# A4. 7.3 END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

P.O. Box 537 Kengray 2100 Phone: 836-8423 Fax: 834-3189

#### 5/4/91

Dear Mr. Heyns,

Thank you for your letters of 12/12/90 and 22/3/91 with regard to the President's Council's investigation into an ethical code of conduct for South African political parties.

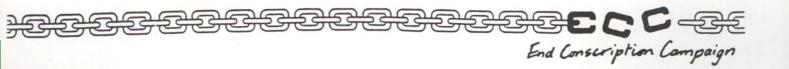
Your request for participation was discussed at our National Executive meeting in March 1991. It was decided that the End Conscription Campaign would not be able to participate because we feel that this investigation falls outside our brief. We regard ourselves as a human rights group rather than a political party and we are only concerned with the issues of conscription and militarisation in South Africa.

We appreciate the invitation and would be happy to participate in any other President's Council investigation provided that it was directly linked to our issues.

Yours sincerely,

Non hang

Nan Cross, ECC National Secretary.



12 April 1991

The General Secretary

Dear Comrades

We hope that by now you have received the joint discussion paper on 'Building the Youth Front'. The paper is the work of the joint committee set up by the last Seminar on 1 March 1991 on the Youth Front.

Part of the mandate of the committee was to convene a follow-up Seminar to discuss the process and programme of the Youth Front. Section B of the discussion paper deals with these issues and we suggest that the paper be used as a basis for the discussions. We would also like your organisation to give consideration to the issue of at what point we will be able to make decisions on the process and start it.

The proposed date for the follow-up Seminar is: Date: 19 April 1991 Time: 12h00 - 15h00 Venue: ANC Youth League Board Room Agenda: 1. Programme and Process - building the Youth Front 2. Report on processes in different organisations. 3. Way Forward

Participation at the Seminar will be the same as the previous one, ie 5 per organisation. Please confirm your participation.

Yours in struggle

Joint Committee on Youth Front

4.7.3

# African National Congress Youth League 49 Jorrisen Street, Devonshire House 8th Floor Breamfontein PO Box 6259 Johannesburg, 2 000



Tel. (011) 403-3452 Fax. (011) 403-2009

DISPARCAL 9 APR 1991	
DATE:ECC	
ATTENTION: 1, Roddy Paine	
FROM: ANC Youth League - PMS	
REF: Félipé Polyieter	
RE: Youth Front Discussions	
NUMBER OF PAGES: <u>8 include</u> cover:	
MESSAGE: D. Find enclosed joint paper on Yourn Fro	
D. We are proposing a new date for the next Seminar. Will Friday. 19 April 190	
at 12 hoo - 15 hoo suit you. Please reply and also suggest agenda. Main hours on sec	as soon possible
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# ENI DI ANC TOUTH LEAGUE

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#### Agenda

- 1. The All Party Congress and the Patriotic Front
- 2. Building the Youth Front (pane))
  - a. Religious youth and Alliances (YCS)
  - b. The Student Movement and Alliances (Nusas/Sansco)
  - c. Building the Youth League (ANCYL)
- 3. The Way Forward

#### PRESENT:

ANC Youth League PNYS, NCFS, YCS, Sansco, Nusas, ANC Youth League PWY region, Suca.

#### 1. OBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL SEMINAR ON THE YOUTH FRONT

The ANC Youth League who convened the seminar outlined its objectives as follows:

a. To begin the discussions amongst progressive youth organisations on the need, objectives and nature of the Youth Front

b. to out of the seminar draft a joint discussion paper to be circulated within the structures of all participatory organisations.

#### 2. BUILDING THE YOUTH FRONT

a. <u>Religious Youth and Alliances</u> : Young Christian Students

I will use the word church, but not only in the context of the Christian religion; this is a recognition of the fact that there is a <u>temple</u> for Hindus, <u>mosque</u> for Muslims, <u>synagogue</u> for Jews, etc.

What we have in common, however, is that all of us strive for God's Kingdom meaning values like a common humanity, justice, peace and sharing.

#### Religion as a Sector

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Religion and the church is not removed from is context of society, and therefor the contradictions in sciety manifest themselves in the church as well. It has its own identifiable set of relationships, practices and ideologies, its reflective of broader society.

Religious institutions operate mainly (but not cclusively) on an ideological terrain. It shapes peoples proeptions of society and how they fit into society. It attents to provide its adherents with a comprehensive set of symbols and practises which attemps to make sense of the total life process. Because religion is part of broader sciety, this is often co-opted inot the service of dominant ciss or social group in order to bolster and perpetuate ther control of society. It also often functions in a way tht enables the reproduction, in symbolic f orm of the deinant power relations which exist in society. It goes with saying that this alliance with the power elite need not tube the case. the church interest can and do clash with the invrests of the dominant group, especially if it is against the interests of . the majority of society.

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This often causes contradictions for its membrs. So for example, a young churchgoer may in secular organisations experience democratic structures and participation outside of the church, but may have to inside the church subit to strict control through the ecclesiastical hierarchy, depite the fact that the church proclaims a doctrine of justic, equality and the value of persons above systems. In South(frica 77% of our people are religious, but the church or years have justified a system that actively violate the increasts of the majority of its members.

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#### The Church as a site of struggle

In comparison to other sites of struggle like schools, factories, communities, the church has only a relative importance. However, given the fact that a large proportion of our communities are members of the church, any movement for change will have to see the church as a site of struggle and for change. The tals of progressives in the church is therefor to maximise dissent from the cultural to the ideal of liberation. This is our contribution to the overall struggle for liberation.

#### c. Youth in the Church

Firstly, it is our view that it is not the duy of political organisations to start recruiting and mobilising in the church per se, but to make use of already existing progressive youth organisations in the church like Al Jihad, YCS, Jews for Justices, Suca, etc. Youth in the church have an interest in promoting:

- non-racilaism and democracy
- minimise submission and maximise libration
- hasten the development of authentic African leadership in the church
- promote a positive image of a transformed church
- acknowledge and deepen the liberation role of the church.

It is very important for the ANC Youth League to keep dynamic contact with different religious formations, escpecially those who hold a tradition of resistance against apertheid and have fought side by side with the Congress movement.

#### 3. THE YOUTH FRONT AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

#### a. An assessment of the Youth Summit

Nusas and Sansco, alongside with Sayco, Josas and YCS established what became known as the Youth Summit in 1988. At first it took the form of sporadic national meetings, but in 1989 regional summits began to be established. These worked to varying degrees in different regions. The objective of the summit at this point was to draw together the core formations of progressive youth so as to coordinate activites and strenthen organisation weaken by repression. A further objective was the creation of a Youth Front which would unite the broadest possible groupings of youth around common perspectives and activites. The aim of such a front was the extension of the influence of progressive forces to unorganised and "middle ground" youth. This front was never established due to the inability of the national and regional summits to advance to this point. A debate often occured on whether the priority was to build the core forces in the Youth Summit or to set up the Youth Front. The Summits spend a lot of time defining their roles and formulate programmes, the most successfull one those around the defince campaign in 1989 and June 16. The Summits however never reached beyond the REC's to local leves. It did however played an important role in setting up the provisional structures of the ANC Youth League.

This assessment needs to be borne in mind when we are to advance the Youth Front initiative today.

#### b. The demands of the current period

We are involved in a new ara in the historupf our struggle where important challenges face our movement. We need to adapt our traditional strategies and tactics to meet the challenges of a negotiations climate so as to ensure that the final thrust of struggle ushers in a true non-racial democracy in our country. To this end we need to strenthen democratic organisation and take forward a clear programme of mass action.

This programme needs to involve the broadest number of democratic forces so as to unite all those who stand to gain from the eradication of apartheid, to extend the influence of the liberation movement and to maximise the succes of this programme.

The climate also demands that we begin the process of reconstruction and reconciliation with the objective of involving the whole society in the programme of eventual, total transformation of our society.

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The youth in particular, have a critical role to play in this period our struggle where strategic clarity and revolutionary direction are urgently needed.

#### c. The building of the Student Movement

Before looking at the building of the Youth Front and the role of students within it, it is neessary to look at the programme of Nusas and Sansco for the building of the student movement.

Sansco and Nusas took a decision at our December Congresses to unite and form a single, non-racial student organisation in July 1991. The new organisation will be a political studetn organisation aligned to the Congress movement. The central taks of the new organisation will be to organise students into the programme of the liberation movement - the transfer of power to the people of South Africa and the transformation of our society in general and our site in particular - providing leadership to students at a tertiary level.

We recognise that this organisation will not immediately involve all students. There are a numer of students on our campusses who fall outside our organisation. These students can be categorised into the following groups:-

- \* student organisations who are part of the progressive student movement and who have often work in close alliance with our organisations, like YCS, Suca, Satisco, Saspu, etc.
- groupings who organise students in the different site of our institutions or around particular student - concers such as faculty codies, cultural groups, etc. These groupings have often sympathised with our programmes or have the potential to be drawn into programmes of common concern.
- political organisations who may have different political agendas but could be drawn in around common objectives. These include Paso, Azasco, DP Youth, etc.

These organisations needs to be drawn into a broad united student movement and our organisation need to play a leading role in establishing such a movement - a critical task for now and for the future.

#### d. The Youth Front and the Student Movement

The building of the Youth Front is an important task and cannot be seen separate from the building of the core forces of the progressive youth. Student youth are an important sector within the youth and both contribute and benefit from such an initiative.

The core formations of the youth need to come together in convening forums to plan programmes at a national, regional and local level. We also need to research and draw a list of all the possible youht organisations that could form part of such a summit. There are many strategic questions which needs to be answered if such a is to succeed:

\* should the setting up of a broad front be preceded by a patriotic Front type initiative of the youth?

\* should the front be issue-based or brought together on the basis of common principles or objectives?

\* should the Congress forces assume automatic leadership from the start?

\* should this initiative start with a conference or with individual meetings and activities with the different groupings?

We believe that these and other questions can be answered by the groupings here and need to be given urgent attention if we are to retain the initiative in this area.

#### 4. BUILDING THE YOUTH FRONT!

(ANC Youth League discussion paper: Second Draft)

#### 1.0 Introduction

1.1 The strategy of building the broadest possible unity amongst forces which agree with us, even on a minimum programme, is not new to the liberation struggle in our country. As one of the important sectors in the liberation movement, the youth needs to take the responsibility for building unity and broaden the forces for change in our sector. 1.2 The ANC Youth League aims to unite the broadest section of youth to actively participate in the struggle for national liberation and the creation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa. In doing so, our main efforts go to into building and extending the structures of the Youth League, in organising young people where-ever they find themselves.

But we know that there are organisations and structures of which thousands of youth are part of, that we need to engage in our programme. We also know that may not necessarily win them over as members of the Youth League, but we may work together with them on specific issues. Hence the commitment in the draft Constitution of the Youth League:

"to strive for the creation of a National Youth Front" (E.2)

1.3 The need to build unity with other forces is at all times based on the need to address particular issues on the agenda of struggle. These issues will determine the nature of such unity, the objectives and who becomes part of it. In looking at the Youth Front, key areas to define are therefor the Characteristics of a front and its objectives.

#### 2.0 The Tactic of the Front

2.1 A Front, as opposed to an Alliance, is seen as a loose arrangement of forces who has a limited platform (unite around fairly specific issues), with a limited timespan. An Alliance is more politically - and sometimes even ideologically coherent. On the other hand, a Front has a number of political forces that makes up its core, where-as others occupy its periphery.

We therefor define a Front as an ideological loose coalition of forces with mutually accepted and visible objectives at a given historical point in time.

#### 2.2 a Front has as its organisational principles:

- a. independence of organisations in such Front
- b. full participation in the activities of the Front
- c. coordination and consultations on all issues related to the function and mandate of the front.

2.3 A Front compliments but does not replace the need to build organisation of its component parts.

3.1 Fronts may be formed for the following objectives:

a. To galvanise and direct all forces to a strategic objective and to direct the use of all tactical capacity against the common enemy,

b. to neutralisa potential supporters of the enemy,

c. to erode the mass and political base of the enemy,

d. to consolidate the leadership role of the democratic forces,

 to break the communication barriers between organisations and facilitate dissemination of our political beliefs,

f. to strengthen the position of the youth in the struggle and society in general.

3.2 A Front is not an end in itself but a means to an end. It is therefor important that the ANC Youth League clarifies what the objectives of the Youth Front are:

3.3 The ANC Youth League believes that the eradication of apartheid and the creation of a non-racial democracy is in the objective interests of all South African Youth. We would therefor argue that this provides a common platform to unite a broad range of youth:- through the Youth Front engage youth in a programme of eradicating apartheid in all spheres of society: education, health, sports, etc.

3.4 Furthermore, the struggle to rid our country of apartheid have reached a particular stage. Now, more than ever before, the possibility exists for a transition from apartheid to a non-racial democracy. Through engaging them in the Youth Front, we should win over all democratic youth to engage in a programme geared towards the speedy achievement of such a transition that will result in the drafting and adoption of a democratic Constitution.

3.5 Violence have dominate the lives of South Africans for centuries, and has become a distinct feature of this period of transition, reaching enormous proportions. The reasons for the violence are varied and complex. We should strive to commit all democratic forces to work towards ending violence and to address the causes of violence. n

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18/4/91 lear Jon Have spalan to More about this and he will be contacting you - in the hope that one of you can get to the Saminar tomorrow. Non Cross

NT BY: ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

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12 April 1991

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Tel. (011) 403-3452 Fax. (011) 403-2009

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Report of Youth Front Seminar: 1 March 1991

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But we know that there are organisations and structures of which thousands of youth are part of, that we need to engage in our programme. We also know that may not necessarily win them over as members of the Youth League, but we may work together with them on specific issues. Hence the commitment in the draft Constitution of the Youth League:

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#### 2.0 The Tactic of the Front

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#### 3.0 The Objectives of the Youth Front

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b. to neutralise potential supporters of the enemy,

c. to erode the mass and political base of the enemy,

d. to consolidate the leadership role of the democratic forces.

e. to break the communication barriers between organisations and facilitate dissemination of our political beliefs,

f. to strengthen the position of the youth in the struggle and society in general.

3.2 A Front is not an end in itself but a means to an end. It is therefor important that the ANC Youth League clarifies what the objectives of the Youth Front are:

3.3 The ANC Youth League believes that the ensoication of apartheid and the creation of a non-racial democracy is in the objective interests of all South African Youth. We would therefor argue that this provides a common platform to unite a broad range of youth:- through the Youth Front engage youth in a programme of eradicating apartheid in all spheres of society: education, health, sports, etc.

3.4 Furthermore, the struggle to rid our country of spartheid have reached a particular stage. Now, more than ever before, the possibility exists for a transition from apertheid to a non-racial democracy. Through engaging them in the Youth Front, we should win over all democratic youth to engage in a programme geared towards the speedy achievement of such a transition that will result in the drafting and adoption of a democratic Constitution.

3.5 Violence have dominate the lives of South Africans for centuries, and has become a distinct feature of this period of transition, reaching enormous proportions. The reasons for the violence are varied and complex. We should strive to commit all democratic forces to work towards, ending violence and to address the causes of violence. 4.0 An Urgent Task for the Progressive Youth

The building of the Youth Front is an urgent task of all progressive youth of our country. We are on the threshold of change, as the shock troops of society we must rapidly increase the pace of change. Having set our objectives, we must look more seriously at the implementation of this task.

4.1 There are diverse interests and needs amongst even the organised youth of our country. We identify the following as the main categories of youth:

- the working youth
- the student youth
- the unemployed youth
- rural and peasant youth
- professional and intellectual youth

Apart from these categories, there are also other cultural, social and religious categories of youth. The divisions caused by apartheid are also reflected in the different political affiliations of the youth: some are found in organisations which have been part of apartheid institutions whilst others have been part of the liberation forces.

4.2 We have stated above that we believe that our objectives set for the Youth Front can units a broad range of youth organisations. In determining who should be part of the Youth Front should be based on preparedness to work on these issues; it is not our task as the Youth Front to exclude any organisation from the onset, but to be as inclusive as possible on the basis of our objectives.

4.3 The building of the Youth Front is not an event, but a process. It is the responsibility of the Youth League and other progressive youth to ensure that we do groundwork to ensure maximum participation of democratic youth in the Youth Front - from national to regional and local levels.

4.4 In the process of building the Youth Front: should it include meeting with organisations, convening of a youth summit/conference: does the Youth League convenes this or do we set up a convening committee, who should be part of it, who determines its brief? What are the regional and local processes towards a national youth summit?

4.5 The Youth Front must be a unity build in action. What concretely should be the programme of the Youth Front (given our objectives in 3) and how do we implement such a programme? Will each participant implement it in its own structures or do we need Youth Front structures to coordinate this - should this be extended to regional and local levels?

#### 5.0 The Youth Front and the Future

5.1 The ANC Youth League is committed to fight for the general interests and rights of South African youth in the socio-economic and political life of the country. It does so now by mobilising youth to end apartheid. Once a democratic order is established, we will have to rally youth to address the needs of young people, a sector often marginalised when it comes to determining national priorities. Drafting a Youth Declaration or Charter which will involve youth from all walks of life can provide a common platform for young people to make sure that their voices are heard and could serve as a basis for mobilising youth beyond apartheid.

5.2 The front tactic - as said before - is determined by the demands of a particular period. The Youth Front in a democratic South Africa may be differently composed and around different issues.

4. THE WAY FORWARD

4.1 Issues that requires further discussion and debate

1. What is our understanding of the Youth Front in relation to the present Patriotic Front initiative of the ANC?

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YOUTH LEAGUE

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2. What are the objectives of the Youth Front and what is its programme?

3. Now do we develope a Youth Front based on action?

6. What are the different sectors of the youth we want to reach?

The seminar identified the following aims for the Youth Front, but needs to take it further:

a. to win the maximum support around the demand for a Constituent Assembly amongst the youth.

b. develope a programme together with other organisations towards liberation.

 to propogate our policies amongst various sectors of the youth.

#### 4.2 General

A committee was set up to take forward the process. It include reps from the ANC Youth League, Nusas, YCS, Sansco and NCFS.

#### BUILDING THE YOUTH FRONT!

(Discussion Paper of Joint Seminar March 1991: ANC Youth League. Nusas. Sansco. YCS. NCFS, Casa, Suca )

#### 1.0. Introduction

1.1 The strategy of building the broadest possible unity amongst forces which agree with us, even on a minimum programme. Is not new to the liberation struggle in our country. As one of the important sectors in the liberation movement, the youth needs to take the responsibility for building unity and broaden the forces for change in our sector.

1.2 The need to build unity with other forces is at all times based on the need to address particular issues on the agenda of struggle. These issues will determine the nature of such unity, the objectives and who becomes part of it. In looking at the Youth Front, key areas to define are therefor the characteristics of a front and its objectives.

#### Section A Debating the Issues!

#### 2.0 The Tactic of the Front

2.1 A Front, as opposed to an Alliance, is seen as a loose arrangement of forces who has a limited platform (unite around fairly specific issues), with a limited timespan. An Alliance is more politically - and sometimes even ideologically coherent. On the other hand, a Front has a number of political forces that makes up its core, where-as others occupy its periphery.

We therefor define a Front as an ideological loose coalition of forces with mutually accepted and visible objectives at a given historical point in time.

2.2 a Front has as its organisational principles:

- a. independence of organisations in such Front
- b. full participation in the activities of the Front
- c. coordination and consultations on all issues related to the function and mandate of the front.

2.3 A Front compliments but does not replace the need to build organisation of its component parts.

#### 3.0 The Objectives of the Youth Front

- 3.1 Fronts may be formed for the following objectives:
- a. To galvanise and direct all forces to a strategic objective and to direct the use of all tactical capacity against the common enemy,
- b. to neutralise potential supporters of the enemy.
- c. to erode the mass and political base of the enemy.
- d. to consolidate the leadership role of the democratic forces.
- e. to break the communication barriers between organisations and facilitate dissemination of our political beliefs.
- f. to strengthen the position of the youth in the struggle and society in general.

3.2 A Front is not an end in itself but a means to an end. It is therefor important that we clarifies what the objectives of the Youth Front are:

3.3 We believe that the eradication of apartheid and the creation of a non-racial democracy is in the objective interests of all South African youth. We would therefor argue that this provides a common platform to unite a broad range of youth:-through the Youth Front engage youth in a programme of eradicating apartheid in all spheres of society: education, health, sports, etc.

3.4 Furthermore, the struggle to rid our country of apartheid have reached a particular stage. Now, more than ever before, the possibility exists for a transition from apartheid to a nonracial democracy. Through engaging them in the Youth Front, we should win over all democratic youth to engage in a programme geared towards the speedy achievement of such a transition that will result in the drafting and adoption of a democratic Constitution.

3.5 Vielence have dominate the lives of South Africans for centuries, and has become a distinct feature of this period of transition, reaching enormous proportions. The reasons for the violence are varied and complex. We should strive to commit all democratic forces to work towards ending violence and to address the causes of violence.

#### 4.0 An Urgent Task for the Progressive Youth

The building of the Youth Front is an urgent task of all progressive youth of our country. We are on the threshold of change, as the shock troops of society we must rapidly increase the pace of change. Having set our objectives, we must look more seriously at the implementation of this task.

4.1 There are diverse interests and needs amongst even the organised youth of our country. We identify the following as the main categories of youth:

- the working youth
- the student youth
- the unemployed youth
- rural and peasant youth
- professional and intellectual youth

Apart from these categories, there are also other cultural, social and religious categories of youth. The divisions caused by apartheid are also reflected in the different political affiliations of the youth: some are found in organisations which have been part of apartheid institutions whilst others have been part of the liberation forces.

4.2 We have stated above that we believe that our objectives set for the Youth Front can unite a broad range of youth organisations. In determining who should be part of the Youth Front should be based on preparedness to work on these issues; it is not our task as the Youth Front to exclude any organisation from the onset, but to be as inclusive as possible on the basis of our objectives.

4.3 The building of the Youth Front is not an event, but a process. It is the responsibility of the progressive youth to ensure that we do groundwork to ensure maximum participation of democratic youth in the Youth Front - from national to regional and local levels.

4.4 The Youth Front must be a unity build in action. We can only hope to mobilise thousands of young people into the Youth Front on the basis of a programme that will involve the mass of our youth on the basis of their interests.

#### 5.0 The Youth Front and the Future

14

5.1 We are committed to fight for the general interests and rights of South African youth in the socio-economic and political life of the country. We do so now by mobilising youth to end apartheid. Once a democratic order is established, we will have to rally youth to address the needs of young people, a sector often marginalised when it comes to determining national priorities. Drafting a Youth Declaration or Charter which will involve youth from all walks of life can provide a common platform for young people to make sure that their voices are heard and could serve as a basis for mobilising youth beyond apartheid.

5.2 The front tactic - as said before - is determined by the demands of a particular period. The Youth Front in a democratic South Africa may be differently composed and around different issues.

#### Section B Towards a Programme!

Having outlined the general political considerations in building the Youth League, we will in this section raise the issues around a practical programme of building the Youth Front.

1. Priorities for the Youth movement in this phase

As stated before, we are at a particular juncture in the history of struggle. In this phase we identifies three main priorities for the youth movement, as well as the democratic movement as a whole:

1.1 The possibilities today exist for a peaceful transition to a non-racial democracy through negotiations. However, the regime also enters into negotiations with set objectives. Our task therefor is to ensure that the process of the transition is democratic and takes place speedily.

1.2 This period of transition is marked with violence of immense proportions. It is the task of the youth to ensure that the climate for lasting peace is created, by increase its contribution to bring about the end of apartheid, unify our people and struggle for the creation of a climate of peace.

1.3 We must sow the seeds for the process of fundamental transformation of our country now. This means intensifying our struggle for the democratisation of all spheres of society, addressing the inequalities caused by apartheid. We must be involved in shaping our future.

BY: ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

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#### 2. Objectives

Therefor. In the building the Youth Front in this phase, we should aim to:-

2.1 Extend our influence over youth in the middle ground: ie youth in various non-political formations, and middle ground political groupings

2.2 break communication barriers between ourselves and other anti-apartheid youth organisations, disseminate our political beliefs:

2.3 building a united front of youth committed to a non-racial democracy and to mobilise them for liberation. In doing so.

2.4 we must engage them in a programme of action to bring about a democratic transition:

2.5 mobilise youth to work actively to end the violence in the oppressed communities:

2.6 involve youth in united action to transform different spheres of society, is education, sport, etc.

2.6 build the unity of the youth as a basis for broader unity of our people.

3. How broad must we go, what structure and programme?

We have stated above that we should aim to be as inclusive as possible. Our suggestion is that

3.1 in the initial phase the youth Front should be build around issues rather than on a set of principles, and

3.2 should be so loosely structured as to allow for organisations to come in on issues they feel comfortable to do so: for example we may be able to include all organisations around a programme on the education crisis, but not on other issues or Inkhata Youth Brigade may hypothetically want to participate on a programme to end violence, but not to be part of demanding a Constituent Assembly, etc.

SAYCO→

3.3 As to a Programme, the Violence is clearly one issue that will have in fact have a bearing on all other processes that are going on at the moment. The Youth Front as part of a strategy to bring about peace in our communities have great potential.

3.4 This however does not preclude the Youth Front in the shortterm from tackling other issues of the day, issues linked to the negotiations and specific issues facing youth, eg education, crime, health education (Aids) etc.

#### 4. Suggestions for a Process

For the sake of clarity, the suggested processes can be divided into two categories, namely

- those relating to the core of the Youth Front
- (fraternal organisations) and:
- extending to other organisations.

4.1 The Seminar initiated by the ANC Youth League on O1\03\91 where fraternal youth organisations were present made the following recommendations:

- a. for the drafting of this joint discussion paper to be distributed for discussions in all participating organisations, at national, regional and local levels
- b. discussions at a national level should continue about the processes of building the Youth Front.
- c. a further recommendation by the committee that drafted this paper was for a national workshop that would include reps from regions of organisations to take decisions on the process.
- d. this process to include similar discussions between fraternal organisations at regional and local levels.
- e. participating organisations should appoint specific people in their organisations to work on the Youth Front Initiative.

4.2 The participants at different levels had and are having contact with youth organisations. This should continue and

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4.3 We should work towards a National Youth Summit that should include the broadest range of youth organisations. This is an initiative for which preparations should begin at the earliest possible date. The national workshop suggested above is therefor a priority.

The main purpose of the Youth Summit should be to come out with a Programme of Action around specific issues. The national workshop should also luentity the issues and look at practical arrangements for a process towards the YS. This should include resources for the initiative.

# END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

P.O. Box 537 Kengray 2100 Phone: 836-8423 Fax: 834-3189

Our com

June 10 1991

Mrs Tiaan van der Merwe 9 Main Drive Three Anchor Bay Cape Town 8001.

Dear Mrs van der Merwe,

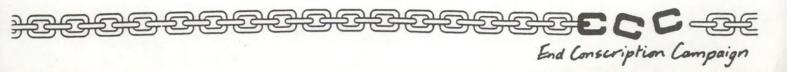
I write on behalf of the members of the End Conscription Campaign to convey to you our deep sympathy on the sudden and shocking death of your husband.

You will no doubt have been told by many people how sadly he will be missed in many areas of work, and this applies also to the issue of conscription into the SADF. We know that in him ECC had a sympathetic ear and a voice that was always willing to speak out for a cause that he believed in, and against the abuse of power within the ranks of the security forces.

To you personally and your family we can only say that we feel with you in your great loss.

Yours sincerely

Nan Cross National worker



# END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

P.O. Box 537 Kengray 2100 Phone: 836-8423 Fax: 834-3189

April 19 1991

Nelda Thelin Mennonite Central Committee P.O.Box 174 Umtata Transkei

File. C. WATA ECC Med

Dear Nelda,

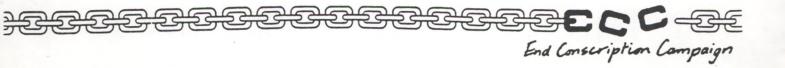
Visit of Mennonite volunteers to Johannesburg in September.

This is to confirm that since our telephone conversation of last week I have seen William Smith of the SACC. He will organise the booking of a conference room for the group at Khotso House on Tuesday 3rd and Wednesday 4th September, and probably also a visit to Soweto or one of the other townships/squatter camps. He has also diarised your visit to Johannesburg on April 30 so should be available for consultation with you then. (But it might be advisable for you to confirm this in advance by phone, 011 832-3540 or fax 011 492-1448)

I look forward to meeting you on April 30, and will be discussing with Mandy the contribution which ECC can make to the programme for the volunteers.

Yours sincerely

Nan Cross ECC national worker.





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A Christian resource for meeting human need

Mennonite Central Committee

Southern Africa Regional Office P.O. Box 33 Gaborone Botswana

Telephone: 351090 Telex: 2345 Both BD

1 March, 1991

Mandy Taylor, End Conscription Campaign, Khotso House, 62 Marshall Street, Marshalltown, Johannesburg 2001, South Africa.

Dear Mandy,

Greetings! I am writing to ask whether you can help me once again in orienting a group of Mennonite workers coming to the region in the next few months. As you know, we have been trying to help new workers coming to Southern Africa from North America understand some of the dynamics of South African society, as what happens in South Africa certainly has repercussions for other countries in the region.

A fairly large group of Mennonite workers (as many as 19) will be in the Johannesburg area from 2 to 7 September for such an orientation. These are people who are involved in volunteer assignments in Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho. They will be working in the fields of development, agriculture, health care, and education. I am writing to a number of organizations or people asking whether they might be able to meet with them, including yourselves at ECC, the SACC, the ICT, the NECC, and the Black Sash. Any other suggestions from you would also be appreciated.

Would it be possible for this group to meet with someone from the ECC at some time during that week, to hear from you about militarization and conscription in South Africa and the work of the ECC? A few years ago this was done as a panel discussion and proved to be very interesting to the workers who attended. A similar format would be very nice, though it would also be helpful to meet with you or others at your office sometime during one of the days of 2 to 7 September. Most of these workers will be quite new to the region and although they will have done some reading, this will be for many a beginning in learning about South Africa beyond popular Western media interpretations.

I realize that this is early to get such a meeting into your schedule, but am starting early because I will be returning to work in North America in April. Nelda Thelin, who works with MCC in the Eastern Cape (Transkei and Ciskei) region, will be following up and finalizing the schedule for the orientation tour. You can correspond with her at P.O. Box 174, Umtata, Transkei, or she can be reached by phone by leaving a message with the Isaac family at (0471) 2350376. She will be in touch with you closer to the time of this tour to make final arrangements.

Thanks in advance for any help you can give us in this matter. We feel that it is important to help North Americans understand the dynamics of South African society at this time of flux and change, and value your help in doing this.

Yours sincerely,

Judy Judy Zimmerman Herr, MCC Regional Coordinator

cc: Nelda Thelin

11/4/91. Phone-call from Nelda Thelin in Umbate (contact no 0471 350376). she will be in Jhb on April 30 to see people & make arrangements for the group - work a conf. room in Khobso House for Two 3 & wed & Sept. (William Smith of SACC will argonize)

# END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

P.O. Box 537 Kengray 2100 Phone: 836-8423 Fax: 834-3189

April 19 1991

Kevin McManus 34 Florence Road Observatory 7925

Dear Kevin

Possible Questions for the DP in Parliament

The following is a rough draft which can be worked on by Cape Town ECC or the DP  $% \left( {\left[ {{{\rm{TOW}}} \right]_{\rm{TOW}}} \right)$ 

1. Questions on the van Loggerenberg Committee report

1.1. It seems to be generally accepted that the van Loggerenberg Committee appointed by Magnus Malan in 1989 has completed its report in regard to the "manpower needs" of the SADF. What are the findings with regard to the future of the present system of military conscription?

1.2. Is the report of the committee to be published or alternatively to be made available to members of parliament?

1.3. Will there be an opportunity to discuss the findings of the report in the Defence debate this year? If not, why not?

1.4. Whether the report is made available or not, when will the recommendations with regard to conscription come into effect?

2. Questions on prosecutions under the Defence Act.

These questions arise as it seems that there is a steady stream of prosecutions taking place in Magistrates courts on conscription-related issues (e.g. at least nine cases were set down for the week 8 - 15 April 1991 in the Johannesburg magistrates court and there may well have been more). The charges are: Failure to notify change of address, Failure to report for service (either natonal service or camps), Failure to register for national service, Refusal to serve. Other cases, such as being Absent Without Official Leave (AWOL) are probably dealt with at courts martial, and some of the "offences" mentioned above may also be dealt with internally.

Since the Minister of Defence has steadfastly refused to answer questions about the number of conscripts failing to report, it may be useful to try this approach:

2.1 How many prosecutions have taken place over the last year on charges of Failing to Report for service in the SADF?

End Conscription Compaign

and how many by courts martial or summary military trial?

2.3 Of the civilian court cases, what is the geographical breakdown of the cases prosecuted?

2.4 What criteria are used in deciding which conscripts should be prosecuted?

2.5 If there are no set criteria, is it left entirely to the discretion of the Military Police in any area to make this decision?

2.6 What are the costs involved in following up and prosecuting conscripts for offences under the Defence Act (including time spent in court by officers of the Military Police)?

This is all very much out of the top of my head, and I know that questions have to be carefully phrased in order to get any meaningful answers (e.g. 2.6 above needs to be differently put). But if you could get something going with the DP in order to raise the whole issue of conscription again at the time of the Defence debate it could be useful both to ECC and to conscripts generally. There is also the question of course about "whites only" conscription in the light of the demise of the Population Registration Act, but I think that may already have been dealt with in an oblique way by Magnus.However it may be worth raising again: naturally any political capital that the DP can make out of the conscription issue they should grab.

Lastly, perhaps a question directly related to Alan Storey
 would be useful, making much of his stand as a Christian pacifist
 and peace worker. Something like the following:
 If the Attorney general decides not to proceed with the
 prosecution of the Revd Alan Storey on a charge of refusing to
 serve in the SADF, does this in effect mean that the laws
 relating to conscription are a dead letter?

Can anything be done with all (or some) of this?

Sem

Nan Cross

If let me know if you need for the information about Alan - either his stand or his present situation.

## END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

Sant by Pax 60 021.418.1337

P.O. Box 537 Kengray 2100 Phone: 836-8423 Fax: 834-3189

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End Conscription Compaign

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Nan Cross

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## END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

P.O. Box 537 Kengray 2100 Phone: 836-8423 Fax: 834-3189

End Conscription Compaign

To: Maggie Patterson, CIIR Fax No: 0944 71 359-0017 From: Nan Cross Date: 25 April 1991 No of pages: 1

Dear Maggie,

Earlier this month I received a telephone call from Trevor Cook of Development and Peace in Canada (he was phoning from the Airport here on his way out), asking about a report back on grants made to ECC "over the last few years". I was somewhat floored by this, having only just taken over the office work from Roddy and certainly not being in a position to cope with such an enquiry. Anyway,he sounded very vague about the whole thing but said he would be seeing you soon and would probably get the info from you.

But this makes me wonder what you would like from me in the way of a report on ECC activities and separate financial report, and when? We are having a national conference on 9-12 May and should be in a good position then to assess what is happening around the country. As far as the C.O. situation goes, the fact that Alan Storey's trial has been postponed to June 17\* while the State makes up its mind whether to prosecute or not, is definitely a step forward in the gradual erosion of the present system of conscription. On May 20, Douglas Torr's case comes up on appeal (he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment on July 31 last year and is currently on bail) and we are waiting to see what will happen then. His and Alan Storey's stands are both Christian pacifist, but Doug's much more anti-SADF political than Alan's. The same advocate is dealing with both cases.

Greetings from Mandy (who suggested that I write to you) and Alastair - I see them both quite often.

Yours,

Nan Cross National office worker.

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\*Clipping attached.

# END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

P.O. Box 537 Kengray 2100 Phone: 836-8423 Fax: 834-3189

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Nan Cross National office worker.

\*Clipping attached.

File DAFA Eccleria



End Conscription Compain

04-30-91 13:35



Catholic Institute for International Relations 22 Coleman Fields London NI 7AF, UK

Telephone 01-354 0883 Telex 21118 CIIR G Fax 01-359 0017 EMAIL : (POPTEL) GEO2:CIIR

30 April 1991

Nan Cross National office worker End Conscription Campaign

Lear Nan,

Thank you for your letter. It was good to have news of ECC. Regarding Trevor's call. I think the vaguonoss was over the type of reports required - CCODP have had narrative reports from us about ECC over the past years which they received with each funding application. However, these did not mention specific contributions, for obvious reasons. However, we have the financial records of receipts and transfers, so we will prepare

However, what I do need to go with this (3 whatever you have in terms of your own financial reports. These I can send with ours. I would also appreciate receiving whatever you are preparing for your May conference in the way of activity/financial reports etc.

The position as I understand it now is that ECC will do whatever fundraising it needs to do direct. CIIR therefore needs to ficially explain to funders what the situation is, how the Lunding is being organised (Jacaranda Trust?) and that we are no longer involved. We have already written to them to say we are no longer involved, but presumably, like CCODP, they would all

Good luck with your conference, and love to Mandy and Al.

All the best,

Maggie

Maggie Paterson Southern Africa Desk



- General Secretary lan Linden

12:52

# END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

P.O. Box 537 Kengray 2100 Phone: 836-8423 Fax: 834-3189

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\*Clipping attached.



APR 24 '90 15:39 UCT FUND NEW YORK

INTERIM COMMITTEE ON CONSCRIPTION ISSUE NEW YORK 23 APRIL 1990

P.01

TEMPORARY FAX: (212) 737-8645 MANDY TAYLOR 091 COSG JOHANNESBURG. Dear Mandy Were forcing you a copy of our first meeting's minutes Please address the issues in section 4 (ii) of the minutes (on page 3) 4(11) a) as requested in minutes b.) With regard to mailing lists - whatever you think would be appropriate; probably organisations inside and outside S.M., and individuals outside S.A., esp. in the U.S. c) Were asked COSAWR for this information. d.) Clease review the objectives of our group (as outlined in section 3 of the minutes, on pages 1-2), and give Coscis suggestion as to whether we should remain indep endent, or whether we should become a branch of / affiliated to another organisation thould costive be that organisation ? Please pass our minutes/requests on to EC Cfor a response (though we what we understand, they may be imable to respond at the moment). We wish you well in your ongoing work, and hope to hear from you as soon as possible (our rest neeting is on Mon april 30 - is it possible by then?). Jonathan Shapiro (for 10001).

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Minutes of the First Meeting of the Interim Committee On Conscription Issues (ICOC1)

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#### April 14, 1990 East Harlem, New York City

Attended by: Alexis Bizos, Brahm Fleisch, Dennis Mumble, Di Scott, Jonathan Shapiro, John Saunders, Karina Turok, and Pat Van Heerden.

Chair: Alexi Minutes taken by: Brahm

1) Review Agenda -- Agenda approved without modification.

2) <u>Introduction</u> -- Alexi gave a brief overview of how the idea got started, and his connection with the Huddleston International Register (HIR) and the Committee on South African war. Resisters (COSAWR). Alexi is a signatory to the HIR. Alexi had also had discussions with John on a need for organization in the US.

3) <u>Purpose of the Group</u> -- Alexi and John proposed the first three objectives listed on the next page. It was agreed that a possible additional purpose of the establishment of the organization was to provide a forum for greater communication and dissemination of information to the SA community in the US in respect to conscription issues. This will facilitate debate, and be a home for heretofore isolated individuals. The needs of some individuals to remain anonymous for personal-political reasons was discussed. Also discussed were the Ambiguous reasons why some South Africans left and are still leaving, i.e. to study, but not necessarily publicly articulating their resistance to conscription. This raises problems for the HIR. This led into discussion of the larger question about the need for cooperation with other objector groups and the need for the formation of a group with a broad and popular nature in the US.

Pat stressed the need for coordination with the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) and other organizations in the UK and SA especially COSWR.

Jonathan proposed adopting an ECC position that incorporates a wide range of political and committed positions, including pacifists and non-pacifists, public and non-public objectors, and even those that chose for various reasons to serve. <u>CONSENSUS</u> was reached that the group will adopt the ECC line accepting both pacifists and non-pacifists.

Alexi reiterated the need for strong ties with ECC and COSWR. He raised the issue of ties with the ANC. Need to continuously raise

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and work with the ANC on the question of conscription, but not direct affiliation. Jonathan raised the issue of the need to clarify the position of the new organization. Would membership of ECC or COSWR mean automatic membership of new organization, should individuals join in or outside the country? The question of structure and affiliation resurfaced as underlying issues to be addressed.

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Two broad groupings would be involved in the organization, those individuals who would like to become signatories to the HIR, and those that supported but not ready or able to sign, including spouses and persons connected in some way to conscripts. Di raised the overall political purpose of an organization like this, to bring South Africans in exile into the movement. Alexi noted that it did not make sense to make any distinction between signatories and non-signatories to the HIR, committed and nonpolitically interested individuals. John argued for a broad organization that could function as a network and fulfill diverse roles for South Africans in the US, especially those affected by conscription. Pat reminded the group that the primary purpose should remain the focus on getting people to become signatories to the HIR.

Alexi reiterated the objectives of a new organization:

- a) Membership drive for the Huddleston International Register
- b) Campaign for the right to asylum in US
  - Congress
  - Work with anti-apartheid groupings in the US towards this aim
- c) Support network for incoming resisters
  - legal
  - financial
  - accommodation
  - career
  - social
- d) <u>Create a forum for ongoing information dissemination</u> and debate around conscription issues to reach a broader base of South Africans living around the US.

The objectives were adopted by <u>CONSENSUS</u>.

Di suggested that the ongoing forum [d)] might be connected in some way with the monthly town meetings organized by the Mandela Reception Committee and its sponsor organizations. In this way there would be opportunities for integration with other organizations.

Alexi made a call for subcommittees for specific tasks to fulfill our objectives. These are discussed under the next item on the agenda. APR 24 '90 ... AO UCT FUND NEW YORK

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#### 4) Structures and Strategies

i) <u>Subcommittee to Identify Future Members</u> (referred to in the meeting as the Task Force on Populations)

Subcommittee Members: Alexi, John, and Brahm

The task of the subcommittee is to prepare two written reports:

- Preliminary informal research among acquaintances about issues and needs of South African exiled conscripts.
- b) Develop a plan for systematic research on South African conscripts in the US.
- <u>Subcommittee on Organizations</u> (Formerly Task Force on Organizations)

Subcommittee Members: Jonathan, Pat and Alexi

The task of the subcommittee is to communicate with various organizations, i.e., ECC, COSWR and the War Resisters League (WRL). Specific information will be requested of each organization:

- a) Other useful organizations in the US to contact.
- b) Literature, constitution and mailing lists.
- c) Issues of confidentiality, e.g., information relating to signatories of HIR.
- assess the feasibility of affiliation or becoming a branch of organization.

Jonathan to communicate with ECC, Alexi with COSWR and WRL. Written reports about the outcome of these conversations will be tabled at the next meeting of ICOCI for discussion. Reports will outline possible courses of action to be adopted.Dennis agreed to prepare report on ANCs political analysis on various organizations.

#### iii) Postal Address and Administrative Support

In the discussion of postal address and administrative support for ICOCI it became clear that an approach to WRL for support was not our only option. Possible problems with it were raised. The group decided to explore other possible options including:

a. American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and Radical

- History Review (RHR) -- Pat
- b. Non-affiliation -- John
- c. Church -- Brahm
- d. WRL -- Alexi

A short written statement on each will be drafted for presentation at next meeting. Based on these reports a decision will be made about administrative structures.

#### 5) Other Issues

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Fiscal Agreed to hold over questions of funding till next meeting. John offered to take care of accounting for organization and float \$50 to cover any costs. Alexi agreed to make inquiries at the UN Special Committee on Apartheid in respect to financial support for ICOCI.

Legal The issue of the legal status of the organization was raised. Dennis and John agreed to look into possible nonprofit status for the organization. Will look to the National 1 w evs Guild for support.

 $N_i$   $\cap$  Interim Committee on Conscription Issues (ICOCI) agreed to by <u>CONSENSUS</u>. Possible changes in future depending on affiliation and/or structure of the group.

Publicity CONSENSUS on the need to reach out to other individuals with a possible interest in ICOCI.

Therefore:

- as many interested individuals as possible in New York Metropolitan Area will be invited to our next meeting
- b) the minutes of our first meeting will be distributed to the ECC, COSWR, WRL and other interested individuals or parties.

6) <u>Next Mealing</u> East Harlem, <del>3:30 prm., Saturday April 28</del>, 1990. 7.30 pm Monday April 30

- <u>TO:</u> Jonathan Shapiro Interim Committee on Conscription Issues Fax No: (212) 7378645
- FROM: Mandy Taylor ECC National Worker Fax No: (011) 8366931

Date: 30 -04-1999

Dear Jonathan,

Firstly to send the members of ICOCI greetings and good wishes from ECC and COSG. The people who have had a chance to read the minutes of your first meeting have all expressed great excitement at the new initiative.

I have circulated copies of the minutes to the 10 ECC branches, asking for their response, particularly on the question of affiliation. COSG has a national meeting scheduled for this coming weekend, and the issues will be raised there as well.

COSAWR in London, have recently raised the possibility of COSAWR closing down and ECC taking over their London office. This question will be discussed at the ECC National Conference which will be happening from 24 - 27 May, 1990. We are hoping that a COSAWR person might be present to assist us in that discussion. Our response to ICOCI with regard to affiliation, or becoming a branch of COSAWR or ECC, will be dependent on that discussion with COSAWR.

Accordingly, we won't be able to give any definitive response to your requests until after our national conference. In the meantime, I will be posting an update on SA war resistance issues to you. From that you will note that ECC is back on the road and is again becoming the central organisation in this sphere, with organisations like COSG becoming more specialised in their concerns. For the groups interest, David Bruce is out on bail and his matter has been set down in the Jhb Magistrates Court for 18 May, for resentencing. Charles Bester has opted not to apply for bail at this stage. An application to extend the recent Appeal Court judgement to him, is underway. May sees four objector trials coming up, so life here will be hectic. In addition, ECC will be taking up the issue of CCB death squads.

\* If you would like a copy of the USA section of our local mailing lists, please let me know.

\* May I suggest that you keep in touch with COSAWR, particularly on the question of exiled objectors returning publically and in a group, to SA.

\* If you have further suggestions, information, etc. that could usefully feed into our national conference discussions, please let me have that before 24th May.

Lots of good wishes to you and the rest of the group.

Mandy Taylor

Box 174 Umtata, Transkei 20th May, 1991

Nan Cross ECC National Worker End Conscripton Campaign P.O. Box 537 Kengray 2100

#### Dear Nan,

I appreciated meeting you a few weeks ago when I was in Johannesburg to make arrangements for a Learning Tour. This is an exposure for about 20 North Americans who are working in other Southern African Countries under the auspices of different North American Mennonite Church Agencies.

As you may recall they will be coming to Johannesburg on the 2nd September and will be at Khotso House all day on Tuesday, the 3rd. William Smith and/or Winnie Sibiya with the Ecumenical Visitors Centre will be finalising their schedule for that day. You mentioned that it would be most convenient for you to give some information about the ECC in the afternoon of the 3rd from 2:30 to 4 P.M. We discussed the possibilities of hearing from some of the conscientious objectors, themselves, as well as receiving general information about the history and work of the ECC.

I greatly appreciate your openness to this kind of exposure and your willingess to make the necessary arrangements. Thank you also for your other suggestions and for the use of your telephone. I hope to pop in again on the morning of July 12th.

Yours sincerely,

Velda

Nelda R. Thelin Mennonite Central Committee Representative

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#### **END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)**

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