

Unlike the commercial press, which is manipulative and consumerist, the progressive press is democratic and interactive. This means that community communicational skills are developed. Not only are community representatives involved in production, but "couriers who deliver the paper from door to door are asked to get to know their readers, listen to their responses, and find out what they would like to see in the paper. A relationship of trust is thus built up between publishers and readers"(1). Even simple things like greeting people in a friendly way while distributing can be important in gaining acceptance. Even experienced activists find distribution useful in keeping in touch with what people are thinking. Sometimes activists even read through publications with people and have seminars around them.

Of course it is realised that ECC activists come from, and work within, different communities from those which sustain most progressive publications. But the sorts of strategy mentioned above not only democratise (and thereby avoid the one-way 'commercial' model of communication) but can also spread the responsibility for distribution and increase its efficiency. ECC should, therefore, try to adapt such principles to its particular situation.

Attention should be given to the issue of wider distribution than just the Durban area.

Reference

1. Tomaselli, K.G. 1986; "Race, Class and the South African Progressive Press", **International Journal of Intercultural Relations**, Vol 10, pp. 53-74.



Some Suggestions on Layout

In order to enlarge the readership **At Ease** must be as visually enticing and interesting as possible. The **At Ease** readership is surely of the under 35 age group and to achieve the optimum effect with regard to this group an upbeat, spirited and dynamic design is essential. Particular attention should be paid to the following:-

1. **TYPEFACE:** Should be altered to the more readable **TIMES NEW ROMAN**, which is used by most commercial newspapers. The type should be standardised to 10 or 11 point size and the magazine should make use of 5 (or even better, 4) paragraphs per page.
2. **HEADLINES:** Size and type can vary. The headline should draw the reader in - a good idea is for it to have a twist or 'a good ring' and should not be too literal. Headlines and subheads should be in both upper and lower case (the first letter of the word being upper case). Stories should be broken up with sub-heads/quotes, etc; paragraphs must not be too lengthy - this makes it tedious for the reader who will be discouraged from persisting with the story. Also, the most important content of the story must be located within the first paragraph.

An important aspect of the visual thrust is a sense of continuity or journal identity. Effective methods of achieving this are: a regular cartoon; editorial comment in a regular slot and in a consistent format; a letters page.

3. **GRAPHICS:** Are of crucial importance. At least 30% of a page should be taken up by photos/graphics. If one colour is used - red has been used up to now - it should be exploited effectively, perhaps with shades of that colour being used to highlight an area, a box or a headline (a good example of this is the "GRENSVEGTER" headline on the 2nd last page of **At Ease** vol 2 no 2). Red, however, like yellow, does not stand out, so some other colour should be used. The reader's attention is drawn naturally to the right hand side of the paper rather than the left so the left page should be especially striking. Inside pages should offer a visual balance and 'dog's legs' style should be avoided as this breaks reading continuity.
4. **PHOTOS:** More good photographs should be used especially alongside an article on somebody. A means of ensuring good photographic reproduction at the printing stage should be devised.
5. Pages should be numbered.
6. There should be a maximum of 5 columns. The spacing should be standardised and not too wide.
7. **At Ease** generally should be more offensive, less defensive.
8. Technical errors like the omission of the address of **At Ease**, the writers of its columns and other credits place the paper in an unnecessarily vulnerable legal position. These should be avoided.

Content Analysis: Comment and Recommendations

Finding a method to measure the success (or readability) of the content of **At Ease** is the major problem faced by those who produce it. Although a letters column did once exist, there is currently no mechanism by which responses to the paper may be fed back. Consequently, it is impossible to say how much of the issue is favourably received, or indeed, even read.

At Ease is almost exclusively news based. News gathering operates in various, non-routine ways: commercial newspapers are, of course, a chief source of news, and many of the national stories that make their way into **At Ease** are forwarded to the Durban ECC office for publication.

Because **At Ease** has appeared on a quite irregular basis it seems inevitable that news will dominate. This, however, represents a problem: **At Ease** presents itself as a newspaper and not a newsletter (which comes with the connotations of a 'club' and is sent to members only) and, we believe, readers may refuse - at an unconscious level - to accept the authenticity of a newspaper that appears so infrequently. A newspaper needs to engage its readers (as opposed to a newsletter which serves quite different functions). The reader will, however, more easily accept a magazine on these different terms (i.e. less frequent publication than a newspaper), news being only one of several features of a magazine.

At Ease might be more successful if it acquired some of the characteristics of a magazine. More care needs to be taken on feature stories, and perhaps regular columns should be developed. Some of the **At Ease** workers interviewed expressed their willingness to see **At Ease** broaden its subject matter. Arts/culture (perhaps book/theatre/music/film reviews etc) would be the areas of most potential as they would serve the tastes of the people who are most likely to receive the publication. Conscripted as the sole issue of **At Ease** could be strayed from here, which may help attract the reader who is unhappy with or regards as tedious the unceasing military related copy. As it stands, **At Ease** is simply not very interesting to any but the committed ECC-type and his opposite on the right-wing. By spreading the interest value of **At Ease** the ECC message will have a better opportunity for dissemination.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RULING OF THE PUBLICATIONS APPEAL BOARD, CASE 80/87 (AT EASE - APRIL '87)

A "Committee on Publications" found the April 1987 edition of **At Ease** undesirable giving the following reasons: that the publication reported inter alia on the trial of conscientious objector Philip Wilkinson, on a new campaign, and various ECC matters; that it contained material which (in the Committee's opinion) would weaken the will of young South Africans and therefore strengthen SWAPO; that (the humorous column) 'Grensvegter' "put in a ludicrous light" the "forces fighting revolution and violence"; that (in the Committee's opinion) the publication would "sap the morale of those who must do military service" and was "prejudicial to the safety of the state and to peace and good order."

The Directorate of Publications judgement against this decision may be summarised as follows: the publication emphasises the injustice of conscription in contemporary South Africa, and calls for individual choice of whether to serve in the SADF. It seems aimed at young people including young men still having military obligations, and such people would be influenced by this publications so as to believe conscription to be morally wrong. Such publications will damage the morale of people who must serve or are serving in the SADF. The publication does not directly discourage rendering of military service. Nor does it encourage any violence or crime. Therefore it is not undesirable in terms of article 47 (z)(e).

THE APPEAL BOARD'S POSITION

The Appeal Board considers public debate on the issue of conscription permissible. It considers presenting the 'security forces' in a poor light and casting doubt on government policy regarding unrest to be permissible, even if accomplished by a "one-sided presentation of facts". The Board's position rests on the fact that legal provision is made for steps against anybody who persuades or attempts to persuade someone not to render service, or influences servicemen so that a significant number of them avoid service or so that their dedication/motivation is harmed such that the efficiency of the SADF is affected.

THE RULING

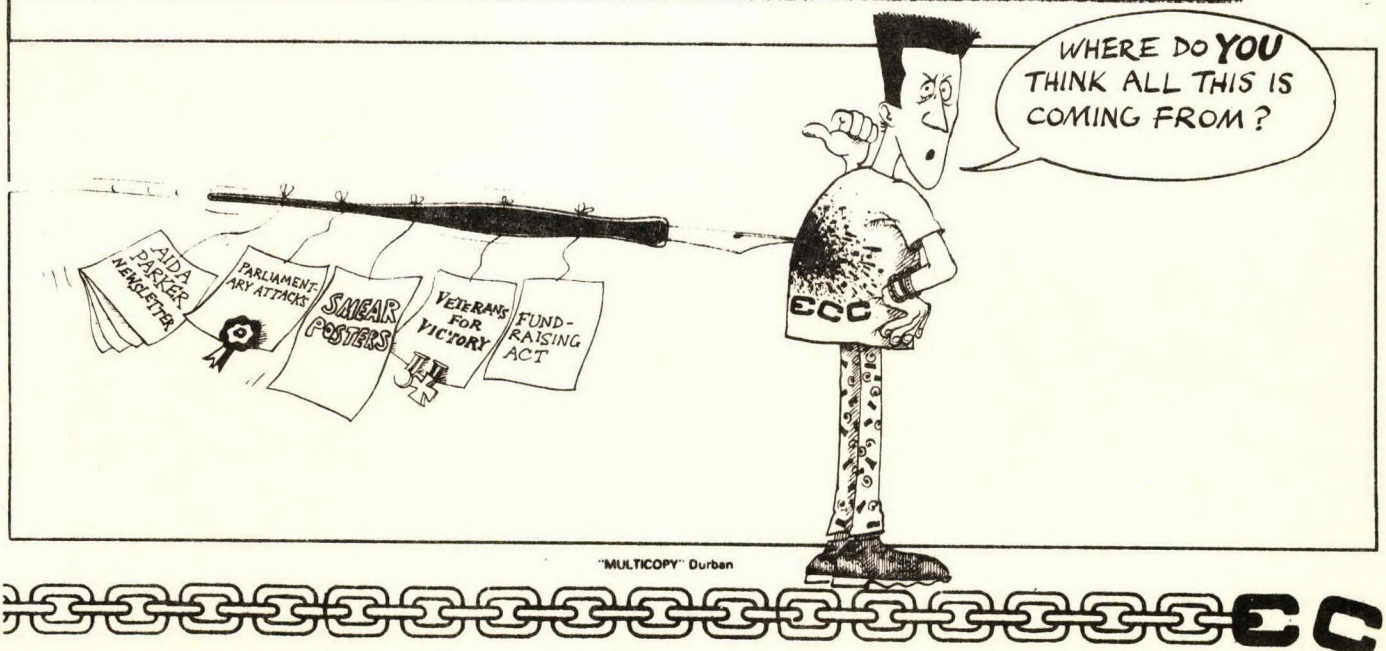
The Board found that although the publication contained material which could influence servicemen it would not have enough "impact" to harm the efficiency of the SADF. Some of the articles in it gave the impression of naivety and lack of balance. The one-sidedly presented facts were nonetheless common knowledge. The publication seemed not to be aimed at a wide readership and the chances were that those servicemen who would be 'detrimentally' influenced were those already not inclined to render service. The appeal was thus upheld, since the Board is mandated to concern itself with the content of the publication and not the possible long term effects of exposure to such material.

IMPLICATIONS

One of the main factors preventing *At Ease* from being acted against by the state is the belief of the Board that the publication has limited effectiveness. The possibility then, is that if at some stage *At Ease* appears to the members of the Board to have become more effective, even if by such apparently legitimate means as appealing to a wider readership, it could reverse its decision. In addition, it must be borne in mind that the Board's presence as an ultimate (though limited) restraint, does not reduce the effectiveness of such classical tactics as a ban by a Committee on Publications, followed by the halting of distribution and other harassment based on the ban, while the appeal to the Board is pending. Unlike the Board, the Committees are not publically accountable and their membership is not publicised. Furthermore, of course, the State of Emergency empowers 'members of security forces' with what amounts to carte blanche in circumventing 'normal' procedures.

It would therefore seem that in strategising, *At Ease* and ECC members should not be too preoccupied with what state agents may legally do, but rather with what they actually are doing, since, in dealing with *At Ease* and ECC, they generally appear to act more 'tolerantly' than they are compelled to. This should not be accepted as mere good luck, since (a) it could be reversed in response to changes of the socio-political scene, and (b) by understanding the present rationale, state strategy can be more effectively countered. Unfortunately in the absence of any 'counter-intelligence' activities we are forced to resort to speculative interpretation in seeking such understanding.

A starting point in such speculation is the suggestion elsewhere in this report that in order to foster the impression amongst the white electorate that the State of Emergency is 'working', the emphasis in action against the ECC has shifted from legal repression to smear tactics, with the possibility of 'privatised' (ie. vigilante) repressive action as an option should the threat posed to dominant ideology become too great.



At Ease

End Apartheid Campaign

VOL 2
5
dec
1987

TOMS ON TRIAL

Tom Toms, a former Cape Town High School boy, was a medical doctor and addressed a group of about 100 people at St Thomas church last recently on his experiences as a conscript and his reasons for refusing to serve in the SADF.

Dr Toms told how he became a conscript in the SADF during his last few years at school. He gave vivid accounts of the ways in which conscripts were forced to compromise their moral beliefs to defend the apartheid system and the occupation of Namibia.

The 35-year-old ECC



member has been called up for a camp, away from what he feels to be his true vocation — the writing of the neglected thousands living in the Crossroads township just outside Cape Town.

A member of the audience asked Dr Toms how he could justify spending these years in jail away from the community he is serving, while he could be of some service to the community as a conscript doctor. Some from the audience pointed out that Dr Toms has chosen to serve the community and his going to jail would not be of his choice.



In answering a question

BRING OUR BOYS HOME

South Africa's military intervention in defence of UNITA in Southern Angola has provoked some patriotic feelings amongst South Africa's white public. There are those who support the war with a zealous enthusiasm. The SADF's actions are almost certain to become a permanent stain on our nation's record.

The other view is somewhat different. Those who hold it are concerned with the potentially massive destruction of lives and property in Angola, the prospect of a long war from which the SADF cannot withdraw, and the moral and political implications of the SADF's actions.

On the face of it the second view is more the line of day. After all, government spokesmen have made it clear that the intention is to bring the Angolans to a ceasefire.

To holders of the second view, the military intervention is a moral catastrophe. It is a stain on our nation's record that will not be easily washed away.

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reports of mutilations in the SWA Territory Force Battalion. The SADF's 12 Battalion in Angola has suffered major casualties, meaning that military conscripts will be closer to the front in future seasons.

The ultimatum is the bottom line. There are many who are expected to fight in Angola, their friends and families who do not believe in the SADF's cause in Angola enough to pay the ultimate price. ECC hopes, we represent that sentiment amongst the conscripting community. They seek to be able to bring their sons back home.



Bringing our boys home

At Ease

End Apartheid Campaign

VOL 2 NO 3
JUNE 1987

SADF REVEALED

A leaked document on South African troops in the SADF during the last few years at school. He gave vivid accounts of the ways in which conscripts were forced to compromise their moral beliefs to defend the apartheid system and the occupation of Namibia.

Dr Toms told how he became a conscript in the SADF during his last few years at school. He gave vivid accounts of the ways in which conscripts were forced to compromise their moral beliefs to defend the apartheid system and the occupation of Namibia.

The 35-year-old ECC



Another view of the SADF. A young soldier on a road in the Royal Swaziland.

NEWS BRIEFS

Swaziland "Freedom"
South African troops were engaged following the South African Defence Force's victory in the battle of Mankwato in the Royal Swaziland. The battle was a decisive victory for the SADF, and it was a major step towards the liberation of Swaziland from South African rule.

No Comment
The Defence Force has refused to comment on reports that it has been ordered to withdraw from the Swaziland border. The Defence Force has refused to comment on reports that it has been ordered to withdraw from the Swaziland border.

SADF Troops
After only two weeks in the army, a soldier returned from the SADF with a serious injury and was hospitalized in the Swaziland. The soldier was injured during a military exercise in the Swaziland.

Soldier's Grief
A young soldier who has been killed in the SADF has left behind a young widow and a young child. The soldier's family is in a state of grief and is seeking help from the community.

Support for Cherry
Over 100 members of the SADF have signed a petition in support of a young soldier named Cherry. Cherry has been injured in the SADF and is seeking help from the community.

South African Troops
South African troops have been engaged in a battle in the Swaziland. The battle was a decisive victory for the SADF, and it was a major step towards the liberation of Swaziland from South African rule.

At Ease

End Apartheid Campaign

VOL 2 NO 4 JULY 1987

Aida Parker loses to ECC

The Media Council has ruled in favour of the ECC in its case against the right-wing Aida Parker. The Media Council has ruled in favour of the ECC in its case against the right-wing Aida Parker.



The court, which aims at ensuring ethical standards in the media, has ruled in favour of the ECC. The court, which aims at ensuring ethical standards in the media, has ruled in favour of the ECC.

ECC marches against the presence of troops in the townships. The ECC has organized a series of marches to protest against the presence of South African troops in the townships.

News Briefs
Aida Parker who initially backed the ECC, has now turned her back on the ECC. Aida Parker who initially backed the ECC, has now turned her back on the ECC.

Cultural Festival
The Department of Education has announced a cultural festival to be held in the townships. The Department of Education has announced a cultural festival to be held in the townships.

Dad's Army
The Dad's Army film has been shown in the townships. The Dad's Army film has been shown in the townships.

Cost effective
The SADF has announced a cost-effective program to reduce its military expenses. The SADF has announced a cost-effective program to reduce its military expenses.

At Ease

End Apartheid Campaign

VOL 2 NO 4 JULY 1987

SADF OUT!

The recent election of the SADF has led to a new era of apartheid. The recent election of the SADF has led to a new era of apartheid.



APARTHEID THE PROBLEM
Statistics on unemployment, crime, and social conditions in South Africa show the impact of apartheid. Statistics on unemployment, crime, and social conditions in South Africa show the impact of apartheid.

SADF OUT OF NAMIBIA
South Africa has refused to withdraw its troops from Namibia. South Africa has refused to withdraw its troops from Namibia.

SADF OUT OF TOWNSHIPS
The SADF has announced a plan to withdraw its troops from the townships. The SADF has announced a plan to withdraw its troops from the townships.

SADF OUT OF GOVERNMENT
The SADF has announced a plan to withdraw its troops from the government. The SADF has announced a plan to withdraw its troops from the government.

APARTHEID OUT - SADF OUT!

KEEP YOUR RESTRICTIONS, VLOK!

We Have Been Quiet For A Year And The Situation Has Not Improved!

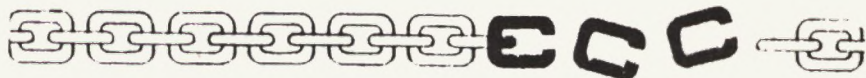
A year ago, on August 22, the government imposed Emergency restrictions which effectively banned the End Conscription Campaign, claiming that the ECC was part of a "revolutionary onslaught".

However, everyone acquainted with the ECC knows that it merely voiced the grievances of those who believe that conscription and militarisation do not contribute to a peaceful and just future. The ECC always operated openly, legally and peacefully, yet members were harrassed and detained and it was the target of illegal smear activities by the SADF at taxpayers' expense. As the ECC was about to obtain an interdict from the Cape Supreme Court to restrain the SADF, the government resorted to its extra- legal Emergency powers.



Since then, the conditions which caused us to support the ECC have not changed. Sincere young men with the courage to obey their consciences rather than the government are still receiving the harshest jail sentences imposed on conscientious objectors in the world - up to 6 years! South Africa is losing thousands of its most educated and concerned citizens who choose emigration rather than participation in a system which devotes ever more money and lives to postponing the political solution which everyone knows must come sooner or later.

**We Reject Restrictions And Reformist Rhetoric.
We Call For An End To Conscription.
We Call For A Just Peace In Our Land.**



End Conscription Campaign

VLOK - IGCINE WENA LEMIGOMO EVIMBELAYO!

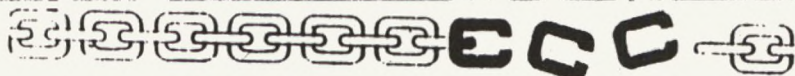
Sesibenayo Unyaka Wonke, Kodwa Isimo Asikaguquki!

Ngo-August 22 ngonyaka ofile uhulumeni washaya umthetho wesimo esibucayi oweza nokuvalwa kwe-End Conscription Campaign (ECC) ngenxa yokuthi ingezinye zezinhlango esithe shi nalabo abafuna ukuthatha "ngendlovu-iyangena".

Kodwa bonke labo abasondelene ne-ECC bayazi ukuthi yayizwakalisa izikhalo zalabo abakholelwa ukuthi ukubuthelwa ubusotsha nempi neke kusize ukuletha ukuthula nekusasa elinobulungiswa. I-ECC yayisebenza ngoxolo, kwazi noma ubani futhi isemthethweni, kodwa amalunga ayo ahlukunyezwa, avalelwa, futhi lenhlango yaba isinukubezwa ngezinto ezingekho abombutho we-South African Defence Force (SADF) ngezimali zomphakathi okhokha intela. I-ECC ngesikhathi isizothola isinqumo senkantolo yase-Kapa esasizomisa i-SADF kulomkhuba wokunukubeza, uhulumeni wabe esejikela ekusebenziseni amandla akhe angenamkhawulo wokuvala i-ECC ngaphansi kwesimo esibucayi.

Kuze kube manje izinto ezenza ukuthi sihambisane ne-ECC azikashintshi. Amabhungu amancane aneqiniso futhi alalela onembeza bawo kunolohulumeni namanje asagwetshwa izigwebo ezinzima kunabonke ozakwabo abangahambisani nokubuthwa emhlabeni bonke - abanye babo bagwetshwa iminyaka efika kweyisithupha! Elasemzansi Afrika ngalokhu lilahlekelwa izinkulungwane zezakhamizi ezinye zazo ezifunde zagogoda okuthe ngenxa yokukhathazeka zakhetha ukulishiya leli kunokuba zizimbandakanye nalo- hulumeni olokhu uphikelele ukumosa imali futhi uqhuba isikhathi kunovela namakhambi ezombangazwe abantu bonke abawabheke ngabomvu ukuthi avele ngokushesha hayi ngesinye isikhathi esingaziwa.

Sesanele Yilemigomo Evimbelayo Nalembudane
Yoshintshoengathi Shu. Sithi Makuphele Ukubuthelwa Ukuya Empini. Sifuna Uxolo Nobulungiswa Ezweni Lethu.



End Conscription Campaign

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