

A 8.17.6
Johannesburg 22/8/1986

Dear ECC's,

A promised report!

We have just had our "leadership" training weekend, which was an overall success. We still didn't get as far as climbing the mountains together, though! It was attended by exec, campus and 2 reps from each sub-committee. We went through an analysis of the State of the Nation, looking particularly at implications for ECC; the qualities and role of sub-com co-ordinators, identifying skills we need to develop, ECC's methods of working and also getting a thorough overall picture of activities, problems, strengths and mood in all the various parts of ECC; finally we discussed the Day of Action and "R2S" in detail. I think we came home with a deeper sense of unity and with an understanding of ECC as a whole, which seems to have been lacking since the S. of E.

Let me start with the Day of Action, which hasn't yet gone through full sub-com discussion, so this is based largely on the weekend away and exec perceptions. Essentially people came out with the same position as N.C. with respect to the nature of our participation, a joint call from national white organisations and linking our participation to ECC demands. As far as action goes, Joburg thinks we should not have a fast now, and should go all out for yellow ribbons. My feeling is that this may need to be rethought since it now looks as if this Day of Action won't happen for at least another month, and we had planned the yellow-ribbon campaign linking up R2S and the Day of Action.

We will be seeing UOF people this week about our participation in the campaign. You have most probably heard reports from

the COSATU CEC, where the Day of Action was in fact discussed for the first time within COSATU and a decision made to take the idea back to the grassroots, explain it thoroughly and organise around it before engaging in Action. So there is as yet no concrete date for the Day. Confusion also seems to exist amongst comrades + organisations as to whether the call is for a Day of Action or a day of Closure. I think it would make a difference to our participation + approach, but we need to try to get clarity before discussing it.

As far as Right to Speak goes, we have planned a fairly public campaign which was intended to link up with and lead up to the September Day of Action. It would involve

- * A VIP action (local nob, reps from affiliates and a sample of brave conscripts) go to Wits Command + place yellow flowers in gun barrels + spend time talking to the soldiers on duty, about their right to choose, to refuse township duty, to have alternatives etc.
- * A week later, a public meeting (originally to be just before the Day of Action)
- * A cabaret evening (featuring Jennifer Ferguson + the likes ^{maybe called 'Put the Yellow Ribbon on it!'} and devised especially for us) somewhere in the N. Subs?
- * Church congregations 'adopting' an ECC detainee + a similar township detainee; they would use comparison of their backgrounds + pamphlets to explain each's position, + have amnesty candles lit in their memory.
- * National Advert + pamphlet (this would be taken door-to-door in specified areas)
- * Media: Buttons, posters, 'Dummies', letter campaign to the press (already under way) feature article on anti-war movement in America talk shows on Radio (!)

All these actions would be tied together by a Yellow Ribbon Campaign. In a fit of unrealistic excitement we even went so far as to decide to get a Johnny Clegg type to rewrite the original song and cut a 7-single, which we would get to the top of the Charts! I think the record part has now died a quiet death, the song is being rewritten + will be used in the Cabaret, and the emphasis will be on getting yellow ribbons all over town. The ^{meaning of the} symbolism would be: release ECC + other detainees, let ECC organise, let troops come back from the war in the townships, let us stop apartied + build a just peace. We still have to work on this side of things more.

Structurally, we'll run this campaign through the sub-coms, with each one taking responsibility for a major action. A campaign group consisting of co-ordinators of each activity + any other enthusiastic person will see to overall co-ordination.

Affiliates (the Big Bogey) will be linked into the campaign through their involvement in the UP action, through articles in their newspapers, through supportive activities and through the Day of Action. We are also writing a letter to the papers signed by the Chairpeople of all the affiliates.

Outreach (the Other Bogey) will happen through collecting names for the mailing list + then holding housemeetings. We are hopefully going to reconstitute Contact Coms. to deal with all this.

One of the most promising developments over the last few weeks has been the integration of campus ECC into the rest of our activities. For the purposes of the Campaign, some campus people will be involved in our structures, and we will try to mirror activities on + off campus. Wits ECC, by

the way, is very proud to have the trusts + Dave Sadie on the SRC, after a very successful campaign in which ECC's presence on campus increased dramatically. As you know, it was a very dirty election, and we definitely have problems to deal with as a result. But all under control.

Wits people have been convinced to do National Campus Coord, so can we have names + phone numbers please? They also came up with the idea of sending around amateur videos of the people in various campus ECC's working, talking etc, so that other campuses can get an at-a-distance feel for student ECC activity and faces. What do other campuses think?

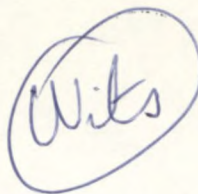
I have been asked to motivate an idea which has come up for next year (there are still optimists amongst us!); that is that we should organise a big Troops Out Fast ^{leading} ~~from~~ ^{between} the Feb. call-up. In Sharpsville Bay, possibly in conjunction with other actions by other organisations. I'm afraid that's the sum-total of the motivation at this stage, but can you bear it in mind before deciding to use a fast for any reason this year?

Otherwise... We have been having informal meetings with progressives from white organisations to try to identify where the white constituency is at as well as to renew starting up a Concerned Citizens type initiative again. It is an objective useful process anyway.

And we are trying to do something about the front. And generally our morale is high, but if only some of us could go home. Have you all?

And I think that is the end of this report. RSVP!

with much, much love and (believe me) constant thought
C. (for Feb.)

WITS REGIONAL REPORT

22 October, 1987.

Generally, our main problems has been our inability to keep new members interested in ECC. We have tended to get bogged down in discussions rather than campaigns. This, in turn, has affected our campaigning. Our Namibian Meeting was quite successful. Whilst the audience was small, it was predominantly white students who were not organisationally involved. The ECC speeches were good and having a conscript speak who had served in Namibia was very effective.

Our Referendum was quite a morale booster, particularly as we had not worked with campus in general for a while. Preparation previous to and discussion during the Referendum built up most peoples' understanding of ECC and consolidated membership. Taking ECC back onto campus made us aware of a lack of ECC profile and simultaneously, the support for our issue, once our position was clarified. The extent to which the Front participated in and supported the Referendum was also positive.

Recently, we have just changed our structures and elected a new Exec. While the result has been positive, the process leading up to these changes was particularly tense and negative. NUSAS, N/C, spies and personality conflict became issues of contention and private debate. The generally unfounded basis of these tensions is worrying, particularly as they did much to discourage newer members and divide ECC.

We would especially like to thank Nic and Clare in facilitating the sorting out of these problems.

Since our new Exec. and structures have come into office, we have held a Front meeting to find a means of getting more Front participation in defining campaigns and in making decisions.

The meeting was well attended and successful. An ad hoc decision to hold one meeting per term with the Front, plus our use of personal contacts, letters and attending their meetings, will hopefully, solve the problem.

As regards "Focus On The Conscript", very little discussion has taken place. We have tended to define our own direction and through planning discussions this topic has arisen but very informally.

Generally, security is slack due to the difficulty of resolving openness with a developed security consciousness without organisation. We still have not developed an effective method of dealing with spies and informers yet; there is a strong feeling that we are well infiltrated by the State.

Repression has been quite heavy this year, with phone call harrassment and smear material being sent to ECC members. The morning of our Namibia Day Meeting resulted in the Security Police raiding five Executive Members' homes and the Security Police used between 12-14 officers in this operation. Rooms were searched and some material seized, including the speech to be made that day at the meeting. The house of a new Exec. Member was raided - and as this member had little profile in the organisation, this indicated to us the level of Security Police monitoring both within and outside our organisation.

Heavy, hard-core Gay pornography was sent to Roddy three days before the raid and there seems to be a strong link between these two events.

Generally, there was a deepening of commitment among membership and a realisation of the seriousness of their involvement within the campaign.

JOHANNESBURG NC REPORT

1. WHITE ELECTION

a) Effect on the white constituency

The election was quite frightening in its aggression - particularly the issue of security. The results are also depressing and for some came as quite a shock. The demise of the PFP has resulted in us losing some of our sympathetic support in parliament. Many disillusioned progs will leave the country. Those who remain will be more amenable to extra-parliamentary opposition - many feel that it is no longer enough to simply vote. BUT: there is a lot of anger from progs who feel that it was extra-parliamentary groups who let them down.

Another important constituency is that of supportive Afrikaners. They might feel more shell-shocked and more vulnerable, but they are a group who will not up and leave for Aus.

The election has revealed a hardening and moving to the right by conscripts. So we have to accept that we are not the voice of the conscript and that it will be difficult to reach (if only to be heard) by a large group of conscripts.

b) What does this mean for ECC?

With the demise of the PFP, our constituency has grown. But our framework is a large group of depressed and disillusioned people who will either pack or will be in a position for us to reach. But they will have withdrawn into their homes (so to speak) and it is for us to go out and reach them there.

2. REFINEMENT OF ECC'S TASKS

The campaign has shown how important it is for us to go out and get in touch with our constituency. We recognised that Jo'burg has a specific problem and that is our approach to our constituency. Simply put, we have never been in touch with it. Instead our approach has been to "throw propaganda into the wind" and hope that it reaches its mark. We have vigorously made ourselves heard and have maintained a high profile. These approaches we now recognise to be inappropriate. We know that we have change our style of work.

3. HISTORY OF NEW APPROACH

Jo'burg has had a good few months of the experience of operating in increasingly repressive conditions. With the security clampdown we have not been having regular general bodies since December last year. This has been a problem for us particularly in view of our size.

So how did we cope?

We refined our separate co-ordinators group to try and streamline sub-group discussion. Co-ordinators have become key-figures in facilitating Jo'burg discussion of issues and decision-making. They have had to play the role of message receivers and takers, and have also had to be problem-solvers, inspirers, motivators and direction-thinkers.

Sub-groups have developed into tight, insular groups. They have developed their own identities, and Jo'burg often does not see itself as one region, but instead a series of connected units. As a result, morale varies according to sub-group and actions often get lost between them. Sometimes, too, groups don't get excited about Jo'burg's work, because it's happening elsewhere, in another sub-group!

Feelings of isolation and fragmentation have been frequent and we have developed a series of remedies for them. One of these has been our "in-house jorls" which have often been forums where you meet new people in ECC!! They have also been "time-outs" for us where people can relax and basically get pissed!! On the whole, though, sub-groups are strong, self-generating units and we feel that this gives us a great deal of depth.

We do feel, however, that we have become too much on the defensive against the state. So instead of assessing our structures according to our political direction, they are a

defense against state repression.

4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

For some time now we have wanted to move on the membership drive. It has become for us our most exciting project and our priority. We are recognising more and more the question of what we will leave behind when we are "bust" and how we prepare for it.

Our campaign as well as the white election have proved to us that we need to work on the ground with our constituency. We realise too that we will stagnate if we hold on to our old methods. But we understand that by "new ways" we don't mean simply dropping everything and starting afresh. Old methods - mass meetings, poster plucking, high profile stuff - is what we need to launch our new ways. We have to establish a workable situation of marrying the two approaches most effectively.

We were also jolted a bit by challenges from the UDF up here, that we have lost touch with the white constituency; that if we aligned ourselves directly with the UDF our profile would not change.

We have put some visionary thought into concrete ideas for future work. One is that of suburb targetting: we should

visualize Jo'burg as a series of PE's. We take one PE at a time; pamphleteer, poster, whatever. We arrange a meeting in that area to gauge how many people are interested and how responsive people are to our ideas. We then have house-meetings in the areas, where we get people to discuss action they want to do or are prepared to do. We feel that this would be imperative because if we are gone, they will carry on our work. Finally, when an area has been done, we move on...!!!

Problems with this approach are in terms of central coordination, the fact that suburb groups will develop at different rates and we will have to be flexible to handle this. Gains would be in terms of security - decentralised structures are harder to break and would continue our work if we were effectively silenced.

Other constituencies we see as becoming v important:

- campus
- churches
- kulcha

Finally we feel that we need to have a clear political understanding on why we are taking forward the membership drive, generally, and new ways of work, specifically. We know that we are trying to organise in an essentially antagonistic community. But we realise that there are pockets of people who need to be reached. In the past we have sort of reached them with our "hit-or-miss" approach of throwing propoganda into

the wind and by making a noise!! We have also seen how these channels have been progressively narrowed.

5. OUR MESSAGE TO THE WHITE COMMUNITY

The question here is what is the issue in the white constituency now. Generally whites bought the Nat election message of fear and security. The government's position has never been clearer: WAR. Our task in ECC is to vehemently counter this, to show people that there are alternatives...

6. HOW DO WE COPE AT THIS POINT?

At this moment in time, we are worried that our structures are not working sufficiently to deal with our way forward. Merely responding to state repression doesn't serve our needs in any way other than to keep us out of chook (often a good enough motivation!!!). We have been feeling more and more that we both have to deal with our problems of fragmentation and isolation as well as accomodate our new way of working most effectively.

What we have planned is a thorough assessment of our structures. We expect that things we will be difficult to solve and aren't looking for quick solutions. We also realise that we have had to pioneer a method of working without a general body. At times a rigid commitment to democracy - of

decision making, etc - has cost us political strategising. Intricate message networks by-pass any group that is "taking the gap". Other regions may learn from this as they move toward similar repression.

But we still feel that we should re-iterate that we have created autonomous groups that will definitely hold their own even in the face of absolute and merciless repression ...

We do feel though that we haven't dealt adequately with the front and are still toying around with how to deal properly with it. So we still (!) need to learn from the experience of other regions on this score.

7. ASSESSMENT OF WINCLCP (!)

Our assessment of WINCLCP was severe.

We felt that we intervened negatively in the election and put pressure onto the prog campaign.

Our campaign message was very wishy-washy and we came across as a bunch of idealists. We should have been more clear. When we launched into this campaign one of our aims was that we should put our issue onto the election agenda. Not only were we not clear on this, but we did not approach it correctly. So the WINCLCP slogan was far too vague and nebulous. We should

have addressed the Nat issues on security more closely. Furthermore, our campaign was a case of bad timing. Because we were not able to use the election effectively, we actually got lost in the noise of the election.

Our public image was wrong. We did not advertise ourselves correctly. We came across as a bunch of radicals who are about to be clamped upon. We did not talk in the language of the electorate.

We were also stuck in our old style of work and this did not work. We were not sure of our message and so did not put it across properly. We weren't really sure WHY we were having the campaign at that point in time. We did not have a central point of focus - a focal point.

The lack of conception and direction in Jo'burg resulted in a lack of enthusiasm and added to already problematic areas of co-ordination.

The election issues were in fact security and militarization. It was handed to us on a plate and we did not address it correctly.

Generally Jo'burg was uncreative which is uncharacteristic!!

Churches groups also felt that we had not being able to address the church constituency in any way.

To have an open-ended campaign is a mistake and is too difficult to pin down.

Because sub-groups were too far away from conceptualization, they could not get excited about it.

We knew our slogan needed to be given depth and meaning, and we failed to do so.

Finally because there was no clarity as to what the campaign was about, we ourselves failed to buy it and so did not know what to sell to the white constituency.

Phew!!

We did find some positive things, though!!

We felt that we did manage to pull a few things off. We pulled in some new people and we got adequate media coverage. But we did not move forward in any way. Finally, we lost out because we failed to make gains from the election issue.

We also raised questions about the role of NC and national decision-making. Ian went away to the last NC with Jo'burg decision based on one of two campaigns. He returned with a third. Jo'burg felt we had to have a decision and so accepted the campaign without adequate discussion. We need national

decisions fast, but we have a slow decision-making process. Result: either no decision or a rushed decision - neither adequate.

We need an extended NC. But more so than to make a few extra decisions. We feel that we are at a watershed in ECC's history. We can't work effectively within our old style and must move on. This has immense national implications. We felt that security would present a problem but that the merits would outweigh it. Process would involve THOROUGH regional discussion and therefore briefing of representatives. We also felt proportional representation according to size of region was more appropriate.

Finally, we assessed whether we should continue with the current campaign. This takes us back to item 2: how it can be incorporated into the refinement of our work. On the whole we felt that if the campaign was clearly around the launch of our membership drive, then we should continue. Our future actions - the dinner, concert and WJP - were still appropriate and would complement the membership drive (although we are still not completely convinced!!!!).

ISSUES

1. ALLIANCES

We felt that it was v important to work with other organisatins in alliances, but that we had had problems with our own decision-making. (This was more so to do with our unique probblems of communication and co-ordination).

Presently we are involved in the Five Freedom's Forum and the Free The Children Alliance. Our involvement in the FFF has been constructive and we have been able to take gaps and make gains for ECC (eg. Nick speaking at a FFF meeting). However, as far as the Children alliance goes, our involvement has only been on principle, no more. Yet, this alliance feels we are the most nb organisation in it. We have a good image and alliances want us to be a part of them.

We obviously need to assess each alliance before we go into it. We accept that we only take up issues insofar as they affect our issue or prevent us from taking up our issue, although some people have raised questions of whether we in fact have an obligation to the progressive movement as a whole to be part of progressive alliances. We have valid reservations - single issue, coalition ourselves - but we have to balance the tension of our specific focus with the gains in terms of our front work as well as the security alliances provide.

We felt that our approach to FFF was a good one. We always included our perspective in initial discussion and in that way influenced the direction of FFF to make it easier for us to be a part of it. One of the problems we encountered, though, was, being a front ourselves, we needed to represent the viewpoints of our member organisations adequately.

Finally, we raised the implication of alliances nationally. Does there still have to be a national decision on these? We felt that regions should have a degree of autonomy, but how far could this autonomy go?

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN: National committee report
Wits University.

Wits

Morale

During the second term at Wits morale tended to be quite low as there was a general falling of anti climax after the activities and political gains of the first term. Much of this lack of enthusiasm was seen as caused by bad planning during the April Vac and an unhappiness with the national campaign which was felt to be far too clumsy and nebulous. The activities of NUSAS and their non racial poll also delimited the time we had for organising on campus due to a desire not to clash with the NUSAS programme. During this period it was felt that the Exec needed to be expanded in order to draw more people in to decision making and the conceptualisation process. We now have an additional rep from each subgroup as well as a rep from the newly resurrected ECC at med school. To deal with the problem of lack of planning, during the July vacation we held an in depth planning and conceptualisation meeting where several proposals for this term's activities were put forward. They were then voted on by the general body and the referendum proposal was accepted. Because of the whole of Wits ECC being involved in the planning and decision process around this campaign there is a greater sense of enthusiasm and commitment by our membership than before and we have been able to draw in a large proportion of our membership into the work required.

size?

Security

The level of security consciousness has improved but is still quite low. I think that this is partially to do with the nature of the campus

branches. However the major and continuing problem is that of spies and informers although we have entered into some process of investigation. The only state harassment has been the use of our membership lists which were seized earlier in the year.³ Here around the ECC diner and concert people were phoned and threatened and recently callers claiming to be members of the AWB have been phoning up less involved ECC members and threatening them. As well as this we have been experiencing a relatively high degree of smear attacks from the SMA (The NSF affiliate on campus).

Internal Education

Although still a weak area we have been holding seminars on a variety of topics such as ECC and NDS, media work shops, and discussion around the chairing of meetings. Once the referendum campaign is over it is planned to hold more skills workshops and so the legendary Organisational Pack (of which we have heard so much and yet seen not) will come in very useful.

Programme

In terms of our profile on campus last term, as explained earlier, it was weak although we were still able to pull off a GET PEACED concert with Voice of Wits campus radio station. Although not a huge financial success due to the brass monkey weather, we still pulled a large number of people as well as building very good relations with VOW. Our major gains last term were in the field of the front where due to sterling work on behalf of our front subgroup we have been able to build very good relations with a wide range of organisations and have most of them as affiliates such as the NUSAS sub coms, SAVS, STEP, METHSOC,

CATHSOC, YCS, PEG, PGA, Young Progs, SALT, VOW, NHD, War Games.

As already mentioned we at Wits are running a referendum on campus where the student body will vote on the issue "Should South Africans have the right to question the laws relating to conscription" at the time of the SRC elections that being the 25th and 26th of August. We have used this as a chance to test our support base among student organisations, academics and student as a whole and already endorsements are flooding in including one of the Deputy Vice Chancellors. We felt that this was a far more useful campaign to run rather than participate on the SRC as experience at Wits has shown that the structure does not facilitate the struggle regarding conscription on our campus but in many ways hinders it as it turns our activists into bureaucrats.

||| N.B.

E.C.C.

12 August 1987

Dear

The End Conscription Campaign is based on the fundamental belief that individuals should have the freedom to choose whether or not to participate in the SADF.

In the very near future we shall be holding a referendum around the following issue:

"Do you support the right of South Africans to question the laws regarding conscription?"

Before we take the referendum onto campus, we are trying to get endorsements from clubs and societies, organisations (both on and off campus) and individuals.

If you would like to endorse our referendum or would like to hear more about it, please contact Clare Loffler at the SRC offices.

Yours

E.C.C.

Sensitive Days

The 1986 Commission of Inquiry into events on campus strongly suggested that on days sensitive to any particular group of students, no other group of students are to hold displays or meetings, or any activity which could potentially lead to conflict.

The sensitive day concept was adopted by the council of our university, and is now official policy. The 19 and 20th March 1987 were declared sensitive for certain students and the SMA was not even allowed, by express instructions from Professor Tober (Vice-Chancellor), to distribute any pamphlets on any one of the two sensitive days. This was the case even though no gatherings or flated activities had been planned for the second of the two days.

With the above in mind, an application was ?? to Professor Tober for the SMA to be followed to hold focus tables on the 19, 20 and 21 May 1987, with a mass meeting on the 21 May, to commemorate the ANC car bomb blast in which 19 were killed and 239 injured.

Permission was granted to the SMA to hold the activities for which permission was requested.

An obscure leftist grouping calling itself the ERC approached committee members saying that it had organised a COSATU meeting for Tuesday the 19 May and that it would like the SMA to move its sensitive day from Tuesday to Friday, as Prof. Shear would otherwise not permit them to hold their meeting!

As a great deal of planning and organisation had gone into the SMA campaign, the SMA refused to move its sensitive day to a Friday. Besides, campus is virtually deserted on a Friday.

The SMA does in principle not think much of the sensitive day concept. It is a classical example of a poor attempt at treating symptoms rather than causes. The cause of violence on campus is the totally intolerant, uncivilised and undisciplined conduct of certain individuals. These persons should be dealt with in terms of the existing disciplinary machinery.

There would then be absolutely no need for sensitive days to be declared, as a SMA and BSS meeting could take place in close proximity to one another, without any violence or intolerant behaviour, since members of both groups would know full well that the full weight of the university's disciplinary machinery would come down on them swiftly for behaving in a manner that is not compatible with that of students registered at South Africa's premier university.

BREAK NUSAS



COMPULSORY MEMBERSHIP

ECC

PRETORIA could do itself no better service than to amend Acts that restrict publication of certain writings and documents, in order that a credible and true scene be set, to be viewed by your average man in the street, who is invariably politically ignorant. The naïve socialism encountered in South Africa is largely due to the government's information black out on all things remotely connected to the highly publicised "communist plot theory". Ironically such a stance, as taken by the powers that be, can only serve as counter productive in any effort to oppose the revolution eminent in South Africa today. The long-standing fallacy that ignorance is bliss, should be woken up to. As long as the population is kept in the dark, how is one able to distinguish between organisations that are above board, and those that obviously are not innocent machinery.

I hate to dump this dose of reality on local idealism, but childhood has to eventually end. Many hollows and cries of peace and goodwill by members of certain organisations, would appear to be contradictory in the light of other activities on their part. The same superficiality is apparent in the portrayal of Ms WINNIE MANDELA, on account of her well-publicised "necklace" gaffe. In view of her "matches and tyres philosophy", as well as her message of militant greetings and gratitude for "brotherly solidarity to the SOVIET UNION", the ECC press release issued in October 1986, stating that activist Winnie Mandela had been invited to protest "against the increasing militarisation of our society" can only be frowned upon. This seems a far cry from "WORKING FOR A JUST PEACE".

In a letter Durban ECC emphatically consoled readers that "ECC has no links with banned organisations inside or outside South Africa. We do not call on people not to do their military service." In an article in DIAKONIA NEWS, RICHARD STEEL writes that "the goal of our campaign is to end conscription."

"ECC is not a pacifist organisation" are apparently the words used by MEG BERESFORD, representing the CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, to describe ECC at a rally organised by the COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICAN WAR RESISTERS in 1985. According to the press in Britain, at the same meeting, LAURIE NATHAN called for the disarming of the SAP and SADF and the unbanning of the ANC. He is also said to have explained that "conscription was merely an issue to raise other issues and to educate the whites about facts". The objective seemed to be to pressurise the State. PETER HATHORN, also an ECC member, apparently delivered quite a blow when he related that he had, whilst in Pollsmoor Prison, drawn strength from ANC prisoners.

Members of ECC can, however, justify any such unwanted publicity which results from association with somewhat dubious sorts, by coming up with the rather old line that ECC is a "one issue campaign". In other words, they cannot be held responsible for individual members' activities. This, however, does not ring true in view of recurring inconsistencies.

In the ECC response to the DSA pamphlet last year, it is explained that by "being a separate organisation, ECC cannot make statements on behalf of other organisations". According to press abroad, Laurie Nathan explained that the "ECC is a coalition of about 50 organisations", which hardly amounts to being a "separate organisation".

EXPOSED

In an article in the GUARDIAN, JO ANN KAWELL explains that Richard Steele estimated that "3 000 war resisters went into exile each year". He also explained that half of the 1985 January intake of 15 000 conscripts just "did not appear". What is happening in South Africa is neither better nor worse than such interviews would seem to reflect — it's simply very different.



There, there, Richard someday someone will take E.C.C. seriously.

According to a UNITED NATIONS press release, GAVIN EVANS represented ECC of South Africa at a meeting in March 1986, where he, alongside representatives from the ANC, PAC, PLO, SWAPO, THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES, as well as the SOVIET AFRICAN ASIAN Solidarity Committee reviewed the situation in South Africa. Mr ZEHDİ LABİB TERZİ of the PLO believed that he could draw parallels between the South African question and those that his organisation was subjected to. STEPHEN TSEWETE of the ANC explained that the present government was carrying out a "genocidal warfare against his people". According to him "homes, factories, mines, churches, mosques, schools and creches had been converted into war zones".

Gavin Evans called on all to receive any persons who refused conscription. He ex-

plained that "thousands of conscripts were refusing to serve the military". An invitation was extended to those activists from organisations in South Africa, by VASILY SOLODOVNIKOV, Vice-President of the SOVIET AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, to spend a vacation in the Soviet Union. He also expressed moral, political and material support. Interestingly enough, the Soviet Union offered the most opposition at the 41st Session of United Nations Commission on Human Rights, held in Geneva, where it was proposed that conscientious objection by military service and the provision of alternative service to such people, be recognised in laws. Needless to say, the entire issue was therefore withdrawn.

Recently, the ANC posted the pamphlet headed "Education for War", to schools, in which it calls upon the students to "prepare to refuse to do military service" and "join the struggle". War resistance is, of course, a response to the continuing all-round political and military struggle led by the ANC. It can never be seen in isolation from this struggle. OLIVER TAMBO, President of the ANC, is said to have called on white South Africans "to refuse to join the army" in many of his speeches. Abroad many such examples emphasise the obvious importance of war resistance in the revolution. Apparently, one document calls on white men "to build united resistance" and to "join the ANTI-CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN" in order that the state "be frustrated wherever possible".

With current press restrictions, many of us are unlikely to hear about — and less likely to witness — brutality and the lack of discipline of the security forces. We would probably be equally unnerved and appalled by the ever increasing violence used by radicals to intimidate the moderate black man. The majority of white South Africans are aware that violence can no longer be blamed on a minority of trouble-shooters.

SMA urges the government to reconsider the stringent press restrictions. Avenues should be opened for honest reporting on the actual activities of the ANC and SACP and a greater understanding of the South African predicament can then be achieved.

At present, the only source of information is distorted facts projected by the radical left.

PEACE
through



STRENGTH

FW Botha's promise that M-Net will never be allowed to carry news as long as he is president seems fair enough. After all, SABC television doesn't carry news.

S.A. WEERMAG—S.A. DEFENCE FORCE

LEES WERKE INSTRUKSIES NOUKEUNG
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KENNISGEWING VAN TOEWYBING VIR NATIONALE DIENSPLOEG NOTIFICATION OF ALLOTMENT FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

**NIEM MENSEN DEEN METOEWYBINGS WERK GEDOEN HEE
NO ONE TO BE ALLOTMENTED WILL BE MADE**

1 U is ingesluit in die Rostings van die Verdedigingswet, 1967 (Impressos Act).
In accordance with the provisions of the Defence Act, 1967, you have been allotted to

2. **ROOSTER** 7 SOUTH AFRICAN INFANTRY

3. **FUNKSIONELE GROEP** SA ARMY
FUNCTIONAL GROUP

4. **DUUR VAN DIENS** 4 AUGUST 1987 TO 6 JULY 1989
DURATION OF SERVICE

5. **PLAAS VAN DIENS** PHALABORWA
PLACE OF SERVICE

6. Indien u 'n voorneme is om volgende jaar vir die eerste keer as 'n universiteit/hoërskool/tegniese student op te tree, is dit aan die Jullie-Insamling teëgemoet, staan dit u vry om voornemens te maak om te dienste te tree. U moet egter, soos u by die universiteit/hoërskool/tegniese instansie is, 'n sertifikaat in die vorm van die universiteit/hoërskool/tegniese instansie op die naam van die Sekretaris, Vrywilligersraad, bykomende adres hier. By ontvang van die sertifikaat sal u daaropvolgend tot die diensteopdragting (per afsonderlike brief) ingesluit word.

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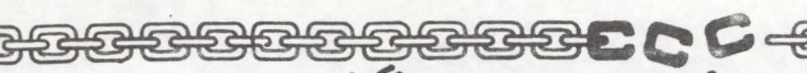
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**Phalaborwa; perth
or pretoria central
prison?**



With End Conscription Campaign

Edited by J Turnbull, published by ECC. Printed by the Central Print Unit of the University of the Witwatersrand. The views and opinions expressed do not purport to be those of the Council or the Students Representative Council of the University of the Witwatersrand.

REMEMBER TO INFORM THE REGISTERING OFFICER IMMEDIATELY OF ANY CHANGE IN YOUR ADDRESS THIS WILL ENSURE THAT YOU RECEIVE YOUR FINAL CALL-UP INSTRUCTIONS AT ALL TIMES QUOTE YOUR FORCE NUMBER UNIT TO WHICH ALLOTTED AND PERIOD OF SERVICE

Saul

Jo'burg Branch

1. Activities from NC to date.

Jo'burg branch have been involved in normal media and press activities with reasonable success. We have had a number of press articles and a 702 talk show with ECC input.

In terms of actual activities we have worked either alone or together with Wits branch on various actions.

a) Welkom action.

Subsequent to the violence in Welkom ECC played an active role in facilitating a meeting between township groups and town groups. Once the first meeting was held ECC decided its participation was no longer necessary as the groupings were now communicating and planning various future joint actions.

It proved to be a meaningful intervention on ECC's part which facilitated a longer term program in Welkom.

b) CCB focus

ECC set up a meeting for interested organisations (Black Sash, 5PF, Nusas, CBC, David Webster trust, plus Cosatu and UDF representatives) to discuss the CCB issue. A working group was formed from these organisations which set up a briefing group for diplomats and a public meeting. Information about the Harris and Hiemstra commissions was given. Good press coverage was also obtained through this group.

All in all it was a successful small campaign around the issue.

c) Joint Actstop action.

A symbolic action to highlight the differences between national servicemen reporting for military service and others doing a real service for their communities was held jointly with Actstop. Approximately 8 buildings were cleaned and some paint work done. The action was successful and a very good spirit prevailed between ECC, Actstop people and the residents. Press coverage was also obtained.

2. Internal cohesion.

The branch is struggling in terms of cohesion as there is a definite split between those who believe that ECC's days are over and the organisation should quickly wind down and those who believe an involved process of getting the issue on to other organisation's agenda's before winding down must be followed. The lack of cohesion may also be the reason why membership is so low as those following the first premise aren't arriving at many meetings.

3. Morale.

Morale in the branch is very low mainly due to the small membership and therefore any activity relies heavily on very few people. There is a sense of holding on for the sake of holding on with no real direction in sight.

4. Internal education.

No internal education has taken place in the branch since NC. The membership of the branch is very small and attendance at an internal education activity would probably be very small as most of the members are long standing ECC members who would probably only arrive if something more than really special was on offer.

5. Contact with other organisations.

As previously discussed under activities this contact has proved worthwhile but it is on an ad-hoc basis. There is no official contact with any organisations except COSG.

6. Future plans and activities.

See returnees proposal.

Discussion around the possibility of hosting a violence workshop has started.

Otherwise agreement to wind down has been reached and the how and when must still be worked through.

ECC (Wits) Regional Report

1. Activities of the branch

As Johannesburg ECC and Campus ECC have decided to work close together there is some overlap between campus and Johannesburg activities. Campus has however had its own specific activities

(a) Campus Actions/Activities

- Together with Nusas SRC and Sansco, a CCB update publication entitled "CCB- are we letting the state get away with murder?" was compiled.
- Poster screening done in the form of a workshop
- 'Stop the call-up' campaign this included (i) a day of activities ("splattering the general", Music on the library lawns, getting students to paint up anti-conscription graffiti on the Graffiti Wall, giving out slices of "army boot" cake, handing out KYR booklets and selling T-shirts) and (ii) A meeting held and addressed by Saul Batzofin, Doug Torr and David Bruce. Both these activities were seen as being successful.
- Picket (+ 30 people) around the court's decision to jail Doug Torr. The creative nature of the picket and the fact that Doug turned up at the picket resulted in front page coverage of the picket in the 'Daily Mail' and the early edition of 'The Star'.
- Internal organisational work to develop cohesion - such as painting the new campus office of ECC, also having a social event.
- ECC is part of a broad grouping of campus organisations working on a campaign to end the recent violence in the Transvaal.

(b) Joint activities with JHB

- Plastering Johannesburg with "Stop the call-up" posters.
- Distribution of KYR booklets in Yeoville, at the Market and in town.
- The joint ECC-ACTSTOP campaign. In which various "slum buildings" were cleaned and maintained (5 in total) together with ACTSTOP members and other residents. Over 100 people participated in the action - about 35 from ECC
- Set up a talkshow on 702.

2. Internal Cohesion

There has been some difficulty in establishing internal cohesion. The main reasons for this have been identified as :

- (a) Both membership and executive have had little ECC experience
- (b) Many people (including members of the exec) have had little or no experience in other progressive organisations
- (c) A low morale, generally. (See next section for more details) Attempts to establish cohesion have been made via social and participatory events (eg painting the office, Poster making etc)

We also intend to have a weekend away in which we hope that this problem will be fully addressed.

3. Internal Morale

This has fluctuated depending on external events (eg : Doug sentencing and the picket which followed was a high point) but generally the morale is low. The reasons for this have been identified as due to:

- (a) The recent changes in the issue of Conscription
- (b) The blurring of the issue and what the aims and objectives of ECC as a whole is
- (c) Fluidity of the climate and shifting goals
- (d) Individual members lack clarity within their own minds where they stand on specific issues.
- (e) People see other issues/organisations as being more vital at this point.
- (f) "Wait and see" attitude. People don't want to expend huge amount of energy if things are about to change
- (g) Some see the issue as already having been won.

On the whole though membership is optimistic that we can effect change and that the issue can be won.

4. Internal Education and Training

Due to low cohesion and morale this area has been problematic. Internal education and training has taken place at a very informal level.

At General Body Meetings the executive has encouraged political discussion to take place.

The weekend away will be expected to help remedy the problems of lack of cohesion and morale and assist in

initiating a more structured internal education and training programme.

5. Contact with other organisations

ANC - This has been done on a local and informal level. In relation to the open day and CCB forum etc

ACTSTOP - In relation to the clean-up campaign

NUSAS/SANSCO - In relation to the Transvaal violence (also on an informal ongoing basis)

NUSAS-SRC/Black Students Society - In relation to the CCB Campaign as well as ongoing informal contact

NUSAS -SCAG (Social Community Action Group) - In relation to the Clean-up campaign but also ongoing.

'Wits Student' - The last 3-4 editions of the newspaper have contained interviews and comments from ECC on ECC's work specifically but also in terms of features which Wits Student has worked on (eg. Militarisation)

JOYCO (SAYCO- Johannesburg branch) - We have discussed various proposals in which we can work together and access our joint constituency.

ECC (Johannesburg) - At a weekend away it was decided that ECC JHB and ECC campus would develop a better and more effective working relationship. This has resulted in both separate and joint exec meetings and general body meetings

COSG - Ongoing, specifically around clean-up action

771 - ongoing, specifically around clean-up action

6. Future Plans.

(a) In the last term we have decided to take up the 'safe return of war resisters' as our major campaign

This will be developed at the weekend away, but joint work with JHB ECC will take place re; Posters, Welcome home Concert, etc.

(b) Joint work with JHB ECC around

- Violence seminar

- Demilitarisation Conference (still a proposal)

(c) Lobbying Wits Admin, Faculty Councils and developing contact with Student Councils around the issue of conscription

(d) Have a Welcome home party on campus for Charles Bester.

(e) Design and print T-shirts relating to the safe return campaign.

7. Other

Campus still perceives ECC as a vital and important organisation. This is reflected by :

(a) Individual approaching ECC for advice, for KYK booklets etc, etc.

(b) Requests by 'Wits Student' and other Campus organisations for comment on a wide range of issues.

ECC clearly has status and importance on campus. Students, particularly those facing a call-up or camps, see ECC as providing an important voice for the conscript.

17 JUNE 1990

REPORT OF SECOND CONSULTATION MEETING IN WELKOM

PRESENT: Representatives from Women for Peace, the Democratic Party, the mayor of Welkom (NP), Lutheran Church, National Sports Congress, End Conscription Campaign. Apologies from NUM and MDM structures who were involved in organising an unexpected rally, and ANC who had a regional meeting.

Report from mayor

Problem started on 20 March when the Tornado hit Welkom. It was also the same day that a Boycott of white shops was due to start. The police were busy with dealing with the Tornado action while pickets were put outside white shops. The police were not in a position to monitor the boycott and white vigilantes, the AWB and BV, began to exercise their power and removed the pickets from in front of the shops and cleared the streets of black boycotters. The shop owners began to phone the AWB when they had problems as their response was quicker than that of the police. The police took no action against the white vigilantes.

The mayor phoned Piet Clase, one of the local MPs and Adriaan Vlok to demand that the police took action. They both later visited and the mayor demanded that a strong police force was need to prevent violence. He reported that the increased strength of the force had largely stopped the violence.

Another initiative has been the setting up of the Joint Working Committee which the mayor is part of (see last meeting). From his perception the ANC, NUM and MDM have acted very responsibly.

His assessment was the "platform of reform is crumbling" with the NP probably only having the same support as the DP in Welkom. However, the OFS municipal association have in principle agreed to the integration of municipalities, with a common voters role, unlike the Transvaal municipalities which are CP controlled. He have been involved in discussions with the representative civics in Thabong and Bronville and MDM structures. He believes that they will not be repeating mistakes of the past reforms.

They next major crisis to hit Welkom will be retrenchments from the gold mines. 7 000 retrenchments are expected immediately and another 9 000 are anticipated.

He sees Welkom as a testing ground for the right wing, but his belief is the vigilantes only represent a very small part of the community.

The mayor said he cannot get involved in any initiative such as this because of his position, but in general would support moves to bring about peace and reconciliation.

THE ACTION

Despite the fact there was poor representation from Thabong, but noting the support from those groups at the last meeting, this meeting decided upon the following:

FORM: Picnic plus sports day. People in Thabong and Welkom, as well as perhaps from other parts of the country would be invited. VIPs such as Bruce Fordyce would be invited to take part. The venue would be in Welkom as it was believed at this stage that it would be too alienating for whites to go to Thabong. However, this would be the first of a series of actions, some of which would take place in Thabong in the future.

STRUCTURE: A working group was set up. This will comprise of reps from the ANC, UDF, NUM, NP and DP as well as other groups such as Women for Peace, National Sports Congress.

The responsibilities of the working committee are:

- * co-opt reps from other groupings onto the working group
- * decide on timing of action
- * decide on venue
- * allocate tasks
- * decide on name of action

NB: This action was seen by the group as a social action to promote contact and reconciliation and not as a political action. Although we are all uniting together around a common theme, we should not artificially gloss over our differences. However, it would be important that party political agendas are not displayed.

REPORT ON ECC CONSULTATION IN WELKOM,
9/6/90.

Out of the ECC National Conference at the end of May the idea emerged that some form of action should occur in Welkom to display South Africa's concern with the activities of the armed right wing. It was felt that ECC should investigate this idea further as ECC believed that the armed right wing and their militant militarism is a direct result of the system of conscription and the war psychosis in South African society. A process was embarked on of national and regional consultation with our allies as well as a rigorous consultation process with organisations in the Welkom-Thabong area. This report is of a meeting in Welkom with ECC members and representatives of organisations from the area.

Those organisations represented at the meeting included the ECC, The Women For Peace (Welkom Branch), Thabong Business Organisation, Thabong Civic, Thabong YCS, Thabong Youth Congress, Thabong Education coordinating Committee, National Union of Mineworkers, OFS SAYCO, and various churches.

The meeting began with an explanation of ECC's concern about the Welkom situation and ECC's willingness to be part of any action in Welkom.

The meeting then received reports from the Women For Peace (WFP) and the UDF representatives at the meeting as to what has been their thinking and actions around building opposition to the right wing in Welkom.

WFP - Established in 1985 to bring the women of the Welkom area together on a social basis.

- Have about 50 active members in the area and organise social events as well as meals for Thabong pensioners on their pension day.

- Since the rise of the AWB and BV in Welkom there has been a real sense of fear in the organisation and a psychosis of mistrust between WFP members.

- WFP feel very strongly that Welkom needs to show that not all whites support the AWB and that some action must occur where residents of Welkom, Thabong and other suburbs can come together in an action which publicly states their rejection of what the AWB is doing and what it stands for.

- WFP have been considering the idea of a peace picnic in Welkom where people can come together and eat together and participate in sporting activities and other actions which bring people closer together.

UDF

- Involved in the organisation of the Consumer Boycott
- Through the boycott, white residents of Welkom concerned about polarisation and racism and began to meet with UDF to try and end boycott.

- The Forum established (Joint working Committee) which has as its purpose not simply to end boycott but also to look at how Welkom can participate in moves towards a Non Racial

South Africa.

- The Forum is also investigating the possibility of running an education campaign that aims to educate the Welkom community around non racialism.
- The Forum is made up of the leadership of Thabong organisations as well as business, political and church leaders from Welkom.

Other ongoing initiatives were also discussed such as;

- The churches programme which have held several multi-racial church services in Welkom and Thabong and a very large service is planned for September.
- Sport and leisure organisations are planning multi-racial seven a side football tournament as well as a chess tournament.

Discussion then turned to what should any action in Welkom be trying to achieve. Several points were made.

- The action must reinforce existing initiatives and developments in Welkom. ECC should use its national contacts to provide support and solidarity work to the action.
- The emphasis must be on people communicating with each other, particularly through being involved in action together.
- The action must be part of a programme and not simply an isolated incident.
- The action should have some element of fun in its programme as this tends to release tension.
- Need to be completely clear in identifying our objectives.

Suggestions in this regard were,

- White community needs to be involved in the action. The action must facilitate as much involvement from whites as possible.
- In regard to the above point it is important that the support for an action is tested before final planning occurs.

Ideas of actions were varied. They included,

- Peace picnic.
- Fun run linking all of the different group areas.
- Non-racial Church services.
- Thabong clean up with tree planting campaign.
- Day of Goodwill where residents exchange symbols of their mutual respect such as flowers.
- Visits to Thabong township by Welkom residents.
- Meal sharing idea where people have a meal one week in Welkom and the next in Thabong.
- Human chain linking Welkom and other areas together.

In terms of a structure to take the ideas forward, it was agreed that another meeting should be held with representatives from a wider range of groups to continue discussion.

Areas for discussion at the meeting on the 17\6\90 would include.

1. Introductions.
2. Explanation of process and summary of the discussion of the last meeting.
3. Define in more detail what are our objectives in terms of the action. What do we want an action to achieve, who should an action be aimed at?
4. In terms of the goals, what is the most appropriate action to consider.
5. Process around action:- Consultation, planning and logistics, advertising and media, . press, national support and solidarity.
6. Assessment.
7. Next meeting and closure.

Collection Number: AG1977

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PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

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