

WHITE AREAS ORGANISATION

Sitdown

Previous sitdowns involved two main areas:

- the need for greater national co-ordination between white progressives;
- the need for a national conference.

The national conference is taking place through Five Freedoms Forum.

The last sitdown dealt mainly with the conference. The other issues was a discussion of a national white grouping and what form it would take. There were two positions: a federal structure which would work on the same lines as ECC. The reference point would always be the UDF. People would be expected to accept current UDF leadership and not a separate white leadership. This structure would not involve a new organisation, but would be a structure set up to co-ordinate existing white progressive organisations. The second proposal is a completely new national white organisation.

Target sectors were identified: - academics
- Afrikaners
- soldiers

ECC has always been an observer at these meetings. We have given input on how we work as a national structure, but have not participated in discussion of practical issues. The gains for ECC are in terms of keeping touch.

RESEARCH ON MILITARISATION

ROM for three reasons: - stimulate research the university environment,
- draw together information on militarisation,
- seminars on militarisation

Sympathetic and interested academics on all liberal campuses will be invited to participate in the project.

SUE CAMPAIGN

Regions have the autonomy to take up Sue's release as they see possible. Janet was different - she was very much a national ECC member and warranted a national campaign. Issue for ECC: in principle as ECC how do we take up detainees?

JANET CAMPAIGN - FUNDS

We collected the money in principle for Janet. We must give the money to Janet's parents. What they do with the money is not our concern.

NAMIBIA

The discussion of a Namibian speaker and his/her illuiveness has highlighted the need for a clear process for bringing speakers to SA. We need to plan these tours clearly and carefully.

National Namibia action:

Durban: mass meeting focusing on both Namibia and Troops in the Townships/ picket (pickets in shape of namibia with slogans) to war memorial at lunch on Namibia day.

Cape Town: three part lecture series on Southern Africa.

1. State strategy in southern Africa
2. Effects of destabilisation on southern Africa
3. SA's withdrawal from Namibia.

Pietermaritzburg: meeting on Namibia Day.

Grahamstown: joint meeting with Black Sash/ stalls.

East London: over last two months have had input on different aspects of Namibia. Namibia Day - 50/60 inviting people to a meeting, inviting a conscript who has served in Nam' / discussing SA's legality in Nam' / video/ play.

UND: Namibia Day - pamphlets and armbands/ photo exhibition/ seminar.

Wits: linking Namibia to the referendum.

PE: Inviting 40/50 people to a meeting shared with member organisations/ advert in paper on Namibia Day.

CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION

REGIONAL REPORTS

Cape Town

Set up a commission of inquiry into ECC's future. Member organisations were able to participate in the discussion. Black Sash were very involved in the discussion. The UDF said that people must not get too uptight about the criticisms - they are no more than guidelines.

- Since the SOE our message has become too diluted. There is also a feeling that public work is synonymous with campaigns. We can and must do public work outside of campaigns and should only have a campaign if we have a specific demand - no campaign for the sake of having a campaign.

We are not giving sufficient knowledge to our constituency and we are also not targetting our constituency close enough and CT want to start targetting key areas of their constituency more closely: we need to analyse and direct our campaign more to our problem constituencies.

They felt that there were 3 areas ECC could embark on to help us regain the initiative:

a. Conscripts and soldiers are the heart of ECC and we should be focusing more specifically on them. They fight the war and carry guns; they are most oppressed by the system of conscription. This is our most important constituency. If we are to take it seriously we must mobilise on a national level around conscripts and veterans.

We do not necessarily need to focus on issues that are overtly political. Focusing on problems facing conscripts is enough to establish our message. We don't need to push our political message, but should respond as the union of conscripts.

b. Alternative service is an important and crucial aspect of this focus. It is important to conscripts and easy for us to make the link on a political level. It is also difficult for the state to smear us. It also allows us to return to our single issue. It is a clear and tangible demand to put to the conscript, the state and the public.

c. Information. We've tended to be too propagandistic and need to be giving out more information on the role of the SADF. We need to set up research groups to gather information about the issues we are interested in.

Pietermaritzburg

The initial conceptual discussion focused on an evaluation of the content of ECC's message through the last campaign (WINC).

The first was held soon after the last NC and campaign. From it people felt that our message has become vague. People are starting to ask what exactly is our message!

The second workshop looked at what the state's strategy is, what our role in the struggle is, and whether we should broaden our message. The workshop also looked at ECC's constituency, the white constituency in general and whom we should target in that constituency.

People felt that we should focus more directly on conscripts and veterans in terms of the specific problems they have to deal with. The other important sector are school children, in terms of the cadet programmes.

On the question of changing our message and moving closer to the progressive movement, people felt that our role is still in the white constituency. We might want to politicize our message more, but our base is in the white constituency and we respond according to their needs.

Campaigns therefore should focus primarily on conscripts. Secondary issues would be the brutalisation of township residents, etc. Also we need to be clear about what we are saying and to do this we need to remain clearly a single issue campaign, but always placing conscription more strongly in the context of apartheid. Finally we cannot broaden our message - and in this way we are not the place for disillusioned PFP supporters but need to give our support for initiatives emerging to fill this gap.

Pretoria

Not much indepth discussion. Also a feeling that we need to focus on our issue, that our single issue is our strength and not dilute our message. But there is a definite need for other forms of political education in Pretoria. The group felt that it was not ECC's role to fulfill it.

An important focus is the right of conscripts and cadets. The group felt that it is important not to alienate conscripts and therefore the style and language used is important. This is particularly true for Pretoria as there is a high % of conscripts in the area.

Wits

They took the process rather than content of Nic's paper and applied it to campus.

Out of it was a feeling that we must focus clearly on conscription. We've slipped a little on that and need to reassert the issue of conscription again. Our nebulous focus on war and peace has resulted in us losing supporters.

Thus, the referendum reasserts the focus on conscription. Other organisations on campus take up broader issues and so there is no need for ECC to do so - ECC's area is clearly defined.

East London,

Two workshops here: the first began with an input for new people/ looked at the front and 'why ECC for me?'. The later workshop looked at needs/fears of people.

The emergency regulations do not permit us to voice our basic message. We should possibly move our focus onto something that we can do and that would be successful. If we focus specifically on campaigning for a change in law we have a chance of success.

We also need to move closer to the declaration and talk about the apartheid army/war/etc - people feel we haven't contextualised our message enough.

Target groups were outlined: parents, veterans (readjustment to civvie life), conscripts (not really enough in EL) and youth.

Durban

Durban had a workshop prior to their current campaign. It was the start of the process of discussion and then they moved into the campaign after which there has been no more discussion, but which they feel they need.

The workshop looked at what ECC's form and content has been and whether it should change and it was felt that essentially our message needs to remain the same. Areas discussed were: single issue/ front/ alliances/ whether relations with the progressive movement should remain the same.

They felt our message has become fuzzy and we need to focus more clearly on conscripts and place this focus in the context of apartheid. We also need to define clearly what we mean by a just peace.

Our methods of undifferentiated propagandering are problematic. We need to start clearly defining who we are aiming at. Conscripts and veterans are crucial in this regard. We also need to target on a geographical basis. Here we would use house meetings as a form of reaching out (and here the idea of area branches needs to be explored).

Our organisation as a whole needs to become a lot more decentralized and based in the community - rather than a tight group

of activists working on the community.

Grahamstown

Their discussion coincided with a critical assessment of their structures. It's not clear which came first, but the conceptual discussion highlighted problems in Grahamstown.

With Nic's paper they went through the issues again. The main part of the discussion looked at how to work in repressive conditions, ie new ways of working. Their campaign involved high profile events and there had been problems. The discussion looked at launching the membership drive/ critical look at their mailing list/ looked at house meetings/ working closer with the front, mainly the Black Sash/ low-key networking into town through church and academics.

The result of the discussion was a rationalization of who their constituency is and how best to work with it. It was here that the idea of amalgamating town and campus occurred.

The group felt that conscript related issues are most important and should form the thrust of our focus. Also our links the the NDS are too vague and we need to define it more clearly. The process of amalgamation resulted in identifying and focussing on 5 constituencies in Grahamstown: conscripts/ church/ schools/ students/ academics.

Port Elizabeth

Discussion is recent and took more the form of an intellectual debate.

People found it difficult to look at ECC nationally and could only look at PE.

The group felt that it is not ECC's role to answer questions broader than conscription. If we lose activists to other organisations, that's OK - we retain activists around conscription.

They did not agree with CT suggestion that our message is stale and felt that it is stale only in one area of our constituency. The group felt that we must still focus on conscription but must contextualize it more clearly in terms of apartheid. We must also move away from always talking about peace - this alienates township people. We need to pitch our message in such a way that it does not alienate anyone.

They felt that we do not need to move L or R in the content of our message but that we need to strategise more carefully in order to reach our broadest possible base.

PE also met with COSATU. There are a number of white people in COSATU who could get involved with ECC.

Stellenbosch

Are only just beginning their conceptual discussion. They are looking at the following issues: what can we do in Stellenbosch now? How effectively can we work in town? What is needed in Stellenbosch? How can ECC be effective on campus? Is ECC the best organisation to organise on campus?

Rhodes

The history of Rhodes has been that people have joined ECC not because they are concerned with conscription but because of ECC's image and that the organisation is able to articulate their political feelings. It has never been clear why ECC only takes up conscription and not broader issues.

The group is waiting for the amalgamation process to complete itself before actually looking at conceptual questions. Once this happens they need to look at the aims, direction and constituency of ECC. The group is also feeling that many members do not have the tools for such a discussion. People have been taken through the issues with the help of Nic's paper.

In preliminary discussion it was felt that ECC needed to look at conscription in the context of broader political issues; that we need to make our message more accessible to our newly identified constituency of vets and conscripts.

UND

Participated with Durban town but also had their own discussion. Many campus members are ill equipped to participate in conceptual discussion and they need to be developed.

Some activists are frustrated that ECC does not take up broader issues, but they are beginning to realise more that it is a case of pressure on us to take up broader issues.

The group felt that our message has become fuzzy. We need to return to our declaration which contextualises ECC. However the declaration is considered to be subversive. We therefore need a modified declaration which both focuses and contextualises our message and which gives us a national understanding of our message.

UCT

Also very much at a starting point of discussion.

They had a day away where there was an input on the history of ECC and feel that it is important to start here in order to be able to identify the trends in ECC. Feel that the best way to take discussion further would be in internal education workshops. They have expanded the education group and are looking at

questions that require discussion and answers.

Summary

It is clear that people are saying we should stick to the single issue, but we need to define it (again) more clearly. Particularly we need to contextualise our issue. There is also a feeling that we must organise conscripts and veterans, but we are not sure how.

There have been different starting points for discussion. Jo'burg started with form, Cape Town with content. Campuses have started with 'What is ECC?'. Regions where there are no white UDF organisations are feeling the pressure to broaden our focus.

New ways of working are playing a large role in defining the parameters of the conceptual discussion, particularly in Jo'burg.

A mythology has built up around this conceptual discussion. People are asking what the end point is. There is no end point. The conference will clarify many of these issues and we could possibly end up with a modified declaration. Conceptual discussion is an ongoing process of review which helps us analyse our position. The point of the discussion is for us to understand more clearly our message and to take it forward.

This year we have explored the area of a just peace and have discovered that as ECC we cannot really answer it. As a result it has become a nebulous area. The conceptual discussion has given us the opportunity to assess and reassess our direction, to organise and present ECC a lot more successfully. The result has been three areas - the question of refining our issue

- the question of contextualising our message
- the question of targetting our constituency more clearly.

The next step is to identify areas of tension and flesh them out. We realised that NC was not the place to resolve them and can only be resolved at national conference.

The most striking area of tension is the focus on conscription versus the context of apartheid. The focus on conscripts is a focus on the material conditions affecting conscripts, ie. the psychological and physical torment. The context is that conscripts are being called upon to fight and unjust war. This is not necessarily a tension. Fighting an unjust war makes the material conditions worse.

But it is also for ECC to make the link. But we will only begin to start sophisticating and understanding our position when we start acting. There is a natural link, but practically it is difficult to find a message that captures the gist of it. If we move too quickly and do not sophisticate enough, we will be shut down very quickly.

It is clear that the material conditions are the focus for our success. Physically this would mean distancing ourselves from the democratic movement. A possible solution is constantly dialoguing with progressive organisations.

material grievances -
because of material conditions

Opposition to conscription

political grievances -
because of the apartheid army

- * the logical connection is the unjustness of the SADF. We do not have to look further than the fact that the SADF is defending the system of apartheid which is illegal the world over.
- * if we are to understand our constituency we must understand their consciousness. We must realise that the average conscript is macho, etc. We must appear on the same level as conscripts. By this we mean using the symbols they understand. The message is simple: 'Why are going through all of this?'. A slogan which encapsulates this is "What are we fighting for?"
- * our baseline is the same: we are opposed to conscription into the SADF because the role of the SADF is to defend apartheid.

Form and security: the question of security is important here - are we putting our necks in the noose? We need to look for 'soft' ways of doing this. One way is through veterans. Others include building up advice bureaux/ academic research and seminars on psychological and physical effects. But form should not rely on 'old ways'. We cannot expect conscripts to come to us, but we must go to them (mail drops in camps?). We should also work closely with township organisations, particularly youth organisations. We could produce pamphlets for soldiers to pick up in the townships or encourage these organisations to produce such pamphlets. We ourselves cannot reach soldiers with a morally aggressive line, but other organisations can.

Campus report

a. SRC elections:

It is important to weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of whether or not to put forward a candidate. There was consensus that there is no position on whether or not ECC puts up a

candidate for SRC elections.

Some of the advantages that were outlined are as follows :

- gain experience in student government
- results in increased budget allocations for the organisation
- heightens our public face both during the campaign and afterwards
- improves links with admin
- gives us a legitimacy on campus

Potential problem areas that were identified:

- the candidate is lost to ECC as an activist if they get onto the SRC
- lines of accountability to organisational structures need to be thoroughly discussed prior to putting up a candidate
- need to weigh up if the advantages of running are greater than losing a key ECC activist
- the political stance of the present SRC body. needs to be considered eg: Stellenbosch.

b. Campus militancy :

It was clear that in making recommendations on this issue we needed to consider regional differences and these differences had to be recognised. The following guidelines were given :

- need to assess to what extent ECC's constituency has been mobilised around a particular issue in making a decision to participate in that action.
- key individuals participating in demonstrations place themselves and the leadership of the organisation at risk
- we can use these events to raise our members' awareness of what it means to be an ECC activist and still maintain our broad appeal.

c. Liberal alliances:

The 2 universities at which the problem presents itself are Pmb and Rhodes. It was felt that this issue needed to be discussed in all regions, particularly with the front members.

VVAW

All regions were in favour of the tour and felt that it should be in March 1988.

We felt that the tour could be used most effectively around the following :

- we need to use the tour to build our work into the area of veterans
- we need to begin setting up the structures in our organisation to accomodate vets
- campus will be a major area to target and organise around this issue.

SA WJP

- see proposal. Enclosed is an updated version of the proposal.

Memorial

- see proposal

Regions need to discuss this proposal.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Aims: clarity on policy/ policy making/ strategic planning/
getting to know each other/ building national feeling/
building activists/ how to work under SOE - changing political terrain/ motivation

Logistics: * type - most regions tended towards a full national conference but further that everyone who wants to go, can.

* size - Regions gave (optimistic) numbers and we ended up with a figure of 238. If we have a totally open conference we would have a figure of about 200 people. The question is whether we can cope with this figure.

* delegation - a minimum delegation should comprise of
x no. exec (depending upon region, 1
- rep from each sub-group and 1 rep from each member organisation.

* voting - consensus if we can otherwise one vote per region.

* security - for a year we have put off national conference because of security. Now we want a full national conference.

There are two things we need to take seriously: a ban 24hrs before
SB arrive during NC; detain and restrict people.

NC has two proposals: - an open conference with built in security measures
- a secret conference as big as possible (which is the mandated position)

The advantages of the first include that it is more motivating the more people/ more democratic/ legitimate. The disadvantage is that it is more vulnerable (easy to ban, bust, etc).

The advantage of the second is that it is less vulnerable. The disadvantage is that it can never be secure enough and has a sinister appeal to it.

We had a sway vote on preference. Most people abstained, but one was in favour of the secret conference and the rest favoured the open secure conference.

* timing - if it is an open conference it will be from Thursday 1/10 to Sunday 4/10.
- if it is closed, national employees will plan accordingly.

* place - should the conference be open it will be in Natal.

* content - these are the common agenda items: rural regions; pulling together the conceptual discussion/ sub-committee meetings. computer-front/ process of decision-making/ new ways of working/ new areas of working/ kutcha (jorl)/ finances/ state of the nation/

- these are the common agenda items: IT at IFC; national structures/ schools/ FIDABE; commission of inquiry/ memorial/ SA 431

1). Harassment from Security Police

* Security Police Attempts to Stop Distribution of National Campus Publication:

At 2.30 pm on March 5 two security policemen raded Globe Printers where the ECC National Campus Comic "War is No Solution" was being produced. They searched Globe for about an hour and found Roddy Paynes's name in the invoice book. An hour later five security policemen arrived at Roddy's parents house with a letter saying they were investigating the production and distribution of the comic in terms of a possible contravention of the Emergency Regulations. They searched for an hour and then demanded that Roddy's mother give them his address, which she did.

At about 5pm three security policemen, WO Allen, WO Du Plessis and WO Steyn arrived at Roddy's flat and searched his rool thoroughly. Half an hour later Roddy arrived home where he was met by the three security policemen who proceeded to question him about the comic. They specifically wanted to know who wrote the articles, who did the lay-out, who initiated the project, how it was distributed and how many were left.

They threatened Roddy with detention when he evaded questions and then left at about 7pm, taking with them 7 of the 10 ECC membership lists, 16 pages of assorted ECC notes including Roddy's National Committee notes and various other non-ECC items.

On Mar 6 WO Allen and three other security policemen searched the ECC room on campus. When WO Allen saw Roddy (at about 8.30 am) he became angry. They told him they had found 31 copies of the ECC publication in his room the previous day.

On March 12 two SPs raided Globe printers again with a letter saying they were investigating a possbile contravention of the Emergency Regulations. Doug the printer presented them with a lawyers letter saying the publication was legal which seemed to put them off their stride, They left with the letter, and no further action has been taken.

* On March 6 the security police also visited the ECC office in Khotso House but there was no-one there to meet them. It may also have been related to the comic.

* Over the past six weeks Shaun Kopel's house has been visited by the police or security police. This may be linked to an investigation into the Oxford Hotel caberet activities last year.

* On April 21 six ECC teams put up posters advertising teh Day of Concern. Within hours almost all of the posters were down, and it seems that most of the groups were followed.

* Harassment During Day of Concern:

Three ECC banners were dropped off bridges early on the morning of April 23. In each case the banner-droppers were met by the police or the police arrived within minutes. It seemed clear they had been tipped off.

There was a very extensive security police presence at the panel discussion, the videos and the fast-breaking event. This included the videoing of everyone who entered or left the Central Methodist church, the surveillance of the building by numerous security policemen, including Gordon Brookbanks, and the presence of known sps in the meetings themselves. The Five Freedoms Forum meeting addressed by Nic Borain two days earlier was also watched in this way. The main purpose seemed to be to frighten people off and to video them.

At the end of the panel discussion Richard Steele was confronted by a security policeman, but was whisked out by marshalls before anything could happen. Sgt Rob Brown, the Australian patriot of Veterans for Victory fame, was also present at the panel discussion, and made a nuisance of himself by asking an endless stream of minuiess questions.

* On April 14 the police or security police visited Habiru looking for David Shandler and Steve Lowrey. This visit may have been related to the financial investigation.

* About three weeks ago the security police visited 23 Hillbrow Street, Berea where Jeanette Schmidt andDeryn Petty stay. The specific purpose of the visit was to question a house member about the Free the Children Campaign, but they also took several copies of the ECC peace picnic pamphlet.

* 35 Hopkins Street, where four ECC members live, has been watched periodically.

* Wendy Landau, Adele Kirsten and Paul Broomberg may have been followed at different times over the past six weeks.

2) Other Forms of Harassment

* The financial investigation is on the go at the moment - and the chances of charges under the Fundraising Act appear to be strong.

* Gavin Evans, Adele kirsten and Rowena have had their tyres slashed at different times over the past month.

* The TED have sent notices to all headmasters/mistresses telling them not to allow distribution of the ECC "calender" (?), and not to allow pupils to attend the ECC POW art exhibition in March.

* Annemarie Rademeyer's involvement in ECC was alluded to by a TED inspector who appeared intent on giving her a hard time.

3). Smear Publications and Stickers

* The Veterans for Victory came out in March. It is not clear how widely it was distributed.

* The new Aida Parker Newsletter reached us a couple of weeks ago.

* A rightwing anti-ECC "birdie" comic linking ECC and the ANC has appeared on the scene recently.

* Hundreds of copies of a sticker saying "Don't Let ECC Call You Up" have appeared on polls throughout Johannesburg.

* Wits campus was recently plastered with a pamphlet saying "Peace-Off ECC".

* At the Security Forces Day meeting in Pretoria in March (organised by Aida Parker, Women for South Africa and other old friends and attended by 50 people) anti-ECC pamphlets were handed out.

* Conscripts starting their national service were handed pamphlets attacking those critical of conscription. These pamphlets, calling all those opposed to conscription "the enemy", were dished out to the new troopies at Milner Park in Febuary.

02113

Adele.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MAY 1987

u

REGIONAL REPORTS

Most regions submitted a written report which reps should have. The comments below are from those regions who did not have written reports and also extra comments from those who had.

Cape Town active: 55

Internal Development: understanding of ECC and its constituency good amongst membership. There is a lack of skills, but people are learning them. Experienced people are having to hold back here.

Morale: people are unsettled from being in hiding.

National: regional workshops have helped give a sense of national feel and direction. Cape Town are very unhappy with the state of national decision-making.

Security: people are being careful, but there is still a lot to learn.

Front: has not grown, but is fine.

Sub-groups: Significantly the parent's group is the biggest as well as the group generating the most interest. There are about 20-25 people involved in the group. Schools committee has been involved in a drummies campaign, and is producing a booklet on schools. Kulcha is holding a film festival and is painting a mural which will look onto De Waal Drive. Publicity is divided into three groups: Out of Step/ press/ general. They meet every week as subgroups and fortnightly as Publicity to discuss regional and national issues.

==> Western Cape regional workshop: "ECC? Are we on the right track?"

The workshop looked at ECC as a single issue campaign and its role in the national democratic struggle. No solutions, but lots of questions posed.

University of Cape Town active: 20-25

WINCLCP: campaign was meant to have carried on from the Day of Concern, but has had to be postponed because of the incidents on campus. They will be working jointly with town on the WJP action. Have flown "towards a just peace" kites and eaten cake: "munch against militarization".

Internal: people are a little directionless because the UCT branch has only just been launched and there has not been much time to consolidate internally.

Morale: people were freaked out by the events on campus and are not that excited about continuing with the campaign.

Stellenbosch active 6-8

The background in Stellenbosch is changing. For the first time there has been action on campus. ECC Stellenbosch are drawing mainly from campus and there are problems in drawing people from town.

1

Port Elizabeth active 10 + 5 new

Despite feeling drained from campaign work around Philip, PE are feeling very good at the moment. Philip's trial was excellent in galvanising PE into action.

They have begun recruiting people from house-meetings. This procedure is security tight.

Grahamstown active: 10 + 6 new

Have changed quite considerably since the last NC. They have managed to establish a public profile and feel that they are finally out there in the public eye. Public work gives the group cohesion.

There have been problems, particularly, internal education has suffered. Also they are not used to action. Consequently mandates are both confused and abused, and people are concerned about it.

Only ten people took on the campaign and so people are feeling overworked and pressurized.

A very important area has been the front and the front have taken on responsibility for events. The Black Sash were absolutely essential in ensuring that the public meeting took place.

Grahamstown are starting to establish a town - as opposed to a student - image.

They have recruited quite a few people and are not sure how they are going to deal with new recruits because it would double their size.

Rhodes active: 25 membership: 120

The morale is very high and people (were?) very excited about the WJP project.

Durban active: 25-30 at a GB 60 altogether

The WINCLCP campaign is now basically over. On the whole people are feeling satisfied and happy about the campaign work they have done.

University of Durban active: 30 membership: 180

LAG: recruiting people casually by simply carrying around a few LAG forms and talking to people, getting them to sign up. Town are tapping into this by getting people to help on projects.

Campus set up a portable booth which they set up outside or during campus events (similar to Rhodes orientation week stint).

They are pushing a CO counselling service on campus.

LAG newsletter has just started.

ECC has also been affected by campus unrest. They feel it is crucial to respond both quickly and effectively to smears - one example was a pamphlet brought out challenging DSA (NSF local) to a public forum.

Pietermaritzburg active: 15

People are positive about where the campaign took them. They did not look at new ways of working because it was not appropriate.

University of Pietermaritzburg active: 5 (15 at a GB)

There is a problem with organisational skills on campus. To solve this they have strengthened links with town.

Johannesburg and Wits

(See reports)

CAMPAIGN ASSESSMENT

National Co-ordination

Cape Town were particularly unhappy with process of national decision making around the campaign. They took on the campaign only in the interests of national unity. Both Jo'burg and Cape Town used different logos, both completely different to each other. The Day of Mourning was badly timed, coming just after the Easter weekend. The slogan was unwieldy and the 23rd was confusing in terms of what exactly its content was. Cape Town argued that NC is NOT a brainstorming forum, only a coordinating forum.

Durban were ready for a campaign and so launched into it well. Their WJP project was excellent in terms of getting content of the campaign across to people participating. The peace call-up was also excellent. They also felt that knowing all regions were involved on the 23rd generated a good feeling of solidarity.

The general feeling was that ECC did NOT have a national campaign - regions took up the campaign differently and at different times. This raises the question of whether we can run a national campaign.

In some regions (eg Grahamstown) there was a feeling of 'any campaign' would do, because they simply needed to get out into the public. Our profile was high even if the content seemed a little empty. This is good in some ways: we become known (magic word). We then need to inject content into our events.

==> deciding on a campaign was a mistake for NC and this tells us something about its role. We have said that NC is not a decision-making forum and the campaign illustrates this. BUT: when does NC make decisions is the question. Furthermore, we

need to ensure that we are representatives for regions and do not act as individuals.

White Election

What has emerged after the election is that while there were stayaways, etc, white democrats FAILED to intervene. We aimed to use the election and objectively we were involved in it. People saw us as intervening (rather confusedly) into the election.

Legitimacy

We isolated problems in terms of our legitimacy and this is an area which requires discussion (see items for discussion). We need to determine how we are able to be legitimate to both our constituency as well as to the NDM. In terms of the latter, the UDF has raised problems with the way we try to raise legitimacy in conservative elements of the white constituency without considering the broader NDM. We seem to be too narrowly focused.

PE has established a degree of legitimacy. Smears have not appeared there. When APN was distributed in schools and army barracks there was a public outrage generated by the editorial in the Easter Province Herald (whose son had recieved one).

New Forms of Working

New forms of working are interpreted differently in regions and this is primarily because regions are on different levels. There is a caution here: while we are on different levels, we need to realise that a bust will affect all of us in the same way. We need to work out how we will be able to operate in the future.

Cape Town have found it difficult to integrate new forms of working into the campaign. They feel that we have to be more creative about these new ways. PE felt that new ways was the only possible way of working there! Grahamstown were happy about being public - which for them IS a new way of working!

Conclusion

We have been harsh in assessing our campaign. There were positive points. Durban and Maritzburg came out in a big way and made excellent gains; Grahamstown and PE ventured out into the public for the first time in a long time. 23rd gave a feeling of national solidarity. Finally both active and passive membership has grown and we are exploring new ways of working.

REPRESSION

- finances
- smears
- comic
- national counter-smear publication
- banning

Finances

Report from Steven on the extent and progress of the financial investigation. He was mandated again as the National Treasurer.

Smears

Aida Parker Newsletter (April 1987)

Dison is acting on our behalf and has notified the Media Council of our intention to take appropriate action. NC felt that we should go ahead with the case if Dison felt that we could win the case. WRL will be providing important documentation and evidence for our case against APN.

In Durban APN was sent to ECC people, communal housed, NUSAS supporter - this is more confirmation of the work of JMCs.

Veterans for Victory

Our approach to VETs is that we certainly do not take them seriously. However, we can use the ridiculousness of their approach to define all smears against us. That is, we use VETs as the lowest common denominator of all the smears.

There is however, a more sinister aspect to VETs. They are suggesting violent attacks on us, they are referring to us as "the enemy" who need to be identified and taken out. This is something we need to take seriously and possibly challenge them on it.

Smears in general

Durban

ANC "Call to Arms" pamphlets placed in Durban campus office. NSF (DSA) distributing anti-ECC pamphlets.

Grahamstown

Graffiti on cathedral and surrounding shops prior to ECC's public meeting held in the cathedral. Stickers: "No just peace while ECC lives".

Pietermaritzburg

Stickers: "ECC peace off". NSF cartoon: "tricked into joining ECC".

Stellenbosch

Nothing recently

Cape Town

Graffiti linking ECC to ANC, etc, on campus and on progressive bookshops. Morning of service posters were stuck up. The first lot were telling people that we are "mourning for dead ANC victims and dead SADF soldiers" (ie. alienating supportive liberals). Then posters with "ECC does it from behind" and "ECC = Fairy Tales" (suggesting the "real" smear). Obscene phone calls from German person to ECC office, to Ivan and other members.

All of this is definitely attributable to the newly formed JMC in CT.

CT have responded with a massive sticker campaign as well as a letter to the Cape Times linking all smears to an overall smear campaign.

University of Cape Town

Graffiti—(see above) as well as "ECC peace off" stickers.

Port Elizabeth

APN distributed at schools and the SADF. Bogus Philip pamphlet which included nasty digs at him and his relationship with his mother.

Johannesburg and Wits

(See harassment report)

How should we respond?

Durban argued that we should respond quickly and decisively - campus have challenged DSA to open debates and forums.

Cape Town said that when we pluck posters we should sometimes wait to see WHO is removing posters. Even though Ivan took down the registration of the car taking down their posters, police claim they cannot trace the car as it is unmarked. We can thus expect no co-operation from the police and need to do the detection job ourselves - that means photographs, etc.

Comic

Wits ECC member was harassed. SB said they were investigating possible contraventions of the new emergency regulations. When

they raided the printers in Jo'burg, they saw the letter from Grahamstown lawyer, John Grogan, stating its legality. Sb visited Grogan in Grahamstown three weeks ago and queried how he could have possibly passed the comic. Grogan responded by suggesting the SB accept a 50 page legal document asserting the comic's legality.

Grogan has checked the comic with senior legal people who feel we are within the law. If the state charge us, it will be the first charges laid in terms of the new emergency regulations.

In terms of a court case, people not involved in the comic, but are office-bearers or even national people, may be charged. There is also the added problem of state witnessing.

NATIONAL CO-ORDINATION

Before we began discussing this section, we discussed how we were feeling personally and how we thought ECC was doing at this point in time. This was probably the most honest session we had all weekend. We also needed it at that stage (Sunday night), we had been through a difficult weekend. We felt that it was important that regions go through the same process: activists should be given the space to discuss how they are feeling, about where we are at, etc ...

National Coordination. People arrived at NC on different levels and having different ideas on where we are going or not having adequately discussed where their regions are going.

The NC weekend went some of the way to discussing where we are going, but stopped short, giving us the definite feeling that we are not the forum in which to conclude it.

Some people suggested that maybe we're too scared to take the decisive step ... there was a sense of disillusionment, a feeling that the campaign is now a disjuncture: At a regional level we're excited and satisfied about our regional work. This is not happening at national level. Objectively conditions are very different, but we are not confident that we will make the correct response (as we've done in the past).

National committee is under a lot of pressure. We have had to try and achieve things we cannot do. The campaign is definitely an example of this. We can ask regions for a mandate to make decisions only if we absolutely have to. But this can only happen in crises. We should make decisions if we don't have to.

There was a strong feeling that we should have a mini-national conference. Regions need to discuss this proposal - which will include proposed agenda and number of representatives from each region. Regions need 1-2 months to thoroughly prepare for this. Representatives need thorough preparation and proper mandates.

Decision-making at NC

The only way this can happen is where there is thorough preparation, proper mandating. This means receiving agendas three weeks before NC.

Some regions felt that people don't want a national report because they don't feel a sense of national. It's regions first and national second.

Perhaps we're at a structural hiatus - our structures cannot deal with the conditions we are forced to work under.

Once again, only decisions in emergencies.

Mini-national conference

Accepted unanimously by all NC reps. People said that there would be a problem of security, but the need for it outweighs the security problems.

We're at a watershed in terms of conceptualizing where we are going. We've realised it this weekend in terms of our frustration at discussing issues we can't take decisions on. Nationally we're coming apart at the seams - we're like a federation. There are many members who have not had a national experience.

Agenda - what would we discuss at a normal national conference?

Sub-comms/ ECC - are we on the right track?/ national campaign/ What's possible for ECC in the white community?/ ECC as a single-issue campaign/ ECC as part of the NDS/ new styles of work - mass membership/ ECC's historical mission in the struggle for peace and justice in South Africa/ learned inputs to give direction to discussion/ state of the nation - conceptual/ kulcha evening/ ECC and the UDF/ alliances/ the front/ smears/ repression/ campuses/ IDASA/ state witnesses/ C.D. - breaking the law/ talks with the ANC/ finances/ analysis of regional reports/ security/ banning/ national decision-making/ national co-ordination/ re-conceptualizing our campaign, our structures/ press/ NC/ employees/ international/ new areas/ Namibia/ ratifications/ PFP and the white election/ ECC as an organisation or front/ getting to know each other (?!?)

National Employees

National Secretary

Adele's work has been in the following areas:

Press work: releases/ article for Cosmopolitan.

Legal work: finances/ smears.

PRO: meetings with people such as Sheena Duncan, Beyers Naude, Brian Goodall.

International: three contacts - War on Want, etc.

International - general: US tour/ package to Laurie.

Meetings: uses Jo'burg's structures/ Jo'burg exec is the only forum she can enter into discussion.

Cape Town: Adele spent time in CT to help co-ordinate the US tour decision. It was an opportunity to meet CT people and get a sense of how CT works.

Review Group: constantly evaluates Adele's function/ helps with process/ helps by setting up workgroups to assist Adele with schlep-work.

National Organiser

Nic has worked in the following regions (chronological order):

Durban: writing national inputs/ working on campaign/ did a questions-answers on ECC.

Namibia: went to Namibia with Richard/ very exciting for the two, but not much gain for ECC.

Pietermaritzburg: arrived there at a point where Pmb were just coming over problems and beginning to move ahead/ met with other NDS people there/ worked mainly with Pmb exec on campaign.

Durban: worked with press/ met with individuals/ went to GBs.

Jo'burg: came to Jhb at a point when they were having problems - having difficulty seeing problems clearly. Has met with exec, co-ord comm, individuals, sub-groups/ some PRO/ meetings with NDS people/ meetings with lawyers.

Second national organiser

The only name mentioned was that of Anne-Marie Rademeyer (Jo'burg). Jo'burg needs to consult further with both people in the region as well as AR herself. Then should draw up a written proposal and submit to regions for discussion and ratification.

Regional Employees

Ratified Jo'burg and CT's regional part-time workers.

ISSUES

New Areas

Namibia

Nic and Richard gave a brief report-back on their trip to Namibia. (They have already completed a full report which regions should have).

While in Namibia they conducted the following workshop:

Workshop: What is militarization?
What is militarization in Namibia?
What is conscription?
What is conscription in Namibia?

Case study - ECC
Case study - People's Action Committee (Namibia).

Then looked at issues a new organisation could take up, goals and structures.
Discussed a structure for the implementation of a campaign against conscription.

This was the first time church/ community/ civic representatives had remained together for an entire weekend - come together in pursuit of a common goal.

People in Namibia are suffering badly, we MUST get Namibia back onto our agenda.

The State of Emergency is not there - one third of the articles in the Namibian are exposes into SADF activities. We can use this stuff.

There was talk of a co-ordinated Namibia campaign co-inciding with International Namibia Day which is on August 10th.

Bloemfontein

There were problems in Bloem - mainly people there been very reticent to meet with ECC people. It was felt that we could not jeopardize them by forcing contact or media on them, but Stellenbosch should attempt one more contact just to clarify what the problems are and then to leave it for the moment.

Other areas

Other areas people are looking into are technikons in PE and JCE in Jo'burg.

Press/ National News Network

National news network - set up safe phone (and normal phone) contact between all regional newsletter groups.

Press: national and regional press liason breakdown. The National Secretary should notify regions when issuing statement so that local can notify local press.

National guidelines on difficult issues, eg, ANC. Regions should consider have a grilling session as Jo'burg did.

Newsclips: ALL regions must send newsclips. If a region cannot send to everyone it should send to Adele, who will distribute.

Video

Not all regions had discussed it. Regions who had were Durban (yes), PE/ Grahamstown (yes, but worried about security), Pietermaritzburg (v excited) and Wits (yes).

People were worried about national accountability. How much of one particular region would be included in the video and for what reason??? Some people felt that the final script should be ratified nationally. Others felt that this was too unwieldy. This was not resolved, but people still felt that the video-maker should have a kind of reference group.

People also felt that there should be a timeline on the expected date of production.

Banning (oi veh!)

When an organisation is banned, the following is most likely to occur:

- accounts are immediately frozen.
- every bit of information, documents, etc, pertaining to the organisation was confiscated and given to the liquidator.
- people had no recourse to anything belonging to or in the name of the organisation, it was all given to the liquidator.
- the state has the right to sell everything and give it to a charity not of your choice.
- office bearers: questioning, restriction orders, banning orders.
- there is no constitutional procedure to dissolve the organisation, the organisation simply ends when the banning order is gazetted.
- further meetings are illegal and are considered to be furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

Alliances

History: ECC takes up issues that affect our issue or prevent us from taking up our issue. We have had observer status on some other issues, in this instance, specifically, the election.

Durban

Had observer status on the alliance (no name) in Durban. They caused some tension because ECC would not sign the declaration or endorse the manifesto.

Stellenbosch

They were involved in the United Stellenbosch Front (made up of ECC, NUSAS, Cathsoc, Ansoc, Lawyers for Human Rights, PFP Youth, etc). It was very useful for ECC particularly because the front is on campus, and this has helped ECC get back onto campus.

Port Elizabeth

Have been approached to be part of alliances such as the PE Anti-removals Committee, the Watson Brothers, COSG, etc.

Cape Town

Were observers on the Votes for All Alliance. There was confusion among the press people and ECC was represented as a full member. The alliance was pulled together v quickly and so was very haphazard. Resulted in discussion of ECC as a single issue campaign within ranks.

Federation of SA Women: want women in ECC to be part of initiating Fed saw structures.

Some regions consulted with the UDF who felt that we have tended to strategise to closely within our constituency and do not always assess ho we fit into the NDS.

Assessment

We agreed that we have not consulted adequately with the broad democratic movement and their criticisms were legitimate. However, some of our success is due to the fact that we distance ourselves from the democratic movement.

More and more people within and without our ranks are raising questions about ECC as a single-issue campaign.

Janet

Janet has now spent nine months in detention. Her parents live in Cape Town and are spending a fortune to visit their daughter. Her father's life savings are being used to pay for travelling expenses.

The suggestion from NC is that we establish the Janet Cherry Travel Fund. Activists nationally should donate between R5 and R10 per month to cover these expenses. Cape Town will take responsibility for setting up the bank account and each region needs to discuss the proposal and then co-ordinate sending the money to Cape Town.

Afrikaans Boek: "Forces Favourites"

The choice was receiving R5000 cash or books to that value. There was a lot of discussion. Some people felt we really needed the money and should take it. Others felt that we could make political mileage out of the boek.

In the end we reached a compromise: that we take however many books regions feel they can sell. The rest we take in cash. If the printers do not accept this, then we take the cash.

The Diary

Another sad story. We fetched the what was supposed to be complete diary from the security police, only to discover that the diary was nowhere near completion. In fact Hendlers (the printers) had misrepresented to us that the diary was complete

and all they had had to do was laminate the cover.

At this stage we will consult with lawyers and take it from there. Regions did feel that we could still make some political mileage out of it although not sell it.

Regions felt that Jo'burg had handled the situation well.

US Tour

Is now finally over - shoo-wee - until I suppose the next one ... There has been some wonderful (and different) media coverage and we need to ensure that it filters through to the local press.

International Record

Durban consulted with the UDF over the issue of the cultural boycott and who felt it was fine.

The record is not an ECC initiative, nor is it a "Forces Favourites - International". Artists are being asked to play in support of the End Conscription Campaign.

Commissions of Enquiry

This is an idea from Cape Town in which we set up commissions of enquiry to investigate events such as SADF raids on neighbours, etc. Furthermore we should also invite respected community members to participate in the commissions.

Survey

400-500 surveys have been completed by 1st year students. Frankel feels that the surveys cover a broad range of people. The problem is how to use the information appropriately in terms of ECC's needs. We felt that we were unable to provide Frankel with both financial and personal resources on this project and therefore decided not to pursue it much further.

Constitution

Problems to be given to the National Secretary.

Philip

PE were happy with the postponement which gave them time to prepare an excellent case and excellent it was. Steve Louw, Hurley, the Namibian were all superb. At one point the prosecutor announce that he thought the trial was being used as a public platform!!

The trial was the best thing that has happened to PE for a long time. They HAD to work very hard around it. They worked on three levels: a personal support group, a COSG group and then media/pamphlets, etc.

The church service was v successful: 450 people attended and many expressed interest in supporting CO.

National response

Pietermaritzburg

Had a service just prior to first trial which drew 30 people. Felt that people generally did not know Philip.

Grahamstown

Pamphlets and a few people went down to PE for the trial. Lossed action around the second trial as they were concentrating on their campaign.

Rhodes

Mini-focus on Philip and the choices conscripts have. Nothing for second trial.

Durban

All-night vigil before first trial after Judge Edeling debate. The next morning they held a spontaneous placard demonstration. For the second trial they had a small advertisement and messages in the classified section, and posters on campus.

Cape Town

Had a service for the first trial which drew 50/60 people. No focus around the second. Pamphlets on campus for first trial and posters for second.

Stellenbosch

Pamphlets.

Jo'burg

Service for first trial. Advert in Weekly Mail for second. Pamphlets on campus for first and posters for second.

discussion

Cape Town were critical of the way NC discussed plans for Philip's trial at the last NC and felt that there was no coherent strategy nationally.

Jo'burg has put together a pamphlet on Philip's statement to the court. A booklet of the court proceedings will be made by either Durban or Jo'burg.

Don Edwards

His case is coming on review in OFS supreme court. The appeal is on procedure, not content. One of the reasons Don was turned down was because he is an active ECC member. He is a definite CO and the judge was prejudiced against him. We need to focus on him after the hearing.

Draft of format for regional reports to NC.

Aim of the report : it is important to bear in mind when writing up the report what the purpose is of sharing this information about the work and development of your region.

Areas to include in the report :

1. Number of active members

2. Region's activities :

To give an account of the regions activities since the previous NC, ranging from small house meetings to large public events. The activities should also be assessed in terms of their effectiveness in advancing ECC's work in the region, drawing in new people, increasing ECC's public profile, maintaining and building the front, etc. There may be some overlap here when the area of Front is discussed under a separate heading, but it's important to assess the activities into the broad aims of ECC.

Also include activities of the sub-groups.

3. Internal development :

Give an account of the way in which ECC takes on the responsibility of ensuring that our activists not only have a good understanding of ECC but of broader political issues. This can include our own internal education seminars or where we slot in with other organisations' education programmes. Also to include the training and development of activists on the level of personal support, accountability, preparation for detention, etc.

4. Morale :

A general assessment of how the members are feeling about their work in ECC and their contribution to the struggle for justice in SA

5. Security :

The practise of security measures taken by our membership and the development of a security consciousness.

6. Front :

An assessment of how the front is working in your region - what is the representation of the front at various ECC meetings; does any formal structure exist to facilitate communication between ECC and the Front members; assess the strength of the front; etc.

7. National contact :

Assess the extent of your regions' national contact, both with national workers and with other regions. Note those things which enabled the region to have a good sense of national ECC, making recommendations for improvement, etc

8. Repression :

Give a brief overview of the types of repression that the region has experienced both at the level of individual harassment and general smears against the ECC.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

AUGUST 1987

Regional Reports

Most regions submitted regional reports. Those who did not gave oral reports, summaries of which appear below.

Stellenbosch

Organisationally they have been quiet. During the university vacation things came to a standstill. Before the June examinations they were growing in numbers and were preparing to challenge their banning from campus. After the break it was difficult to regain momentum.

ECC is a member of the United Stellenbosch Front and can get our message on campus through this front. However there is uncertainty: people are asking exactly what ECC is trying to achieve on campus and whether ECC is doing it in the best way.

Forthcoming events include a major SADF conference on guerilla warfare in Stellenbosch.

Students at a gifted school in Stellenbosch (?) were shown various inputs on "terrorists" - clearly a move to win over gifted youth.

East London

Most of their work has concentrated on internal education. They have grown significantly this year and are now a group of 15-20 people.

> They are planning a large Namibia meeting for the end of the month. They are also targetting Technikon and Rhodes students in East London. Other constituencies include the 'just out of schoolers' (who get jobs as waiter/waitresses, etc) as well as parents.

Durban

Have just come through (and are still in) a period of intense campaigning, and are feeling quite burnt out at this point in time.

Their current campaign, 'Apartheid Out, SADF Out', encapsulated all the ingredients of ECC's 'new' direction. It utilised public events to spice up low-key working - house meetings, membership

Problems in MA Thesis.

- ① ECC doesn't primarily use alt. forms of media
- ② The issue of the "medium is the message" is not the central
would be grossly unfair analysis of our campaign: it's our
content that's the most NB.
- ③ We don't appeal to the sub-culture only - but working in
the traditional white liberal community.
We do reflect the majority view.
- ④ Had nothing to do with Somewhere on the Border pg 35
- ⑤ No covert messages - Emergency changed direction - pg 36
- ⑥ pg 40: Anti-apartheid record "FF"
- ⑦ pg 47 J. Shirts
- ⑧ pg 50 ECC's message based on reality & emotions.
- ⑨ pg 59: die onderwerp moet belangrik en aktueel-relevant wees;

UCT REPORT TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE1. CAMPAIGN ASSESSMENT FROM LAST TERM:

Due to the upheaval on campus around the time we had originally planned for WINCLCAJP, a lot of our work was rescheduled and some projects were dropped. We concentrated most of our work on joint projects with town and Stellies. We felt the need for discussion at a national level, on the role that ECC can play during periods of heightened campus militancy. Certain events, such as our anti-war film series, were very successful, others not. We have assessed this carefully and have hopefully learnt from our mistakes.

2. INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION OF MEMBERS:

(a) Culture Subcomm: Participation was good around the campaign, people came together and worked well, especially on the fair and the film series. Interest however, faded towards the end of the term. The coordinators were concerned and felt the need to reassess Culture's role. Thus, although Culture started the term off well, they lost direction towards the end. HOWEVER...Culture started the new term off with a bang! Nearly all the original members have returned, which makes it a large subcomm of about 12 activists. This blossoming is due to the coordinators of Culture pulling together, working through the problem areas and doing a great deal of ground work. So... Culture is at the moment our strongest subcomm.

(b) Media Subcomm:- Lost quite a few people during the campaign. Media didn't do anything specific in the campaign and was used

more as a schlepp group. Those people who were lost have not returned and Media is possibly our weakest area at the moment. There has been the problem of Media not being given the space to take their own initiative during a campaign, and discussions have begun around the role Media could play outside of campaigns. They have identified a regular publication as important and are, for the meanwhile, working on OUT OF STEP.

(c) Contact subcomm:- Didn't function very well during the campaign- did more thinking than work! Inexperience in this subcomm has been a problem, but a workshop held last term on meeting procedure and chairing skills seems to have alleviated some problems. This semester, serious work has begun on building the front. Recently, we held a GB, where for the first time, reps from potential affiliates were present. Contact has been a small group from the beginning, but most people are fairly committed and have stayed on.

One of the ways with which we dealt with the problem of lack of experience, skills etc., was through a training workshop, mainly around chairing skills, meeting procedure etc. People who attended the workshop were very excited about it and are generally feeling more confident.

In the last general body of term, we assessed the term (basically an assessment of WINCLCAJP), identifying problem areas and prioritising areas of work for next term. This process was very useful for us. Training of activists and the building of the front were emphasised as important areas of work.

Collection Number: AG1977

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a collection held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.