

EG 4-5-11

# OBJECTOR

# 1984:



**Townships**

**ECC launch**

**Namibia**

# NEW DEAL TO CIVIL WAR

# Rhodes academics reject 'Dads Army'

The Rhodes University administration recently incurred the wrath of the university's Lecturer's Association for co-operating with the SADF despite an undertaking not to do so.

Members of the Lecturer's Association were "extremely angry" with the administration for assisting the Eastern Province Command in tracing staff members who had failed to register for the recent "Dad's Army" call-up.

An overwhelming majority of the Lecturer's Association passed a motion rejecting the university's "active involvement" with the military on the registration issue. The motion was also endorsed by the university's Staff Association.

The E P Command sent the university a list of names and the request to check

who "should or should not be on the lists". They also said they were "very grateful" for the administration's co-operation and that the clarified list had been "extremely helpful" in enabling the Command to identify unregistered staff members. The university administration has denied that this was a form of "active involvement".

## Jailed for 6 years

William Archer, 19, has been sentenced to 75 months imprisonment by a court martial after having his application to do alternative service refused by the Board for Religious Objection. Archer, having started his training in the Reconnaissance Commando in January, was rejected by the Board on August 8. He failed to convince the Board that his views were sincerely held.

It ruled that he seemed to be exploiting the situation, as he only applied for alternative service after he had been refused a transfer closer to home. Shortly thereafter, he was court martialled and sentenced to over 6 years imprisonment.

He applied once more to the Board and again was rejected. It ruled that it could only consider a second application if it was made on grounds substantially different to the first one. In response to Archer's allegation that he had been assaulted in detention barracks, the Board issued a court order referring all evidence to the chief of the SADF, for an investigation into abuses in Potchefstroom D.B.

## Namibian call-up

All men in Namibia between 17 and 55 are to be registered for military service in the SWA Territory Force. At present only school leavers are required to do military training. The mass registration which could inject 400 000 soldiers into the SWATF is regarded as the first step towards replacing SA troops in Namibia.

(FM 9-11-84)

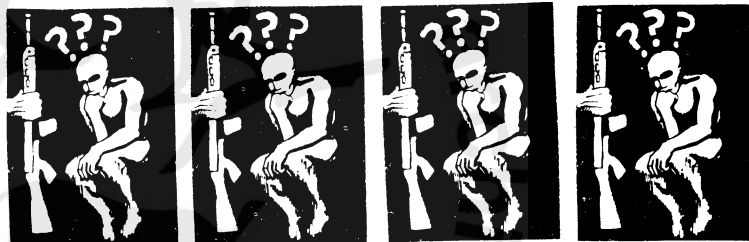
## Detainees sue Magnus Malan

Thirty six former Mariental internees are suing the Minister of Defence and the Administrator-General of Namibia for over a million rand. Summonses were served on General Magnus Malan and Dr Willie van Niekerk for alleged assault and unlawful detention of the 36 for six years.

The 36 were among 131 refugees taken by force from Cassinga following the SADF raid on May 6, 1978.

All 36 are demanding R20 000 for unlawful detention, and 26 are suing for a further R10 000 each for assault said to have occurred at Oshakati shortly after their seizure.

### Do I have to fight in the SADF?



If you are worried about your call-up, contact us for advice and information on alternatives.

#### JOHANNESBURG

Robin 836-7111

648-1763

Rob 837-6582

#### GRAHAMSTOWN

Gerry 5443

Dave 4024

Terul 6515

#### CAPE TOWN

Paula 698531 x 352

Anton 476274

Barbara 7471210

#### DURBAN

Sue 312609/784752

Paul 317714/784521

Legal and religious counsel also available.

Advice Bureau on Military Conscription

# SADF into townships

In the past two months over 160 people have been killed in the townships of the Transvaal and Eastern Cape. Progressive organisations accuse the government of provoking civil war, and of using the SADF to crush popular demands. Following the Vaal stay-away a blanket ban was imposed on reports on the use of troops in the townships.

Some of the facts of SADF involvement are:

October 6 - The army patrols townships in Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown. Law and Order Minister, Louis le Grange, flying over the strife-torn Vaal, announces close cooperation between army and police in "controlling unrest".

October 8 - The army moves into Soweto to assist in police operations.

October 23 - "Operation Palmiet" - 7 000 troops invade the township of Sebokeng at 3 in the morning. All exits are sealed. 354 people are arrested, most of them for pass offences. There are accusations of brutality: 60 people are treated for injuries.

October 24 - The 7 000 strong force moves into Sharpeville and Boipatong townships.

November 5, 6 - In the Vaal and East Rand half a million workers stay away from work. In Ratanda the residents force the community council to resign.



The SADF moves into Tembisa and Tsakane townships: people barricade the roads with stones, old cars and burning tyres. 24 people are killed.

November 10, 11 - The SADF moves into Grahamstown's townships with arm-

oured troop carriers. Two deaths are reported. Armoured troop carrier ploughs into taxi - kills four people.

November 14, 15, 16 - Nearly 2 500 people arrested in Sebokeng, Tembisa, Sharpeville, Daveytown and Katlehong.

## SADF-65% conscripts

The SADF consists of 83 400 full-time soldiers, according to the "Military Balance" issued annually by The International Institute for Strategic Studies. Conscripted national servicemen contribute 53 300 soldiers to this figure.

The troop numbers for 1984/85 are down by 9 000 on the 1981/82 estimate of 92 700 (66 100 national servicemen). The South West Africa Territory Force is listed separately, and credited with 14 000 soldiers.

## Buddhist precedent for Board

The Board for Religious Objection has refused to grant Buddhist, Dave Hartman, a Rhodes University graduate, religious objector status. The Board referred Mr Hartman's application to the Supreme Court because it felt that while his beliefs were "sincere and honest" they did not fit the definition of "religious" as understood by the Board. The Board's definition of religion required belief in "a supreme being or beings of divine nature".

A Free State Supreme Court judge will have to rule on the acceptability of the claim.

According to Dr Jan Hofmeyer, a lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies at UCT, who appeared as an expert witness for Mr Hartman, the Western sense of religion which implies belief in a supreme being, is not necessarily applicable to Buddhism. Dr Hofmeyer testified that to question whether there is a supreme being is considered wrong in Buddhist belief, for it does not necessarily lead to the state of nirvana.

Two Cape Town teachers, Mike Roux and Ronald Louw, were granted alternative service at the recent Board sitting in Bloemfontein.

## ECC firmly on the map

"We are now on the map," said an End Conscription Campaign spokesperson after the October launching of the campaign in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban.

"We attracted widespread support both at our meetings and in the number of people and organisations endorsing our declaration.

"Our public and press profile has consequently increased substantially. What we are saying can no longer be ignored."



End Conscription Campaign

He added that the energy that the right-wing National Student Federation was putting into combatting the campaign nationally through distributing a glossy "The Soviet Union needs you - 'End Conscription'" pamphlet, putting centre-spread ads in the Sunday press and even attending ECC meetings to wave the flag, "was a compliment to the impact the campaign had had."

# ECC national take-off

The Declaration to End Conscription was launched by the End Conscription Committees across the country during the month of October.

Creative and exciting projects were used to take the message 'Cancel the Call-Up' to thousands of South Africans who up till now have simply accepted conscription as inevitable.

## Cape Town

1 000 people packed the Claremont Civic Centre on 15 October to hear Rev Allan Boesak and Black Sash national chairperson, Sheena Duncan, address the Cape Town launch.

"The glorification of war and destruction can only have a bad effect on the hearts and minds of our people. Haven't we suffered 300 years of oppression? Do we have to add more hatred?" Dr Boesak asked the meeting.

"More than R3 000 million is spent on war, destruction and violence, while little money is spent on decent education for our children and decent housing for our people."

Sue Williamson of Women's Movement for Peace spoke of her tears of her son's call-up. "I dread the day when my son is called on to lift his hand against the people of Soweto."

Dr Ivan Toms, principal medical officer at Empilisweni Sacla Clinic in Crossroads, stated his position clearly. His daily working experience brought him to the position where he must say, "that no matter what the consequences, I could never put on my SADF lieutenants uniform again." "How can I go into the townships to oppress the very people I feel called upon to serve," he asked.



Rev. Allan Boesak speaks in Cape Town.

Cape Youth Congress Vice-President, Trevor Oosterwyk said that CAYCO members would never allow themselves to be conscripted.

The meeting ended with the adoption of the Declaration to End Conscription.

The build-up to the launch included a press conference, a "Rock the Ratel" concert, a church vigil and pickets.

## Durban

UDF lawyer Zac Yacoob, Rev Wesley Mabuza and ex-objector Richard Steele spoke to 200 people at a public meeting launching the campaign in Durban on Sunday 28 October.

The launch was preceded by a workshop on the Saturday to which 15 interested organisations came. This good attendance was seen as very encouraging by the Durban committee.

Durban will host a national ECC meeting in January where questions like direction, national co-ordination, a possible 1985 Youth Focus to coincide with International Year of the Youth and general ECC policy will be thrashed through.

## Johannesburg

The Transvaal Launch of the ECC declaration began with a press conference at Khotso House on 17 October. Kate Philip, Nusas president, Beyers Naude, Dr Kistner of the SACC, Helen Joseph and Dave Webster of DPSC, spoke.

The speakers stressed that in the escalating civil war, with troops in the townships, increased violence was not the way to bring about a just peace. They emphasised that apartheid is the fundamental cause of the conflict and that the SADF is defending apartheid and thus contributing to the intensifying civil war. Each speaker then declared their full support of the declaration and signed it.



Helen Joseph addresses JHB launch.

The press conference was almost upstaged by visiting British MP, John Anderson, who chose the same venue for his press conference, and ECC had the doubtful privilege of seeing our Spring Fair posters on TV news as the background to Mr Anderson (!). Needless to say, SABC TV did not report the ECC press conference, but newspaper coverage was good, with the spotlight focussed inevitably on Beyers Naude and Helen Joseph.

Helen Joseph spoke at the Spring Fair, held two days later at St Anthony's Church in Mayfair, as well. She and Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash presented the only formal speeches of the afternoon, with Sheena explaining the basis of the call to end conscription, putting it in the context of the Civil War. Benita Pavlicevic, ECC chairperson, introduced the speakers, and gave a brief history of the ECC campaign.

The afternoon was divided between educative films and videos, explaining the crisis in Namibia, and resistance to militarism; and cultural events such as a powerful drama by Mike van Graan, songs by David Schmidt, and break-dancers from Bosmont - displaying great vitality and rhythm and much enjoyed by all.

The fair was also successful in bringing the affiliate organisation together: Nusas, Jodac, Neusa, Cosg, Wap, SAIRR, Cathsoc, YCS, Matrix, Black Sash and STP.

# End Conscription Campaign

Amidst mounting public debate "Objector" approached an ECC spokesperson about the motivation behind the campaign.

The End Conscription Campaign, which unites a range of church, women's, student and human rights groups, bases its call upon the following:

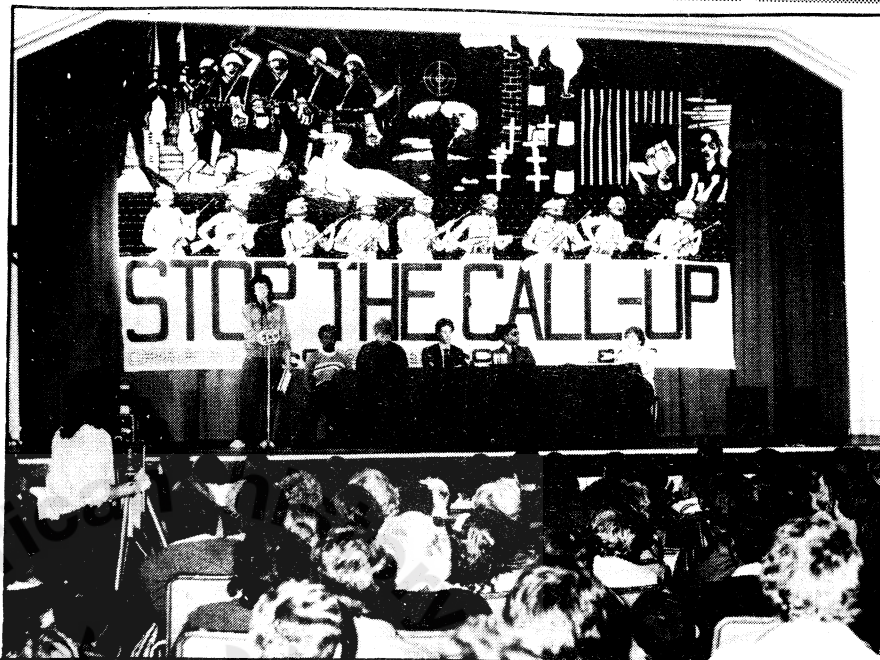
- 1) Conscription intensifies the violent conflict in our society. This conflict is engendered by a political system which denies most South Africans basic human rights. It is not the result of some external "total onslaught".

South Africa is confronted by a civil war. Attempts to stop this by compulsory conscription, by increasing defence budgets and by sending the army into Sebokeng and Sharpeville only result in escalating violence and further division. Conflict can only be resolved by dismantling the apartheid system and recognising all South Africans as full citizens.

- 2) Conscription prolongs the war in Namibia. South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal in terms of international law. The Catholic and Anglican bishops, the Namibian Council of Churches and many other church and human rights groups have called for the withdrawal of South African troops and immediate elections supervised by the United Nations so that the people of Namibia can determine their own future. Forcing people to fight in Namibia will slow down this process.

- 3) Conscription violates a human right — the right of any individual to refuse in conscience to render military service and be granted instead a non-military alternative. Present conscription does not recognise this right. The Defence Amendment Act of 1983 imposed a harsh and punitive six year prison sentence on all conscientious objectors who are not religious pacifists.

- 4) Conscription conditions South Africans to accept the growing militarisation of our society — ever higher defence budgets at the expense of better housing, equal education, less poverty; the intrusion of the military into all areas of life, even to the highest levels of political decision-making; destabilisation, raids into neighbouring countries; army involvement in resettlement. In short, military solutions to political problems.



Claremont Civic Centre packed to capacity for Cape Town launch.

## ECC: Where has it come from?

- 1983**
- MARCH** : Bill comes before parliament lengthening the maximum prison sentence for conscientious objectors from two to six years.
- Black Sash national conference calls for an end to conscription.
- JULY** : The Conscientious Objectors Support Group decides at their national conference to initiate a national End Conscription Campaign.
- NOVEMBER** : 12 organisations represented at the inaugural meeting of ECC in Cape Town. Similar committees are set up in Johannesburg and Durban.
- 1984**
- MARCH** : ECC workshop decides on the drawing up of a declaration and the collection of endorsements.
- Conscription surveys start nationally on university campuses and at churches.
- MAY** : Namibia focusses in Cape Town and Johannesburg with public meetings; extensive media and picketing; church vigils; campus concerts and press conferences.
- OCTOBER** : Launch of the End Conscription Campaign and Declaration nationally
- public meetings in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg over 1000 people drawn to a meeting addressed by Boesak in Cape Town.
  - concerts and press conferences in Johannesburg and Cape Town.
  - media campaign and picketing.

## EDITORIAL

### Troops in the townships

The controversial entry of the SADF into a situation of civic and political unrest has confirmed our gravest doubts about the role of South Africa's military. The state's response to a situation which clearly required negotiation and conciliation has set it further upon a course of violence. The meeting place for South Africa's people is clearly not to be at a conference table, but over the barrel of a gun. Through conscription, young South African men are being forced to participate in this bloody conflict, for a cause that we believe is amoral and unjust.

### Campaign to end conscription

'Objector' therefore wishes to reaffirm its support for the 'End Conscription Campaign' which has boldly taken up its task at a time of such disquiet. We

### PFP on conscription

The vacillations of the PFP on this issue have reached a position of compromise. While it is indeed encouraging to observe the widespread opposition to conscription, certain fundamental statements must be questioned. Of what nature is this professional army that they support? I it fulfills the function of supporting a separated and unequal society, through violence, our abhorrence is no less than it is for a conscripted army. Only a free and democratic society can ensure that their army is not an instrument of domination in the hands of a minority.

### stop press...stop press...stop

We note with extreme concern that William Archer was tried by court martial and sentenced to 75 months in prison for refusing to do his military service. He is the first person to suffer the consequences of the harsh legislation brought in by the Defence Amendment of 1983. Despite this there has been no news or publicity about his trial or sentencing.

Is no one worried or even interested that a 19 year old conscriptee will spend the next 6 years of his life locked up for his beliefs?

That he was rejected by the Board as 'insincere' and yet is prepared to serve such an extremely long prison sentence in order to remain true to his beliefs, in order to remain true to his principles forces us to question the sound judgement of the Board.

We would like to express our solidarity and support for William in his courageous stand.

# 1984: FROM N

As 1984 draws to a close there is one theme which dominates the year's activities: escalating civil war. From early in the year it emerged that the police and the military were gearing up for intensified internal conflict. By the end of the year they had conducted a violent onslaught on South Africa's townships, leaving over 160 dead and many more wounded.

This escalation of civil conflict has occurred against a background of ongoing destabilisation throughout Southern Africa. Across the frontline states of Angola, Zimbabwe, Swaziland Mozambique, Lesotho and Botswana, the South African state has exerted its aggressive influence.

### SADF IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

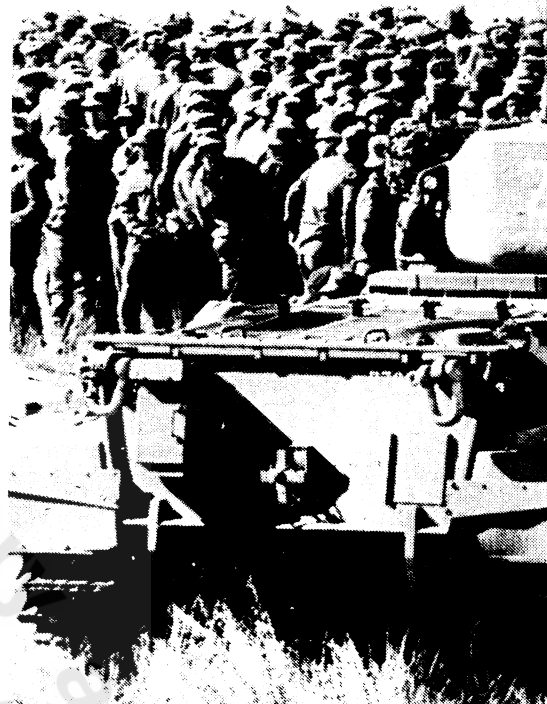
As the year opened, the SADF was in the midst of a massive operation in southern Angola, code-named Askari. In what amounted to a definite shift in strategy from previous operations, the SADF aimed its attacks more at the Angolan armed forces, than at SWAPO bases.

The rationale soon becomes clear. South Africa was able to force the MPLA government to the negotiating table. The outcome was the Lusaka agreement, whereby South Africa agreed to withdraw its troops from Southern Angola, while Angola in turn agreed to prevent SWAPO operating from the same territory.



Similar tactics were employed in Mozambique. The SADF, through its surrogate Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) bullied the FRELIMO government into submission, and then engineered a "peace settlement" at the Nkomati negotiating table: if Mozambique wanted peace, it would have to withdraw its support for the African National Congress.

While South Africa made definite diplomatic and propaganda advances through these agreements, the concrete gains have been less obvious. The Lusaka agreement



'Operation Thunder Chariot' - at Lohatla

has not curbed SWAPO operations, so that by late November the SADF is still stationed at Ngiva, nearly 50 km into Angola - and this eight months after the supposed final date for troop withdrawal. In the meanwhile, SWAPO activity has increased.

Similarly, the Nkomati agreement seems to have had little effect on ANC operations. According to Michael Hough, the director of the Pretoria-based Institute for Strategic Studies, ANC activity has, if anything, intensified since the signing of the accord. This would appear to confirm ANC claims that the South African war is being fought from within South Africa, and that neighbouring states are not relied upon to provide bases.

### CONVENTIONAL MILITARY BUILD-UP

If the South African government's rhetoric indicates a commitment to regional peace, its concentration on the development of the SADF's conventional weaponry would suggest the opposite.

The official defence budget for 1984/5 was R3755 million, up 21 percent on the figure for the previous year. Yet much defence spending falls under different government departments: SADF housing, for example, is financed by the Department of Community Development, intelligence gathering through the Treasury Vote. A more realistic figure could be over R4500 million, or over R12 million per day.

# EW DEAL TO CIVIL WAR



Much of this has been directed towards the "development, production and commissioning of a new generation of main armaments" (Defence White Paper, 1984). Most of this work has been carried out locally, through Armscor and its subsidiaries. But recent events, in particular the arrest of the "Coventry 4" arms smugglers, indicates that South Africa at least remains dependent on foreign technology and design.

The question might well be asked: where is this massive conventional build-up directed? The sophisticated nature of the weaponry would preclude its use in guerrilla warfare. The answer, perhaps, is provided by recent events.

Firstly, Operation Thunder Chariot, carried out in August, was a massive show of strength on the part of the SADF. Over 11 000 troops were involved in the largest military exercise since World War II. The warning to neighbouring states was clear: "Step out of line, breach our peace agreements, and you will feel the full might of the SADF".

Then, in September and October, the SADF joined the police in the townships of the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape. Again, the implication was clear - that, if necessary, conventional weaponry might be used to crush internal resistance.

## SADF AND INTERNAL REPRESSION

The military presence in the townships, and in particular Operation Palmiet on

October 23, indicates the preparedness of the authorities to use the military to curb internal resistance. On that occasion a combined force of 7 000 soldiers and policemen was used in Sebokeng to root out "pass offenders" and show residents the "big stick". This would be wielded if they persisted



in their resistance to rent increases, unequal education and undemocratic local authorities.

The operations in the Vaal Triangle over September/October also confirmed the increasingly close working relationship between the military and the police.

In April, the government had made a transparent attempt in its Defence Amendment Act, to stress the separate roles of the defence force and the police. All this was overturned later in the year by a number of statements from Law and Order Minister, Louis le Grange. He stressed that closer co-operation between the police and the military was

part of a rationalisation programme aimed at optimal use of manpower in the security field. This "co-operation" was soon put to effect.

## RESISTANCE TO CONSCRIPTION

While the over-riding theme of the year has been the escalation of civil war and the growing militarisation of our society, there have been some encouraging developments, in particular, the mounting resistance to conscription.

This has taken two forms. There has been a growing number of conscripts who have refused to participate in the SADF. Many of these have appeared before the Board for Religious Objectors, which came into operation earlier this year. Early indications are that the state's attempts to divide the conscientious objection movement and clamp down on resistance, are failing dismally.

But there has been another side to the SADF's attempts to curb internal resistance. This has involved the activating of local commando's in an effort to prepare the SADF for area-based warfare. The 1982 Defence Amendment Act had legislated that anyone up to the age of 55 could be recruited into commando units.

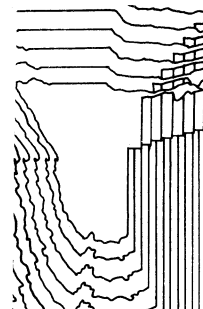
By April 1984 seven areas in Natal and the Transvaal had been activated in this way. The White Paper commented that 12 more would be in operation by the end of the year. The recent intensification of conflict seems to have hastened the process. Many new areas in all the provinces have been ear-marked for the establishment of commando units to counter increasing ANC activity and repress local resistance.

Secondly, 1984 has seen the emergence of a broad-based movement of resistance to conscription in the form of the End Conscription Campaign. Throughout the country the ECC has attracted extensive support. The impact of the campaign has already had its effect - notably, the shift in policy of the Progressive Federal Party. But more importantly, the campaign has provided a vision of a broad based war resistance movement, with far-reaching implications, particularly once conscription is extended to coloureds and indians.

Herein lies our hope for the future: that as the SADF plays an increasingly aggressive role, viciously defending and implementing apartheid policies, so more and more South Africans will stand up and say: No to the SADF! No to conscription.

# NAMIBIA:

Objection to service in South Africa's army has focussed on the role of the SADF in Namibia. Widespread allegations of torture and intimidation on the part of the security forces have been made. In Namibia itself citizens have refused conscription into the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF). They argue that it is an army of occupation waging war on the people it supposedly protects. What are the implications of South Africa's continued presence, amidst mounting dissatisfaction from many quarters?



## —Torture and Intimidation—

"If the army is our protector, who will protect us from the the army?" (Ovambo 'saying')

South Africa presents its role as protecting the people of Namibia from arbitrary acts of terror by SWAPO, and fighting to maintain stability under threat of Communist subversion. It is strange, then, that this "love of justice" needs to be asserted through what appears to be a reign of terror directed against the local population.

Though journalists are barred and Koevoet keeps no records, there is extensive evidence of torture. Reports have been given by South African conscripts who deserted because they could not stomach SADF atrocities, and there are the sworn statements from victims. The institutionalisation of torture means that this practice is not casual not occasional, but generalised. People who are arrested face a considerable probability that they will be tortured.

Dr Paul Wee of the Lutheran World Ministry reported from visits to Ovamboland

that 'there is no doubt that the primary source of this escalation (of terror activities) is the South African army. The evidence of South African army brutality among all segments of the population is overwhelming, pervasive and capable of documentation. It makes a mockery of the South African government's claim to be 'responding to the request of the Ovambo people for protection'...' "It is the South African army together with units of the home guards (Koevoet and SWATF) who are responsible for harassing, intimidating and blackmailing the population...it is they that deserve the name terrorists."

The SA Bishops Conference stated in 1982. "The Security Forces stop at nothing to force information out of people. They break into homes, beat-up residents, shoot people, steal and kill cattle, pillage stores and tea rooms. People are blindfolded, taken from their homes and left beaten up and often dead by the roadside. Women are often raped."

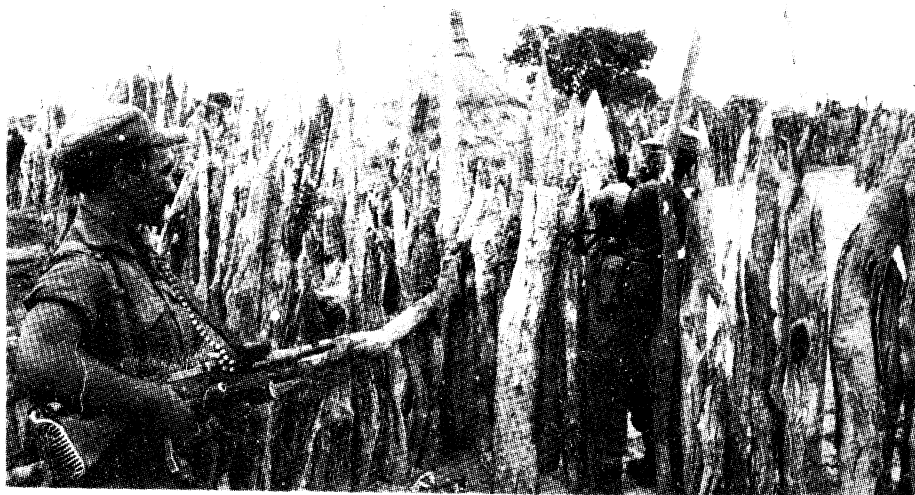
The situation along both sides of the Angolan border is, if possible, worse. Trevor Edwards, a mercenary of 32 Battalion who says he left in disgust with the wanton killing and torture, describes SA strategy against the border civilian population to eliminate SWAPO support: "Our main job is to take an area and clear it — we sweep through it and we kill everything in front of us, cattle, goats, people, everything. Sometimes we take the locals for questioning. It's rough. We just beat them, cut them, burn them. As soon as we're finished with them, we kill them."

The past year has seen no break in this pattern. In November 1983 a Kavango man, Andreas Kapitango, age 63, was roasted over a fire by SWATF soldiers, and had to have his right arm amputated. Members of Koevoet were found guilty of murder, attempted murder, rape, armed robbery and assault in February; their behaviour was defined as criminal because they were off duty. Are we to deduce that "on-duty", it would be acceptable?

The routine intimidation continues. In March over 1 000 Ovambos were rounded up at gunpoint and forced to answer questions as to whom they would support in elections, SA or SWAPO.

In August Hans Rohr, leader of the Namibia Christian Democratic Party, gave evidence of atrocities by SA troops against civilians in Kavango, including abduction, widespread arbitrary killing, frequently of children; the razing of a village and "disappearance" of many people.

If such methods are needed to keep South Africa in Namibia, how can this war of occupation be justified? It has become morally outrageous; how much more suffering will be inflicted before independence inevitably takes place?





# OCCUPATION CONTINUES

While state violence has been South Africa's main strategy in the Namibian conflict, it has been used in the context of initiatives to delay independence and undermine SWAPO. On the one hand SA has sought to "Namibianise" the conflict by incorporating local black police and military units. The SADF has been used in a more "civil action" manner to increase its popularity. On the other hand an extremely aggressive policy of destabilisation has been applied to Angola, attempting to extract concessions from SWAPO and the MPLA. At the same time South Africa seeks ways to bypass the UN independence plan, resolution 435, by forming an anti-SWAPO internal front. Despite these moves SWAPO clearly has a wide support base amongst the Namibian people, and their popularity has been increasing. South Africa has recognised that SWAPO is present in "all walks of life", including the churches, amongst professionals, academics, the media, and even some internal parties. SWAPO has become indistinguishable from the local population who support it. This has forced the South African government to recognise the war as unwinnable.

## 'Namibianising' the conflict

South Africa's strategy to displace the conflict onto black Namibian units has several implications. While shortening the "white" fatality lists and thus reducing desertion back home, it has also served to divide the population to South Africa's interest.

In September 1979 the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) was formed out of earlier black battalions (31 and 41 Battalion, plus those of Kavango, Ovamboland and East Caprivi). Not only does the SADF remain in charge of war operations, SWATF's budget also comes from Pretoria. SADF troops are seconded to SWATF.

Today the SWATF is 20 000 strong, operating as an extension of the SADF. In the event of SA's withdrawal, the continued existence of a pro-SA military presence is assured. The label of "police" attached to Koevoet also has serious implications, as it exempts them from potential restrictions on military presence

in the country. There is no doubt that these units will pose considerable problems for any post-independence government.

In January 1981 compulsory conscription for black Namibians was introduced. Opposition was widespread. 1 000 people met in protest under the "People's Action Committee". A wave of young Namibians went into exile. They refused to fight as "brother against brother" in a war against their own people. Eric Binga was the first to take his case to court. The case was lost and is currently on appeal.

Taking up the call to end conscription, the newly formed Namibian National Students' Organisation (Nanso) has come out in support of the South African End Conscription Campaign (ECC). Nanso's president writes: "Young South Africans are dying at the border in an undeclared war." He asks, "How can this war end while the cause is still here among us?"

viewer replied, "You don't agree with their aims, but the people do?", to which the lieutenant answered, "Yes, this is the problem; this is what the war is about."

## Civil Action

The SADF's admission of the 80 percent political/ideological factor in the war is translated into their practice of civil action. Military personnel have played an increasingly civil/political role, filling the infrastructure of the operational area as doctors, teachers, administrators etc. This is coupled with a "hearts and minds" campaign, designed to counter the negative effects of state violence. In 1977 an SADF spokesperson stated: "We want to win the favour of the local population . . . I believe it is in the interests of the local population that we tell them what is right and what is not right, and not the terrorists . . . we do not agree with their aims." The inter-

## The War Goes On

SA has used Angola as a means to block the implementation of Resolution 435. By actively bolstering UNITA and simultaneously calling for a Cuban withdrawal to precede disengagement, the Angolan government has been caught in a 'no win' situation. Such posturing has been impossible without American support. Reagan's government has violated the UN resolution by giving SA succour and credibility in its claimed role of arbiter in Namibia. While negotiations continue, the disillusioning prospect of an SA engineered stalemate looms.

## WHY FIGHT NAMIBIA'S PEOPLE ?



## Dissent in the Ranks

Nevertheless, SA's presence in Namibia is increasingly unpopular amongst their own conscripts and white support base. SADF counter-intelligence reports reveal their chief fears and problems within the ranks. "What is really disturbing," it says "is the damaging of military equipment by military personnel which could indicate sabotage, particularly if the negative attitude of certain conscripts is taken into consideration . . . here, political convictions do play a role." There is warning of "the increasing use of dagga and drugs, especially among conscripts, which makes such people susceptible to manipulation by the enemy" and also "all forms of immorality".

In South Africa, hesitation has followed the rising death toll of young SADF conscripts. The editor of Rapport was prompted to ask whether Namibia was worth the loss of life and capital, when SWAPO shows little sign of weakening and the world community considers SWAPO will inevitably gain power? Indeed, he asked: was there any alternative to letting Nujoma ultimately gain power?

How long will the people of Namibia have to wait before SA leaves them in peace? For how long will South Africans be forced to fight in this senseless, unjustified and brutal war?

# 'END CONSCRIPTION' IS THE CALL

Namibia campaign



Anton Lubowski, Mike Evans and Hans Rohr at the press conference, CPT, May 1984.



Pastor Kameeta in St. Georges Cathedral.

"The SADF has no right to be in Namibia without the consent of the people there."

ECC press conference C.T.



Earnest discussion at the COSG conference.

COSG July conference



...and the party at the end of it all.

A packed Claremont Civic Centre at the CPT ECC launch



ECC launch Jhb.



Rhythm against conscription!

C.T. launch



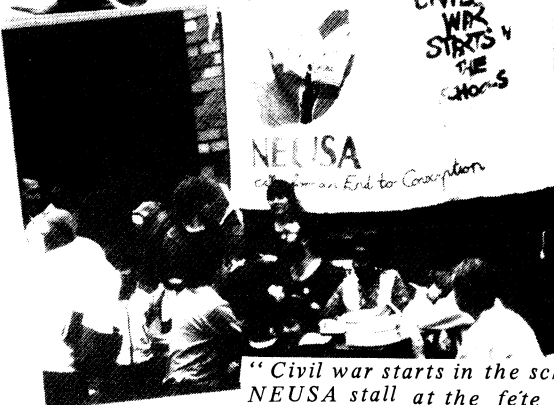
Rightwing NSF heavies arrive and are not well behaved.

NUSAS table at the ECC fete



CIVIL WAR STARTS IN THE SCHOOLS

NEUSA Call for an End to Conscription



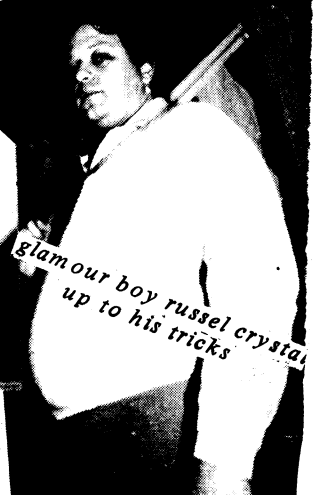
"Civil war starts in the schools." NEUSA stall at the fete

CANCEL THE CALL UP

PEACE IN NAMIBIA NOW

TROOPS OUT OF THE TOWNSHIPS

glam our boy russel crystal up to his tricks



# The Board for Beginners

## INSIDE THE BOARD

The Board for Religious Objection has been operating now for five months. In all this time, it has only refused one applicant, a Jehovah's Witness. This person was himself undecided as to whether he wanted to apply to the Board in the first place.

Does this high rate of success indicate that none of the applicants have been controversial? On the contrary – it seems that many interesting points have come out of the hearings to date and enable us to better understand the limits and possibilities of the Board.

### THE BOARD CONSISTS OF:

1. A chair (a judge or retired judge)
2. 3 theologians
3. 2 members of the SADF (one of whom is a chaplain.)
4. If necessary or available, a theologian of the denomination of the applicant will be present.

## Political Objectors

When the Board was established, a distinction was drawn between the fate of religious and political objectors and it was unclear what would happen to religious political objectors. While the deep dissatisfaction over this division was completely justified, it seems the Board has accepted the premise that objectors, while religiously motivated, can be political people too.

Judge Steyn has warned people, however, that the basis on which they will be accepted is their religious motivation and that it is therefore important that the strength of their political convictions do not "cloud" their underlying religious beliefs. It would appear that although one does not have to pretend to be apolitical, although it was conceded by one of the members of the Board that religious and political motivation may "reinforce" one another, it is wise to steer clear of a strongly-worded explanation of one's political motivation for objection.

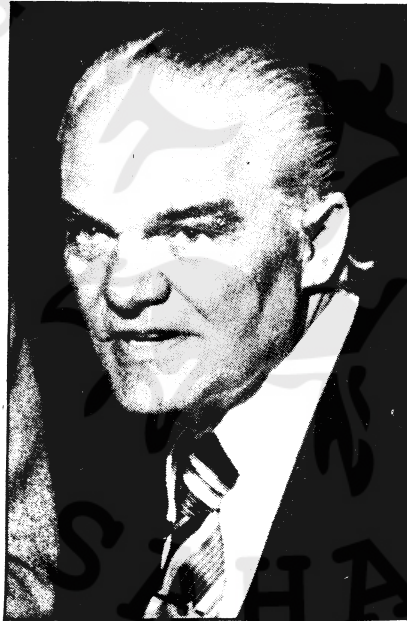
## Religious Commitment

With that false division no longer hanging over objectors' heads, it is still very necessary to prove oneself to be a committed, religious person. It is also necessary to show that it is this religious belief which has led you to your current position of not feeling able to participate in war.

The Board has two major ways of assessing your religious commitment:

\* The first is on the basis of how you come across at the hearing; how well-informed you are – how well you have integrated your religion and your decision to object; and also very significantly, how sincere they think you are in holding these beliefs.

\* The second way to assess your religious commitment is on the basis of a consistent involvement with your church and religion throughout your life. It has also been seen as significant if you have articulated the position you now put to the Board before - whether to the SADF or in another forum. It would appear from the hearings that your "track-record" is very important in giving weight to your spoken ideas and beliefs.



*Justice M.T. Steyn - Board chairman.*

## Participation in War

The letter of the law appears to demand from objectors that they be universal pacifists. Many of the non - Jehovah's Witness objectors have found it very difficult to make ABSOLUTE statements either about the possibility of them participating in war or about their attitude to all violence.

One objector felt that he would not be prepared to participate in any war happening at that time but could not commit himself to anything more broad.

Yet another objector felt that, while he himself did not feel he could participate in any armed force at that stage, he recognised at the same time that the use of armed force could be legitimate or even necessary to uphold peace.

## Accommodating

It would appear that the Board has tried to give as much guidance to applicants as possible, assisting applicants to understand the definition provided for by the Act and thus fit best into it. Especially the president, Judge Steyn, seems very concerned that the Board is a viable and fair instrument; not one with such high standards that very few pass through it.

An example of this attempt at accommodation came up at the most recent Board hearings in October, when Dave Hartman, a Buddhist from Grahamstown, applied to the Board. (See pg 2 for story.)

### THREE CATEGORIES OF THE BOARD

1. non-combatant - in the army - in a uniform....serve the number of years owing.
2. non-combatant - in the army - not in uniform...serve 1 1/2 times the number of years that you owe the SADF.
3. alternative service allocated by the Department of Manpower. Time owed the same as for category 2.

In September, Judge Steyn was in Cape Town to talk with the churches about the Board. At the meetings held, many people voiced their discontent with the way the Board operates and the basis on which it was set up. Three main points emerged.

1. Objectors to military service are divided - 'religious' from 'political' and only those that the Board classifies as religious passifists are granted alternative service.

2. Churches find they have to compromise their theoretical heritage as their theological position is one of the 'just war' theory, not of pacifism.

3. Leaders from various churches have called on the government to recognise the fact that it is not only religious people who have valid reasons for objecting.

## Advice Bureau

If anyone is considering applying to the Board, we on Objector staff, would recommend that you contact someone on your local advice bureau.

There are many people, who have been passed by the Board, available to discuss the issue with an interested person. Anyone is welcome!

# Letters to Objector



Dear Objector

I have just spent 15 days locked up in SADF detention barracks.

I was arrested in a flat in Gardens for failing to report for national service in July. That began an intense and harrowing two weeks. I had decided that the SADF is fighting a civil war, that its presence in Namibia is illegal and that its existence exacerbated the violence in our society. As such, I felt that I had to refuse to do my national service. Four days before I was arrested, the army moved troops into Soweto, Seboking, Sharpsville and Boipatong townships and Le Grange warned they would be used as and when necessary.

**"The Sergeant-Major threatened to 'take me out' "**

I spent the first four days in Wynberg DB. Initially the military authorities were very aggressive and abusive in their attitude. When the staff-sergeant drove me to the DB he handcuffed my hands behind my back. Every time the car went over a bump it made the already tight handcuffs click tighter. One of the MP corporals told me later that when somebody was giving him trouble, this was what he did. He said it was "lekker" to see the prisoner's face. I was very conscious of the potential for violence in that environment. The sergeant-major on one occasion threatened that he was going to "take me out". One evening I was also given a personal lecture by the Major when he stank of booze. I was put in the front of a squad to learn to drill. The sergeant-major said he would drill the squad until I marched properly. When he called the squad to attention I stayed as I was. He tried once more, got all abusive, and then threw me in a completely empty cell, save for a water-bottle and a pisspot. They kept me there for the day.

The major had told me that he would respect my point of view, if I respected his. This was what the SADF called

respecting my point of view. My point of view also said that I should have an alternative to the normal brown over-all - I was told that they did not have any.

I was allowed a five minute visit by a priest and, after it was initially refused, a meeting with an attorney. On the fifth day I was flown to Voortrekkerhoogte DB. Here again I was kept in solitary confinement. They allowed me to wear civilian clothes.

Most of the time I was left completely alone; the only time I was allowed out was in the morning to clean my teeth and shave and again in the evening to shower. On two occasions I was allowed a half-hour exercise period. I was also allowed a visit by a Johannesburg attorney although this was also initially refused.



I was given a long and clever "interview" by a brigadier and two aides. It was made up of countless questions, ranging from what my father's full name was, to whether I had ever met Joe Slovo or had had sensitivity training. They admitted to me that they didn't believe I could have come to a decision to object to military training on my own. They believed some group or person had persuaded me. They were obviously trying to find out who this was. These three

people categorised themselves very neatly in my mind when they told me that the WCC was not the World Council of Churches, but that it actually stood for the World Communist Conspiracy. That is from one of the SADF's brigadiers.

My release was very sudden. The military for some reason decided to try me for failing to report rather than for refusing to serve. At my preliminary investigation it was discovered that my final call-up instructions had been sent to the wrong address. I was not, therefore, liable to report - it was a procedural error on their behalf. An hour later I was free. There was complete mystification about who had issued the warrant for my arrest - this is not normally issued until procedure has been checked. I had been unlawfully detained for 15 days.

**"I was expecting a six year gaol sentence."**

It was a very intense experience. In that situation one has to be very aware of how one is projecting oneself, both to authority and to fellow inmates. The environment is hostile and you consider your cell as home, frugal as it may be. The monotony and boredom was horrible. Without a watch and not being able to see the sun, the days dragged on and on with the only thing to look forward to being the next meal and cigarette. I was expecting a 6-year jail sentence and I worried that people would forget about me. The communication I received from friends and sympathisers helped enormously.

It should never have been necessary. What happened to me is wrong. I had a bitter taste of what Pete Hathorn, Billy Paddock and other conscientious objectors went through. The law is now even tougher and more unfair. The SADF is one of the tools the state uses to uphold apartheid, under the pretext of maintaining stability and security. It is ironic that during my 15 days of confinement the myth of the SADF's political neutrality was finally and irrevocably shattered with troops invading Sebokeng, Sharpsville, Soweto and other black townships.

The state's response to my point of view and the treatment of me by the SADF for those 15 days merely enforces my conviction that to do military service is to side with an oppressive, unjust and cruel system. There must be an end to conscription.

Anthony Waddell

(On his release from Voortrekkerhoogte DB, Anthony was issued with call-up papers for January 1985. He will once again have to face the choice between six years in prison or a life of exile. Ed.)

IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE OBJECTOR IN THE POST, FILL IN THIS FORM AND SEND IT TO US AT THE ADDRESS BELOW.

WE WOULD APPRECIATE A MINIMUM DONATION OF R2 FOR 6 MONTHS SUBSCRIPTION AND R4 FOR A YEAR [INSIDE S.A.], R5 AND R10 FOR OVERSEAS.

NAME: .....

ADDRESS: .....

I ENCLOSE ..... FOR A 6 MONTHS SUBSCRIPTION.

I ENCLOSE ..... FOR 1 YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION.