPTION 2:

**The Board for Religious Objection**

Co-ordinators : Conscientious Objector Support Group (COSG), Durban.

OPTION 3:

**Women and the military**

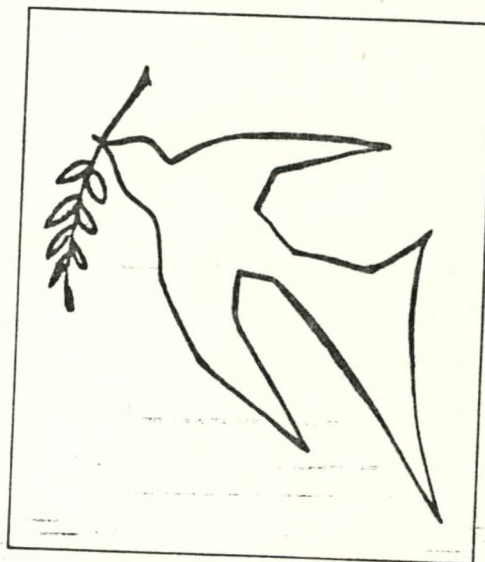
Co-ordinator : WITS Women's Movement.

OPTION 4:

**Black involvement in the SADF**

Co-ordinators : Janet Cherry, End Conscription Committee. Port Elizabeth.

David Pijpers, ex-Cape Corps.

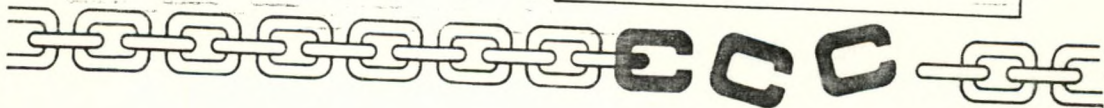


### 11.00 Options

OPTION 1:

**Education — preparation for war?**

Co-ordinator : Ian Moll, National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA).





**THE PROGRAM AT A GLANCE**

**THE PROGRAM AT A GLANCE**

2pm - 6pm	Registration	
6.30 pm	WORLD IN CONFLICT : THE NEED FOR PEACE	Arcade
8.30 pm	Supper	Great Hall
9.30 pm	END CONSCRIPTION CONCERT	Box Theatre foyer
		Senate House parking garage

*Saturday 29 June*

9.00	International Cold War (SS1) or The Defence Act Detentions and you (Box Theatre) or Civil war in South Africa (SS2) or South Africa's nuclear capacity (Mandela Room) or Film <i>The Long Day is Dying</i> (SS3)	
10.30	Tea	Arcade
11.00	Education: Preparation for War? (Mandela Room) or The Board for Religious Objection (Box Theatre) or Women and the military (ID Macrone) or Black involvement in the SADF (SS5) or Film <i>Coming Home</i> (SS3)	
12.30	Lunch	Bozzoli Sports Pavillion
2.00	THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR PEACE	Great Hall
3.30	Walk-about and tea	Arcade
5.00	Southern Africa post-Nkomati (SS1) or Non-violent Action Workshop (Box Theatre) or Conscription and militarization: The role of the Church (Mandela Room) or "There shall be peace and friendship" (SS2) or Film <i>The Line</i> (SS3)	
6.30	Supper	Bozzoli Sports Pavillion
8.00	TROOPS OUT!	Great Hall
10.00	Bar	Box Theatre foyer

**Sunday 30 June**

9.00	SADF in Namibia: people's agony SHB2 or Workshop on Dad's Army (ID Macrone) or The psychological effects of militarization (Mandela Room) or SADF Hearts and Minds Campaign (Box Theatre) or Total strategy, total war, military state and economy (SH03) or Film <i>The Long Day is Dying</i> (SHB1)	
10.30	Walk-about and tea	Arcade
11.30	SOME SAY NO	SH6
1.00	Lunch	Bozzoli Sports Pavillion
2.30	SCHOOLS' PANEL DISCUSSION	SH6
4.00	Tea	Box Theatre foyer
4.30	THE WAY FORWARD	Arcade
6.30	Supper	Bozzoli Sports Pavillion
7.30	SERVICE FOR PEACE	Arcade
9.00	Bar and Peace Concert	Box Theatre foyer



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9.00	Bar and Peace Concert	Box Theatre foyer



## SATURDAY AFTERNOON

### 2.00 pm Panel Discussion The international struggle for peace

Chair : **Janet Cherry**, End Conscription Committee, Port Elizabeth.

Participants :

- **Cardinal Arns**, Archbishop of Sao Paolo, Brazil.
- **Carol Tongue**, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, London.
- **Bishop Desmond Tutu**, Nobel Peace Laureate.
- **Murphy Morobe**, Transvaal Executive, United Democratic Front.
- **Richard Steele**, Conscientious Objector Support Group, Durban.

### 3.30 pm: Walk-about

Walk-about are the time to examine the displays and the stalls. In each walk-about (the other is at 10.30 on Sunday morning) there is also some music, some drama and some poetry.

**Stalls** open during the walk-about will be the  
• ECC stall • SASPU stall • JODAC stall  
• War and Peace Group stall • UDF stall  
• Conscientious Objector Support Group Advice Bureau • Bookshop.

**Displays** include • War toys • Troops in the townships • Churches and militarization  
• Women and militarization • Military and education • A display of peace posters from around the world • An ECC display.

**Drama, music and poetry** from • the JODAC culture group • Steve de Gruchy  
• Katy Alexander • Jessica Sherman.

In addition, there will be the premiere of the ECC video.

### 5.00 pm: Options

OPTION 1:

#### **Southern Africa post-Nkomati**

Co-ordinator : **Keith Gottschalk**, Chairperson, Civil Rights League.

OPTION 2:

#### **Non-Violent Action Workshop**

Co-ordinator : Conscientious Objector Support Group (COSG), Durban.

OPTION 3:

#### **Conscription and militarization : the role of the Church**

Co-ordinators : **Father Albert Nolan**, Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT).  
**Steve Sadie**, Churches International Year of the Youth (IYY) Co-ordinating Committee.

OPTION 4:

#### **"There shall be peace and friendship" : The Freedom Charter**

Co-ordinator for the '50s: **Ezra Sigwela**, Active in the '50s in the South African Peace Council.

... for the '80s **Khehla Shubane**, Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO).

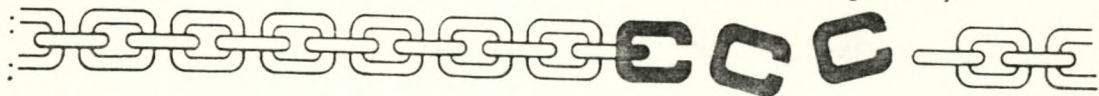
### 8.00 pm Public meeting Troops out

A representative of the people of South Africa's townships and a Namibian representative share a common platform. The End Conscription Campaign adds its voice to the call for the withdrawal of SADF troops from Namibia and from our country's townships.  
Chair: **Molly Blackburn**, Progressive Federal Party (PFP) MPC, Port Elizabeth.

**Speakers:**

**Stone Sizane**, Publicity Secretary, United Democratic Front (UDF), Eastern Cape.  
Representative of the South West African People's Organisation, **SWAPO**.  
**Paddy Kearney**, Director, Diakonia.

**Music and Poetry:** • **Steve Kromberg**  
• **Mzwakhe Mbuli** • **Roger Lucey**.





## SUNDAY MORNING

### 9.00 am : Options:

#### OPTION 1:

##### **SADF in Namibia : people's agony**

Co-ordinator : Namibian Council of Churches (CCN).

#### OPTION 2:

##### **Workshop on Dad's Army**

Co-ordinator : Grahamstown Conscription Advice Bureau (GRACONS).

#### OPTION 3:

##### **The psychological effects of militarization**

Co-ordinators : Organisation for Appropriate Social Sciences in South Africa (OASSSA).

#### OPTION 4:

##### **The SADF's hearts and minds campaign**

Co-ordinators : **Gavin Evans**, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC).

**Paul Dobson**, conscientious objector, former SADF Civic Action Programme teacher.

#### OPTION 5:

##### **Total strategy, total war: military, state and economy**

Co-ordinator : **Graham Simpson**, National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

### 10.30: Walk-about

This morning's walk-about is the last opportunity to see the displays and talk to people staffing the stalls. There will also be drama, music and poetry contributions from:

- Port Elizabeth UDF Area Committee
- James Kibby
- Katy Alexander
- and the ECC video will be shown for those who missed it yesterday.

If you support our call to end conscription and the call for a just peace in South Africa, and you wish to become involved in the work of the campaign, leave your name with the people at the ECC stall.

### 11.30 am Some say 'No' Panel discussion with conscientious objectors

**Dr Ivan Toms**, an objector who works at the SACLA clinic in Crossroads, outside Cape Town, is chair.

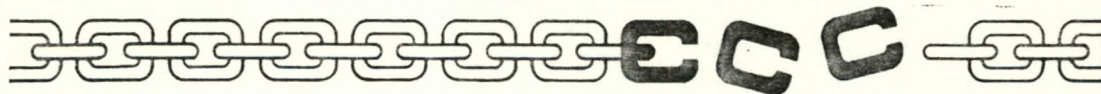
The four participants are:

**Richard Steele**, from Durban, who served a year in detention barracks in 1980. He has recently presented evidence on behalf of South African objectors to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights in Geneva.

**Pete Hathorn**, who served a year in Pollsmoor Prison in 1983. He has since been active in the Conscientious Objector Support Group, Cape Town.

**David Schmidt**, former chairperson of the National Catholic Federation of Students and of the Cape Town End Conscription Committee who appeared before the Board for Religious Objectors in September 1984. He is now doing his community service as a teacher in Cape Town.

**David Pijpers** from Oudtshoorn who served for two years in the Cape Corps. He has subsequently declared that he will refuse to complete his contract with the SADF.





## SUNDAY AFTERNOON

### 2.30 pm : Schools' panel discussion

The schools' panel discussion brings together pupils from Natal and Transvaal schools. Each school is represented by a team of five, one of whom co-ordinates. Each team will be given a topic on the subject of war and peace. Ten minutes is set aside for preparation and ten for presentation. It is up to each team to apply their topic to South Africa in any way they wish. The teams won't be competing against one another, nor will they be adjudicated. Rather than a debate between opponents, this discussion will be a dialogue through which all will learn. There will be no single winner.

Chair: **Ian Moll**, National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA).

• **SUCA**, the Student Union for Christian Action, will present "Minutes of Silence"

### 4.00 pm Public meeting The way forward

Chair: **Clare Verbeek**, End Conscription Committee, Johannesburg.

• **Carol Tongue**, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND): *The challenges facing the European Peace Movement.*

• **Cheryl Carolus**, former United Democratic Front (UDF) Executive: *The special role of the youth in the struggle against conscription and for a just peace in our land.*

• **Nadine Gordimer**, Poetry reading

• **Michael Evans**, Chairperson, End Conscription Committee, Cape Town: *Building our campaign - the way forward.*

### 7.30 pm : Service for peace Father Albert Nolan

The service for peace is an opportunity for all who have attended the festival to assert their unity and their commitment to the demands of the End Conscription Campaign. The service is open to Christian and non-Christian alike. It will include music and drama by

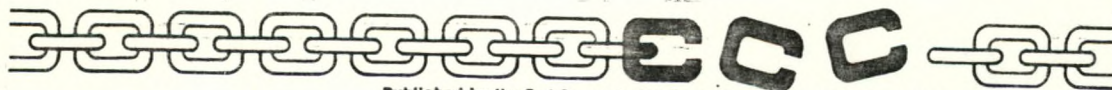
- Jessica Sherman
- Dave Schmidt
- Steve de Gruchy
- Kuvangano theatre group



### 9.00 pm : Peace concert

Unwind and relax with

- Malombo
- Roger Lucey
- Stan James
- and others



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## COSAWR — THE COMMITTEE ON SOUTH AFRICAN WAR RESISTANCE

RESISTER is written and produced by the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR) in Britain, and contributions are received from COSAWR in the Netherlands.

COSAWR is an organisation of South African war resisters and supporters who have gone into exile as a result of our refusal to fight for apartheid.

COSAWR supports the international cam-

paign to isolate the apartheid regime and campaigns in support of South African war resistance. We research into the militarisation of South Africa and help to expose the threat to peace constituted by the Botha regime. We support and assist individuals leaving South Africa as a result of their refusal to be conscripted into the apartheid armed forces.

### INFORMATION FOR SOUTH AFRICAN WAR RESISTERS SEEKING POLITICAL ASYLUM

We believe it is the duty of South Africans who are opposed to apartheid to refuse to take part in the SADF, which is fighting an unjust war. There are different ways of resisting army call up. Some people go on the run, others have been imprisoned for their stands. We campaign in support of these individuals, and we also assist those who feel they have no option but to leave the country.

Asylum possibilities for war resisters leaving SA vary from country to country, despite a United Nations resolution calling on member states to grant asylum to such individuals. In all countries asylum applications from SA resisters are treated individually and are not granted automatically. Generally, resisters have to show that they have taken the decision to leave as a result of strongly held principles which led them to oppose apartheid.

Asylum or refugee status is granted on the basis that the individual has 'a well founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion or political belief'.

Resisters should either take their call up papers (or some other proof of army commitments) with them or arrange to have them sent. They should travel direct, bar short stop overs, to the country where they intend to apply for asylum.

On arrival, in most countries, resisters have usually entered as tourists, providing they have had a return air ticket and enough money for a month or so. After entry they have made contact with the local refugee agency or anti-apartheid group and then decided how to proceed.

If resisters are refused permission as tourists, they should make an immediate request for asylum on the grounds of their fear of persecution. They should insist on making a phone call and contact the local refugee agency.

Countries in which SA war resisters have been granted asylum or allowed to remain include Australia, Botswana, Britain, Canada, Lesotho, Netherlands, Norway, Swaziland, USA, Zimbabwe. Countries in which applications would be likely to succeed include Belgium and Sweden. It should be noted that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to 'transfer' asylum to another country once it has been granted.

**Contacts:** COSAWR can provide addresses for anti-apartheid and refugee assistance organisations in most countries. In many countries, including Southern African states, the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees can assist. In Britain and the Netherlands, COSAWR should be contacted.

### SUBSCRIBE TO RESISTER

Please send me .....copy/ies of RESISTER every two months, at £3.00 a year. (£4.00 airmail)

Name .....

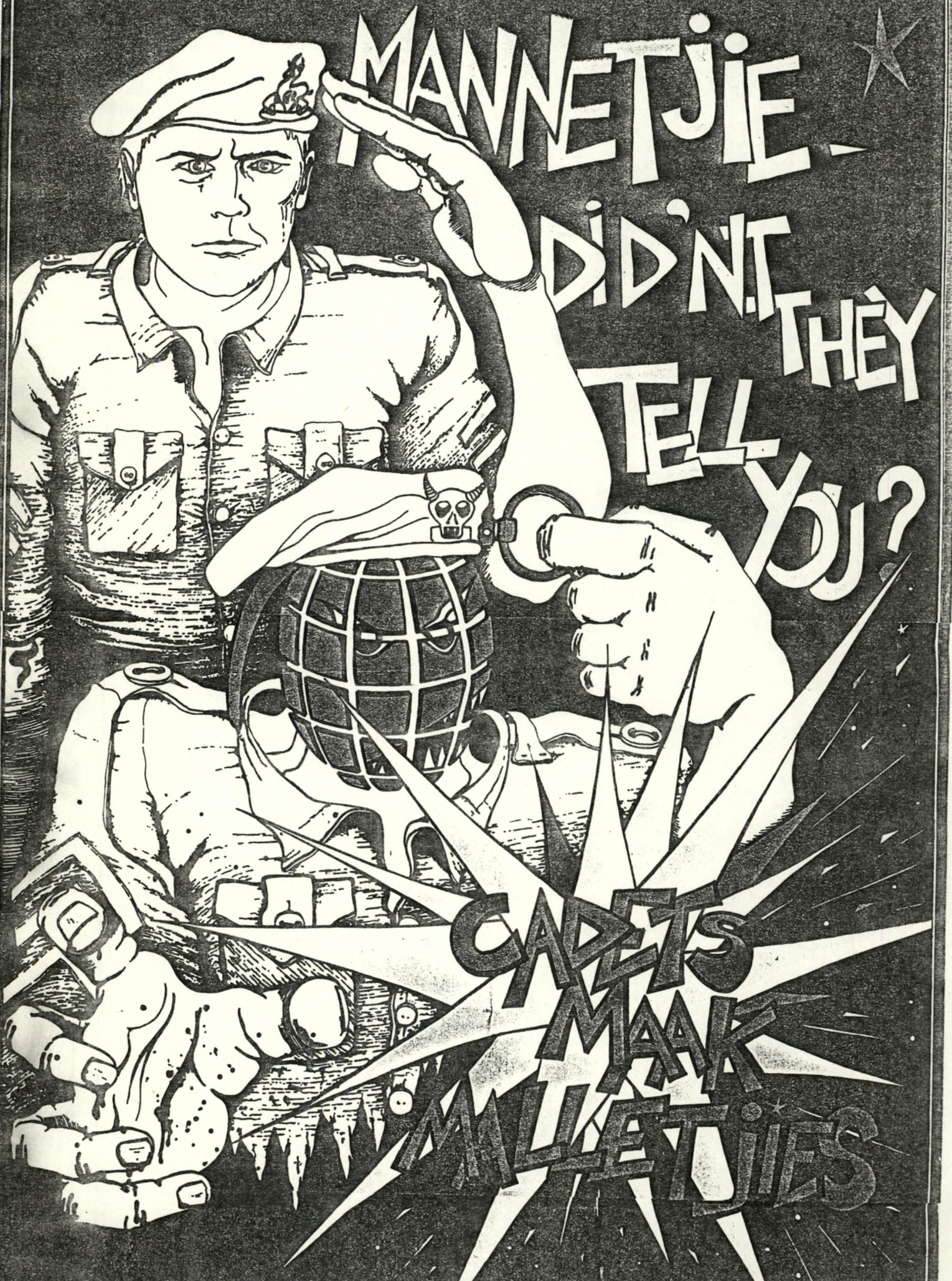
Address .....

I enclose ..... plus a donation of ..... (We always welcome any donation you can afford, as we are by no means a wealthy organisation). Please make out cheques to COSAWR and add £1.00 if you pay in foreign currency. Except in the Benelux countries, direct all subscriptions and correspondence to COSAWR-UK.

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MANNETJIE  
 DID'NT THEY  
 TELL YOU?

CADETS  
 MAAK  
 MANNETJIES





Cadet training is a choice.

There are other decisions to be made.

- Have you thought about the realities of the South African context?
- Have you spoken to anyone from another population group about conscription?
- Do you know why only one population group is conscripted?
- Are you aware that the SADF is being used in urban black areas?
- Do you know that the Defence Act permits certain categories of religious objectors?
- Have you thought through the implications of military service?
- Are you ready to make such decisions when you leave school?

These and other questions demand careful consideration.

#### IF YOU NEED MORE HELP

If you would like advice, someone to talk to, or something to read contact:

Teral 6515  
Gerry 8014  
Nick/Julia 7763  
Doug 2133

The service is confidential.

This publication has been prepared to assist scholars and their parents in making responsible decisions.

If you have found it useful please pass it on to someone else.

If you have any comments or queries please contact GRACONS.

GRACONS has a great deal of information on these and related issues - please make use of it.

Aanhangsel "D," ...

MUST I DO

CADETS

AT SCHOOL?

(A guide for scholars and their parents)

A GRACONS publication  
(Grahamstown Advice Centre on  
National Service/Conscription)



## MILITARISM BEGINS AT HOME

## MILITARISM CONTINUES AT SCHOOL

Every white male South African citizen must according to the Defence Act register for military service.

There is no legal alternative.

But school pupils and their parents do have a choice:

### CADET TRAINING IS NOT COMPULSORY

"Every person domiciled in the Republic may, if he is a scholar or student at a school or other educational institution be required between his twelfth and his seventeenth year, both included, to undergo training as a cadet in accordance with regulations, unless

(a) his parent or guardian has objected thereto in writing"

(Section 57 of Defence Act 1957)

MILITARISM: "the undue prevalence of the military spirit"  
(Oxford Dictionary)

The phenomenon of militarism deserves very serious consideration, even by people who may have divergent opinions on war and peace.

Everybody, whether you have made up your mind on where you stand with regard to war and violence or not, must be concerned about the increasing militarism in South Africa.

### Some of the effects of militarism.

1. Where militarism rules truth is always the first casualty. Information ceases to be objective and becomes merely another weapon.
2. Militarism results in the glamourisation of war and violence. The reality of war is horrible and so the image of war is changed.
3. Militarism leads to a dehumanizing of the enemy. It is easier to kill "gooks" or "terrs" than people.
4. Militarism encourages a selective morality. It enables us to treat our "boys" in one way and the dehumanized enemy in another.
5. Militarism surrenders the option of dialogue. Militarism reduces our options to two, winning or losing.
6. Militarism causes us to lose sight of the reality. Militarism deflects our attention from the real issues.

(The above is adapted from a talk given by Rev. Peter Storey)



<sup>ECC</sup>  
Nauhaugsel "N"

MINUTES OF ECC WORKSHOP DISCUSSION, JOHANNESBURG, 19/10/85

A) SINGLE ISSUE CAMPAIGN

ECC is a 'single issue' campaign in the sense that there is a central group of related issues - conscription, militarisation and the role of the SADF - around which we mobilise support and on which we have national policy. This policy is expressed in our Declaration and in our evidence to the Geldenhuys Commission.

Being 'single issue' is one of our strengths: it is the essence of our structure as a front of organisations with different policies and strategies; it is one of the main reasons for our having so much support from so wide a range of people and groups; and it is one of the main reasons for our having established a clear, coherent and consistent public presence.

At the same time we have always situated our immediate issues in the broader South African context, and used them to develop an understanding of the nature of apartheid and of an alternative just society.

One implication of being 'single issue' is that it is not our responsibility to respond directly to other aspects of apartheid unless they are closely related to our immediate issues.

A second implication is that, as a general rule, we cannot be part of other fronts whose focus is broad (e.g. UDF or Convention Alliance.)

The problem of Frikkie from the H.N.P. wanting to join ECC is not realistic as ECC is clearly part of the broad anti-apartheid movement and our opposition to conscription is clearly progressive.

B) RELATIONSHIP TO THE SADF

Our approach to having contact with the SADF is a matter of strategy, not principle. Such contact therefore needs to be assessed in terms of the gains and losses to ECC in the particular circumstances.

Debates against the SADF are generally a good idea: they allow us to expose the army; the army has more to lose from giving us legitimacy than we have to lose from giving it legitimacy through a debate; the SADF is unlikely to debate us and we can make mileage from this. There may however come a time when it is not possible for us to debate them.



Making representations to the SADF, as with the Geldehuys Commission, has obvious advantages in terms of establishing our legitimacy in the public's mind. It might be a good idea to compile a document of atrocities committed by the army and formally present this to them (as DPSC has done in its area of work).

### C) THE INDIVIDUAL SOLDIER

It is important that serving soldiers do not perceive ECC as being antagonistic to them - it must always be clear that we see the system of conscription and not the individual soldier as 'the enemy'.

Our public position must be such that soldiers can identify with it. Without abandoning our demand for the immediate withdrawal of troops, we must also make the explicitly short-term demand that soldiers should have the right to refuse to go into the townships.

Emphasizing positive alternatives to national service is a better way of reaching soldiers than by opposing the role of the army.

The ECC has received and welcomes support from soldiers. We would have no problem with their wanting to get involved in our structures, although for practical reasons this is unlikely. It is also unlikely that ECC executive members would be in the army at the same time.

It is obviously very difficult for us to make direct contact with soldiers. Indirect contact, by reaching schoolpupols and mothers of conscripts, is therefore important.

### D) OUR CONSTUENCY

The shift to the left of various groups and prominent people within the white community has increased ECC's potential to gain support there. We should take advantage of the formation of the new groups, like the Concerned Citizens Group, without actually becoming part of them.

Within the white community we need to be working more consistently with our affiliates, church ministers, parents, school pupils and the Afrikaans community.

We need to be more sensitive to changing moods and attitudes within the white community to inform what issues we take up and how.

In the black community, we need to give real effect to our commitment to non-racialism by working with black activists or groups around the issue of troops in the townships. Stickers, pamphlets, workshops and collecting affidavits are possible forms of action.



E) ECC AND THE PFP YOUTH

It is necessary to appreciate that the position on conscription of the PFP Youth is distinct from that of the PFP Party and is entirely consistent with that of ECC.

The advantages to ECC of the affiliation of the Youth are: an opportunity to expand into the PFP's constituency; greater legitimacy and protection; the broadening of ECC as a front; a greater ability to shift the Party's position on conscription in a progressive direction. 6

The disadvantages are that the PFP is linked to Inkatha through the Convention Alliance and has decided to work in the coloured and Indian communities - this has given rise to greater antagonism to the PFP from the black community. ECC'S credibility amongst progressive black organisations and within the black community may consequently be threatened by our working too closely with the PFP Youth.

Since ECC is a 'single issue' campaign, the criteria for considering the affiliation of a new organisation are simply whether that organisation supports the ECC Declaration and whether its position on conscription is consistent with that of ECC. The position of that organisation on other issues is not relevant to ECC, although it may be important to ECC's existing affiliates.

The decision on the PFP Youth's affiliation will be made by existing affiliates but they should take into account ECC's feeling on the matter. Those present at the workshop were overwhelmingly in favour of the Youth's affiliation.

We need greater clarity on the issues of affiliation to, membership of and observer status on ECC.

F) THE RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL NATURE OF ECC

The advantages of ECC having a religious nature and of working with the churches are obvious. A number of qualifying points should be made, however: our work is still too much at the level of the church hierarchies and is underdeveloped at the level of the ministers and their congregations; our work with religious groups should include contact with Jewish groups and with the proposed Jews Against Apartheid in particular; work with Hindu and Muslim groups is not a priority at this stage but should be investigated.

It is important that ECC's public image is not exclusively Christian or religious as this might alienate other constituencies like youth culture. ECC's religious symbols like the dove have been effective broadly, but we need to create specifically South African symbols of peace.

The setting up of a Churches Sub-committee is necessary. The possibility of this being a Religious Sub-com. is a matter of debate although the former was preferred at this workshop.



## G) PEACE MOVEMENT

A distinction can be drawn between 1st and 3rd world peace movements. The former are concerned with nuclear disarmament and the East/West conflict while the latter are concerned with issues of oppression and exploitation. ECC's issues are more closely linked to those of the 3rd world although our constituency is closer to the 1st world.

The advantages to ECC of having established contact with groups overseas are support for ECC, pressure on the S.A. government and an opportunity for us to learn from them.

It is essential that ECC does not refer to itself either internally or publically as being a peace movement or even as being part of a broader peace movement. The notion of a peace movement has particularly European connotations and it is not appropriate in the South African context.

ECC's emphasis on the notion of a just peace has been very important in attracting support and in being able to offer a positive alternative to the violence of apartheid. Because the meaning of "peace" in S.A. is interpreted differently from different ideological positions ECC needs to ensure that progressive content is always given to its call for a Just Peace.



## TOWARDS A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND

### A Declaration to End Conscription

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

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

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

We call for an end to conscription.

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

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

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

We call for an end to conscription.

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

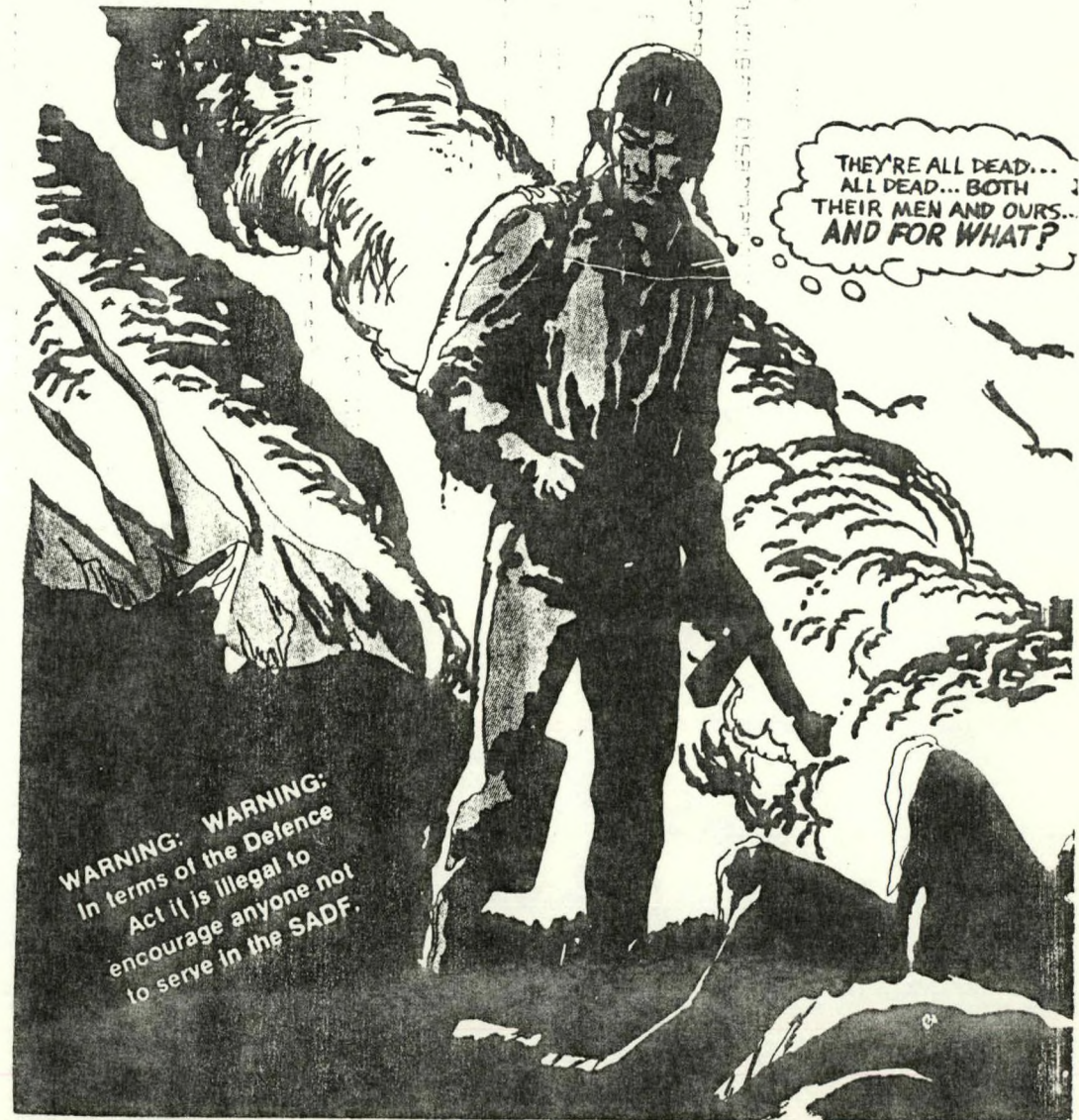
We believe that the extension of conscription to coloured and indian citizens will increase conflict and further divide our country.

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

**WE CALL FOR AN END TO CONSCRIPTION**

**WE CALL FOR A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND**

# STOP THE CALL-UP





# WHAT ARE WE SAYING?

Most people with call-ups aren't into going - two years, in some army camp up north, getting bored out of our skulls, is not our idea of fun.

P.W. Botha and his generals tell us that we are fighting to keep the communists away from our borders - to maintain law and order so that peaceful change can come about.

The point is - we no longer believe this.

The threat that the South African government is talking about is not on our borders - it is here, inside South Africa: it is the legitimate demands of the people for a say in the governing of their lives.

The unrest in the Vaal and Eastern Cape over the last few months has confirmed our worst suspicions. The army is being used to put down protest in the townships, and over a hundred people have died as a result.

This is nothing new.



In March 1980 10 000 municipal workers went on strike. The army sealed off their compounds and deported them to the homelands, where there are no jobs.

During the Soweto riots of 1976 the army helped the police in their 'operations' against protesting schoolchildren.

Uprisings by the black workers and students are not the result of 'communist agitators'. They are caused by the structures of apartheid, which entrench black poverty and give them no rights in the land of their birth.

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We don't support apartheid. We do not want to serve in an army that is defending apartheid.

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It is the right of every individual to exercise freedom of conscience. It is our choice whether we want to serve in the army or not. We therefore call for an end to compulsory conscription, so that we are not forced to fight in an unnecessary war.





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