

MINUTES OF THE 34th MEETING OF THE END CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE HELD ON 13 JUNE 1985.

CA.

PRESENT : Black Sash, NUSAS, UCT, Anglican Board for Social Responsibility, Gardens UDF

APOLOGIES: SUCA, WPC, Obs UDF.

1. NATIONAL

a) Johannesburg - the PFP debate went off very well, with David Webster advancing ECC's position on conscription rather than attacking Slabbert. Some of the press coverage was very negative towards ECC, but the Sunday Tribune and Natal Witness were more sympathetic.

b) Durban - they had a very successful schools pamphlet distribution. The Natal Mercury covered the event with an article giving an antagonistic view of ECC, and the following day ran an article with interviews of various ECC people.

c) Pietermaritzburg - the ECC have recently had a workshop which was well-attended. 4 ECC subcommittees have been set up : media, schools, drama and churches.

2. PRESS COVERAGE

The course was organised by the Human Awareness Programme and was attended by 2 ECC delegates. They felt the course was very useful, and they should give a fuller report-back at a later stage-

3. ECC ACTIVITIES

The activities over the past few weeks have been :

- Laurie's visit
- National committee meeting
- Republic Day meeting
- ECC internal meeting on the national situation
- Civil War Open Forum
- ECC fundraising supper
- Schools pamphlet distribution

* It was felt that the schools pamphlet distribution didn't go very well. The weather was bad and so most people drove into schools, and therefore couldn't be handed pamphlets. A member of the schools group also suggested that the pamphlet looked a little sloppy, and that next time it would be slicker.

* Malleson Road was thanked for giving up their house to ECC for our supper. We made R250,00 and enjoyed ourselves thoroughly.

* The Open Forum was attended by about 20 non-ECC people, with disappointing attendance from reps and subcommittees. Mike was thanked for stepping in and speaking at the last minute, and we extended our sympathy to Chippy.

* 3 ECC members met with people from a funding agency in Ireland and felt they were received fairly sympathetically.

* The Swedish National Broadcasting Service interviewed 2 ECC members.

* Mike received an apology from the Western Cape PFP youth chair on behalf of the National PFP youth, dissociating themselves from Slabbert's comments made during the Johannesburg PFP-ECC debate.

* Mike was phoned by Det. Warrant Officer Slabbert in connection with ECC pamphlets, particularly the 'End Conscription' pamphlets on the declaration. Slabbert wanted information about ECC, and the executive met and decided no information should be given. The general meeting agreed with the decision of the executive.

4. GELDENHUYS COMMISSION

A group was set up to draw up the evidence and consult with ECC nationally. The evidence will be produced as a booklet, as well as being presented to the commission.

The structure has been divided into 4 sections :

- * ECC front structure and history
- * common beliefs which bring ECC members and reps together
- * rights of the individual conscience
- * alternatives to conscription.

We had some discussion as to whether posing alternatives was compromising our ultimate goal of ending conscription, but decided that it was an important shorter-term/interim demand. It was suggested that something on cadets be included since it seems legislation is being tabled to make cadets compulsory at all schools for all children over 12 years, and exemption will only be granted on medical grounds. We decided a larger group should meet to discuss the evidence more thoroughly before it is presented.

5. SABC-TV PANEL

Laurie has been approached by Midweek who are hoping to have a programme on 26 June focussing on conscription. They have asked ECC to appear on a panel with (possibly) Van Zyl Slabbert and a pro-conscription person (maybe Vlok). The rest of the programme would be primarily interviews with a range of people. The programme would be recorded in the afternoon and shown that evening, with only time cut out not content. The final decision as to whether the programme can go ahead stil has to be made by the higher echelons of SATV.

It was motivated that ECC should participate. Although one wonders how time can be cut without content and there are dangers of manipulation of content, the coverage for ECC would be wide and useful - especially just before festival. Also, if ECC didn't participate, that could be used quite effectively against us.

It was suggested that we request the panel to be televised live, as this would prevent manipulation of content.

We decided to participate, and request for it to be live, but carry on even if it is recorded.

The type of person who would appear is obviously important. We felt it should be someone who works actively in ECC, and who is 'distinguished' and 'presentable'. After quite lengthy discussion we finally suggested Mike.

Other ECC's are also discussing the issue - Jhb felt we shouldn't take part in the programme, but they would be happy to accept the national decision. Durban supported participating, and P.E. and PMB still have to discuss it.

6. FESTIVAL

Things are going ahead fairly smoothly, with only a few changes in the programme. Koeberg Alert can't do a lot they were going to, and Andrew Brink can't come, but Nadine Gordimer can. 2 press releases and a package are going out, and there will be a press conference just before festival. Transport is being co-ordinated by Ilana Korber (47-9272) and Janet Thorpe.

7. FINANCES

We have made and received some money since our last meeting, and had some expenses, leaving us with a grand total of R264,95. So we're out of the red, but only just so please continue to encourage donations.

8. GENERAL

a) Apparently the Pietermaritzburg SRC voted 14 to 1 against the ECC declaration. The NUSAS rep was requested to query this vote from a NUSAS affiliated campus, and the PMB ECC was also requested to look into it.

b) PMB ECC have heard that a booklet has been put out by the army 'You and the Army'. It is an interdenominational pamphlet aimed at christians. Cape Town was requested to monitor any distribution in C.T. We thought we should speak to WPCC.

c) The next ECC meeting will be on 11 July, NOT 27 June because most people will be at festival.

RESENT: Black Sash, COSG, NUSAS, Observatory and Claremont UDF Area Committees.

AGENDA:

- 1) Repression update : Cape Town and National
- 2) Troops Out Campaign
- 3) Organisational Report-backs
- 4) Non-violent Direct Action
- 5) Finance
- 6) General

1. REPRESSION UPDATE : CAPE TOWN AND NATIONAL

There was a report-back on the local and national situation. It was noted that ECC was strong and handling the crisis well.

- 1.1. Press and Publicity - Newspapers in the affected areas had responded. Coverage in Pietermaritzburg and internationally was particularly good.
- 1.2. In the event of more repression, the exec would be able to draw in members on an ad-hoc basis. This would not be a decision-making body as such.

2. TROOPS OUT CAMPAIGN

The campaign is in the final stages of organisation. It was noted that ECC members had worked with dedication.

A list of activities was read out as follows:

- * The central activity will be the fast, (from September 17 - October 7). This will be launched with a meetings in St George's Cathedral Hall on September 17. The fast will last for three weeks and church leaders will fast in relays throughout that period. Other people are encouraged to fast for as long as they can during the three weeks.
- * From October 6th - 7th there will be a 24-hour period of fast. As many people as possible will be fasting for this period.
- * There will be a solidarity fast at St Mary's Cathedral and the Anglican church in Stellenbosch. Those detained people who have undertaken to fast, will fast in detention.
- * On Friday 13th September, there will be an ECC/CAG party on campus.
- * The COSG Conference will be held from the 13th - 15th September.
- * Tuesday 17 September is International Day of Peace. As well as the meeting and launch of the fast (above), a picket will be held.
- * On Sunday 22nd September the Art Exhibition at the Baxter will open.
- * On Tuesday 24th September, a second picket will be held.
- * On an evening between 24th - 28th September, there will be a cultural evening in Red Level.
- * Vigils will be held at the Rondebosch Congregational and Athlone Methodist churches.

- * Sunday the 6th October marks the beginning of the 24-hour fast.
- * Monday 7th October - a mass rally will be held at the City Hall to mark the culmination of the campaign.

The Troops Out committee will handle overall co-ordination while sub-committees take on specific tasks.

2.1. The media sub-committee will be doing pickets; statement posters; advertising posters for meetings; a small, round sticker; a banner and an information pamphlet discussing the troops out campaign, ECC's demands with respect to the troops out campaign. The media sub-committee will also produce a banner.

2.2. Culture sub-committee will produce badges, T-shirts, balloons etc and is investigating the chances of selling these at a stall in Green Market Square and at various clubs in town.

2.3. Campaign Committee will be bringing out banners to advertise the fast and the troops out theme. They will also produce stickers for the fast and for schools. A poster will be produced for the international day of peace, and another for the fast itself.

Advertisements for the campaign as a whole will be inserted in suburban newspapers.

2.4. Contact Committee feels that to promote non-racialism in the campaign, contact with organisations in the black areas must be established and maintained.

In response to the attack on ECC by Ken Owen in the Cape Times, ECC will be writing an article and a letter.

2.4.1. International Work

The publicity generated this week has promoted the campaign. There has been news coverage in BBC Africa and ITV. Approaches have been made to Neil Kimock and the European parliament.

In addition, a message of support has been received from Cardinal Arns and there has been an article on ECC in a USA publication "The Progressive".

2.5. The Schools Group has produced a pamphlet on the International Day of Peace and the fast. A sticker is in the pipeline.

2.6. The Churches Group has produced two pamphlets, one on the fast and another on ECC and the troops our campaign. Two vigils (above) will take place and an article will appear in St George's parish news.

2.7. Plans are afoot to organise a mini-festival in St George's cathedral for five weeks. This is hoped to generate input from organisations and develop a momentum of its own. Ideas include bulletin boards, pamphlets, displays, music, general cultural input and stalls where ECC media will be sold.

3. ORGANISATIONAL REPORT BACKS:

3.1. The Black Sash has organised two people to fast every day with Ivan from 9.00 am to 5.00 pm.

3.2. The COSG national conference will be on the 13 - 14 September. Its primary purpose would be to evaluate the functioning of the Board for Religious Objectors and alternative service.

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NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION (NVDA)

NVDA has identified three areas of action; this includes both "hard" and "soft" action.

- 4.1. (a) Illegal action that ECC will have nothing to do with (like graffiti).
- b) Legal action.
- (c) A grey area.

Two proposals have therefore come from NVDA:

- (a) "Soft" creative action (balloons, banners etc);
- (b) "Mill-ins" (collective shopping with T-shirts on).

Following discussion on 4.1.(a), ECC formally passed the following resolution unanimously:

ECC will neither participate in, nor encourage, any illegal activity.

5. FINANCE:

There is a small improvement in finance; people are, however, encouraged to be prudent.

5.1. Stop-orders

Some people are willing to donate a fixed amount monthly and everyone is encouraged to donate money whenever possible (no matter how little).

6. GENERAL:

6.1. Conferences

ECC has been invited to (1) the UN Conference on Youth and Conscription in Helsinki and (2) The International War Resisters Conference in India.

6.2. A contact person has been established to monitor all personal instances of harassment and intimidation within ECC locally.

6.3. Petition

ECC has become a co-signatory to the UDF Prescription for Peace.

6.4. Ivan

A roster has been established for people from ECC to spend time with Ivan while he fasts.

16/9/85

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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.

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.

B4

in: *WPA/UP* 12/500

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MINUTES OF THE 43RD MEETING OF THE END CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE

DATE: 13-2-86

~~TOP SECRET~~
TOP SECRET

Present: Gardens UDF, Obs UDF, Claremont UDF, Koeberg Alert, Black Sash, COSS, Civil Rights League, Women's Movement for Peace, UCT SRC, CAG.

1) Alternative Service Project

There was a report back on the ASP/Working for a Just Peace Campaign. The programme is mapped out as follows:

- Launch: 1st March - Organisational Workshop and release of brochure
- 1st week of March - VIP forum and alternative cadets programme
- 2nd week - WJP poster
- March - Open Forum to which all the Fast supporters will be invited.
- 15 March - Recruitment Drive including a weekend of petitioning
- 22 March - Fete to launch the campaign publicly

During April the projects will take place and they will begin and end with "Projects" meetings. There will be a large public meeting to close the campaign at the end of April. In addition to the activities outlined here there will be pickets, press releases, presentation of demands etc. Projects which have been suggested include: environmental work; renovating haven cottages; clearing a playground at a school; painting gardens (veggies in small beds); assisting St. John's ambulance.

Plans for creative action were a fun run, a Rag float and drama. There was some debate around the idea of the float because of the sexist and frivolous nature of Rag. It was left to a group of the main protagonists and antagonists to reach a compromise and report back to the next general body meeting.

2) Correspondence

Magazine Free Company had been received with an article in it on WJC and an interview with Ivan.

The City Council has fined us R450.00 for taking down our posters. We intend to consult our lawyers in this regard.

The City Council has agreed to insert the word "commercial" into the legislation.

... talking at a meeting.

Civil Rights League have suggested that we be more careful with our terminology.

4) Sub-committee reports

Contact: Contact is organising the Organisational Workshop and Open Forum for WJP. There will be a newsletter coming out on the 24/2; they are working on parliamentary questions; a Jews for Justice meeting is being addressed. Mike and Laurie will be in Stellenbosch next week, and Laurie is speaking at a SAAK meeting.

Media: A logo and brochure for WJP are being worked on.

Schools: The Cadets Campaign was assessed in the School's committee. They felt that the pamphlets had been successful, but the pickets too exclusive to a schools audience. The PAAG meeting and the Open Forum went well, press contact was good, but the cultural evening was not a great success.

Churches: They are working on a memorandum to the churches; and are visiting youth groups to discuss ASP.

Culture: Legal problems with the photographic exhibition are being investigated. Preparation for the film festival is going smoothly. T-shirt prices are going up which could restrict the numbers that we print.

5) National Conference Report

A brief report of the conference was given. Assessments, finance, employees, ASP, the role of the SAMP, and plans for '86 were all discussed. Some of the plans are: a national publication; a 1987 HUGE cultural event. The IFF youth Southern Transvaal Chair addressed the conference re. national affiliation.

6) National Committee Report

Nic attended the NC. Issues discussed were: the U.S. tour and who should go because of possible hitches with the people who were previously going; the C.F.C.R. wants to employ someone to work on a publication, we suggested Africa and Ilvoa; regions are to finance their own offices and we discussed how this could be done; the national publication is to be initially based in CP, we set up a group to work on a proposal; the 1987 (Jan.) is to be in CP and we asked Culture to come with a proposal.

... at 400 N. Rd. Observatory. We are trying to find

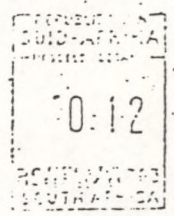
tenants for one small office and appealed to people to help us find them. There is to be an office-warming party on Friday 21/2 and everyone is to bring a present for the office.

6) General

* NUSAS Head Office are moving and ECC people are to help clean the floor on Sunday 2 March because all our banner painting has taken its toll.

* Financial statements for the year are available

* Malan refused to answer a question asking how many conscripts had failed to report for duty in January. He said that the info. had been misused by an organisation.



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2001

A. Introduction

This report to national conference on our trip overseas consists of: the four letters describing our activities and impressions that we sent back to ECC, some comments on the different types of groups we made contact with, and an assessment of our work on the trip.

B. The Letters

5/12/85

Dearest ECC

How are you all and how is ECC? We've only been away for 2½ weeks and it seems like ages, we're really missing ECC, the action, the sea and the sun.

Here is a fairly brief report on some of our activities in London, Helsinki and Sweden, and some impressions.

Unfortunately, much of our time in London was spent struggling for visas - for some strange reason white South Africans aren't that popular round these parts.

We weren't entirely inactive though: we did two radio interviews with BBC, one internal news and the other the world service; had lunch with the Foreign News Editor of the Guardian for background information; spent time with someone from CBS television who is doing a documentary on South African war refugees in January; and met the staff of Peace News for a useful rap.

We spoke to, and made very useful contacts at the AGM of the National Peace Council, a broad national co-ordinating forum with reps from peace, womens, church, anti-nuclear, anti-apartheid groups and TU's. We spoke to a small group of people in Bath at a meeting organised for us by the local Labour Party and had lunch with Trevor Huddleston which was very exciting. We also spoke to about 60 people at a public meeting organised for us by WRI and chaired by Meg Beresford, the new Gen. Sec. of CND.

As a result of the current international focus on SA, Pete and I have been 'star attractions' at these and other meetings and discussions. Everyone is very keen to meet and talk to us, and all want us to maintain regular contact. In the context of talking about ECC and the role of the SADF, we have tried to develop in particular an understanding of the non-racial character of our struggle and of the continuing resistance and repression since the latest press clampdown.

The anti-apartheid movement is very strong and active, with considerable support from the 'establishment'; its recent rally in Trafalgar Square was the biggest ever, attracting about 100 000 people, and was the climax of other smaller and more widespread actions. It is noticeable that there exists an anti-apartheid consciousness at a grass-roots level - on TV pop shows, on buses and tubes, at concerts and in the newspapers. It is difficult to tell what long term effect the TV restrictions will have - it definitely is having an effect already.

We picked up a very interesting bit of news in London. Did you know that the Brazilian government imposed sanctions against SA in July? No? Well they did. And do you know why? Well it was a direct and immediate consequence of the cancellation of the visa of Cardinal Arns! Another result of this dastardly act by Pretoria has been that

South Africa, and also lil' old ECC, are now high on the agenda of the progressive Catholic community in Brazil.

We have had time for a bit of a jorl in London : saw two excellent movies that won't come to South Africa (although Pete slept through the one!), visited Greenwich and went down the Thames, discovered Bengali food and socialised with a few South Africans we met.

The Helsinki conference was especially exciting for the contacts we made and the informal discussion we had with people. It is clear that we haven't even begun to realise the full potential of international solidarity networks. We are considered important as being from the 'third world', but our own contacts with other third world countries are noticeably lacking.

In Helsinki we also : participated in a press conference which resulted in good coverage (enclosed); did a radio interview with Finnish radio; spent 40 minutes with the Finnish minister of Education who is one of the strongest anti-SA members of the cabinet and met two former cabinet ministers; did interviews with War Resisters League, a Greek peace publication, the Finnish equivalent of Time magazine, and Finnish Peace Radio and peace publications.

We showed the ECC video and everyone wanted a copy!

We are much clearer on the gains that ECC can make from our overseas contact now, and on how much this contact assists groups overseas. The alternative service campaign will definitely be taken up. There is also much that Pete and I have learnt about struggles in other countries and from campaigns that have been conducted there.

Finland was cold, snowy but beautiful. I went for a jog in the snow which was amazing, and we had saunas - a new experience for the yokels from the third world.

In Sweden we were hosted jointly by the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (the largest peace organisation in Sweden with a membership of 15 000) and SIDA (the Swedish International Development Agency which is a government department)

We spoke to a group of CO's doing their alternative service with SIDA; did a radio interview with Swedish radio and one with Swedish television; had another press conference; met with people from Amnesty International; met with the Head of Section Southern Africa, at the Foreign Ministry; and had smaller discussions with other groups.

We saw an article in the largest TU journal (circulation of 600 000) which attacked the local Liberal Party for its connections with the PFP on the basis of the latter's links with Inkatha, decision to work in the coloured and indian communities and refusal to support the End Conscription Campaign!! It's really amazing how much anti-apartheid work is being done in London, Helsinki and Stockholm and how well informed people are.

Pete and I are very excited at the work we've done and the progress we think that we've made. One of our difficulties is that the pace has been very fast, with the result that we don't always have sufficient time to assess our work properly, nor the situation we're in and groups we meet, adequately. This is really an excuse for the above not-so-analytical report. Hopefully the next report will say more about the groups we've met, and not so much about our activities.

All strength to your work. Lots of love and solidarity,

Laurie and Pete

Paris 16/12/85

Alors mon amie!

If it's Monday it must be Brussels. In fact it is still Paris because we had to wait here to collect our visas for Belgium. Any way, here's a report on our activities and impressions of Norway Germany and Switzerland.

In Norway we were hosted by FMK (the Peoples Movement Against War) which is an affiliate of War Resisters International. Its members were recently convicted for exposing evidence of secret Nato nuclear naval bases in Norway, and some have been given jail sentences as a result.

It has been exciting to explore with FMK the potential for co-operation between ourselves and pacifist groups from WRI that arises from a common commitment to opposing conscription and militarisation and from a shared international perspective of the relationship between first and third world countries.

Our first day in Oslo was spent doing press interviews from sunrise to sunset. In Norway this isn't very long at the moment - about six newspapers worth - but we got excellent coverage the next day. The following day, just for a change, was spent doing interviews with an independent anti-racist radio station, a student radio station, IFOR, the official newspaper of the Christian Democratic Party, a weekly socialist publication and a peace publication.

The ECC alternative service campaign continues to attract great enthusiasm.

In Germany Pete and I split up to cover more ground. We spoke to people and groups from Pax Christi, the Greens Party, the large Catholic and Protestant funding agencies, anti-apartheid groups, conscientious objectors and counsellors, press and radio, and peace, pacifist and Christian action groups.

It was particularly useful talking to groups whose focus includes South Africa. We were able to bring them 'recent' news, discuss changing conditions in the country and motivate them by underlining the importance of their own work. As happened in other countries, our visit brought together different groups that all take up South Africa but tend not to co-operate as well as they might.

The areas that we went to in Germany are alive with information about, and action around ECC. In Stuttgart and Frankfurt there were solidarity fasts at the end of the Troops Out Campaign, involving hundreds of people; many national and regional religious publications have carried articles on ECC, schoolchildren have been given ECC material to read; and at a Catholic meeting place where I spoke, there are ECC posters and our declaration in German on the walls!

So all together now "Wir fordern ein ende Wehrpflicht. Wir fordern einen gerechen Frieden in unserem Land."

We both had time for some tourism. Pete went up a hill to see a castle and then came down to look around a church, I went to an amazing natural history museum with prehistoric animals reconstructed from fossilised bones, and received as a present a 150 million year old anemone! Chew on that.

In Geneva I met with the head of the UN Human Rights Commission's sub-committee on conscientious objection. The possible gains of this contact are limited though as the Commission will only debate the issue of CO again in 1987.

We spent Friday 13th at the World Council of Churches where we showed the ECC video to about 50 staff members, did a radio interview with the WCC International News Service and established very good contacts with the Youth and Communications Departments. These contacts will give us access to 100's of groups and millions of people throughout the world.

We had a very interesting discussion with someone from Service Civil International (SCI). SCI is an international organisation with 10 000 members and 20 national branches which organises voluntary work projects in 1st and 3rd world countries. Projects would include work with the aged, handicapped and children, rural community development, medical assistance to refugee camps and education programmes.

Through this work SCI aims to develop local communities, promote the philosophy and practice of non-violence, and work for the establishment of appropriate forms of service (alternative) for conscientious objectors in countries where these are inadequate or non-existent. In some European countries, objectors have chosen to do their alternative service working in SCI projects.

There is obviously great potential for SCI to take up our alternative service campaign. We will try to meet the European Secretariate in Brussels and the International Secretariate in London to work out exactly how this can be done.

It has been very exciting to be in Paris over the weekend. The beauty, atmosphere and art have made us, for the first time in Europe, determined to take time off and not work every minute of the day and night. We're off to the Picasso museum right now. See you later. Au revoir.

All strength to your new year activities, both ECC and otherwise.

Love and peace, Laurie and Pete

Amsterdam
21/12/85

Hi ECC

Well, we're finally at the end of our European tour. The trip has been a wonderful experience and very productive, both for ourselves and for ECC. We're in Amsterdam now, exhausted and grateful for a few days break in London to assess our work, complete reports, read the publications we've accumulated and prepare for India.

Here's our third report to ECC on activities and impressions from Paris, Brussels and Holland.

In Paris we met with people from the International Catholic Students Movement, the Union Pacifists (a WRI affiliate), the Anti-Apartheid Movement and CCFD (the Catholic funding and development agency.)

Our programme was not very tight as there had been some confusion over who was organising our stay and because we were there over the weekend. So there was time for walking around what must be the most beautiful city in Europe, listening to music and going to art museums. 'Bourgoise' art has plenty going for it! We also went to mass in one of the oldest churches in Paris - Pete's first mass and my second!

Brussels was quite the opposite extreme, with an incredibly busy programme. Pete handled the Flemish groups and press and I did the French. In two days we covered 19 groups and organisations and spoke to journalists from 12 newspapers and radio stations.

One of the most interesting discussions was with a Green Party member of the European Parliament who is planning to introduce a resolution on conscription, objection and the internal role of the army in SA

at a joint conference of countries from the EEC and the ACP (Africa Caribbean, Pacific) groups, in Swaziland early next year. It is important for us to provide informational assistance, and it is possible that ECC itself will be given support in the resolution.

We received news of the Board's rejection of Harold's application and have been raising the possible consequences with the groups we meet. All, from the small CO and religious groups to the EEC and the progressive European Parliament's lobbies, will vigorously campaign if this becomes necessary.

I had a lovely discussion with Carol Tongue. Her report on her visit to SA for our Peace Festival was widely distributed internationally and subsequently used by groups involved in anti-apartheid work. (Carol also harangued Helen Suzman on a visit to Germany, over the PFP's critical attitude to ECC!) Carol sends love and solidarity to all in ECC, and special greetings to Roberto.

We also had further discussions with members of the European Secretariate of Service Civil International about their possible involvement in our alternative service campaign. Many exciting ideas are emerging which we will discuss with ECC activists by phone and then discuss with the SCI International Secretariate in London.

In Holland we had a press conference, met with the Holland Committee on SA and Kairos (an ecumenical organisation working on SA), and with religious, CO and pacifist groups. Kairos raised the possibility of our working more closely with some of the foreign Embassies in SA - inviting them to our meetings and even approaching some for finances. This is an issue which we can discuss at National Conference.

Handwritten note: In Holland we had a press conference...

Holland is generally alive with anti-apartheid groups working with the churches, at a grassroots level and with parliamentary parties. South African war-resisters have a very high profile and are regularly contacted by the media for comment on events effecting SA.

In looking back over the last four weeks, Pete and I think that our trip has had several worthwhile results.

Most importantly, ECC is in a stronger position to get support and solidarity action from groups in Europe. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, we have a better understanding of the ideological and organisational dynamics of the different types of groups with which ECC has contact - the religious action and funding groups, the CO and pacifist organisations, the anti-apartheid groups, the peace movements, and the large institutions like the UN, WCC, EEC and European Parliament - and are therefore clearer on the different types of support action ECC can request of each.

Secondly, making personal contact with these groups has greatly strengthened our relationship with them. It has been especially important talking through solidarity action around the ECC alternative service campaign, possible further state harrassment of ECC and around objectors who decide to go to jail.

This personal contact has also had the effect of inspiring many groups working against apartheid, and of providing them with information about the current situation in SA which will be passed onto their constituencies. Fortunately we were able to see the Weekly Mail quite often and never felt completely out of touch with more recent developments.

The many interviews that we did with the media spread this information to a much wider audience. In the light of the physical confrontations between black youth and white security forces that people have been

seeing on TV, we tried especially to get across an understanding of structural violence and of the non-racial character of our struggle. We tried also to get across the intensification of resistance and repression since the TV blackout.

Of course the information flow has not all been one-way. We've learned a tremendous amount from the strategies and tactics of the groups we've met. We've also learned much about the rest of the world! Pete and I have been amazed at how ignorant we are. The intensity of the struggle in SA makes one hopelessly unaware of global politics and of specific struggles in other places.

Who knows what's happening in Sri Lanka? Or Bangladesh? Or Guatemala? You've got till mid-January when we return to find out.

Look after yourselves and all strength, especially to Harold.
Love and solidarity

Laurie and Pete.

Cape Town
16/1/86

Hey ECC!

Finally after seven weeks we've returned : with much good news from the Triennial about ECC's position internationally, with lovely memories of India, and with dysentery (me) and diarrhea (Pete). This is our last report.

From our arrival in Dehli, India was a complete assault on the senses. It's so different from anything we've ever experienced that it's practically impossible to describe. Imagine Bombay : 10 million people living in a city that mostly resembles Mitchells Plain, with a squatter community of five million in slums that look like Crossroads and 100 000 beggars living on the pavements.

The slum dwellers support themselves economically through a thriving informal sector so that everywhere one goes there are food and clothing stalls lining the roads. There is dirt and dust everywhere, overcrowding on the trains and in the streets everywhere, and very few signs of modern city life as we know it. We're in the third world for sure, boo boo.

Our first lesson from India was that we weren't equipped to understand what we were seeing. It's no good seeing slums and assuming poverty or looking at an apparently chaotic city and assuming anarchy. What is needed is not simply a different value system but a whole new way of seeing.

Whenever Pete or I made a glitz or acted gauchely in Europe, we would jokingly put it down to our being 'from the third world'. Now that we were really there, we were conscious throughout of being white westerners. Even the most simple of activities - having a meal, riding on a train, going to the toilet or going to bed - was a huge adventure and required great courage!

The toilets for example are holes in the ground. One cleans oneself with ones hand from water in a bucket - absolutely no toilet-paper. Pete and I, already terrified by all the warnings of getting diarrhea in India, took one look at this and immediately (and proudly) developed psychologically induced constipation. The last laugh was on us, of course. This might all seem rather trivial and crass to you but it's an example of how the little things in life become a source of

major preoccupation. The moral of the story (and our second lesson from India) was that since we couldn't hold out indefinitely, one can really get used to anything.

We spent four days in Bombay, just moving around and trying to get a feel for things. I went to the Gandhi museum which, like the other museums we were later to go to, revealed a very disturbing side of the Gandhian movement.

There is a tendency to elevate Gandhi to a cult-hero and reduce him to a symbol without substance, all form and no content. One could go to many such museums, see his loom or his bed or his handwriting but leave without actually having learnt that much. Apparently the ruling Congress Party has 'co-opted' Gandhi and, afraid of the radical politics and philosophy, has depoliticised and institutionalised him.

The Gandhian communities in the countryside, called ashrams, are different though. They are self-sufficient villages which may be producing crops, developing forms of alternative technology, making clothing, providing education for the children of the community, or some combination of these. The ashrams appear like kibbuzim in a countryside that is for the most part as desolate and barren as the homelands.

It was on one such ashram that the War Resisters International Triennial took place. Over 2000 people from about 55 countries gathered there for four days of workshops and discussions. The theme of the Triennial was Resistance and Reconstruction, and the workshops covered areas like war tax resistance, militarisation of the Pacific and Indian oceans, conscription and conscientious objection, Central and Latin America, nuclear energy and proliferation, healthcare and other aspects of non-violent resistance.

I attended a commission on the struggle against conscription which met every morning. There were many good ideas that emerged, including: a pamphlet on conscription and objection in the third world; a publication on successful campaigns against conscription; an annual CO conference, to be held this year in August in Greece; and international CO day focussing on a particular country each year.

Pete and I did two workshops on ECC that were very well received, and showed both of the ECC videos. Apart from the strengthening of our relations with grassroots organisations in other countries, we also made contact with some key people in the United States, including Bayard Rustin who was Martin Luther King's secretary and is still an important figure in the peace movement. As a result of this contact we were invited to extend the ECC visit to the UN into a month-long tour of the United States and Canada. It was also proposed that WRI send a delegation to South Africa sometime this year!

As in Europe, South Africa was regarded at the Triennial as one of the most important areas of conflict in the world. This means that Pete and I, and also Glenda Glover and John Lemola from the SACC, did many informal workshops and ended up playing the role of general spokespeople for SA. It was at the Triennial that we first heard about Molly's death, and Glenda proposed a resolution about her that was endorsed by all the delegates.

Although WRI is naturally concerned about the increasing level of violence in our society, its greater concern seemed to be the lack of attention being paid at this stage to the question of reconstruction in a new South Africa. The alternative service campaign was therefore seen as particularly important and worth supporting. The WRI Head Office in London has agreed to send a motivation for solidarity action around the campaign to all WRI affiliates.

The highlight of the Triennial for us was making contact with delegates from the third world. There were people from Malasia, Mauritius, the Philipines, Sri Lanka, Tibet, Central and Latin American countries and of course from India. ECC is now in a good position to address its neglect of contact with third world groups.

The trip home was a real nightmare, what with the illness that developed en route. I won't bore you with the grisly details, save to say that Pete and I had our first fight of the trip at the Nairobi airport where I obstinately refused to get in the plane home. It is due only to Pete's bullying tactics that I'm not still lying in the transit lounge.

The tour was a wonderful experience for us and we're very grateful to ECC for selecting us to go.

Bibi and hullo
Laurie and Pete.

C. Comments on the Groups we met.

1. Anti-apartheid Groups

The anti-apartheid groups are highly professional and apparently effective in the work they do, both campaign and research/educational in orientation. They have a clear and comprehensive understanding of South African politics, to the extent of knowing the different political tendencies within the democratic movement.

The high level of anti-apartheid consciousness in Europe is reflected in the prestige enjoyed by the ANC, attendance at anti-apartheid rallies, and the prevalence of A-A badges, graffiti, and symbols in popular culture. This consciousness was triggered by TV coverage during the state of emergency, but is built on 10 to 15 years of slow educational work at a grassroots level by the anti-apartheid movement. (eg. around SA exports)

It was particularly gratifying for us to meet anti-apartheid activists whose politics do not end at 5.00 pm. Our only criticism of the AA groups would be of their lack of co-ordination at the European and sometimes even at the national level.

In terms of support for ECC, the AA groups would be most useful around issues like objectors inprison or state repression and for coverage in publications.

2. Church Groups

Several of the groups (eg CLIK and Kairos) operate on the same level as the AA groups, although focussing their work within religious networks.

At the local church level the make-up of groups was more uneven. Many had little more understanding of SA than could be gleaned from the TV footage, while others such as the basic communities in Germany, were engaged in comprehensive educational programmes around SA and had involved hundreds of people in ECC solidarity work.

The contact with the WCC was particularly useful, offering the prospect of extensive ECC coverage in publications and on radio. (WCC radio)

Both the Kairos document and the Harare declaration generated wide-spread interest, with the former being translated into French, German and Dutch. Many people were keen to hear of recent developments around both initiatives.

In addition to support around campaign issues and media coverage, there is considerable scope for solidarity work (particularly with the Easter alternative service campaign) at a local church level. Some of the groups might also be in a position to give us financial support.

3. CO and Pacifist Groups.

Again the nature of the groups differed considerably, from WRI in London with a professional staff of 4, to small local groups entirely reliant on volunteer workers.

Activities and debates are focussed around total resistance, resisting military bases, the position of women within the peace movement, and third world solidarity action. There is much debate around support for liberation movements engaged in armed struggle.

We had difficulty getting access to the broader peace movement with a mass following. Since its heyday in 1980 - 83, the peace movement has lost the battle against the deployment of cruise missiles, and is now grappling to redefine its role.

The CO and pacifist groups are really excited about the work that ECC is doing. The fact that we are a coalition involving non-pacifists did not raise any problems. It is from these groups that we can expect the most consistent support and solidarity work, with our relationship with WRI promising to be particularly fruitful. Civil Service International could be of enormous help in the alternative service campaign.

4. The big Institutions.

Our contact with the major institutions offers the prospect of increased profile and credibility, as well as adding weight to any protest against state harassment or the imprisonment of objectors.

The meetings with the UN anti-apartheid committee and sub-committees on CO were not that useful. However we made good contacts with the ECC sections on human rights and SA.

The most productive of our meetings were with European Parliament members, where we established links with both the Rainbow coalition and the socialist groupings within the EP. The proposed resolution on the SA military and the ECC at the EEC-ACP meeting in Swaziland was the most exciting consequence of these meetings.

D. Assessment of our work.

1. Our own inputs

a) Public speaking

Probably our best area of input, particularly the meeting in London and the workshop at Vedchhi. Where translation was required we both experienced difficulty, finding it greatly restricted communication.

A general criticism was that we tended to be too intense and serious, aiming for educational rather than emotional impact.

b) Radio, press and TV

We tended to be rigid in our presentations, going through our 'standard package'. Running through the questions beforehand helped a lot, both in preparing answers and in understanding the interests of the interviewer. This is particularly important for radio and TV. Because we did not strategise our TV appearance we missed making our major interventions.

At times we would also get bored with what we were saying and not convey a sense of excitement about ECC as a stimulating, creative and non-hierarchical organisation.

We did not work hard enough on developing slick phrases for the press, 'quotable quotes', and again tended to be too informative and educational.

c) Administration

We started badly but after leaving London for the first time tightened up considerably. For the rest of the tour we kept up to date on basic admin. while on the move.

Financial discipline was good generally, with certain exceptions!

2. Relations with sensitive groups and position on sensitive issues

Initially we tended to become more radical as the tour continued, but then checked ourselves and always tried to present the ECC position that we would on a SA platform.

The question of sanctions we would try to avoid, but it was almost invariably raised. We would emphasise that ECC had no position on sanctions and that we could not prescribe to groups what their position should be.

We managed to avoid contact with groups such as the AMC, which would have caused problems for ECC in South Africa.

3. Limitations

The biggest problem was that the pace of the tour did not allow us time to assess our performance adequately or to read the material we gathered as we went along.

In some countries we found ourselves covering the same ground as other ECC people before us, but this never caused serious problems.

In some countries we had difficulty getting in touch with the full range of church, peace, CO and anti-apartheid groups we wanted to see because of the particular interests of the groups hosting us. We learnt to prevent this by phoning our hosts beforehand to check that we would be meeting with the full range of groups.

We had absolutely no contact with the universities, which is an area with enormous potential.

Our public profile was not as high as we had hoped, due partly to limited contact with the media of some of the groups hosting us and partly to the fact that we did not push hard enough for coverage.

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