

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING 1 TO 3 FEBRUARY 1991

EAST LONDON.

MINUTES

APOLOGIES: Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Natal Field Worker.

ABSENT: Bloemfontein.

PRESENT: Johannesburg, Wits, Durban, Durban Campus, UCT, Cape Town, Grahamstown, East London, COSAWR, National Treasurer, National Worker.

FRIDAY

National Committee started at 10:00 pm.

Section 1. Opening

Steering committee was elected with Roddy, Jonny, and Kevin.

Section 2. Regional reports.

Cape Town. See written report.

UCT. Involved in the Cape Town creche and the Safe Return Campaign. Problem of timing of SRC meant that not too much was done on campus. Small group of activists who are not particularly inspired with ECC. A feeling on campus has developed that the issue of conscription is no longer a key concern among students. Looking to NC for some guidance as to how to operate in this period.

East London. See Written Report.

Natal. See Durban Report and Natal Field worker report.

Wits. Small group of activists. Were involved in the SRC though it clashed with exams and holidays. Feeling that ECC can still work at Wits though not necessarily in the form it has operated in the past. Looking to form a committee of interested people.

Johannesburg. See written report.

SATURDAY

Section 3. State of ECC.

Trends in ECC at the moment: Limited membership, lack of motivation and enthusiasm among members, violence in SA is the dominant issue and we don't have a clear response to it, ECC experiencing a lack of focus (should we be simply focusing on conscription and related issues or should we be broadening out to look at wider issues), Returnees have given an injection of enthusiasm and positive input on ECC and its work, and we are still getting very good press particularly in the TvI., in the print media and on the radio.

Question asked as to whether our constituency, particularly our most supportive constituency are still interested in the issue of conscription or whether their attention is now focused on wider concerns.



End Conscription Campaign

Discussion turned to Durban ECC where some success has been made particularly in public events and in the wider focus on violence issues (examples of successes would be the event on Human Rights Day, the war toys campaign, the know your rights campaign and township violence monitoring).

Interest shown in the gains made in real non racial campaigns and the work in township communities. Stems from a realisation that the pure conscription message is too narrow a focus for ECC in the Durban area. Possibility of the ongoing and intense violence in Natal providing an interest base and concern among activists and sections of the general public.

It was stressed that this debate needs to be taken up in latter sections of the agenda. What is clear is that we must establish a clear understanding of ECC and its potential for work in this political climate.

Section 4. Politics in South Africa and the politics of conscription.

a. Politics in SA today. See attached paper.

Discussion.

Have we adapted to the demands of the current political climate?

- Mixed feelings. Some people thought that we had not adapted and were marginalised in our politics and campaigns. We were shying away from addressing the real issues of the day, such as violence, reconciliation, and militarisation. Others thought that we had adapted in that we were developing a political profile that fitted with the climate, such as the SRC and the question of the return of exiles, the issue of policy and debates on the future of the SADF and conscription. The question was not so much had we adapted but could we or can we adapt. ECC may not be designed as an organisation to deal in this current climate beyond the immediate issues of conscription and COs.

get kevs paper.

b. The politics of Conscription.

Discussion was had on the draft paper circulated to the regions before National Committee. In the paper 5 areas of possible, current and potential work were outlined. These were:

- Conscription.
- Reconstruction / Reconciliation.
- Right wing violence and the security forces.
- Transformation of the SADF.
- Rights of COs (post apartheid conscription debate).

Two further areas of work were identified. These were:

- Destabilisation of front line states.
- Militarisation.

General discussion occurred.

- Perceived (and possible actual) reduction in influence of the security establishment in political and civil society.
- With the climate of negotiations, simple protest politics has become more and more unreasonable.
- While there is a sense of fluidity in politics there is also a feeling that conscriptions days are numbered.

However this assumption is not fact.

- Also it is clear that conscription is not an issue high on any of the major political groupings agendas and that there are many reasons being thrown around by the state and elements of the business and liberal communities as to why conscription should be maintained.
- The political climate has effected ECC's ability to make some of its historical call such as Troops Out.
- Clear that ECC needs to secure its position on conscription in a PASA as there does not appear to be uniformity on this issue.

Small group discussion occurred on the seven points outlined above for potential ECC work and campaigns.

1. Conscription.

- Conscription not yet ended, we must still campaign.
- Conscription is the fundamental issue of ECC.
- We need to be looking at other forms of conscription especially in other countries.
- ECC must address the question of whether we are opposed to conscription in a PASA.
 - Some debate occurred on this point. It was agreed that ECC had to develop policy on this issue in the final instance.
- We need to be emphasising the racist nature of conscription as this fits into the politics of De Klerk's reforms and fits into the context of the repeal of the Population Registration Act.
- We need to be addressing the material concern of Citizen force members as well as national service men.

2. Reconstruction and Reconciliation.

- The main thrust of people discussion was that this issue could not be our central focus in and of itself.
- The danger of moving outside ECC's focus was noted.
- We need to recognise that it is a thread that has been running through ECC's work right from the start so we have not and are not necessarily avoiding the issue by not focusing directly on it.
- Other groups can more effectively pick up on this issue that just ECC. We may need to engage these groups in dialogue to encourage them to consider this issue such as ANC Youth League and NSF.

3. The Right wing.

- Difficult issue to deal with i.e how do we cope with "one settler on bullet" calls and attack the right wing at the same time.
- Right Wing violence seems to operate in fits and starts, i.e not a continuous issue interest develops when an act of violence occurs.
- We should still monitor RW actions and particularly their links to the security forces.
- Should support organisations monitoring the RW and exposing their actions.
- Sense that many groups are dealing with this issue and that there is a strong public sense of the problems of the RW.

4. Transformation of the defence force.

- ECC needs to debate this question and related issues even if it is just for internal consumption.
- Potentially important focus for future campaigns.
- ECC should adopt a "position" but recognise that our input on this issue is limited due to our history and the perception that groups hold of us, particularly the SADF.
- It is important that we regard this issue as one that must be made public even if it is simply through writing letters to the press. We must take the debate beyond simply the military establishment. The issue is of equal concern to civilians as it is to military people.
- If ECC does develop policy then it needs to be on a general level looking at principles rather than the nuts and bolts of the issue.

5. Rights of COs / COs and objection.

- Linked into the discussion on the centrality of conscription focus.
- Can see that COs are still a big issue especially in the press.
- We must be giving input into discussions on the formulation of a bill of rights and must link up with COSG in this regard.
- It is important that ECC continues to encourage exiles to return to South Africa. The idea of a letter written by the returned exile group being sent to people over seas was endorsed.
- Debate happened around whether ECC should be calling for people not to serve at the time of the July call up.
- It was agreed that if this call was to be made it should be made by another group and not ECC.
 - ECC must be seen to be supportive of those people who do go into the SADF as we recognise that they have no choice.
- the idea of jailed and future jailed COs making such a call was raised and it was felt that ECC should not discuss their call as it was an issue for them to decide on.

6. Destabilisation.

- No longer appropriate for ECC to take up directly.
- Destabilisation is now very covert and no direct links between the SADF and such acts exist.
- However we must make such information that we do have available to the press and encourage them to write stories on the topic.
- ECC should also support campaigns highlighting the situation in Angola and Mozambique.
- Jhb to collect information.

7. Militarisation.

- While our constitution states that we work to expose and oppose the militarisation of SA society it has been shown that this is a vague and complex concept.
- Important to monitor such developments without necessarily directly campaigning around them.

Section 5. The state of ECC.

Key objectives of ECC were brainstormed and identified. These were:

- Campaigning for an end to conscription.
- Active support for COs and objector trials.
- Questions of a future defence force.
- Encouraging the further return of exiles.
- Lobbying groups formulating a bill of rights.
- Encourage debate around the role of the SADF at present.

Discussion occurred on ECC's possible restructuring.

- Still a clear need for National Committee meetings, should be +/- 4 a year.
- Serve an important function a forum for the sharing of ideas and the coordination of activities.
- Regional restructuring should happen as regions see fit.

Themes for work were then identified.

- Networking with other organisations.
- Lobbying.
- Press work and general media.
- Support of COs and their trials.
- Building the Register of COs
- An action around the July call up.
 - Must be coordinated and directed with a specific and clear message.
 - Have to ensure that we get maximum press publicity.
- Debates on future defence force.
 - Paper to be drawn up for national discussion.
 - We must bring the issue out into the public through organising debate articles and radio debates.
- Focus on encouraging other exiled war resisters to return home.
 - Use the HIR mailing list.
- discussion and debate in ECC on the present actions of the security forces. We can use the material prepared by the Natal field worker to facilitate this internal programme.

Section 6. Developing a programme of action.

6.1. Lobbying

- National Party. No change since the last NC report. It was suggested that a meeting be lobbied through the DP. If that does not work then CT should go to the press with all the correspondence to force a meeting.
- Still seen by people as a priority.
- Democratic Party. DP keen to help ECC in any way it can. Can use them to ask questions in parliament. Suggested that contact be made at a local level.
- National contact and suggestions should be coordinated through CT.
- African National Congress. Some national contact made between ECC and the NEC. Follow on meetings to discuss strategies, legal questions and support for the SRC.
- Some contact by branches with regional ANC.
- Discussion group established in Jhb. to discuss military questions from an ANC perspective. Other regions to be kept informed of the progress of the group.

- Business sector.
 - Johannesburg to progress with contact with SACOLA. Stressed that we have to have some idea of what we want them to do before we meet with them. This goes for other lobbying programmes as well.
 - Other areas. ANCYL identified as well as other youth sectors. Should be establishing links at a local level rather than simply national.
- Also sending of discussion papers for comment to state linked security force academics seen as one area of lobbying. Facilitate our contact and build a reasonable but firm image of ECC.
- We need to send a news letter out to our supportive organisations letting them know what is happening with ECC and conscription. This should be regionally acted upon.

6.2 COs and the Safe Return Campaign.

- Francios, Alan and Waren are now all waiting to be charged.
- the very good press response to all three refusal was noted and was seen as an indication that the CO issue is one of concern to the press.
- Doug's appeal has been set down for the 20 of May(?).
- Brendan is still waiting to be charged.
- Mike Graaf (see letter).
- Greg Edleston - National mandated to find out what is happening with his case.

It was strongly felt that the area of CO and active support for their stands was an area of crucial importance to ECC at this present time. However, we have to see what the state will do to current COs before we can embark on any major actions. The first part of the campaign has been very successful and we now have to wait until the three are charged.

- Idea of letter calling on people to refuse to serve was debated. It was felt that this action was very inappropriate for ECC to be involved in. If COs wanted to make this call then they should discuss it through their networks.
- Problem of lack of press coverage on such a call as to give it publicity would be also breaking Section 121 (c) of the Defence Act.

The SRC was discussed. It was felt that nationally it could be regarded as a success with very good press and publicity. A large proportion of the postcards were also returned to the office and have now been sent to F.W.

- Problems were with the timing and the inability of the campus branches to participate effectively.
- Nature of the action meant that Jhb. was the main focus.

6.3 Violence in South Africa

- See Natal Field workers report.
- National to ensure that the reports are circulated.
- Natal Field worker to contact Human Rights Commission to link up with their monitoring structures to see if we can get a better idea of troop deployments outside Natal.

6.4 The CCB and Hit Squads.

- After some discussion it was felt that the question of the CCB and Hit Squads was been taken up by other organisations effectively.
- We should support initiatives when they develop such as the Northern Suburbs Group in CT.
- Only make press statements on this issue when we have something new to say.

6.5 The Gulf Crisis.

- Jhb and CT reported on the discussions that had happened in both ECC COSG.
- It was noted that it was difficult to achieve unity on this issue and is really out side the area of issues that ECC can safely comment.
- Only area we can really comment on is the arms connection through ARMSCOR.
- Idea raised of an article on the experience of COs in the gulf conflict. Felt that either another organisation run such an article or if it comes out as ECC the article goes to all the regions for comment.
- Jhb. if they write an article must send it to all regions for comment. One week for comment. If any problems raised then the article could be given to COSG for them to

publish.

6.6 The Register.

- Felt that National should still maintain the register. If regions want to have a major push they should feel free to do so.
- Not seen as key priority.

6.7 Resister magazine.

- discussion up to now on Resister's future was outlined (see national discussion paper circulated in November 1990).
- The idea was indorsed of reps from interested parties forming part of a discussion group once other members of Resister's collective have returned.
- We should maintain Objector magazine and develop discussion on Resister as well as putting as many articles as possible in the mainstream press.

6.8 Presidents Council request.

- Felt that the issue (code of conduct for political parties) not a crucial issue for ECC to respond to.
- Johannesburg to send a letter explaining that we cant respond or make some comments to the debate.

6.9 The Van Logerenburg Commission.

- Report is unlikely to be released.
- Felt that events were passing it by as being relevant.
- Should focus our energies on the gaps that open up now such as the Population Registration Act.

6.10 Orientation week.

Reports form regions.

- Wits. Engaging in discussions at tables during OW. Using existing material and media for tables.
- Rhodes. Low key due to shortage of people but hoping to focus on the three COs and particularly Waren.
- Durban. Few people, organise a table with existing media.
- UCT. General recruitment table with existing media and material.
- Generally no big events and low key recruitment rather than the large scale work of the past.
 - Request for returnees and notable to be at the recruiting tables to answer enquiries.

6.11 Policy documents.

- Need to emphasis deadlines and the importance of regions discussing documents thoroughly and on time.
- Two drafty policy documents identified:
 - Conscripton now and in a PASA.
 - Principle of a new defence force.
- Papers to be draw up by Jhb and circulated as soon as possible.

Section 9. National and Branch finances.

- See draft income and expenditure document.
- Budget was accepted with slight amendments.

Section 10. National Worker.

- Get job description and circulate. Make provision for the possibility of a part time person rather than full time.
- Job for 6 months. Any interested people to be put in contact with Kevin in Cape Town.
- In discussing the Natal Field worker there was very strong support for the work he has been doing.
- the level of violence and extent of troop deployment in Natal still justifies the post.
- Review the job at the next NC and convey to Haden the positive response form the regions to the work that he has been doing.

Section 11. National contact and communication.

- Ten copies of all regional media to be sent to national office.
- Regions must maintain contact with the national office rather than the national office being the only one contacting everyone.
- Decided that there should be an ECC National Conference from 9 to 12 of May and EL and Ght. nominated to find venue.
- Idea of international newsletter from ECC to supporters explaining what has been going on. National to coordinate.
- Use Resister mailing list.

SUNDAY 3/2/91

Section 7. Identifying priority areas of work.

Several areas were identified out of the previous section of the agenda (section 6). These were:

- Lobbying Work.
- COs and exiles.
- An August action.
- Maintaining the anti conscription thrust.
- Creative media.

Lobbying work. - See previous discussion. CT to work on forcing an NP meeting. Jhb to continue with national ANC contact and circulate minutes of workshops held by ANC COs.

COs and exiles - See previous discussion. Newsletter to go to all people on the HIR mailing list and report to people on the Register mailing list. Jhb to coordinate.

August action - Regions to begin discussion on what action (if any) for August call up. Themes discussed included "last call up" "racist nature of call up". Regions to work on this in time for May national conference. Durban to develop draft logo and position paper on theme to enhance regional discussion by middle of March.

Conscription - No need to categorise this as separate section. Must be seen as the key issue to be pushing.

Media - Open letter to De Klerk, CT to work on this and regions particularly Jhb to look at creative ways of getting media coverage.

Branches to continue with own programme and participate in national actions as they can.

Section 12 Assessment and closure.

Next NC dates to be set at National Conference.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

Katberg

9, 10, 11, 12 May 91

DURBAN REPORT

FEBRUARY TO MAY 91

FEBRUARY

* Two GBs were held: Feb 11 and 18

Haydn's support group/exec met once

* Had table on U.N.D Orientation Flea-Market. Distributed literature and signed on new members (who have been invited to subsequent meetings). Interesting response as many of the first years were completely disinterested in our table. I chatted to some first year men who said that conscription was no longer an issue for them. They were sure that by the time they graduated there would be no more conscription!

* We handed out literature and helped staff the table at the U.N.Pmb Orientation Flea-Market as well, together with Maritzburg ECC folk.

MARCH

* Two GBs were held: March 4 and 18.

Haydn's support group/exec met twice

* Had our Annual "Brainstorming Evening" on March 4. Invited all ECC members and friends-of-ECC to an evening of creative brainstorming and a bring-and-share supper. The idea was to come out with Durban's list of actions and plans for the year, then to prioritise them so that we had a month-by-month calendar from which to work. This was a difficult process as we found it tricky to project actions for the year with so much depending on the outcome of the defence vote. We planned what we could under the circumstances, and will meet to have a "re-think" after the defence vote.

* Held two successful ~~Ax~~ Magnus actions:

On March 13, about 30 people (ECC members and friends-of-ECC) stood along Berea Road (one of the main roads from the suburbs into town) during early-morning rush-hour, with placards with anti-Magnus slogans. We had permission of the action. Received mixed and varied response from passing-by commuters. We had two stories in the Daily News and a photo. We were also the lead story on Capital Radio News during the morning. Press people were notified in advance.

The following week, on March 20, ECC and Black Sash had an all-day placard stand in the centre of town. We had one person standing for an hour at a time, with a placard reading "Magnus Malan resign". Each person had a back-up person standing close-by. The stand was from 7am until 5pm. This was interesting as it allowed for one-on-one communication with pedestrians (there were some very interesting discussions during the course of the day!) The stand was at a four-way intersection, so we had honking of hooters and waving of fists from passing vehicles too!

* Haydn's first six months coming to an end. We formulated a proposal for the continuation of Haydn's position of Field Worker.

APRIL

- * One GB was held: April 15
Two Haydn's Support Group/Exec meetings
- * Individual members of ECC went to Splashy Fen and had a rave!
- * Helped Haydn update his mailing list for his monthly report

MAY

- * Defence Act !!!
- * Michael Graaf representing ECC at the Earthlife National Congress
- * Haydn visits Namibia

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING, 17 - 18 August 1991
JOHANNESBURG

MINUTES

PRESENT:

ECC Fieldworker
ECC Office worker
National Treasurer
Cape Town
Durban
Grahamstown
Johannesburg
Pietermaritzburg
Pretoria

ABSENT/APOLOGIES

Bloemfontein
East London
Port Elizabeth
UCT, Wits

AGENDA:

This was formulated by a steering committee using the list of topics to be discussed which had been circulated to the regions.

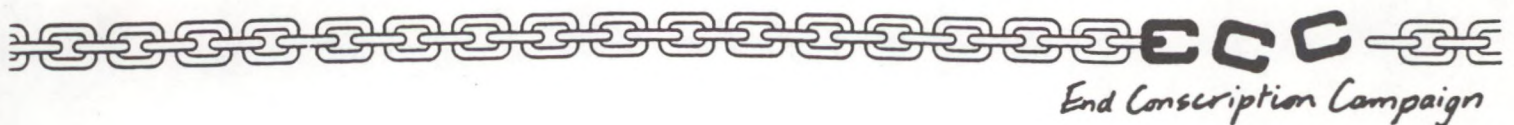
1. REGIONAL REPORTS (Chair: Kevin)

Durban: 8 to 10 reliable activists. Got together about 25 people for the End Racist Conscription funeral procession in July, which was then increased by members of the public. Produced and distributed all the posters and pamphlets for the Campaign

Grahamstown: For the End Racist Conscription Campaign they used the pamphlet as an insert in Grocott's Mail, and put up the posters on campus. Currently producing an information pamphlet on covert operations in the Ciskei/Transkei. Will send copies to all regions.

Cape Town: About 5 or 6 people meet every week; campus group not active. Used a "Know your rights" and the national campaign pamphlet to hand out at Wingfield on July 10; press coverage in Cape Times and Argus. Fritz and Francois have also written independently to the press, an open letter to Magnus challenging the SADF to prosecute them for refusal to serve. The lobbying goes on, have had an acknowledgment from the State President's office, and have sent copies of all correspondence to the new Minister of Defence, asking for an appointment to meet him

Johannesburg: 8 or 9 active members. The ERC campaign included mailing of pamphlets, postering, a rush-hour picket at Wits (thanks to NUSAS support), a forum at RAU on Do we need conscription?, good press and radio coverage as well as TV breakfast programme. Other activities have been publicising the legal opinion on the effect of the repeal of the Population Registration Act, and a talk to Afrikaans matric pupils at the



request of the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurbond. Campus group not active but sometimes come to meetings

Pietermaritzburg: No regular meetings. Joined with the Black Sash in a placard protest against having a Casspir for children to play on at the flea market. May repeat the action with pamphlets to hand out, and invite the press

Pretoria: Needs to be revived. Peter will take over as rep. and co-ordinator

2. FIELDWORKER'S REPORT: (Chair: Illa)

Haydn has been working with monitors from PACSA (Midlands), DP and IDASA (North coast and South coast). In all these areas it appears that the ANC's drive into the rural areas is being met with resistance at the geographical edges of the areas where they do have support around Maritzburg and Durban. Some covert Military involvement has come to light, e.g. CCB operatives in Richmond and Mooi River; when a date was set for Chief Mapumulo's inquest recently, the chief witness, his driver, was assassinated the night before the inquest.

There are two levels of SADF involvement: out in the open patrolling the townships the SADF has been fairly successful in gaining acceptance as peacekeepers, but the covert operations of the secret agencies (Military Intelligence) continue to destabilise.

Haydn has concentrated on the Richmond area since January when an Inkatha invasion of ANC territory took place. However he is no longer able to work in this area since the Inkatha Institute has forbidden the local Inkatha leaders to talk to him and say that the police are considering various charges against him on the strength of affidavits handed to the SAP by the Institute. The monitors meet as a group once a week and invited the Inkatha Institute to send a rep, but this has proved more disruptive than helpful (there are several ex-NSF people working for the Institute). All the monitors have had death threats and harassment including smear pamphlets. Information is being accumulated all the time - the question is when and how to use it. The monitors have links with the press, but the problem here is often at sub-editorship level where the journalists' stories are either not used or hacked to pieces

Discussion on the possibility of destabilisation in the Cape - links with taxi wars, sangomas and the hostels. The overarching strategy of destabilisation being undertaken by the SADF needs to be exposed; Haydn will be meeting Nico Basson.

(Haydn's position and safety discussed further under Staff)

3. ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT EVENTS: Roddy

3.1 State of negotiations: Still no clarity on the process. ANC's ideas of an interim government and constituent assembly not understood; grassroots not involved. The process needs to be brought down from the elitist few; meanwhile being stalled by

the violence and Inkathagate scandal, etc. Next general election due in 1994 and must be cleared up by then.

3.2 State of the players:

The NP has strong international support, has even done a good damage-control job on the funding of Inkatha by the removal of Vlok and Malan; at home is moving into the middle ground (e.g. support in the House of Reps) and creating alliances to widen its support base; may be strengthened by right wing excesses

The ANC still has the highest level of support; very authoritarian and bureaucratic and needs to resolve tensions between leadership and grassroots base. Durban conference a success and the movement is producing high-quality policy documents; the link to the SACP is a problem.

The SACP seems to have no resources and not much programme

Inkatha has international support at government level from the USA, UK and Germany (not really undermined by recent funding revelations). At home is being supported by big business as an alternative to the ANC and by the Press as one of the Big Three; also picking up support among ex-local authority black councillors looking for a political home. On the Reef Inkatha = Violence and Death, support only in the hostels. Still struggling with the problem of tribalism versus wider appeal.

AZAPO and PAC - marginalised, not much support, no money

CP is at a crossroads; will participate in negotiations; support base going more right wing and forcing the CP into a more central position. But in the platteland the right wing holds sway, eg Ventersdorp, curfews imposed in many towns, etc.

3.3 Violence (Reef view):

Hostels used as bases for impi attacks, and retention of hostels supported by Inkatha and some of the migrant workers. Train attacks by small groups creates a climate of fear; the effects of violence are

- *loss of life and livelihood and homes
- *destabilisation
- *manipulation by Inkatha to blackmail its way up
- *effect on the economy and investment
- *it becomes a traditional way of settling disputes

The security forces can stop the violence and sometimes do; there may be a conflict between top level and lower ranking officers in the SAP (escorting Inkatha etc). On the Reef the SADF is mainly used as police support.

4. Conscription: In spite of dissatisfaction, people are still reporting for camps and national service. Those who are unhappy mainly show the "gatvol" factor. With the appointment of new minister Roelf Meyer there is space for the SADF to try to reform itself and deal with the conscription issue. We must use this space too.

In the discussion following Roddy's talk the following points were aired:

- * on the relationship between violence and negotiations:-
 - NP uses violence as a way of controlling negotiations
 - IFP uses violence to get into negotiations as a major party
 - Right-wing uses violence to de-rail negotiations
 - ANC has nothing to gain from violence, and the setting up

- of Defence units cannot hope to succeed.
- * MK was correct to suspend the armed struggle, but if it emerges again may be decimated (eg SWAPO forces in Namibia)
- * Can we achieve an end to conscription faster than negotiations will?
- * We shouldn't put too much reliance on the change of Minister of Defence or the report of the Gleeson committee
- * Can ECC build on the "gatvol" factor in both campers and national servicemen? (Beware of expecting too much of them)
- * We need to initiate action and not just re-act.

4. ECC IN THE FUTURE (chair - Peter)

Section 121 (c) of the Defence Act still stands. Durban's proposal for defiance was circulated.

In looking at Goals and Objectives for the next six months the following questions were discussed in small groups:-(Questions and report back summaries put together here)

4.1 What opportunities do the changes associated with negotiations throw up?

- racist laws gone
- media more open to our issue
- new set of people to negotiate with: Meyer, ANC
- government under pressure
- can work on a new Defence Act now

4.2 What is the potential for mobilising support among campers, objectors?

- problem of public apathy and passivity
- evade the trap of "jumping on the bandwagon"
- there is potential, maybe not as in the past, but in the general resentment of conscripts

4.3 In this light, for the next 6 months, what are the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to ECC work?

<u>Strengths</u>	<u>Weaknesses</u>
Conscripts' discontent	Few activists
Morally right	Apathy
Media contacts	Ongoing violence boosts the military
Key issue for negotiations	Lack of campus support
Topical issue	Org.no longer new
Haydn's work	Lack of tying in anti-apartheid message

<u>Opportunities.</u>	<u>Threats</u>
Sound economic reasons	No longer an issue for students
Having say in the future	Working in a limited timeframe
Harnessing discontent	Govt initiative (Gleeson committee)
Can take advantage of linking with other orgs	

4.4 What are our objectives for the next six months?
 * Harnessing the discontent

- * National co-ordination
- * Getting support from other political groups to join in a sustainable campaign
- * Maintain high level lobbying
- * Formulate constructive alternatives
- * Highlight the difference between the SADF's good image and bad practice
- * Expose the disarray around conscription
- * Maximum use of discussion and policy papers
- * Facilitate drafting a new Defence Act.

These objectives can be condensed into

1. Critique of the SADF
2. Mobilising our resources
3. Constructing the future

5. STRATEGIZING FOR THE NEXT SIX MONTHS (Chair: Brendan)

5.1 Brainstorm

- Petition/Declaration to end conscription
- Letters to editors
- Pamphlet drop in target areas
- Articles in Scope, Penthouse, Farmers Weekly etc
- Get list of VIPs to support campaign -publish in press
- Pamphlet(s) exposing the wrongs of SADF - general info for broad appeal - mass distribution
- Pamphlet NOT by ECC - aimed at campers etc (NB Legal)
- Can include invite to a meeting which fleshes out the info in pamphlet
- Create opportunities for mass support of objection, and for the end of conscription
- Making section 121(c) a target of protest
- Breaking 121(c), or call for its scrapping
- Challenge govt on legal position (whites-only)

5.2 Discussion on breaking section 121(c)

- Cannot have a campaign around calling on people not to go; ECC has never been judgmental, has said there should be a choice. If we were to challenge 121(c) the challenge would be aimed not at the conscript, but the govt. Could call for 121(c) to be scrapped as part of the critique of the SADF. Our campaign needs to
- * Challenge the government
- * Utilise the G-factor, and mobilise other groups such as trade unions, church leaders, ANC - to show the breadth of opposition to conscription

Other points raised in the discussion were:

- * The Spanish model (mobilise supporters around objectors)
- * The need to analyse the G-factor in the context of political climate
- * Publicly acknowledge/support objectors and the register - to get across the message "You are not alone"
- * Direct challenge to the govt on the legality of call up
- * Conscription must end now (121 c is secondary and may be a side issue)
- * If conscripts don't go, the chances are good that they won't be charged
- * Focus on Chris' Weekly Mail quote (oblique sideswipe at 121(c))

* Must develop comprehensive strategy.

The regions' positions on breaking 121(c) as outlined in the Durban Defiance Proposal were

Jo'burg - against

G'town, Durban and Cape Town - in favour

Pietermaritzburg - in favour if VIPs available

6. CAMPAIGN SUMMARY (chair: Brendan)

Agreed that the Message of the Campaign will be:

* Conscription is wrong

- it's also illegal

- and lots of people aren't going

- and it's unreasonable and unnecessary

This message to be linked with "We believe that you should have the right to choose whether to serve in the SADF"

Also Agreed that the campaign will have two facets

- a high profile public challenge to the state, using the support of political orgs and VIPs

- reaching the conscripts via new magazines, pamphlet, debate on TV (Roelf Meyer vs Roddy or Chris)

Also Agreed that the campaign will last until the January intake (if there is one). See Timeline for deadline dates.

Campaign jobs were allocated to regions:

Johannesburg: Basic campaign document

Pamphlet

Try for SABC debate with new Minister

Pietermaritzburg: Media

Durban: Petition for VIPs to endorse

Cape Town: Continued lobbying, appointment to meet new Minister

National office: Letter which can be used to and by our allies

ALL REGIONS: Contact VIPs for support

Contact sympathetic groups to write to the Minister or State President

Send bright ideas for media themes to PMB

See the Editors of Magazines for articles NOW:

Cape Town: Fair Lady, Cosmopolitan, etc

Johannesburg: Penthouse plus any other

Durban: Scope plus any other

Other regions: Farmers Weekly? Huisgenoot? etc

Distribution of media by whatever means (tables at shopping centres, pamphlet drops, inserts in local papers, direct mailing or whatever)

Creative local events to attract the G-factor.

7. FINANCE AND STAFF

7.1 Finance: The budget allocation for the first half of 1991 has been received, and regions who are in need of cash can contact the Treasurer. Allocation for second half to be followed up by Nan. The budget for next year has been submitted to the funders; response awaited.

7.2 Staff:

Haydn's contract expires end November. He is willing to carry on until February 1992. Although he is no longer able to do field work in Richmond there is constructive work to be done nearer to Durban. There is undoubtedly still a need for monitoring in Natal and Haydn's work has been valuable both in its own right and in broadening the support base for ECC in the black community. There was some discussion on physical threats and safety: the Durban support group will continue to watch this aspect. Durban and Haydn also to start looking for a replacement who will be able to overlap with Haydn, and to liaise with the national Treasurer.

Nan will probably leave the office at the end of the year. Chris and Kevin to start looking for a new staff worker.

8. DISCUSSION DOCUMENTS.

8.1 Conscription policy document: If no further comment received at the office by the end of September this will be taken as final

8.2 Civilian national service policy document: Comments on first draft to be sent to the office by the end of October

8.3 Future defence force discussion document: David and Peter to work on this and to complete by end November for circulation

8.4 Civilian-based national defence (or SA without an army): To be referred back to Charles

8.5 Resolutions/findings from recent MK national conference: David to draw up an information document for circulation.

9. OTHER MATTERS:

9.1 "At Ease": Durban to discuss and request specific articles to the regions, with a deadline date

9.2 Lobbying: Cape Town to continue, especially trying for a delegation to see Roelf Meyer. If no response by end October to go to the press with the whole story

9.3 COSAWR book (extracts from Resister): It was agreed that ECC could distribute flyers, but not commit the organisation to selling the book directly. Nan to inform Gavin Cawthra of this

9.4 The International scene: Nan gave a brief verbal report of the recent War Resisters International (WRI) Triennial in Belgium, highlighting

(i) the ongoing plight of Greek C.Os of whom there are now hundreds in prison. Postcards demanding their release were signed, for mailing to the Greek President.

(ii) the proposal at the Triennial that December 1 which is WRI's prisoners for peace day be used this year for an international campaign focussing on the right to refuse any compulsory service. (European delegates see this as a first step in a campaign to abolish all armies). We may be able to include this in our campaign but will need to wait for further information from WRI to COSG, which is now an Associate member

(iii) the proposal at the Triennial to monitor certain international firms that are heavily involved in Arms manufacture. In this connection Durban offered to do some research for ECC on ARMSCOR

9.3 Thanks were expressed to Critical Health for providing the venue and photocopy facilities for the meeting; and to Trish Wallner and the caterer for the outstanding meals and teas.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE 17 -18 AUGUST 1991: ATTENDANCE LIST.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Phone No</u>	<u>Region</u>
David Bruce	22 Gainsboro' Mansions 27 Prospect Terrace Berea 2198	011 4843078 w	Jo'burg
Oliver Cornhill	Stanley Kidd II Rhodes Univ. Box 1026 Grahamstown 6140	0461 22314	G'town
Michael Graaf	170 Brand Road Glenwood Durban 4001	031 210845	Durban
Peter Hall	621 Andries St Berea Pretoria 0001	012 3201008 h 2022246 w	Pretoria
Andrew James	18 St Patrick's Rd Scottsville Pietermaritzburg 3201	03324 4203	P.M.burg
Kathryn Mathers	302b Forest Hill Main Road Mowbray 7700	021 6856217 h 6853819 w	Cape Town
Kevin McManus	4 Merino Street Rondebosch East 7700	021 6962335 h 4194030 w	Cape Town
Brendan Moran	43 EL Burn Morningside Durban 4001	031 236407	Durban
Roddy Payne	31 Toorak cnr Webb & Kenmere Rd Yeoville 2198	011 6487993 h 7163044 w	Jo'burg
John Pistorius	170 Brand Road Glenwood Durban 4001	031 210845 h 3046221 w	Durban
Mandy Robertson	3 Primula Road Scottsville P'maritzburg 3201	0331 66496 03324 4288 vac	P.M.burg
Illa Thompson	8 Inverleith 26 Noble Road Berea, Durban 4001	031 3043631 w 210922 h	Durban
Haydn Osborn	58 Nelson Road Overport Durban 4001	031 3045803 w 286594 h 298453 cde 515	Fieldworker, Natal
Nan Cross	17 Vulcan Street Kensington Johannesburg 2094	011 6147458 h 8368423 w	National officeworker

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

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Kengray 2100

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Fax: 834-3189

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING AUGUST 17/18 1991

DRAFT AGENDA, suggested by Johannesburg.
(to be finalised and worked out in more detail at the meeting)

NB These items are not in any particular order and of course can be added to.

1. Finalising Conference business
 - 1.1 Presentation of Policy and discussion papers on:
 - Future Defence Force (policy paper)
 - Conscription (policy paper)
 - System of civilian service (discussion paper)
 - Non-military defence (discussion paper)
 - Section 121 (c) (legal opinion)
 - Role of SADF in Homelands (discussion paper/report)
 - Role of SADF in civil conflict (discus.paper/report)
 - 1.2 Haydn's reports and how to use the information
(will also need an update from Haydn, which might come in here or in the next section)
2. Assessment of Current events
Analysis of the current situation with regard to
 - recent events and revelations
 - ongoing violence
 - state strategy regarding conscription
3. ECC and future strategy with regard to the above
 - response to MK conference
 - drafting of new Defence Act
 - legal strategy around challenging the "racist" call-up
 - challenging section 121 (c)
 - lobbying (new Min.of Defence and proposed letter)
 - revival of publication "At Ease"
4. Finance
 - National treasurer's report
 - Report from Nan
5. National office-bearers, employees, and future of the office
6. Brief regional report backs since the phone conference

NB. This is very much a bare bones list of topics to be discussed rather than an agenda. Alterations and additions welcomed

August 13 1991.

By Gayle ...



ECC
End Conscription Campaign

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING, August 19-20 1991 SUMMARY OF DECISIONS AND JOBS

Our objectives for the next six months were summarised into:

1. Critique of the SADF
2. Mobilising ECC activists, other political groups, and VIPs
3. Looking to the future: facilitate changes in the Defence Act, constructive civilian service, etc

Campaign plans were made and a time line drawn for a campaign to END CONSCRIPTION NOW, and jobs allocated to regions:

- * Content/message document to be drawn up and circulated by end August Jhb
- * Letter to related orgs to be drafted and sent to the regions, early September Office
- * Regions to network with local orgs ALL
- * Petition/Statement for VIP endorsement to be drafted and circulated by mid-Sept Durban
- * Pamphlet to be drafted and circulated by mid-September Jhb
- * Make appointment for a delegation to meet the new Minister after he takes office in Sept Cape Town
- * Start contacting the magazines in your area asap for articles which will carry the message, e.g.
 - Fair Lady, Cosmopolitan Cape Town
 - Scope Durban
 - Penthouse Jhb
 - Any other local rags ALL
 - SABCTV (Debate with Roelf Meyer) Jhb
- * Designs for national media, ideas to be sent to PMBurg soon ALL
- * Media designs to be circulated by end September PMBurg

The campaign will increase in intensity from October on towards the end of the year and the January call-up. The full time-line will be included with the National committee minutes.

POLICY AND DISCUSSION DOCUMENTS

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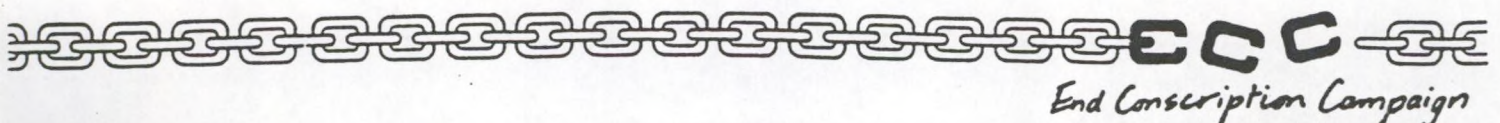
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"At Ease": Durban to come up with concrete ideas and farm out suggestions for articles, with a deadline date

Staff: Natal and Haydn to start looking for a replacement for Haydn
Kevin and Chris to think about a replacement for Nan

Drafting a new Defence Act: Need for discussion with COSG, CAS and lawyers.

Lobbying: Cape Town to continue, with deadline of end October for a positive response from the Minister



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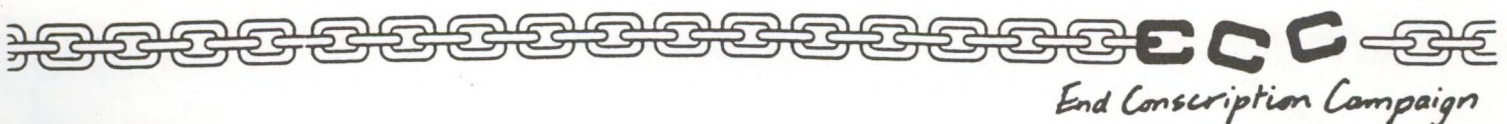
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