

Aims: 1. meeting now pp. & build sense of ECC as nat. org.  
2. decision making conf. & reconfirm our strategy &  
direct both short & long term.

Emphasis not so much on educative role of Nat Conf.

3. Energizing & motivating role is NB
4. Building activists
5. Policy making & clarifying preset policy
6. Pull conceptual discussions together & strategise comp-
7. Assessment of role of ECC & new areas of work.
8. Cohere nat. resp. to the shifts in State strategy against us.

Logistics: to incl. type; prep. rep; timing

Type: full open conf.

Representation: Ideal is ± 200 with reps. from each subcomm;

Remains → exec. & front members & then others & above.

Voting rights: need to estab. that at the beginning & count  
strength of the vote; 1 vote per branch.

Security: Absolute security & working grp. still to do this.

Measures to make sure conf. not being bust.

Open Conf: ~~Pub, Interaktion~~

Oct - 4<sup>th</sup>

Org. group: a) planning grp. in Pub.

b) nat. co-ord. & decisions thru NC's + NS.

c) working grp 1 day prior to conf. & take conf. from  
beginning to end.

Secret: AC is 2 times.

## Suggested Content:

- \* - Conceptual discussion → planning for camps.
- \* - Inter-reg. sub-comm. meetings
- Interest groups
  - Front \*  
training activists.
  - campus \*
- 
- \* - State of nation disc. looking at S Africa state
- \* - Process of national decision making.
  - ECC's ideology
  - Relats. s PFD
  - PC Report & youth
- \* - New ways of working DIY kit
  - Review
  - Memos. drive as national camp.
  - Affiliate to extra-parl. orgs.
  - Adopting F charters
- \* - Assess national comm.
  - Nat. magazine
- \* - Cabaret
- \* - Finances
  - Death squads & vigilantes
  - Nat co-ord research project a brain drain.
  - Nat. WJP.
  - National mailing list.
  - Policy making.
  - Relats. s N'Democrat.
  - Assess. of state's strategy & how changing
  - Recruitment.
  - Revised Declaration
- \* - Educat. Budget a JMC's
- \* - Relats. to Schools
  - Work outside of camps.
  - Disc on ECC around cult. front.

Conf. (contd)

- Survey to assess ECC's present pos. publicly.
- How to estab. legality of ECC & allay public's fears.
- New areas of working.
- Keynote input on state of struggle
- Nat. Educat. & training progs.
- Ldc of NO's.
- Organizat' skills workshop.
- \* - Int'l. relat's.
- \* - VVAW tour
- \* - Nat. structs.
- Battalions
- \* - Int. Record
- \* - ? Commission of Inquiry.
- \* - SAERBC
- \* - SA WJP
- \* - Memorial

#### Assessment:

1. Agenda Items:
  1. Have we taken our camp forward & how.
  2. Participation
  3. Social Integration
  4. Tech. org. & prep.
1. Shared reg. reports helped / imp. to ~~unite~~ set trends & that not incl. in regional reports. \* Dull reports - need more time to read reports.  
(Everyone write one & 1 hr prior to NC)  
Discuss inter-regional contact.  
Easy to discuss easy things.  
⇒ Gains for ECC on Ireland Tour,  
\* Timing of diffic. discussions is imp.  
More input on white areas what  
Need to give more background on why items on agenda.

- Process grp. to be more directive in agenda items.
- Process grp. to spend more time on briefing facilitators.

2. - Focus on conscripts as key issues

- Taking relat. & ND monet.
- Moving on the Conf.
- Level of conceptual disc. giving us clearer directr.
- Moving in same directn nationally is clearer ideas
- National feeling travelling out
- whole range of actions & ideas hanging together in a common way.
- strong, coherent is able to go forward.
- easier discussion is more preparat by regions.

3. - Improved but still prob.

- Make space in w/e to evaluate level of participat.
- ↑ buzz groups, etc.
- accomodate for regional diff. is fact that new pp. are involved.
- fill in new pp. at NC.

4. Enough jail line etc.

5.

## Conceptual Discussion & Report.

① Cape Town: Commission of Inquiry

Consulting w/ other orgs: Black Sash

WDF - don't focus too much on criticisms.

Conclusions → analytical look at ECC's history - CT is not.

Content had got broad anti-war / peace stand post Engag.

& our message was woolly. losing focus around

Farms of want: creativity lost due to fin. no's.

Discussed camps: lost underst. of it - always public work done in conjunct.

in camp. Can do public work outside of camps. Need camp = specific demand.

Constit: not suff. knowledge; poor targetting; spit out posters into broad mass.

Need to be more targetted work in part. constits.

How to regain initiative: looked at aims & constits.

Focus: a) Conscripts & soldiers (most NB is priority)

b) Call for alt. service.

c) Information.

a) Conscripts → org. around material abuse ← physical. Why exper. this suffering?

Don't always need to make links directly & political line.

? Tu for conscripts - our pol. line alienates them.

b) Allows us to return to our single issue. Clear & tangible demand to put to conscr; state & public. It's diffic. for state to smear.

c) Tended to be too propagandistic & need to give more info. on role of SADF  
→ research grp. to gather info.

Serving conscripts - major focus.

But moves to set up Vets group.

during

past

all stages.

Schools group to focus on going to army. pre

(2) Jwb: Still in process of discussion. Pre-m. disc. seems that not changing fundamental message of ECC.  
Focus been on compr. what's meant by memb. voice; creative activ.  
Front: competing & other orgs. re: alliance politics. (SFF; free left)  
needed to re-evaluate workings of front ∴ evaluate memb  
eg: associate memb.  
Jodac playing NB role esp. in ECC house-meetings to give educat  
into hse meetings. Channelling new memb. to & fro into diff. org →  
aim is to build democratic movt.  
Some shift towards closer focus on conscripts & vets → emerged from  
house meetings.

(3) Pub: Initial concept-disc. focused on evaluation of ECC's context  
thru' last WINC campaign. Recog. that confusion in public of who  
& what ECC is.  
Discussed ECC's history; previous content & form; constituency (also  
need more focus on conscripts & vets)  
Need to focus more on material needs of conscripts; also pupils &  
cadets.  
Role of ECC in NDS a) short term - alliance pols. but always linked.  
b) long term - thru' mil. issues want to move  
pp. into & pol. activity ∴ imp.  
to keep single issue focus.  
Need camps. that relate to conscripts & township pp: k:  
Push legal constraints & stop censoring ourselves  
Clearly remain 1 issue camp. but place conscript in A context more  
strongly & ∵ not org. for disillusioned PFP types. Need to support other  
orgs. that can fulfill that need.  
Message det. too much by our inaccurate analysis of what our  
constit. needs.

## Campus report:

- a) SRC Elections : weigh up ads & disads. of running & no pos. on whether or not to run.

Need to look at ads

exper. in student govt.  
& budget allocatn.

heightens public face

improves links w/ admin

legitimacy on campus.

clearly not. Gets sucked into

Are post camp. acts. advantageous for ECC - clearly not. Gets sucked into SRC ? :: lost to ECC directly. lines of accountability need to be fleshed out.

running also dep. on pol. stance of SRC body eg: Stell.

Need to weigh if ads. of running greater than losing key p. in ECC.

- b) Campus militancy : basic guidelines recog. regional diff. & ..

(i) to what extent ECC's constit. mobilised around the issue then ok for ECC to id. & start action.

(ii) inde. (key) participating in demonstrations are security risk

(iii) raise awareness of what means to be ECC activist & maintaining our broad appeal.

Strategy will be the crit. on which decide above.

- c) liberal alliances :

## VRAW Tour:

Timing: Motivation for March '88

- need to use traw to build air walk into wet areas
- & : need to do spade walk.

pg 16

X

- campus benefit most post Orientation & go most gains.
  - need > time to org. tour.
- ⇒ March - April '88 - rough estimate.

## SACBC proposal:

- \* How effectively can ECC participate in this project wth SACBC & not alienating.
- \* Starting point is to give issue to churches sub-grp & then det. if ecc joins in concurrent alt. service type campaign.
- \* better connection betw. 23 & SACBC.

## S<sup>n</sup> Africa WJP:

ECC needs to regain initiative & need to do something big & creative.

WJP's project always had impact.

Proposal: - concurrent projects in Namibia, Mozambique & S. Africa.

Motivation: 1/12 project in 8 countries

dev. prim. health care

comm. id's. needs :: need consulted.

Groups incl. pp. rep. diff. constit.

Aims: listed in proposals.

Concerns: - Give SA's credibility to other countries & int'l. world.

- Impractical & esp. in Mozambique - language probs.

- Process of comm. consultm happens at grassroots  
almost imposs. to do ⇒ need to look more

E report:

- a) Not v. diff. from b/52 report - mentioned conceptual discussion - ECE at the Crossroads - where to now - happening most regions.
- b) General Security.
- c) Morale & recruitment.
- d) Mostly internally focussed - reworking structures
- e) No long-term camps.
- f) Int. Mandolin day.

(2) Dom. contd.

Steering comm. to look at format - how does new form. get absorbed into national process. launch ± mid August.

Aagon: involved in group areas evictions. (involved in camp. - liaison pers. on camp. struct.) Survey at w's in area to look at their attitudes.

(3) Jhb:

- a) Focus for Jhdac in SFF; Active in Fedbaw's EA; actstop action
- E TIC & Jhdac - focus on group areas evictions. Flat area comms:
- Joyco (non-racial youth congress) - links to recruit new members. both ways.

SFF: post election → general evaluation & decision to form new conf.  
structs → sub-comms

Push to create space for ind. membership;

2 main bodies.

Co-ord comm

Gen. Body.

working sub-gps.

Membership: a) orgs. & loose subscript\* (agree to manifesto; very)  
                    ind. subscribers

→ all come to GBS - camps. conceptualised here.  
→ has power to constitute sub-gps.

Co-ord comm: 2 reps from each sub-grp.

2 reps from sub-scribing orgs.

subsidiary org. pay long but no rep - i.e. can dissociate.

Final decisions reside in co-ord. comm.

### ③ Pub:

New initiative (PDA) set up in March/April - old Liberal Party - unable to launch itself - not suff. in touch & broader pol. movt.

→ PDA's profile ↑ over elect. period.

Funct: - core grp. does ag. + planning.

- educat. seminar for broader grp.ing.

Probs: lack of activities & org. skills.

" " cohesion & sense of direction

Actions: re-impos. of 12 June - public mtg.

New conf. & press statement (? similar to UDF)

Joint initiative in PDA & EEC to set up grp. to draw in new membs. (co-ord. activities & discuss jointly issues in white community) ⇒ would want to incl. other orgs eg: BASH, Descan, LDP; Neua; Nusas; (similar to SFF)

Formalize structs: aim to consciously plan joint acts.

??: should PDA aff. to UDF.

(25/7 - mtg. to discuss alliance)

### Strategic Pointers:

FC - how ws can exist as formula for future.

Academic boycott - access to academic constit. (breadth-butter issue)

- more educat. input.

Non-racialism

Vigilante - dev. pol. resp. in w-community to it.

expose Inkatha death squads

Front - ↑ co-ord & cohesion at national level.

Educat - publicity to educat. crisis + dev.

Call for allies: - diff. emphasis in diff. regions.

- implications for national co-ord.

National Conference.

OCT 17

Issues

Dinary

To be sold at R5.00 & odd prior to public distrib.

Record - CT local bands

Cost 1½ thousand upfront & making it in early-mid '88.

Need to solicit bands from elsewhere.

Title needs discussion.

Calendar

7 pages. Spiral band (R9.99)

Theme: The Conscript. Dates & symbols will reflect that.

Intl. Record:

Revised proposal to be sent to regions

Discussion to be done in regions on practical implementation of his proposal. Principles seem to be worked out ∴ need to decide if it's practically possible.

CIR Book

Need to discuss process of accountability & review for LN.

Proposal: national ECC set up nat. review grp. to meet at Nat. Conf. Task: review content of book & det. if book reflecting ECC.

Regions to nominate 1 ind. per region (flexible #'s)

Smears

Have concerted & co-ord. campaign against ECC.

Updates

Vets for Victory: branch at Natal command

NCC present at Don. churches fest (26 August)

Letter's column.

Stickers: peace off

Every conceivable choice (ECC)

Gay smear - graffiti posters.

targetting ind. thru phone calls.

Pp. writing = ECC but not members.

Office petrol bombed.

Our response: press statements denying issues.

Personal support to ind. members being harassed.

"I support ECC" stickers randomly.  
NSF newsletter on campuses.

(2)

Response: Letters to housewives  
about asking record.

Go through legitimate channels of investigation so we come out more credible.

Take legal action

Go through parliamentary channels & present them with facts.

#### NB\* Task

- legal aggressive action against smears.
- Must tactically review our legal strategy.
- Assess carefully what issues will give us most mileage.
- Need to link to State directly to the middle level lies.
- Need to take up the personal abuses.
- Need substantiated evidence.
- Smear updates on each phone around.
- Gather any pointers indicating State involvement.

\* Ak to do it for SA & SADF response.

#### 7. Survey:

Ght. to take responsib. now but regime to bring forward Q's & suggestions for contacts for may.

AK CT to approach Edusa on funding.  
AK speak to CT.

#### 8. Resources Proposal.

Noel Stott - SACBC

#### 9. Stellenbosch.

Possibility of losing a branch.

Need to explore sig. inroads into the Afric. community.

Concentrated national focus on how we deeper & cut across well in Afric. areas;

NB to get message across to the Afric. areas is ... not to hold a principled line on maintaining an ECC in Afric. areas.

Contradictory aspect → value of united response against SADF has been encapsulated in ECC.

What's going to be more effective its anti-mil. war.

③ How does the new focus for ECC affect the way in which Africa's can insert into ECC.

### East London:

The use of ECC as a strategy in that area needs to be looked at. Can maintain a movement of self-maintenance & self-recruiting.

### The Way Forward.

Regional reports: (COI has come out with 5 specific foci)

- ① CT: - Research grp into area of milit.  
- Conscription - Dev. int ECC grp. to look at issue of how to focus a conscript.  
- Alt. Service

Nature of conscripts group: primarily campers.

Whole decisive Q → what is the conscript

- ② GHT - Have discussed the issue several times but unable to take it much further.  
In danger of "just following my leader"  
Practical implications to implement new focus not worked.

- ③ PE - Discussion not taken further at all.  
Issue of vets being raised as imp; but nothing real  
raising all issues being raised as feeling like ECC's  
about how the camps of how it all hangs together.  
- W2 - SFT  
eg: - COSBY  
- CAS  
- SAERB  
- Action around 23.

- ④ Kmts - In planning for future years looked at theme on conscript & taking softer line.  
Phalaborwa, piisa or Peth option - pamphlet.  
\* be more specific.

- ⑤ UCT - lack of conceptual discussion on this issue is confusion on what it means for ECC to be 'sympathetic' to the conscript.

↳ Criticism of soft line of ECC is coming from the reports: need to remember our baseline as anti-apartheid.

(4)

(6) JHB -

- a) Why need to focus on conscripts
- b) How do we address "
- c)

Come out w/ concrete proposals.

(7)

Stell.

Sense that always spoken for conscript.

(8)

Durban -

Re-discusses same issue of how focus on conscript.

Need pp who we do mil. service. Inst. are conscript into org. Use VVAW not as starting point but building the new direct.

Need also to focus on Kyr.

(9)

Pta - No furthering of conceptual disc.

Campus most int. in this area.

Pub. survey on campus to det. who came to their pts to or after the army.

Setting up CAS on campus - for all conscripts.

Cautious on being too supportive of soldiers.

(10) Pta. -

Focus on Rights of Conscripts - access to schools & job.

(10)

Where to now:

What's the focus on the conscript now.

What's the conscript <

4 categs <  
schools  
national service  
campers  
Dads army.

Trying to compr. their pos.

Need more knowledge

Bringing together of how conscripts affected by conscription.

- ③ Key Q's.

① Did we join the  
How do we unite all these types of dissent unwilling comp. C.O.'s.

② Image is memb. of our ECC  
- not subjectively well liked to the heads of  
councils.  
- need to be experts at mil.

③ How do we recruit them?  
support base      constit. - widening.

④ What is our support base & what's our  
constituency amongst the council.

⑤ Security issue - ECC +

⑥ Ide of f  
" " other sub-councils don't form a  
council.

⑦ Image of our org.

⑧ How ECC explains our pos. to W&L, etc.  
intra org.

⑨ Conq off & how do we take it

6

## A. De Klet Proposals

Need to take our lead from Samora & Nelson's perhaps strategize alongside her.

How does ECC off course take up this issue.

## B. Ivan Toms.

Call up for Nov 12<sup>th</sup>. Reviewed our strategy and secrecy of campaigning around call up & decided that should go public - can integrate our conscript focus onto this camp.

Legal: advised SADF that the cont. call-up is seen as harassed & will take it to Supreme Ct.

2 people → 12/11  
trial

Must do a national campaign. (1st week of Nov.) → public & bigger forums.

### Nat. Campaign

How do we use it to fit into

- Aims:
- to present Evans's viewpoint to the conscript.
  - to highlight role of ESTAB
  - build support around object.

- Slogans:
- Conscripts Need alternatives - Support Ivan Toms.
  - Rejects in any uniform.
  - being consc. of his stand & aim not to alienate conscripts,
  - An awareness throughout the campaign that he is a soldier objecting.
  - Estab. a WJP project - in solidarity & Evans's stand.
  - pushing alt. demands
  - The 23 to do symbolic action.
  - His stand is in support explicitly of all the various stands & trying to unite all of them.

7) Tour.

Nov 1st - 7<sup>th</sup>

Fri 30<sup>th</sup>: Start.

CT → JHB → Dbn → PE → CT.

Then 2nd PG

3rd July

4<sup>th</sup> Dbn

5<sup>th</sup> JHB

6<sup>th</sup> Pta

7<sup>th</sup> → Return to CT.

Feb Call-up:

JHB - get copy of JHB from Ra.

Dnb : national cap. linked up & VVAW  
KYR info - directly before is poor line but  
extended beyond call up date.

PE: - hang before Feb - so Dec / Jan.  
- Use 8<sup>th</sup> WJP & VVAW at same time.  
- Give encl. ads.  
- KYR's national service booklets.  
- Newsp's ads.

Dbn — Focus on KYR & to be separated from  
VVAW 'cos major focus a cause optional line.

Pta: — KYR's info  
— Might have set up CAS.

CT —

GHT — Gimmicks — polish brushes & ECC logos,  
KYR's booklet.  
Party to send off hoop

### ⑧ Preparation:

\* Plan to prepare it - all orgs. send info.  
Draw in Cosy.

regards

### WAN

- late March / April '88 - Dom & Ght.
- August call-up (PG)

### 5<sup>th</sup> WJP.

Proposals to Hn & Hogan  
No contact & time  
\* Project any member activists & the focus of voice has been  
to broad.



Conceptual yes / No  
\* Practical dates for it.

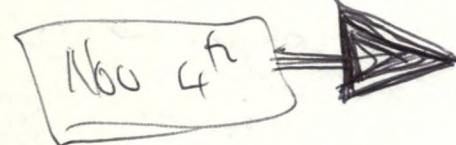
### Memorandum:

Withdrawn due to

- a) lack of enthusiasm for idea.
- b) harassment of activists.
- c) lack of finances.
- d) SACP much more in line & our focus & needed more effort.

### SABC

Q's for discussion: Role of other orgs. in the running  
of the proj. over the choices.



How does ECC get involved  
- to estab. it  
- to direct it  
- to publicize it

⑨ ASP for Exiles etc.

## Inkatha in Natal.

2 issues

Inkatha is main issue  
Violence created by Inkatha.

What's our response to the SADF  
going into townships.

ECC gets drawn into seeing this as the major issue.

Tactically - focus on  
Namibia  
Angola  
Bots.

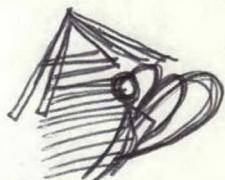
Nationalize Q. of the role of the SADF.

Even - consult.

ECC activists do get involved in Inkatha issue as concerned whites.

SADF drawing

ECC in Coloured & Indian areas.



SADF ↑ use black hoops, so whites die less often.

Easy to shift blacks not ↓ to go into any.

Must be done in conjunct w/ those ages in the townships.

→ They're not conscripted.

Take it up as a pol.

Joyce report →

Must walk in these areas but here bala.  
engagement w/ these ages & must see ourselves as  
resources for these progr. ages, have their speakers  
on our platforms.

Affiliation of comm. ages is dependent on accepting our better lives.

Take our policies further  
make it easier for people to object

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**END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)**

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