

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN: NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

31/8/90 - 2/9/90: JOHANNESBURG.

MINUTES

PRESENT:

National Secretary.
National Organiser.
National Treasurer.
University of the Witwatersrand.
Johannesburg.
Bloemfontein.
Pietermaritzburg.
University of Natal (Durban).
Durban.
East London.
Grahamstown.
University of Cape Town.
Cape Town.

APOLOGIES:

Pretoria.

ABSENT:

Stellenbosch.

1. OPENING.

The National Committee (NC) was opened by Mandy Taylor at 9:00 pm.

- Delegates were introduced and the purpose and goal of the NC were discussed to facilitate the participation of NC representatives.
- A steering committee consisting of William, Mandy R., Jonathan and Roddy was elected.
- The Agenda was reviewed and explained.

2. REGIONAL REPORTS (See written reports).

East London.

- Held a very successful focus entitled "Disarming Society: A focus on conscription and conflict in South Africa." There has been some follow up to the focus week with a small meeting for those people who attended which gave background to ECC and its issues and campaigns. Nothing has been planned until the end of the year, but the task group is keen on dealing with ECC campaigns.

Bloemfontein

- Branch has been formed with a small general membership and a 4 person exec. House meetings have been organised to give information to people on what ECC is about. An anti-CCB march was organised under the leadership of ECC and included organisations such as the DP the ANC, LHR, and COSATU. Unfortunately permission for the march was refused by a small delegation was still able to submit a list of demands to the

relevant authorities. ECC has experienced some intense harassment from the AWB. ECC has also been playing a key role in contacting and informally working with the People for Peace group in Welkom.

University of Cape Town.

- UCT has a reasonably large ECC branch but has been suffering a slump in morale due to a lack of direction in their programme. With the creche building project at the moment people have developed renewed interest and enthusiasm in ECC and its work. They have identified the need to increase their profile on campus and will be running a multi-cultural anti-war festival.

Cape Town.

- See report.

Grahamstown.

- See report.

University of the Witwatersrand.

- See report.

Johannesburg.

- See report.

Pietermaritzburg.

- See report.

University of Natal (Durban).

- See report.

Durban

- See report.

SATURDAY 1/9/90

3. ASSESSMENT OF ECC.

- Input by Steering Committee.

A. - On the ground branches are not as strong as they were in the past.

B. - There is a disparity between the strength of the individual branches and the work they have been able to do. Such as Johannesburg being able to use strong press interest in COs for good publicity around ECC and anti-conscription issues in new and traditional media forms: M Net, 702, 604, Sunday Times Metro story.

C. - Our numbers no longer directly equal the work we are able to do and the publicity we are able to gain.

- We need to focus more on the "power politics" of the day to spread our affectivity and influence.

D. - We need to concentrate on the concept of "Maximum impact - Minimum effort". We need to recognise that building a mass organisation is no longer possible and that the strategy of mass campaigns needs to be assessed rather than continually implemented.

E. - We need to acknowledge the dramatic changes in the political climate and the way that these changes have affected "white areas" progressive politics and the nature and scope of ECC issues. We need to acknowledge that the closing up of certain areas of our work are NOT defeats but in many ways victories achieved through hard campaigning work.

- We need to stop assessing our present work in terms of our past work and rather root our present work in a thorough understanding of the politics of the day.

F. - We need to acknowledge that there is a strong base line of commitment by our activists to ECC work and issue and that many of them are skilled and experienced workers.

G. - Our campaigns, while many of them have been successful, are generally devoid of any national programme or content. While it is important that branches develop and carry out their own programmes we need unifying national campaign work to build ECC as a national campaign.

- We also need to priorities our work to ensure that we do not overload with too much work and end up getting nothing done.

H. - We need to discuss very seriously the relationship between the town and campus branches and where possible pool our resources and energies, while at the same time recognising the differences in constituencies.

I. - We must acknowledge that we have a "name" and over 6 years of creative and effective campaign history behind us. The mass appeal we were able to achieve at times in our history may not be possible today but we still enjoy the silent support of many South Africans.

J. - We must carefully asses where we are going and ensure that our campaigns and existence is in close relationship with the politics of the day rather than out on a limb.

- At the same time we must be realistic and need at all times to debate and asses our direction without shying away from informed and appropriate action.

Comments

- We need more unity between our branches - information sharing and national connections through joint campaigns.

- Perception that because Durban took up issues of non-violence and peace they are stronger than other branches that have not dealt too much with the issue.

- White areas activists are now spread over a number of areas such as the ANC, UDF affiliates, broad work organisations, professional organisations or no longer involved in active politics. eg. 2 years ago people would have chosen ECC rather than JODAC. Now people would choose ANC rather than ECC.

- A lack of national activity and a vagueness in ECC's message has had an effect on activists and leadership. - Perception that ECC's issues are slowly falling away.

- Need to find ways of building morale and enthusiasm and we need to be more directed to conscripts themselves.

- We used to be strong because we had a clear direction - now we are weak because we have little direction - we need direction and clarity to build us as an organisation.
- Issue of conscription seen as past issues by many of our activists and therefore not prioritised.
- Recognise that peace is sometime an effective call.
- Must assess whether we have a clear role for ourselves.

Input by steering committee on National conference.

- 2 thrusts were identified
 1. Conscription and the related issues.
 2. Peace, non-violence and reconstruction and reconciliation.
- Conscription thrust had three campaign areas identified:
 - Call-up action.
 - Objector support.
 - Safe return campaign.
- Violence/peace/reconciliation had five campaign areas identified.
 - Welkom.
 - Natal.
 - CCB.
 - Peace festival.
 - Ambulance proposal.

General comments by steering committee.

- Need to be tying up issues as much as possible.
- Need to be assessing in the new year ECC's role for the next year and if it has a role in 1991.
- Need to consider three scenarios for ECC's future:
 - Carrying on until the bitter end.
 - Building a new organisation with new issues (peace).
 - Taking ECC's issues into other organisations.
- Need to consider our constituency in the current climate.
 - Has it changed.
 - If it has how and what are the new areas to work in.

4. ECC'S ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS TODAY.

Brief input given by Roddy on the state of politics in South Africa at the moment.

1. General comments.

- The negotiations phase that South Africa has entered is a phase that cannot be reversed.
- Within this political context there is a clear commitment to the concept of negotiations, in some form or another, by most of the key political parties and forces.
- At the same time South Africa is experiencing a range of socio-political and economic difficulties:
 - Education.
 - Health.
 - The economy.
 - Township management, finances and political control.
- SA is experiencing political polarisation on the one hand particularly to the far right and far left of the political spectrum.

- At the same time the previous "battle lines" and political "goal posts and fences" have shifted dramatically.
- SA has seen the emergence of new political forces, alliances and potential alliances:
 - ANC.
 - PAC.
 - NP and its multi-racial membership.
 - Inkatha Freedom Party.
 - Far right wing.
- Associated with the real developments in strategy around alliances and the emergence of multi-racialism in many organisations that have traditionally been race based.
- As well as this there is a dramatic sense of confusion within organisations either between the leadership and the members or between different leaders or between an inner core of leadership and an outer core. e.g.
 - ANC / MDM - Confusion around negotiations - armed struggle and nationalisation.
 - NP - Noted confusion and lack of communication between inner leadership, general leadership and voters.
 - CP - Divisions beginning to emerge in leadership around negotiations.
 - PAC - Similar confusion to CP on issue of negotiations.
- At same time there is a massive struggle of support within the black community as varying political groupings particularly Inkatha and the PAC challenging the ANC / MDM support.

South African politics at the moment is a bit like a dusty room that has just had a burst of air pumped into it. At the moment there is dust all over the place and its difficult to see the room. When the dust settles it will settle in new places and the nature of the room will have been changed for good.

The "white community".

We look particularly at the white community because:

- It is ECC's traditional constituency.
- ECC has a strategic task of organising whites to reject apartheid and involve themselves in the move towards peace and democracy in South Africa.
- The white community is the most powerful economic and political block in South Africa and therefore cannot be dismissed, ignored or simply rejected.

What are the white community's concerns at the moment:

- Insecurity
 - NP supporters don't really understand what is going on - Or they have a "hack" assessment of "we need to go forward to a new South Africa and we should not dwell on the wrongs or rights of the past". There is little sense of contrition.
 - DP and traditional liberals feeling confused and alienated with how politics in South Africa is developing.
 - General sense of alienation from the negotiations process.

- Violence
 - All sections of the white community can not or do not understand the current conflict.
- The Economy
 - Reacting to the debate on nationalisation with a "knee jerk" commitment to free market principles rather than addressing the question of wealth disparity.

The "Masses"

- Social, political and economic crisis.
 - The issues that sparked the 1973 strikes, the 1976 schools crisis and the revolt of 1984 - 1986 still remain:
 - Education.
 - The work place and wages.
 - The township environment and township administration and financing.
 - associated with this crisis are high expectations of what various liberation movements will be able to provide once they are in power.
 - Also organisations are struggling to develop new political strategies as the pure politics of resistance is no longer as an appropriate strategy as it was before.
 - Debate about "duel power" beginning to emerge.

Concluding comments

- We must realise that the changes that have occurred are victories to the political struggles of the past.
- That the ANC has only been un-banned for 200 days after being banned for almost 30 years.
- That time is needed to develop new strategies and tactics.

2. Small group discussion.

1. How is ECC perceived by the South African community?

- New level of tolerance
- Not a force to be reckoned with because we are seen to have no issues.
- In the black community conscription is not perceived to be a major issue but ECC and in particular COs are regarded with respect and support.
- Smaller support base in the white community except possibly among students.
- Less of a threat to the white community - more intense challenges that ECC at the moment.

2. Which constituencies do we wish to influence and what has been their experience of the changing nature of South African politics?

- Groupings with direct access to political power.
- Our old constituency who still support us.
- The campuses.
- We need to broaden out and begin dealing with other issues.

3. What ECC issues have closed up?
 - Angola, Namibia and the front line states.
 - "Troops in the townships".
 - "Apartheid war" type campaigns.
4. What ECC issues remain?
 - Conscription.
 - CO's and CO trials.
 - Returning war resisters.
 - WJP style actions.
 - The CCB.
 - Violence.
 - Alternative National Service.
5. What new ECC issues have emerged?
 - Militarisation of the right wing and its access to SADF arms and training.
 - The security forces and their accountability to all of South Africa's people.
6. What are the politics of conscription over the next 6 months.
 - Negotiations may well lead to the phasing out of conscription.
 - Increasingly important role of monitoring the role of the security forces.
 - De-racialisation of The SADF may well be a gradual process.

5. DEVELOPING A PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

1. Buzz group reports.
 - a. Return of Exiles
 - Can be a national campaign.
 - Raise issue such as why did they leave.
 - Expose the contradictions of conscription at the moment.
 - Appeal to a broad range of South Africans.
 - Give context to the general return of exiles such as construction for a new South Africa.
 - b. Reconstruction
 - More of a long term component of our work.
 - assumes that ECC will be around to see this programme through.
 - "Major league" work - do we have enough people to do a proper job?
 - c. Other issues
 - Need a clarification campaign as to why ECC is still around as well as to use this for recruitment.
 - Our support is not as great as before - we must stick to work that has impact.
 - we need to have a real understanding of the concept of "peace" and how it can be raised politically.
 - Need to be giving a message to the conscript.

2. Buzz groups on the criteria we should use in assessing the possible campaign directions.

- We must have reconstruction / reconciliation / peace / hope in the future message.
- Must develop an awareness of community needs, conscripts needs, returnee needs.
- Our message must be clear, directed, . easy to understand, with a positive message.
- We must set clear goals for ourselves and ensure that we do not over extend ourselves with work.
- We must create maximum impact with limited resources.
- Our campaigns must be dynamic, attractive and educative and must be used to reproduce membership and leadership.
- We must not try and direct campaigns towards mass mobilisation as in the current climate it is not possible.
- Our campaigns must be connected with the politics of the day.
- They must make an impact on the political decision makers of the day.
- Our campaigns must be national as far as is possible.

The steering committee then came up with a composite list of criteria. These were:

1. The campaign must be national in nature.
2. It must work under the concept of "maximum impact - minimum effort".
3. The campaign must be in touch with the political issues of the day:
 - Power politics
 - Positive future looking / peace orientated.
 - Current political issues of the day.
4. Each campaign must have clear objectives and goals for ECC and a clear message for the general public.
5. Each campaign must build our organisation in terms of membership, understanding, coherence and morale.

5.1. LOBBYING

The National Party.

The background to this issue was explained and a copy of Stofle Van Der Merwe's letter was circulated. CT have already sent a letter to the Minister of Defence and are waiting a response. The possibility of Magnus not responding or responding negatively was discussed and it was felt that a variety of options should then be considered:

- Write back to Magnus.
- Go directly to FW.
- Go on an all out media blitz.

The final approach would be to embarrass the government into meeting with us.

It was suggested that CT carry on with this area and that they should chose a delegation if the meeting is a small one. If the meeting is a large one then the regions should be able to participate in identifying a suitable delegation.

Emphasis on quality rather than quantity in regard to the delegation.

The African National Congress

Contact up to now with the ANC was outlined. It was asserted that while this contact had been useful for the small issues we were raising it was not directed to ANC power structures and did not deal with the overall issue of conscription.

The paper (Lobbying the ANC: a discussion paper) was read.

In discussion it was emphasised that regions must discuss and come to a common understanding of who should formally meet (organisation), what issues should be raised and whether the idea of regional meetings before a national meeting was a good idea. Time was emphasised as a crucial concept and it was stressed that a national meeting had to happen by the middle of November.

Regions therefore should give special emphasis to this task.

A process was outlined in the paper.

It was the feeling of the NC that ECC should be meeting with the ANC on a regional and National basis but that these delegations should be made up of as broad an ECC grouping as possible (i.e. objectors, community servers, women, ANC and non ANC members, churchy ECC members etc.)

5.2 THE SAFE RETURN OF WAR RESISTERS

See COSAWR report and JHB proposal.

It was noted that while there may be a problem with either JHB taking the lions share of the work or the campuses being unable to get involved in the return closer to the 1/12 these problems were inevitable as the date and entry point had already been booked.

It was stressed that the return media must not simply have material on the return but also on why these people left, what exile was like and why they are returning and the possible problems associated with their return.

Buzz groups on new ideas.

- UN and EC resolution on the return of war resisters.
- Need creative media - stickers, statement posters, postcards and T shirts.
- We need to push the theme of reversing the brain drain.
- For the advert / statement we need celebrity endorsements as well as political organisation.
- We need to investigate the use of TV - Carte Blanche and Network.
- We can use the postcards to popularise the campaign and then collect all the signed postcards which can then be handed over by a delegation of friends and family of the returnees to either the Minister of Defence or the Minister of Justice.
- We need personalised articles in magazines like Cosmo and Fair Lady as well as other journals.

Further discussion on the ideas thrown up in the buzz groups.

- Postcards - Good idea - We can use the postcards to publicise the campaign in a whole range of sectors
 - On the campuses.
 - At ANC meetings.
 - Through our mailing lists.
 - Through other organisations mailing lists.
 - In shopping centres.

- TV - Good idea - We should contact M-Net and SABC to let them know about this aspect of the exile issue and that we would be willing to help if they wanted to do anything on exiles.
- Our overall message:
 - Exiles are returning to build the future.
 - Give them amnesty from the call-up.
 - Play down the small number by emphasising that they are testing the waters.
 - Exile is no holiday.
 - Build in figures of how many people have left because of conscription - Here we can use the CPS figures.
- Some tasks were outlined at this point in the agenda, others were allocated at the end of the agenda:
 - Postcards - All regions to distribute and use as creative ways as possible to get postcards signed.
 - All regions must place priority on getting celebrity endorsements and organisational endorsements from as wide a range of people in the regions as possible.
 - Press feature articles - CT to investigate Cosmo - JHB to investigate Fair Lady - Other possible publications should be brainstormed and investigated.
 - Embassies who have given asylum status to exiled COs should be contacted and informed of the campaign. Their support should be won over as far as possible either publicly or through pressure on the government - National and COSAWR.
 - The United Nations and the European parliament should be contacted for some statement of support - National and COSAWR.

A small sub committee of NC was established to look in more detail at media and report to NC later in the agenda.

5.3 THE PEACE FESTIVAL

See Durban report.

Comments:

- A National peace festival could well be stretching our resources too far.
- Suggestion of a day/night event in Durban region (Jan / Feb 1991).
- Other regions may want to organise similar events around the same time.
- Full feasibility study appears not to have been undertaken (judging from the report) and in particular the goals and message of such a festival.
- It was suggested by NC that regions should decide individually about whether they host a regional peace festival. A national peace festival will require a far more detailed motivation if a branch wishes to suggest that we host one.

5.4 THE AMBULANCE PROJECT

See CT proposal.

Comments:

- Problem that the project could be controversial.
- Doesn't really fit our objectives and the criteria we set ourselves for assessing possible campaigns.
- The project appears to be a massive amount of work without a clear message or goal.
- Generally people thought the project was a nice idea but unfeasible for ECC to pull off. It was suggested that the project should be offered to another organisation such as the Red Cross.

5.5 THE CIVIL COOPERATION BUREAU

Comments:

- Regions gave input as to what work they had done on the CCB.
- It was stressed that we should be as alert as we can to the possibilities and opportunities when Harms releases his report.
- We should also, where possible, continue with existing information activities (e.g. showing the video, hosting house meetings, distributing pamphlets).
- One of the key issues of the day is the problematic "disbandment" of the CCB.
- National should continue to circulate the IBIIR reports.
- It is important to gear up for as rapid and thorough a response to the Harms and Heimstra reports as is possible.
- The booklet on the CCB will be distributed to the regions with the following allocations:

- East London	- 15
- Durban Campus	- 40
- Wits	100
- Johannesburg	
- Cape Town	- 50
- Grahamstown	- 40
- UCT	- 50
- Durban	- 50
- Pietermaritzburg	- 100
- Bloemfontein	- 40
- The cost is R905 plus tax for 500 copies. Regions will be informed when the booklets are ready and can send cheques to national for their allocation. The booklets would then be sent to them.
- It was stressed that the booklets should be sent to as wide a range of people as possible and not just the usual lefties.

5.6 VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA - NATAL AND THE TRANSVAAL

Comments:

- Brief reviews of the current violence in Natal and the Transvaal were discussed.
- It was suggested that ECC should not start its own monitoring work separate to that already done by various organisations.

- At the same time we should be particularly vigilant of the role of the SADF in the conflict situation and look towards focusing any monitoring role on the activities of the SADF.
- Natal ECC focus on:
 - Know your rights for communities patrolled by the SADF.
 - Mediating role between warring factions and security forces (see Durban report).
 - important for ECC to monitor SADF and challenge their excesses as part of our qualified support of the SADF in the townships.
 - About 60 000 copies of a KYR pamphlet are to be distributed to communities through COSATU, UDF, SAYCO and ANC.
- Durban gave input on their war toys campaign.

5.7 OBJECTORS AND THE CO MOVEMENT

Doug Torr proposal (see UCT paper)

Comments:

- NB that proposal be taken back to regions.
- Important that any militant action is highly dignified rather than just militant.
- Need to discuss whether ECC as an organisation hosts the action or whether it is more organic and not directly linked to ECC.
- Should also be raised at the COSG conference for discussion.
- Need to get clarity and comments as soon as possible as Mike Graaf's trial is on the 2/10/90.
- N.B. Questions for regions to discuss were reported on later in the agenda.

Stand of objectors (see COSAWR document)

Comments:

- Comments by COSAWR on the aborted July action should be taken back to the regions for discussion. Comments should then be fed to the National office for communication with COSAWR.
- The suggestion of a release of the register figures on the 1/12/90 at the Safe Return press conference was discussed and agreed on.
- It was stressed that regions should work as much as they wanted to on this action and that copies of forms collected should be sent to the national office for collation.
- On the suggestion by COSAWR that a specific call should be made for conscripts NOT to serve in the SADF it was strongly felt that neither ECC or the Register should make such a call not so much because of its legal implications but because it is not appropriate in the current climate and is unlikely to fall on any positive ground. It was stressed that this issue needed further discussion in the branches.

5.8 RECONCILIATION WORK

Welkom.

- Jan gave a report on what actions had occurred in Welkom organised by the group People for Peace. These included a peace picnic and church service and a planned sports day.

- It was noted that an organic organisation has developed with its own leadership and goals and that ECC's participation should now be one of support when ever requested.

- Welkom however is still tense after the march and harassment of marchers by the right wing, particularly the AWB.

- Jan and Bloemfontein ECC were congratulated for the hard work and dedication they had put into the organisation and development of this important initiative.

5.9 POLICY

See paper on policy formulation, troops in the townships draft policy paper, "10 point plan" draft policy paper and the new Cape Town ANS document to be sent to regions via national.

Comments on paper:

- It is possible to streamline the process to make it more efficient.

- Concern that the adoption of policy may be a problematic process as consensus may not be reached by all the branches. NC recommended that we should only adopt policy when all the branches agreed on a specific position. If one branch was unhappy with a position this position would have to be reworked until all branches were satisfied. Either that or ECC would not take formal policy on the issue under debate.

- Question of time and the ability of activists to discuss policy material in a reasonable time.

Adjustment to the process outlined in the document on policy:

- Add at the end of point 3.4. in the process section "for adoption".

- Delete in point 3.5 from "If no more ... to branches for adoption".

Other comments:

- Branches should have ideally discussed the three policy documents by the 15 October and should send their comments, additions, changes to the national office.

5.10 COSAWR ISSUES

See COSAWR paper

NC emphasised the need for regions to discuss the future of COSAWR and "Resister" and feed any comments to COSAWR via the national office.

6. IDENTIFYING OUR PRIORITY AREAS OF WORK

Stickers of varying colours were used to identify areas of key priority, areas of on going work and areas that needed far more discussion or should not be considered as campaign work. This section was able to identify the Safe Return Campaign and lobbying as key areas for priority of ECC energy and resources, areas of ongoing work were work around COs, the stand of objectors on the 1/12/90, policy formulation and adoption, the distribution of information on the CCB and violence monitoring on the role of the SADF in conflict situations. Areas of least priority were the peace festival and the ambulance proposal.

The comments and feelings of the delegates were noted by the steering group when they were given the task of drawing up a

proposed programme of action.

9. COSG CONFERENCE

Criteria for the 3 ECC representatives to the COSG conference were identified:

- Experience with COSG issues.
- Tolerance.
- Able to represent the interests of ECC.

NC made the recommendation that Ken Sinclair Smith (UCT), Marc Radus (Wits) and Roddy Payne (National) attend the conference as ECC representatives.

Issues that ECC felt they would want to see on the agenda were identified as:

- The Safe Return Campaign.
- The CO trials "passive resistance" proposal.
- Lobbying.
- The stand of COs in December.
- ECC - COSG relations.

11. NATIONAL CONTACT AND COMMUNICATION

Changes and additions were made to the national contact list. Regular contact between the regions and the national office was emphasised.

It was noted that contact was generally on the initiation of the national office and that this needed to be more balanced with the branches making the effort to contact national as well as national contacting the branches.

The idea of a national mailing list was discussed and it was felt that a national mailing list was only useful if we had a national publication.

The idea was put forward of using "The Objector" for ECC national news and the recommendation was from NC for national to contact COSG on this issue.

SUNDAY 2/9/90

7. DISCUSSION ON AND ADOPTION OF THE REFINED NATIONAL PROGRAMME OF ACTION

PRIORITY WORK

1. LOBBYING

1.1 THE NATIONAL PARTY

- On going work with Cape Town handling the project.

1.2 THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

- Regions have until the 21/9/90 to comment on the document circulated at NC and to suggest the best approach for this campaign.
- Revised document circulated to regions by 27/9/90.
- Final feedback on revised document by 4/10/90.
- Regions must meet with regional executive committees of the ANC by 31/10/90 and report on these meetings to national.
- National meeting with the ANC by 15/11/90 and coordinate with regions on the make up of the delegation.

2. THE SAFE RETURN CAMPAIGN

2.1 MEDIA GROUP REPORT

- Various types of media were identified. The priority areas were seen as the postcard, the pamphlet and the advert. Less priority areas of media were identified as a statement poster, stickers and a T shirt.
- The need for a unifying graphic for the campaign was stressed.
- The postcard and the advert (statement to be endorsed) should have much the same content in it.
 - This content could include:
 - Figures of people who have left SA because of military service.
 - The skills and experience of those people in exile need to be highlighted.
 - The small group needs to be explained in terms of "testing the waters / an advance party".
 - Demands would be:
 - No prosecution (amnesty for future offenses).
 - No call up.
- The pamphlet should have an A4 divided in 3 (similar to the COs pamphlets in design) lay out.
- It should contain information on:
 - The background and purpose of the return and the associated campaign.
 - Information on specific details of the campaign.
 - Background as to why people left.
 - Figures and statistics of those who have left.
 - Demands.
- The advert (statement of support / statement to be endorsed) should be used at the press conference and in the Sunday newspapers. Suggestion of the lay out for the advert being similar to the David Bruce national advert.
- We also need to raise money for the advert. Idea of R5 per individual and R20 per organisation.

It was emphasised that all information (such as in the advert, postcard and pamphlet) should be personalised as much as possible.

This personal content should explain:

- Why exile is shit.
- Why they left.
- Their feelings on coming back.
- Why they still won't serve in the SADF.
- Their commitment to South Africa and its people.

The video on exile that was shown at the national conference should be distributed to the regions to be shown to members and to be used as a resource as regions feel.

MEDIA TASKS

THE GRAPHIC.

- Regions should get artists to draw up a series of graphics. These should be sent to national who will then circulate them to the regions so that we can nationally chose a national graphic.

- National should contact COSAWR for the graphics they have been using.

POSTCARD.

- GHT to do lay out of postcard and printing.
- JHB to work with GHT on wording of postcard.
- JHB to organise postal address.
- As far as possible the postcards should be signed and collected in one go rather than getting people to post them to JHB.
- All signed postcards should be sent to JHB in a bulk package.

ADVERT.

- JHB to do wording of advert.
- Advert and endorsement form to be sent to regions for collection of endorsements and money for advert.
- AS BROAD A RANGE OF ORGANISATIONS AND WELL KNOWN INDIVIDUALS SHOULD BE APPROACHED.

PAMPHLET

- Durban to circulate draft wording for comment to regions through national.
- After working in comment on content, Durban to circulate final design of pamphlet for comment.

POSTER

- UCT to work on statement poster and phone regions for comment and orders.

T SHIRT

- Wits to work on T shirt and contact regions for numbers.

National numbers of media.

- Postcards - 10,000.
- Posters - 700.
- Pamphlet - 15,000 english.
- 3,000 afrikaans.
- T Shirts - 250 (flexible).

TIMING

- 19/9/90 to get graphics to national office.
- 25/9/90 Graphics to be circulated and preference relayed to national office.
- END OF SEPTEMBER postcard lay out and advert wording finished.
- MID OCTOBER pamphlet and all other media ready and distributed to the regions.

2.2 NON MEDIA SAFE RETURN PROGRAMME

- SEPTEMBER - Fair Lady, Cosmo and other magazines contacted as well as M Net and SABC.
- OCTOBER - Collecting postcards and endorsements of individuals and organisations start.
Distribution of pamphlets.
- NOVEMBER - Collecting postcards, endorsements and distribution of pamphlets continue.
Meeting of representatives of family and friends of returnees meet with either Magnus Malan, Minister of Justice or FW De Klerk. Presentation of postcards.

- 19/11 - 30/11/90 press build up.
- 24/11 - 30/11/90 media blitz - posters, stickers.
- D DAY 1/12/90 - Press conference at Jan Smuts.
 - CO stand at press conference.
 - Concert.
- 3/12/90 press conferences in Cape Town and Durban.

3. THE CIVIL COOPERATION BUREAU

Ongoing work.

Regions must respond to Harms and Heimstra reports when they are published.

Booklet on CCB should be distributed in the regions to influential people as well as appear on media tables at events.

4. VIOLENCE

No national programme.

Regions to deal with issue as they see fit.

5. UCT OBJECTOR ACTION PROPOSAL.

Should be discussed at COSG conference and in branches with particular reference to the questions that NC drew out.

Should remember Mike Graaf's trial on the 2/10/90.

See questions later in minutes.

6. STAND OF OBJECTORS.

Steady recruitment with regions working as they see fit.

Stand on the 1/12/90.

All forms (copies) to be at the national office by the 19/11/90.

7. POLICY

15/10/90 responses to draft policy documents (Troops in the townships, 10 point plan and ANS) and policy paper should be fed to the national office.

8. NEXT NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1/2/91 - 3/2/91 - East London.

National to coordinate.

A COMMENT ON THE FUTURE OF THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN.

While some of our members and some of the representatives at this national committee feel that ECC may not have a long term future we have outlined a programme of action until the end of the year which is tight, directed and achievable.

At the same time as working on the campaigns outlined in the POA we need to be discussing ECC's future and this will prove particularly useful after the end of the Safe Return Campaign.

We need to recognise that politics at the moment is very fluid. The next NC will be drawing the assessments of the ECC branches together and mapping a way forward for ECC and the campaign against military conscription in South Africa.

10. NATIONAL AND BRANCH FINANCES

As the National treasurer has set up the national account and some money has been received, regions will soon be getting a portion of their allocation.

Branches must fax through their account number and bank account details to Kevin as soon as possible.

By the 30/9/90 branches must send an income and expenditure statement from June to September to Kevin.

By 31/10/90 branches must have submitted a budget for 1991 (no matter how tentative) to the National Treasurer.

The salaries of the national workers were increased from R1500 to R2000 pm with this increase back dated to July.

ADDITION TO 5.7 OBJECTORS AND THE CO MOVEMENT.

Ken and Mandy presented a series of questions to facilitate discussion in the branches on the UCT proposal around the next CO trial.

Comments and responses to these questions should be directed to Ken by the 17/9/90 so that they can be included in the proposal that goes to the COSG conference.

1. How can we ensure that the action is seen as reasonable, rational and dignified?
2. How are we going to effectively convey the content of the action to the press and general public?
3. How are we going to ensure fair and clear coverage by the press?
4. Who is going to be seen organising this event.
5. Who is it going to be organised regionally and nationally?
6. What place will be the focus of the action?
7. What time period are we looking for when considering the action?

10. NATIONAL WORKERS

Natal worker proposal (see Durban report).

It was suggested by ECC that we should in principle agree to the idea of a paid person monitoring the role of the SADF in townships in Natal. What Durban and the national office must do is prepare a more specific proposal which describes in more detail the nature of the job and gives more of a specific job description.

This should include and deal with the questions:

- Full day or 1/2 day?
- Office worker or SADF monitor.
- Relationship to current monitoring work in Natal.
- Relationship to PMB ECC.
- Specific skill needed.

This more detailed proposal should be circulated to the branches via the national office.

The Natal branches should have authority on employing the person for the job.

Nomination for new National Secretary.

It was felt by NC that, while there was a national post now vacant with Mandy Taylor leaving ECC, Roddy would be able to deal with the work that the national office has to do. Certain aspects of this work, such as the finances and press clips had already been farmed out with the National Treasurer taking responsibility for national finances.

However, with ECC now only having one paid national employee, the amount of travelling to the regions that Roddy would be able to do would be limited.

It was proposed that until the end of the year Roddy would be based in the national office and would visit Bloemfontein, Cape Town and Stellenbosch branches in October.

Departure of Mandy Taylor, ECC National Secretary.

A motion was put to the NC on Mandy and the work she has done for the anti-conscription movement over the last 18 months.

This NC,

Noting

1. Mandy's supreme dedication to the anti-conscription movement.
2. The fact that she has been acting as ECC's national worker since our un banning at the beginning of this year.
3. Mandy's incisive role in COSG as the National Worker and her political direction during this difficult and complicated period in the anti-conscription movements history.
4. The fact that she has just ended her term as ECC's National Worker and over 16 months as a full time worker in the anti-conscription movement.

And believing that,

1. She has done sterling work in the revival of ECC.
2. Her commitment, enthusiasm and organisational abilities have been out standing.

Resolves to,

1. Formally thank Mandy for the role she has played in ECC and COSG.
2. Wish her well in her new job.

12. ASSESSMENT

+VES - Well organised, time well used, good direction from the steering committee, positive direction and national unity gained, thorough discussion, realistic.

-VES - Participation was not entirely even, information received on arrival could have been distributed before, Saturday's agenda was too intense, no action planned around the call up for January.

---> (way forward) - Circulate documents before NC for some branch discussion, tighter chairing and faster discussion, more breaks especially for the smokers, larger buzz groups, need to consider the January call up in our branches bearing in mind the limitation of the time of year.

13. CLOSURE

The important role of the NC rep was reiterated and it was stressed that the reps have a vital role in recreating the enthusiasm, direction and planning of NC in the branches. We then all said good bye and went home.

ECC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

31 Aug — 2 Sept.

1990

FRIDAY 31

Present: National (Roddy, Mandy), E.L., Pietermaritzburg, Grahamstown, Wits, S.A.B., Bloemfontein, Cape Town, UCT, UND, Durban

Absent: Stellenbosch, Pretoria (Apologies).

• Welcome followed by ice breaker etc.

• Regional reports:

E.L. → Focus on disarming society, very successful but little other action taken place.

Bloem → Has a branch, small GB & 4 member exec. House meetings & press release have caused increase in interest.

March combined with ANC & COSATU planned but disallowed on the day.

Protest meeting on CCB

Jan got fucked up by ANB

C.T Campus → Went into slump but enthusiasm is now good
WSP - building a creche in Kyalitsha, attracted members to ECC. Need to increase their profile on campus thro' future action like Anti-war Film Festival.

C.T → Struggling ∴ activity down & morale down.
House meetings & CCB focus been done
Part of WSP
Lobbying Government



Talk of a merging between C.T & Campus — will have further discussions after this NC.

Grahamstown → Nothing much since conference
Co-hesion & Morale low.

Rebuilt a monument & graves of victims of violence —
established good relations with S.A.V.E.O.

Problems in structure

AGM to take place soon.

Focus to be on training on activists.

SHB Campus → 20 regular members at GB.

Inexperienced ∴ long term plans become a problem.

Campus & SHB to work together but maintain separate identity.

Doug Torr — lots of support gained on this issue.

SHB → 3 in exec, meet sporadically, GB only meets if
with campus.

SHB feels it needs wits to maintain.

SHB has experience & Campus has members.

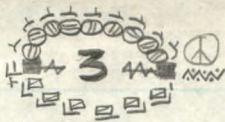
M-Net & Radio coverage

Maritzburg → Battling, few members

AGM attracted new people, planning CCB focus
& play

Durban Campus → Small with little activity

Looking forward to future campaigns & hopefully
gain support through active recruitment



Good standing on campus & ECC is well known.
consulted for activities by other organisations but
none of ~~these~~^{their} own.

Durban → strong core group with ~~casual~~ consistent exec.

More mediating, monitoring & informing communities,
not so much action.

WSP around Aug. call-up, to be ongoing.

Much work related to Natal Violence

Future plans are "anti-war toy campaign", "KYR" &
Mike Graaf's trial.

Brief Assessment of Reports -

• ~~steady~~ — encouraging with good action

~~richard~~ —

— more nat. policy needed

— campus' very good

— nothing else, everyone wants to go !!!

3. Assessment of ECC

1. Williams input

On the ground branches are not strong.

Disparity between size & state of branch & work it has been doing

(Eg: JHB → M-Net programme)

a) Numbers need not = strength.

Need to focus on 'power politics' - ie lobbying.

b) ~~Maximum~~ Maxi impact, Mini effort

c) Current political climate re: other orgs.

Specifically in white community

Need to stop living in the past.

Need new measures of our work.

d) Commitment exists

Campaigns are disjointed

Why? No Nat. Campaign.

Different work being done in diff branches.

→ We need to prioritise our work.

Need to look at Campus - Town relationship & working situation.

We have 'a name' ie: status in the community & in other orgs.

Doubts: We need careful assessment as to where we are going.

Need to be realistic, need to debate what we are doing.

fast fast

Comments

- 1) More unity btwn branches needed.
National movement / connection
- National campaigns & recruitments.
- 2) Drbn took issue of non-violence ∴ strong.
are other areas weak because of a lack of issue?
- 3) White activists are spread over a number of orgs
eg: Choice in past JODAC or ECC
Today ECC or ANC.
- 4) Lack of national activists therefore haven't the means to
create national campaigns. Low morale in exec ∴
dying out.
- 5) Find ways to build morale - esp where there are few
direct conscripts.
- 6) We used to be strong, now lack direction - we
need new direction & point to increase morale.
- 7) Issue of conscription seen as war ∴ not a priority.
- 8) Peace culture in Natal is working
- 9) Do we have a role?

William on N. Conf

2 thrusts

- 1) Conscription etc we still have an issue. 3 actions
- 2) Violence.

Conscription etc

3 actions → call-up action
→ Objector support
→ Safe return

Violence / Peace / reconciliation

seems to have been working in Natal re: white Com.

5 actions → Welton
→ Natal

→ CCB

→ Peace festival

→ Ambulance proposal.

Need to ~~worry~~ wind up issues
assess ECC's ding role.

Scenarios:

1) Carry on until bitter end

2) New organisation

3) Move to other orgs & raise issue in other orgs.

Constituency

Focus still on white, Conscript.

Need to move forward future.

4 ECC's issue in SA politics today

Ⓐ Roddys thoughts!

→ Negotiations is here to stay, at the moment.

Most parties ~~are~~ have an interest in this process.

(including PAC, CP etc)

→ SA is in social crisis re: Education crisis, Health crisis, Economic crisis, Township crisis

→ 'Polarisation of politics' - New forces are emerging.

~~are~~ NP now open, Inkatha now open, etc etc.

* Rightwing is a growth pains - number of organisations.

→ Confusion exists within orgs structure

Eg: In ~~the~~ ^{ANC} ranks viz: Nationalisation & flexibility

This will need time to work itself out.

Eg: In Nats - enormous shift, rank & file are following Deklerk but unconsolidated

Eg CP & ANB → Political realists.

Membership is emotional & unclear of policy.

Eg PAC also has this confusion.

etc etc.

→ Blood letting taking place.

Why? Socio-economic crisis, political power struggle.

→ White Community & ECC

- Traditional constituency

- Very powerful community - economic & political

- Massive insecurity exists.

- Could they be pushed over the edge & side with CP.

- No sense of ^{whites} acknowledging the faults of the past.

- Liberals are feeling disenchantment.

- Whites are alienated from negotiations.

- Don't understand / Can't understand the violence. all

sections of white community are struggling

with this.

- Whites are terrified of Nationalisation & respond by pushing a strong free market position.
- Education crisis - whites are concerned about "contamination" of white ed. by the black ed crisis

→ The Masses & ECC

- Socio-economic crisis - little material change.
 - The 'lost-generation' due to Education crisis
 - Housing crisis
 - Workplace is being used as a place to organise more than ever. Mgt is resisting this more than ever.
 - High expectations - the Freedom Charter will come into reality overnight.
- Also at this point - 'Nothing has changed'
Structures are struggling to establish itself.
- New strategies are being sought.

Security forces are isolated from these changes at this time.

⑧ ECC in this context.

(small group discussion)

Question 1 : Perceptions of the community.

① Tolerance - not a force to be reckoned with.

② Black community doesn't view it as an issue but we have ^{credibility}
White comm - less NB than before except maybe among students.

③ Less of a threat to white comm.

④

Question 2 Conscription

- People with power NP/govt & ANC.
- Old conscription still exists.
- Campus exists.
- Need to broaden out & table other issues

Q3 Closed up

Angola, Namibia.

'Troops in township'

Issues have shifted & changed.

Q4 Remaining issues

Conscription

CO's & trials.

Return of exiles

WJP & CLB

Violence - helps develop a mature standing

ANS (?)

Q5 New

Militarism of right wing, its access to info & arms etc.

Security forces & links with right wing

Q6 Politics of Conscription

- Negotiation → phasing out of conscription

Reversal of brain drain

Keeping the issue alive - 'Spreading the word'

- Conscription will probably exist in next 6m.

If negotiations continue it will have positive effect

- 'Security blanket' of govt.

- Right wing pressure on govt 'getting soft'
- Conscriptum phased out not switched off.
- Monitoring role is NB.

5 Developing A Programme of Action

Formulate guide to work for next 6 months.

Buzz-group discussion

- Return of exiles - 6 mths. - national campaigns
- Raise question - why did they leave?
- Thorough expose of SADF
- Appeal to broad population
- Context of broad return of exiles - construction ≠ destruction. Raise C.O. issues etc.
- End with a peace festival thingy.

Reconstruction: long term P.O.A. - assumes E.C.C.
major league work - not enough activists will continue to see programme through.
- region initiatives
- Why E.C.C. is still around - clarification media

Following: support not as great as before - must stick to work that has impact.

Bold statement about peace - society now = violence.
Creation of a peaceful climate - drop consumption.

"War Toys" "Disarming Society"

Encourage future conscripts that they have the option to object.

4 Criteria - Buzzgroups "Smoke a pipe for peace"

- Must have reconstruction; reconciliation; peace themes.
- Awareness of community needs, conscripts needs, returnees

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END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)

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