

Why we're fasting for peace

WEEKLY MAIL 27.9.85

MORE than seven years separate Harald Winkler and Richard Steele, both fasting for peace. That seven years could be a generation.

Winkler is a 21-year-old Wits student who takes a practical approach to issues, seeing two or more sides to most questions.

Steele, 28, released by court order on Friday after two weeks in detention, belongs to a different world, where things are possible solely because they're right — where a "truthful act" has "natural correlations".

Winkler is fasting as a way of communicating with conscriptees, churches and black communities most affected by military patrols. He sees his fast as a way to re-integrate the spiritual and the political, but also as "good political strategy".

Steele says his decision to fast was "quite a natural choice", given his total commitment to non-violence. "I'm just being," he says. "People can respond to me on the level they choose."

Steele spent 1980 in detention barracks for refusing to serve — for what he calls choosing to "non-cooperate".

Winkler has applied to the SADF for classification as a religious objector, a move, he says, that is only possible because of the stand Steele took five years ago — which is where the generations come together.

After Steele's heavily-publicised case, a Commission of Enquiry recommended grounds for CO status beyond membership of a "peace church". It is on personally religious and fairly — but not strictly — pacifist grounds that Winkler applied to do community work, rather than combatant service, when he is called up in January.

Winkler, whose background is Lutheran, plans a career in the church, studying for a bachelor's degree in divinity at Unisa where, he says, one can follow a non-denominational course.

He takes a pragmatic approach to issues. He is a vegetarian primarily out of a concern for the waste of resources in feeding livestock rather than people, but would eat meat in a social situation rather than hurt the person who offered it.

And in his application for religious objector status, he does not claim to hold firmly to the principle of non-violence. He concedes that if his house were robbed, he would probably punch the burglar on the nose.

He argues the "just war" theory which, he says, has a long tradition in the Christian Church — and then states that actions the SADF is taking in Namibia, Angola and South African townships do not meet any of the criteria, "all of which must be fulfilled for the war to be deemed just".

Indeed, he notes that he does not categorically reject all forms of violence, distinguishing between violence used by the state to enforce the status quo and violent acts performed as a reaction of the

Three members of the End Conscriptio Campaign have begun lengthy fasts in support of the "Troops out of the townships" campaign. BARBARA LUDMAN spoke to two of them in Johannesburg this week.



Richard Steele, also fasting to get the "Troops out of the townships". Pictures by Paul Weinberg, Afrapix

oppressed to change the system.

"I personally would prefer to seek peaceful ways to change South Africa," he notes, "and try to avoid ... violence. However ... I can afford to espouse non-violence because I am privileged; little violence is being done to me."

He is quick to point out that he, Steele and Cape Town Dr Ivona Horns are not the only people committing themselves to lengthy fasts for peace. "Some people are doing it in a quieter, personal way," he says.

But that is not necessarily his way.

"To quite a large extent, I'm doing it for the effect," he says. "The ECC decided on this strategy, and I thought it was a good one. I see a fast at this particular time in a country under an Emergency as a good thing to do, because it's basically very difficult to stop a fast. Even detention cannot stop it."

And from a personal point of view, "I see this fast as an opportunity to have more time to integrate social analysis and my personal beliefs. I've been going through a rapid time of becoming politically aware and I feel that to some extent that has become separate from my values and my faith. One has grown more quickly than the other."

"Although I'm in a movement which tries to combine both aspects, I feel my focus has been on the political side of things, learning about myself as someone with political responsibility. How one relates that to God, to the life of Christ is much less articulated."

"I don't think the majority of people in the mainline churches would do what I'm doing, for the reasons I'm doing it. It would be seen as too political."



Harald Winkler, who has eaten no solids for a week now, talks to a group this week about why he is doing it.

"But I have got a particular understanding of Christianity that doesn't try to be apolitical but is aware of Christianity's social and political dimensions."

In one way only, Steele is also a pragmatist. He favours fasting as a way of communicating because it is accessible. "It is something anyone can do," he says.

It is also "a radical stopping, stepping out and becoming aware of the way we live our lives."

"We are socialised to follow certain habits. If you're able to step out of that habit, even for 24 hours, it gives you a chance to look at the other habits you are following."

"Eating," he says, "is one of our most basic social actions. Meals are a time of fellowship and sharing together. Also, in South Africa, food and the lack of food are important elements in people's lives. There is massive starvation in the rural areas and the cities."

Fasting, then, is "an action that comes from the centre. It is a way to reach into the centre of ourselves." There are good things at the centre, but also "the pain of our society. We need to feel that, to weep with that pain, and respond in a creative way."

"One crux element of the violence in our society is the SADF," he says. "We are aware of the other kinds of

violence, but we are specifically focusing on the SADF, because they are focusing on us, on our lives. It is the SADF that conscripts, and we are both males and conscripts."

He had intended to begin fasting in detention, but was released on Friday, came to Johannesburg for a wedding, and began his fast — up to four litres of water a day, half of it mineral water — on Sunday night.

Brought up as a Baptist, he spent a year in the US at a Mennonite seminary after his release from detention barracks, and two months with the Movement for a New Society. He returned in late 1983 because, he said, "I learned what I needed to. It was time to come back."

When he heard there was a need for someone to run the Phoenix Settlement, Gandhi's memorial at Inanda, he volunteered. He is curator as well as caretaker but prefers the latter designation, the notion of caring. There is little enough to care for since the settlement was attacked in August — just a clinic which serves the black community.

He saw the attack on the settlement, a symbol of non-violence, as evidence of frustration, a lack of cohesion, as a manifestation of tremendous stress, confusion, fear and anger.

But he did not react violently. His commitments are complete.

Like Winkler, he's a vegetarian — but he would not eat meat in a social situation, because, he says, his conviction springs from a reverence for life. Other reasons — his health and his concern for world hunger and a waste of resources — are only secondary.

It is the same with non-violence. His commitment is absolute.

"In order to be able to kill another person, you first have to kill a part of yourself," he says. "I would rather draw suffering and stress onto myself than cause other people suffering and stress through my actions and my life."

"Fasting functions as a lightning conductor. Non-violence does that — it absorbs violence rather than perpetuating it, and then earths it."

"To me, this is something that happens naturally. It's not as if someone goes out to absorb violence. But any truthful act has its natural correlations. When you plant flowers, you get natural beauty. You don't do it for effect. You do it because it's truthful and it's good and it's right."

"I'm not haranguing people with words or weapons," he says.

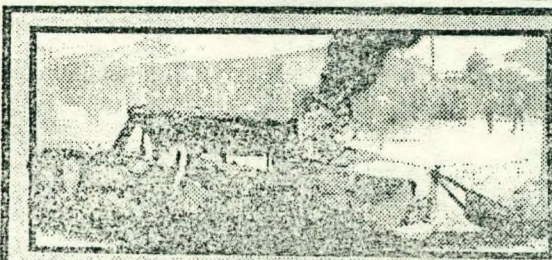
"Violence generally generates violence in response, but there is another option, total vulnerability. I see the birth of Jesus as a superb example of that option. It is a very strong one. It cuts that spiral of violence and it challenges others on a moral level to make a choice."

The ECC has called for a 24-hour peace fast on October 6/7, the anniversary of the first use of troops in the townships last year.

For details of campaign events, see public meetings on page 24.

THE EMERGENCY

Week 10



Two women, who asked not to be named, at the conference on Troops in the Townships — A Mother's Perspective

Call to the hands that rocked the soldiers' cradles

By David Capel

THE mothers of young national servicemen should join those of black youths "at the scene of battle" in the townships to show solidarity with them against a system that is turning children to violence.

A conference on Troops in the Townships — A Mother's Perspective was told this week that the country's youth were being bred on a diet of violence that would leave a legacy of hatred between whites and blacks.

Organised by the End Conscription Campaign, the conference brought together the mothers of whites who may have to do township duty, and the mothers of blacks who are involved in almost daily confrontation with those assigned to the townships.

One woman said she had to live with the fear that she might not find her two young sons alive when she returned home from work each evening.

The security forces, she said, had become something to be hated by blacks. It was not uncommon to see as many as six hippos in the street outside her home.

The mother of a white youth who has been in exile for the past seven years to avoid military service, described her son's anguish in leaving the country he loved.

Time to act

A black mother said: "As we talk here, a child might be dying in Soweto. It is time that we, as mothers, took some form of action."

A member of Women for Peace wept as she described the alleged beating of a child of 10 by a group of about 10 security force men in a Port Elizabeth township while she watched, unable to intervene.

Once, when she returned the greeting of a soldier in a Hippo, black youths confronted her, saying the soldier "has no right to greet our mothers".

Other women spoke of their sons' dilemma, and of their own foreboding about their sons' being made to do duty in the townships.

Way out

A tearful woman said her husband had tried in vain to get her son into the army gymnasium could avoid duty. "I know sound cowardly, but we just don't want our son to go into these areas," she said.

Several black women said the mothers of white national servicemen were unaware of what was taking place in the townships. White mothers, one said, should join their black compatriots in the townships "where the battle rages".

"In the words of an old Zulu saying, nothing can ever happen to a mother's child when she is present."

SUNDAY TIMES 29.9.85

Five in 'troops out' protest fast

By SHAUN HARRIS

FIVE people in different parts of South Africa are on a "protest fast" to urge the Army to withdraw from black townships.

The five men, including a medical doctor and the caretaker of a Mahatma Gandhi centre, have not eaten for a week and plan to fast for at least another week as part of a national "troops out the townships" campaign.

They are expecting other South Africans to join them in a 24-hour fast at the culmination of their campaign in just over a week's time.

"The basic reason for the fast is simple. We know that many young South African national servicemen do not want to be in the townships helping the police, and we are calling on the Defence Force to get out of the townships," 28-year-old Richard Steele said in Durban this week.

Two students at the University of Natal in Durban — Donn Edwards and Steve Collins — have joined Mr Steele in his two-week fast.

In Cape Town Dr Ivan Toms, nicknamed the "Crossroads doctor" because of the clinic he has run in the squatter settlement for five years, has also fasted for a week, as has Wits student Harold Winkler in Johannesburg.

Support

"A number of people have contacted me to say they are fasting for shorter periods in support of our campaign," Mr Steele, caretaker at the Gandhi settlement outside Durban and a member of the End Conscription Campaign, said in Durban.

In 1980 he spent a year in detention barracks for refusing to do his national service, and was released from nearly two weeks' police detention late last week after a Supreme Court judgment ordered that he, and two other people detained with him, be released by the security police.

Mr Steele said his fast was being strictly monitored by doctors, and he didn't intend to harm himself in any way.

"I choose fasting as a form of protest because it is completely non-violent, and doesn't affect anyone but myself," he said.

"And one thing that nobody can stop you from doing is refusing to eat. Historically, fasting has been used by people as an effective form of protest."

Mr Steele is staging his "troops out" protest fast at St Anthony's Catholic Church in Durban.

Student's 3-week fast to protest call-up

Post Correspondent

THE Christian convictions of a Wits University student have led him to embark on three weeks of fasting in support of the End Conscription Campaign's call for "Troops out of the Townships".

Harold Winkler, 21, finishes his BA degree this year and faces call-up in January. He hopes to be exempted from military service and assigned to community service.

Harold was head boy of the Johannesburg German School in 1981 and has been actively involved in the Young Christian Students at Wits.

He explains what has moved him to undertake the fast, which began on Tuesday last week.

"I face the dilemma of going into the townships myself — I have been called up from January 13 next year. I do not believe I can go into the army and remain sincere in my understanding of my Christian faith. I am therefore objecting to military service on religious grounds.

"Fasting is a time-honoured Christian tradition, being used for personal

cleansing and also for a whole nation to reflect on its situation, mourn its sinfulness and petition God for help.

"Having grown up in a Christian family, I have come to know fasting as an effective means of purification and protest. Therefore I have chosen this method of expressing my deep horror at what is happening in the townships.

"Fasting for three weeks will bring home to me that I am affected by all that goes on around me. The person on top of the Casspir could be my brother or my friend — or me. And the one being sjambokked, teargassed, or shot could be my fellow-student from Wits.

"I believe the fast will also help me personally to reflect on my faith. I hope, too, that the fast will have an effect on a far wider group of people. My particular concern is that the churches consider urgently where they stand in the growing conflict in South Africa.

"This fast is my small contribution towards initiating such processes, so that one day we may see a just peace in a non-racial, democratic South Africa."

Four students describe their fasting experience

ADVICE to fat people from four politically and religiously motivated fasters is that there is no surer way of losing weight than through the drastic action of refusing all food for about two weeks.

And they say it is not as difficult as it might seem, as by the second or third day of fasting, one stops getting hungry.

Of course they did not feel very well during this time and suffered from vertigo and light-headedness.

The four are students at the University of Natal in Durban who, for a variety of reasons, are fasting in support of the nationwide campaign aimed at having the South African Defence Force withdrawn from black townships.

Mr Mike Graaf broke his fast on its twelfth day

Political Reporter

at the weekend, as did Mr Tim Chilvers, then on his eighth day.

Taking over from them, with the intention of fasting for a full two weeks, were Mr Donn Edwards and Mr Steve Collins, a member of the Students' Representative Council.

In an interview this week, Mr Graaf and Mr Chilvers joked about their loss of weight and the problem of functioning without food to sustain them.

Mr Graaf, who became distinctly thinner and more hollow-eyed during his fast, said he had lost six kilograms, while Mr Chilvers said he had not weighed himself, but had had to take his belt in a few notches.

Mr Chilvers said fast-

ing was a fantastic experience.

"I don't know why chubby people have problems dieting — there's nothing to it."

Mr Graaf said that it was definitely easier to go without food altogether than simply to eat less, as slimmers did.

However, they had had to avoid strenuous physical exertion, had suffered from vertigo, spells of light-headedness, loss of concentration and had felt off-colour throughout the period.

They had found there was a generally mixed response from other people to their fasting.

Most had not voiced objections to their reasons for fasting, but had rather expressed concern for their health.

POST Sept 25-28 1985

The peace festival builds up a broad base

By GAVIN EVANS

THE End Conscription Campaign's "Stop the Call Up" Peace festival last weekend attracted over 2000 people - young, old, pacifists, humanists, leftists, liberals and Christians.

Delegates came from throughout the country and overseas. More than 100 messages of support were received from organisations inside and outside of South Africa.

In an interview this week, ECC's national organiser Laurie Nathan said the festival was aimed at strengthening the movement to end conscription and to focus on the call for a just peace in South Africa.

In its 18-month existence, the ECC had grown into a broad front of 50 affiliate organisations. Its members included people who would describe themselves as pacifists, humanists, liberals, Christians and leftists, Nathan said.

The PFP youth wing, for example, was significantly represented at the festival and it issued a public statement supporting the campaign.

"While some in the ECC may have their differences with us, we are united on the call to end conscription," a PFP youth representative said.

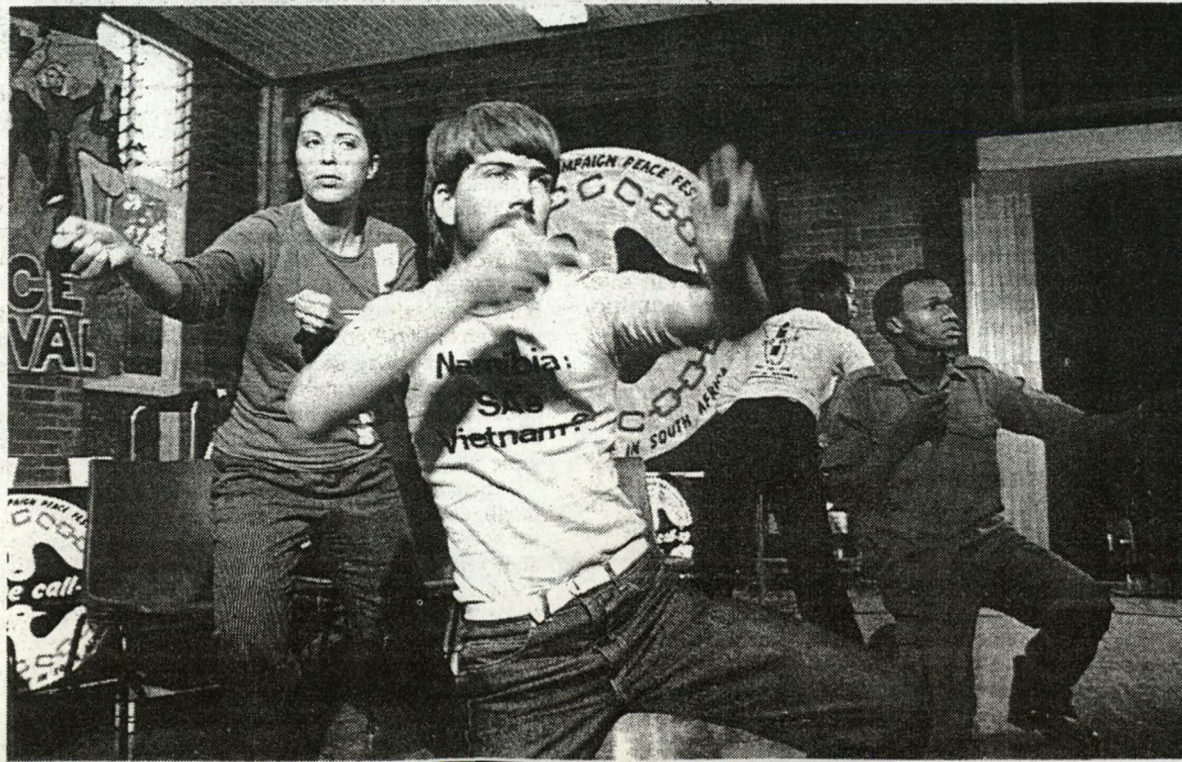
Although many of the ECC affiliates have a black membership, the ECC works mainly in the white community, "because they are the ones facing conscription at the moment," Nathan said.

But, unlike some white extra-Parliamentary groups whose images are predominantly young and radical, the ECC festival showed it had a wider base of support.

"In the ECC the youth are taken



Rocking against the call-up ... The Softies, at the Peace Festival concert. Picture: ISSY LAGARDIEN



vice-president of the American company, replied, "We don't comment on our capital structure. That's one of the nice things about being a private company."

The main vehicle for Anglo's expansion has been its subsidiary, Minorco. Minorco is reportedly the largest single shareholder — with over 20 percent — in the US firm of Phibro-Salmong, a huge commodities and investment concern which is among the world's largest spot traders in oil.

Anglo investments in US energy resources are varied. Through Newmonth Mining, it owns 30 percent of Peabody Coal, the US' largest coal company. Through Madison Resources, it holds uranium deposits in Virginia. Consolidated Goldfields, another Anglo firm, is developing gold and silver mines, and Inspiration Resources is developing acreage said to contain strategic ores, such as chrome and nickel.

Other, unnamed, South African firms have staked claims for minerals on US public domain lands in Montana, Utah and Arizona, according to a recent survey by the US General Accounting office.

Two years ago, South African interests ran into a wall of negative publicity when Southern Sun tried to build a posh casino in Atlantic City and eventually withdrew the application.

But most South African firms doing business in America proceed with a lower profile, often in conjunction with other firms.

Until recently, according to The Guardian newspaper, Federal Marines Ltd of South Africa bought 85 percent of Peru's output of canned fish — canned with machinery provided by South Africa — for resale in Britain and the US as cat food.

South African consul Gideon Bauer declined to identify the brands involved, insisting that it was South Africa's policy not to reveal export information except gross volumes because "some countries don't want to expose the fact that they trade with us — it would not be good for business".

Anti-apartheid workers hope this is the case. Richard Knight, of the Africa Fund, a non-profit research

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But, unlike some white extra-Parliamentary groups whose images are predominantly young and radical, the ECC festival showed it had a wider base of support.

"In the ECC the youth are taken seriously precisely because they are the ones on the line, who are called up to go to the townships and borders, who have to shoot and be shot.

"But it is not only the youth who are part of the ECC. There are many older people who are active in our campaign because they are concerned about the role the army is playing and are committed to a just peace."

The wide range of anti-conscription feeling represented at the festival was shown by a panel discussion in which five conscientious objectors spoke of their experiences.

Dr Ivan Toms, an objector who completed his national service as a non-combatant before working in a clinic in Crossroads, said he was no longer prepared to serve in the army because doctors were used to back up soldiers fighting on the borders and in townships.

Richard Steele, of Durban, who



The anti-conscription campaign takes to the stage in some informal theatre.

served a year in detention barracks in 1980, said he was a Christian pacifist and saw his objections to conscription as an act of non-cooperation with apartheid.

David Pipers broke his 10-year contract with the Cape Corps and now faces a court martial because he refuses to serve in the army again. He said he joined the army because it was a family tradition and there were no other jobs, but cut his service short after experiencing "the brutality of the army's role in Namibia".

Pete Hathorn, a political objector who served a year's imprisonment, said he was committed to the Freedom Charter and that serving in the SADF would make a mockery of his beliefs.

David Schmidt began his six years community service last week after being classified as a religious

objector.

He said his religious and political beliefs made it impossible to support the SADF in any way.

An important aspect of the festival was its international flavour.

Carol Tongue, a European MP and member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, said the first war was that on poverty.

"As long as rich and poor exist side by side, the rich will live in constant fear of the poor and there will be no peace," she said.

In a recorded message sent from London, Monsignor Bruce Kent, leader of the CND, said British and South African campaigners worked under different circumstances, "but walk the same road toward a world free from militarisation".

Other keynote speakers included Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches;

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg; Sir Richard Luyt, former vice-chancellor of UCT; Nadine Gordimer, novelist; Molly Blackburn of the PFP; Murphy Morobe of the UDF; and Mokganedi Thlabane of Swapo.

Three of the scheduled speakers were prevented from attending the festival. Cardinal Paulo Arns had his visa withdrawn at the last moment; Janet Cherry, the ECC Eastern Cape leader, was detained the day before the festival; and Mathew Goniwe, an Eastern Cape executive member, disappeared during the week and was later found dead.

Nathan said the ECC had experienced considerable harassment before the festival - the banning of publications, security police raids, threatening phone calls and right wing disruption of public meetings.

Two years ago, South African interests ran into a wall of negative publicity when Southern Sun tried to build a posh casino in Atlantic City and eventually withdrew the application.

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Anti-apartheid workers hope this is the case. Richard Knight, of the Africa Fund, a non-profit research group at the heart of the disinvestment movement, says South African investments in the US - though often concealed - present a tempting target.

"In order to make disinvestment in South Africa work, we have to identify and campaign against South African investment here at home," he said. — Pacific News Service.

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Press Coverage - ECC Festival

Marie

COMMENT

Bloody lies

THE number of terrorist attacks this year exceeds 40 — a record.

And the tempo in recent weeks seems to have increased, with African National Congress terrorists making grenade attacks on two members of the Coloured House of Representatives, one of whom is a Deputy Minister-elect; a bomb attack on a beachfront tearoom in Durban; a clash between armed men and a police patrol north of the Kruger National Park; a grenade attack which injured three White policemen near Cape Town, and a bomb attack on East London's City Hall.

The unrest in the townships continues, with attacks on the homes of policemen and other so-called collaborators with the system, and with schools and other buildings destroyed or damaged.

At no time have Black leaders, except Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, or the political priests called for an end to this violence.

The impression is given that the ANC's attacks are excusable, since, the argument goes, the ANC was driven underground by banning and had no alternative but to turn to violence.

As if the acts of any terrorists — IRA, PLO, ANC or Shi'ites — can ever be condoned.

The actions of the mobs in the townships are also excused on the grounds that they are legitimately venting their ire against the system, that Blacks are so badly treated, and so economically deprived, that outbursts of violence, however savage, are understandable; and that the intention of the radicals to make the townships ungovernable is a legitimate way of fighting apartheid, institutionalised violence (a catch phrase) and oppression.

Any action by the police in countering this violence is regarded as evidence that the Government and its security forces are out to kill Blacks without compunction; the tragic shooting of 20 Blacks in Uitenhage is embroidered with a batch of lies which some politicians helped to put around; and the anti-ANC raid on Gaborone targets is held out as evidence of South Africa's destabilisation of a neighbour and utter ruthlessness.

Suggestions that only poor, defenceless refugees were killed are bloody lies.

The use of the army in the present grave riot situation is condemned by political priests, the anti-conscription movement and Left-wing politicians, whereas soldiers are being used, and are opening fire on rioters, in India and other countries at this very time, as news items have shown.

Meanwhile Bishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner extraordinary, the unbanned Dr Beyers Naude, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, the man of "unique" experience, Dr Allan Boesak, and various members of the United Democratic Front, like the Rev M Stofeli, who has just warned New Zealand that the All Blacks risk death by coming to South Africa to play here, feel free to travel the world giving the worst possible picture of South Africa.

the most ghastly place on earth without exception, which is a bloody lie, and that South Africa is the only place on earth that deserves to be bullied, bashed around, isolated and subjected to various forms of sanctions, which is another bloody lie.

Well, we say that the Government has a duty to restore law and order in the unrest townships. It has a duty to fight the ANC with all the resources at its disposal.

Reform is the key word in this period of South Africa's history — but it cannot be expanded, or made acceptable, if there is a state of anarchy.

No doubt the ANC and its supporters in the UDF want reform to collapse as much as they want the townships to be ungovernable. They should be denied both objectives.

People are sick and tired of the terrorist attacks and the savagery of the mobs. Let the Government put down violence and let it go ahead, at the same time, with the reforms that are essential to ensure that all sections have a stake in a peaceful future.

JOHANNESBURG: The visa of a Brazilian priest who was to visit South Africa to take part in an anti-conscription campaign, was withdrawn by the South African authorities at the eleventh hour.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, announced today at the SACC national conference that Cardinal Paulo Arns would no longer be arriving in South Africa today as planned. The Cardinal was visited by officials of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, who told him he was welcome in South Africa provided he gave an undertaking not to associate himself publicly with the End Conscription Campaign Peace Festival.

He refused to give such an undertaking, a spokesman for the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) said today. Cardinal Arns was invited to South Africa by the SACBC. Nuns were to stage a silent protest at the withdrawal of his visa in the Catholic Cathedral in Saratoga Avenue, Johannesburg, at 12.30pm today. "It is believed that the Government is afraid of the influence Cardinal Arns could exert. It is a Christian peace-loving influence of a man with a great love for the poor and oppressed," the SACBC spokesman said.

Priest refused entry
Daily News 26/6/85

Cardinal's visa cancelled after anti-army rift

Natal Mercury 27/6/85

PRETORIA—A Brazilian cardinal who applied to visit South Africa was immediately given a visa, but the document was withdrawn when reports suggested he was coming to this country for reasons other than his stated one, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

Mr Botha said in a statement that Cardinal Arns of Brazil had applied to the South African consul general in Sao Paulo about two weeks ago for a visa 'to visit the Catholic Church in South Africa'.

'He was immediately given a visa for a visit for this purpose,' Mr Botha said.

But a report in Tuesday's Press suggested the

cardinal would be coming to South Africa for another purpose as well — namely, to participate in the End Conscription Campaign'.

'When advised of this report, Cardinal Arns denied all knowledge of the campaign and assured our consul general in Sao Paulo that he would never involve himself in the domestic affairs of any country,' Mr Botha's statement said.

'Inquiries revealed, however, that he (the cardinal) had in fact been invited to participate in this campaign and that he was scheduled to address the participants.'

South Africa then asked the cardinal for a written undertaking that he would not participate in any way in the End Conscription Campaign, Mr Botha said.

'He refused whereupon we advised him that we would accept his earlier verbal assurance, and on that basis he was free to proceed with his visit.'

'The cardinal, however, retracted and said he was not prepared to accept any restrictions on his activities in South Africa. His visa was thereupon withdrawn.'

Mr Botha said Cardinal Arns would always be welcome to visit South Africa 'for pastoral purposes'. — (Sapa)

For the Party's eyes alone...

Sunday Times 23/6/85

THE current violence in South Africa follows to the letter instructions set out in a secret SA Communist Party (SACP) document seized in a Gaborone house last week by South African commandos.

The document, called an "Inner Party Bulletin", is marked "for the eyes of Party members only", and was found in the house of top-ranking ANC officials George and Linde Phahle, who were killed in the raid.

Intelligence experts in Pretoria analysing the "treasure trove of intelligence" seized in Botswana say this document "undeniably proves Moscow's direct involvement in stirring up violence in South Africa".

Other documents seized in Gaborone and shown to the Sunday Times by South Africa's master spy, Major Craig Williamson, include:

- A progress report by a terrorist still operating inside South Africa.
- A programme of action aimed at the youth and suggesting that men serving in

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

"the racist army" should be persuaded to join the "people's army" to fight side by side with the ANC.

● Detailed plans for the assassination of a Bophutha-Tswana politician.

● A directive on the schools boycotts in South Africa.

● An ANC press statement claiming responsibility for the Pretoria car-bomb attack in which many civilians were

killed or injured.

● Financial statements, receipts and cheques of the ANC in Botswana involving huge sums of money.

● A computerised record of ANC terror incidents in South Africa.

The SACP document seized is headed: "This bulletin is for the eyes of party members only. Regions and units must ensure that each copy is accounted for and

Important: This bulletin is for the eyes of Party members only. Regions and units must ensure that each copy is accounted for, and that it is not circulated to any unauthorised person.

The Central Committee recently met in plenary session and concentrated its discussion on the following main items:

1. Draft political statement
2. Party internal organisation - a report on the work of the PB and

Part of the document — PB stands for politburo

that it is not circulated to any unauthorised person."

The undated document details a central committee meeting which intelligence experts believe took place around 1981.

It calls for the establishment of a "broad-based mass movement". The document records:

Comrade B: Supports previous suggestion about a peace movement. The fraternal organisations should be guided on this question. It is not appropriate for the party to initiate the call. We must work out the mechanics.

Comrade C: Our job is to lay the groundwork for such a movement before announcing it. Guidance must be given to the churches, youth organisations, etc.

Comrade D: Blacks are increasingly being mobilised at

all levels to collaborate in their own oppression. This applies to the army, police force, puppet administrations, etc. As never before, work in the army and among the black police is vital.

The document notes alarm at the "increase of black collaboration" in South Africa, and states that police stations should be attacked and

that "the top collaborators must be dealt with physically but the bulk of those below them should be dealt with politically".

Intelligence experts point out that this ties up with recent attacks on police stations and policemen's homes, and the killings of black councillors.

The specialist assassin's rifle with silencer found in one of the ANC houses in Gaborone was also to be used to this end.

The SACP document further states that the armed and political struggle in South Africa should be stepped up, that the relations between South Africa and the United States should be attacked, and that labour unions and workers be mobilised and strikes be organised.

In another document a terrorist also asks permission to continue infiltrating the ranks of the End Conscription Campaign, where he hopes to recruit more "white activists" for ANC training.

The terrorist ends by saying he is still safe, in good hands and that he will fulfil his mission at all costs.

The Security Branch has warned the BophuthaTswana police about detailed plans by the ANC to assassinate a well-known politician.

Among the plans it found pictures of the victim's home, sketches of his house and the surrounding area, and written details of how he was to be killed.

Although police do not wish to release the would-be victim's name, he has been warned.

"Communist in cassock" Cardinal



Cardinal Arns ... regarded as a human rights advocate.

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Turbulent Brazilian priest for Wits rally

to lead to threats to the life of Cardinal Arns, increasing Government censorship of his paper, *O Sao Paulo*, and a concerted defamation campaign.

In 1975, following the death in detention of distinguished journalist Vladimir Herzog, 8,000 people defied the military regime and rallied to Cardinal Arns' call to a Mass in Sao Paulo Cathedral. In addition two million Catholics in the city went on a 24-hour fast to show their support of the church's stand against torture, expressed in a pastoral letter entitled, "Do not oppress your brother".

When Cardinal Arns himself was under threat — by December 1975 — 3,000 priests and six bishops held a Mass in solidarity with him.

The second major string to the cardinal's human rights bow is his concern for the poor. He has been closely involved in the growth of the "basic communities" — a unique Brazilian response to poverty.

"Basic communities" are tightly knit groups of about 12 to 15 people of similar income and education, who live together and often work together in co-operative enterprise. Today there are an estimated 80,000 basic communities in Brazil, forming a movement with a strongly Christian ethical base.

Cardinal Arns has also been closely associated with workers' movements, actively supporting the sustained metal workers' strike of 1979 — the first major strike in Brazil in nearly 15 years. He is also concerned with the workers' battle for democratic political participation.

At the time of the metal workers' strike he explained: "If you have some little space for liberty you have to occupy this space. Now we have a space for better salaries — we are insisting about this. The next time we will have a space for organising political parties — you have to occupy this."

Since 1980 the cardinal has been involved with other Latin theologians in seeking peaceful means to restructure the conflict-ridden societies of South and Central America. His advice was also sought by the Brandt Commission on relations between the wealthy northern hemisphere and the dependent, impoverished south.

Turbulent priests, a familiar feature on the South African political landscape, command even greater recognition in Latin America. And one of the most prominent, Brazilian Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns, arrives in Johannesburg tomorrow.

Cardinal Arns will, at the invitation of the End Conscription Campaign, address a mass rally, part of a three-day "Peace Festival", at Wits University.

Vilified by the military junta which ruled Brazil between 1964 and 1984, followed into protest action by millions of his countrymen and recognised as a human rights advocate by Western leaders, the 63-year-old Sao Paulo cardinal heads the largest Catholic archdiocese in world.

Regarded as a "communist in cassock" by the old military government, the cardinal describes his position a little differently. "The church's foremost mission in the option for change is to establish the truth and to seek justice.

"It must help train Christian communities to seek their own solutions and encourage universities, research institutes and others to seek alternatives that are neither capitalist nor communist," he is on record as saying.

Finally, he believes, the church has to convince the rich and the powerful that development of the individual and society are best served by pursuing Christian equality.

Cardinal Arns' concern with torture and the fate of political detainees began in 1971 with the detention in Sao Paulo of an Italian priest and his assistant. They had been involved in programmes for workers in the city of which Cardinal Arns was already archbishop.

They were never charged — but they were allegedly brutally tortured at police headquarters.

The cardinal's response was to call together the priests of his archdiocese — which comprises eight bishops, 2,100 diocesan priests and about 4,000 other priests. The outcome of their discussions on torture was a strongly worded document on the church's commitment to social justice.

Resistance to the secret police was

Cardinal's visit to SA is prevented

The visa of a Brazilian cardinal due to visit South Africa to address the End Conscription Campaign's Peace Festival in Johannesburg was withdrawn by South African authorities at the last minute.

Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns of Sao Paulo was due to arrive at Jan Smuts today as a guest of the ECC and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

"Hours before he was due to depart, he was visited by South African consulate officials who wanted a written undertaking that he would not speak at the ECC festival nor involve himself in the affairs of the country," the ECC stated today.

Cardinal Arns refused to sign and his visa was withdrawn.

"I would only go as a free person where my brother bishops have asked me to go and do what they have asked me to do," he said in a statement through the ECC office in Johannesburg.

"I see clearly that your government is not satisfied with the sacrifice and injustice that it imposes on its people.

"Now it also prevents a visit of friendship by a cardinal ... even though he is a member of the independent committee of the United Nations on Humanitarian Issues."

star (Africa & Citylate) 25/6/85

26/6/85

Bishops call for end to SA conscription

THE SOUTHERN African Catholic Bishops Conference has called for an end to military conscription and an amendment to the Defence Act to make this possible.

"We are concerned at the growing numbers of young men faced with a crisis of conscience caused by their conscription," an SACBC statement said yesterday.

"Our concern as Bishops of Southern African is for a speedy and just solution to the problems experienced by its people — a solution to which all sectors of the population are called to play their part," the statement said.

The Bishops said many national servicemen experienced turmoil when they became aware of the role they were ex-

pected to play in the Black townships and elsewhere in Southern Africa.

The SACBC statement also repeated a call that provision be made for "so-called moral and ethical objectors" — who were not included in the Defence Amendment Act.

In 1977, a SACBC statement on conscientious objection defended the right of the individ-

ual to follow his conscience and the SACBC urged the Government to make provision for alternative forms of non-military national service.

In 1983 the organisation, in a letter to the Minister of Defence, pointed out that proposed amendments making it possible for christian pacifists to refuse military training, did not go far enough. — Sapa.

Bishops call for end to conscription

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"We are concerned at the growing numbers of young men faced with a crisis of conscience caused by their conscription," an SACBC state-

ment said yesterday. An end to conscription would leave the South African Defence Force open to those in sympathy with it and would grant individuals freedom of conscience, the statement said.

The bishops said many national servicemen experienced turmoil when they became aware of

the the role they were expected to play in the black townships and elsewhere in Southern Africa.

The SACBC statement listed the choices for men facing a crisis over conscription as:

- Serving in the army, with whose mode of operation they could not agree.
- Doing six years of al-

ternative service if they were recognised religious pacifists.

● Serving a six-year jail sentence if they objected to the war on the grounds that it was unjust.

● Leaving South Africa to live in exile.

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In 1983 the SACBC, in a letter to the Minister of Defence, pointed out that proposed amendments making it possible for Christian pacifists to refuse military training, did not go far enough.

The SACBC has invited Cardinal Paulo Arns — recognised internationally for his human rights campaign during 20 years of military rule in Brazil — to address a peace festival aimed at ending conscription.

Cardinal Arns, who arrives in Johannesburg this week, will speak at a public meeting on "Society in Conflict" at the Johannesburg Cathedral on Sunday, June 30. — Sapa.

Mixed feelings here criticism abroad

Political Staff

DR F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said today he had no intention of prematurely condemning or justifying the Gaborone raid.

He said: "At this stage the raid must be seen in the context of the grenade attack on members of the House of Representatives and is apparently also an act of reprisal."

"Thus acts of terror and anti-terror will undoubtedly add to a spiral of violence and counter-violence and contribute to a state of siege. For the sake of a negotiated and peaceful future for all of us this spiral will have to be broken."

Mr Colin Eglin, Progressive Federal Party foreign affairs spokesman, said it was "distressing when the situation deteriorates to the point where armed intervention replaces diplomacy".

He said: "It is clear that the raid is going to have serious repercussions for South Africa."

In a brief statement today, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said: "I would like to congratulate the South African Defence Force."

Mr Vause Raw, NRP defence spokesman, said that while it was regrettable that South African troops should have entered Botswana, the activities of the ANC made this essential when members of Parliament

and innocent civilians become the targets of terrorism.

The Conservative Party supported and congratulated the SADF on the operation, the party's defence spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said.

He said: "We are very perturbed at the fact that Botswana has been accommodating ANC terrorists. We believe that relations between South Africa and Botswana should now be reviewed under a magnifying glass."

Mr Abe Williams, MP, the Labour Party's defence spokesman, said he might comment after a briefing.

The president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, described the raid as "cold-blooded murder of South African refugees".

He said: "The people of Azania are victims of an undeclared war. The Government is condemned in the strongest possible terms and punitive action should be considered by the international community."

The End Conscription Campaign said today it regarded the attack in Botswana as "yet another violation by the South African authorities of the territorial integrity of a neighbouring state".

In a statement by a spokesman in Cape Town, the ECC said it "disapproves in the strongest terms" and questioned whether the SADF could

uphold its claim of maintaining peace in Southern Africa.

The statement said: "This action in no way advances the cause of peace in our region. Rather it sets back the process of building a situation of stability and harmony in Southern Africa."

● Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the raid has been condemned "in the strongest terms" by the South African Council of Churches.

"UTTER FOLLY"

A statement issued by the acting general secretary of the SACC, Mr Dan Vaughan, said: "That the SADF should act as judge and executioner against any South African is reprehensible in the extreme."

"That it should do so in a neighbouring territory with whom we are not at war is an act not only of aggression and violence but of utter folly, destabilising to the entire sub-continent."

Sapa also reports from Johannesburg that the United Democratic Front has condemned the raid.

A statement said: "This clearly illustrates the aggressive and insensitive policies of the South African regime towards its neighbours."

"We send sympathies to the people of Botswana and their Government and also to those

whose loved ones have either perished or sustained injuries.

"We ask the people of Botswana not to be deterred in their support for all those who are disadvantaged and who had sought refuge in their country."

● The Argus Foreign Service in London reports that Mr Mike Terry, executive secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, has called on the British Government to respond immediately by taking "effective action" against South Africa.

In a statement, Mr Terry said the raid into Gaborone was further evidence that South Africa had abandoned the pretence of a policy of peaceful relations with its neighbours.

He said: "This attack is really an act of reprisal against Botswana because of its refusal to surrender its sovereignty by entering into a so-called peace treaty with South Africa."

Cardinal to take part in 'peace festival'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Internationally recognised Brazilian cleric and human rights fighter Cardinal Paulo Arns will launch the End Conscription Campaign's "Peace Festival" in Johannesburg this month.

Cardinal Arns of Sao Paulo heads the largest Roman Catholic archdiocese in the world. He rose to international prominence as an outspoken opponent of the military junta which released its 20-year hold over Brazil only last year.

The Cardinal led millions of Catholics in peaceful protest action against the torture practices of the security forces.

The festival, which opens with the Cardinal addressing a public meet-

ing on June 28, aims to focus attention on militarisation in South Africa and promote widespread discussion on ways of pursuing peace.

Mrs Carol Tongue, a British Labour Party representative to the European Parliament and supporter of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, will also take part in the three-day programme of public meetings, workshops, seminars and presentations of drama, music and poetry.

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu; the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude; and Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference president Archbishop Denis Hurley will participate in the festival's final meeting.

18/6/85
Star (Africa)

Activist cardinal to speak at rally

by
Jo-Anne Collinge

Star (Africa) 22/6/85
Turbulent priests, a familiar feature on the South African political landscape, command even greater recognition in Latin America.

And one of the most prominent, Brazilian Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns, is about to arrive in Johannesburg.

He will be here next week at the invitation of the End Conscription Campaign to address a mass rally, part of a three-day "Peace Festival", at Johannesburg's University of the Witwatersrand.

Vilified by the military junta which ruled Brazil between 1964 and 1984, followed into protest action by millions of his countrymen and recognised as a human rights advocate by Western leaders, the 63-year-old São Paulo cardinal heads the largest Catholic archdiocese in the world.

Regarded as a "communist in a cassock" by the former military government, the cardinal describes his position a little differently.

"The church's foremost mission in the option for change is to establish the truth and to seek justice," he has said.

"It must help train Christian communities to seek their own solutions and encourage universities, research institutes and others to seek alternatives that are neither capitalist nor communist," he added.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Cardinal Arns's concern with torture and the fate of political detainees began in 1971 with the detention of an Italian priest and his assistant in São Paulo.

The two, involved in programmes for workers, were never charged — but they were allegedly brutally tortured at police headquarters.

The cardinal's response was to call together the priests of his archdiocese — which comprises eight bishops, 2 100 diocesan priests and about 4 000 other religious.

The outcome of their discussions on torture was a strongly worded document on the church's commitment to social justice.

Resistance to the excesses of the secret police was to lead to threats to the life of Cardinal Arns.

At the same time there was increasing Government censorship of his paper, *O Sao Paulo*, and a concerted defamation campaign.

In 1975, following the death in detention of distinguished journalist Vladimir Herzog, 8 000 people defied the military regime and rallied to Cardinal Arns's call to a Mass in São Paulo Cathedral. In addition two million Catholics in the city went on a 24-hour fast.

Cardinal Arns has also been closely associated with workers' movements, actively supporting the sustained metalworkers' strike of 1979 — the first major strike in Brazil in nearly 15 years.

Protest at army draft

LONDON. *Observer 23/6/85*

from ALLISTER SPARKS in Johannesburg

OPPOSITION to military conscription is growing in South Africa as a result of the Government's use of the army to help quell unrest in the black townships.

Laurence Nathan, 25, national organiser of the End Conscription Campaign, which was formed a year ago, reports that there has been a surge of support for the organisation since the first troops were deployed in Sebokeng township, south of Johannesburg, last October.

"It has been quite phenomenal," Nathan said last week. "When we began, there was little interest, but since the troops began operating in the townships, we have been so overwhelmed with inquiries that we can hardly cope."

The campaign has organised a 'peace rally' next weekend at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University.

It will be the first public demonstration of opposition to compulsory military service by white South Africans in this militarised society where the 'troopies,' fresh out of school, are regarded as young national heroes defending their country against Communist invaders on 'the border' — the emotive name given to the bush country of northern Namibia where they have been skirmishing for 20 years with guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

The young men have to do an initial period of two years in the Defence Force on leaving high school or university, followed by 720 days' service spread over 12 years.

This gives South Africa a citizen force of 800,000 that can be mobilised to defend the white laager against its 'Communist' enemies.

It is a big chunk out of a young man's life, but until now

few have complained. This is partly because military service has been glamorised, partly because of the pressures of an obsessively patriotic society, and partly because the penalties for conscientious objection are among the severest in the world, with six years' imprisonment for those who object on political grounds.

Most of those who have refused military service have been Jehovah's Witnesses, who, as religious objectors, are allowed to do 'community service' in a Government department instead.

According to the End Conscription Campaign, an average of about 3,000 young men have dodged the draft each year by going abroad.

Nathan says the figure rocketed to 7,500 last January, after the army had been deployed for the first time in the black townships.

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END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)

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