

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	x
<i>Foreword by Professor Christopher Clapham</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>List of Acronyms & Abbreviations</i>	xiv
I Introduction	I
The Goals of the Eritrean National Service: Origins and Rationale/s	2
Outline of the Structure of the Book	3
Methodological Procedures of Data-Gathering	6
The ENS: A Synopsis	11
The Common Good and the ENS	15
The Rationales of the ENS	17
The Magnitude of the ENS	19
2 National/Military Service in Africa:Theories and Concepts	22
National/Military Service: The Highest Good and Fountain of Virtue	23
War, Solidarity and Social Capital	26
Compulsory Military/National Service: The Antithesis of a Free Society	28
The Institution of National/Military Service in Africa	33
3 The Government and the Structure of the Eritrean Defence Force	36
National Service and Preparation for War	44
National Service and the Border War	47
The Narratives of Conscripts	49
4 The Nature of the Eritrean National Service and its Effectiveness as a Fighting Force	52
Indefinite Nature of Service	55
Coercion, Indefinite Service and Flight Propensity	60

Indefinite Service without Remuneration	64
Mismanagement	66
The ENS: Mechanism of Enrichment	67
The Impact of the Conflicts between <i>Yikealo</i> and the <i>Warsai</i> on Defence Capability	69
5 The Eritrean National Service as a Mechanism of Preserving and Transmitting the Core Values of the Liberation Struggle	75
Conscription as a Vehicle of Homogenisation and National Integration	84
Political Socialisation as Opposed to Political Education	86
The ENS as a Mechanism of Transmission and Preservation of Core Values: Deserters' Narratives	88
Vices Learned in the ENS and the WYDC	91
6 The Eritrean National Service: A Vehicle for National Unity and Cohesion	94
National Service: A Form of Mass Mobilisation against Imagined Foreign Threat	98
The ENS: Instrument of National Integration	99
The ENS: Mechanism of National Unity and Cohesion: Respondents' and Informants' Perceptions	100
Dissenting Opinions	109
7 The Eritrean National Service and Forced Equality	112
Respondents' Perceptions as to whether the ENS Ensured Equality among Conscripts	116
Equality, Religion and Women's Participation in the ENS	118
The ENS, Wealth, Class and Corruption	120
From Badge of Honour to Unbearable Burden	126
8 The Overarching Impact of the Eritrean National Service on the Social Fabric of Eritrean Society	128
The Impact of the ENS on the Country	128
Sexual Violence	132
Militarisation and Securitisation of Education	135
The Plight of Deserters and Draft Evaders	141
Mistreatment of Eritrean Asylum-Seekers in Israel and Remittance Asylum and the Eritrean Diaspora	144
	145
9 Impact of the Open-Ended Eritrean National Service on Families and Conscripts	153
Dissenting Minority Voices	175

10 Conclusion	177
The Building of Eritrea's Defence and Fighting Capability	177
Preservation and Transmission of the Core Values of the Liberation Struggle	180
Fostering National Unity	183
Promotion of Equality	186
Overarching Impact on the Social Fabric of the Polity	188
<i>Postscript: The UK Upper Tribunal (Immigration and Asylum Chamber) Country Guidance on Eritrea</i>	191
<i>References</i>	193
<i>Index</i>	209