

- organised by Students for a Peaceful Future - on white^{3/} opposition to apartheid - with Steve de Gruchy (40 ppl).
- 6/4 - Addressed meeting of Episcopal Peace Fellowship
- Addressed Citywide organized meeting of DC-SEAR
 - Addressed gathering of Fellowship of Reconciliation (Washington DC Chapter), Presbyterian Peace Fellowship and National Inter-religious Service Board on Conscientious Objection (NISBCO) (35 ppl).

7/4 - Met with Father Roland Lambert of United States Catholic Bishops Conference

- Met with United States Congressional Monitoring Group on South Africa (US Democratic Congressional aids plus Senator Kennedy staff aid)

- Addressed Meeting of Washington DC Southern Africa Coordinating Committee with representatives from Lawyers Committee on Southern Africa, Coalition for New Foreign and Military Policy, Mennonite Central Committee, and NISBCO

- Met with US Senate ~~Force~~ senior Foreign Policy and International Finance aids.

- Met with Bishop John Walker, ~~Episcopal~~ Episcopal bishop of Washington DC.

8/4 - Interviewed by Sojourner Magazine

Went to Raleigh/Durham North Carolina

- Met with War Resisters League local committee

- Addressed meeting of organized by War Resisters League.

- 09/4 - Interview with Africa News Radio and magazine
- Addressed student rally at the University of North Carolina (150 ppl)
- Spoke to student teach-in at UNC (40 ppl)
- Interview with WCHL (A.M)
- Interview with The Daily Tar Heel
- Addressed meeting of Duke University South African Coalition & other Durham/Raleigh groups (35 ppl)

10/4 - Addressed meeting of Duke SA Coalition & dinner with them

Several problems have arisen in the course of these meetings. First, there is the question of divestment (or disinvestment as it is called here). This has arisen in two forms. At several of the meetings I have spoken at there have been no divestment posters behind the podium, people have chanted slogans like "Boycott South Africa not divestment" and without exception speakers have called for complete "divestment". The problem here for ECC is that the system could try to make use of this link. Also, at every student meeting I've addressed (and most others) I've been questioned about ECC's view of divestment and about my personal view of it. I've explained that because of its "single issue coalition" structure, ECC has no policy on divestment, although we are "concerned" about the breaking of the arms embargo. On my own view I've noted that it is a potentially reasonable offence to call for divestment. I've also noted that whatever

ones personal feelings about disinvestment, there is no doubt that the majority of blacks support it (I always quote the Gallup-Sunday Times poll), that all credible South African anti-apartheid organisations support it and that the government regards it as a major threat.

Secondly, there is the question of the A.N.C. This has arisen in a number of forms. At several meetings I've addressed people have come up to me afterwards, shaken my hand vigorously and then introduced themselves as A.N.C. representatives. I suppose if someone was there with a camera it could cause problems.

I've done everything in my power to avoid sharing a platform with the A.N.C. (which has meant turning down invitations to address two meetings), and to avoid being present at meetings where the A.N.C. was playing a prominent role. This hasn't been a problem in any major way, and the groups have understood our difficulty. However, on two occasions fouls have occurred which I could do nothing about.

The day before the Columbia rally I was asked to speak. I said I couldn't because there was an A.N.C. speaker. I agreed to speak at a meeting later in the day to a smaller group of students. After addressing this meeting (in the afternoon) I discovered my name had been

on the pamphlet for the morning meeting (where the ANC rep spoke). The organisers apologised and said that the pamphlets had been printed the night before and that they didn't have time to print new ones after they discovered this. (6)

The second time this situation occurred was at the Georgetown University peace conference. I was asked to be on a panel with a representative of the US State Department, two university professors and an ANC rep - on apartheid in South Africa. Again they asked me the day before, again I said no, again they printed the programme with my name on it (as Gwasa Lwasa, South Africa journalist). They apologised publicly and Steve de Groot took my place on the panel. Steve and I spoke at a later session of the conference on "White Opponents to Apartheid".

The sessions with the Senate and Congressional aids could prove to be significant because in both cases the aids were key people in the Democratic caucus and in various House & Senate committees.

There has been a lot more media work than I expected. Almost all of the press/radio/TV interviews have been used and there are several more to come. In these interviews (and at public meetings) I have invariably been introduced in inaccurate ways - "journalist from the banned Rand Daily Mail", "draft dodger", "conscientious objector who has been jailed by the South African regime" etc.

The questions which most commonly come up are:

attitude to "disinvestment", attitude to the ANC, ECC's relations with black political groups, our "creative action" / non-violent direct action tactics and strategies, conscientious objections and our projections for the future.

A number of people from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the different Quaker groups in Philadelphia and Pennie Colton of Sojourners knew of ECC through Richard and Anita and asked me to send ~~me~~ their love.

The extent of political activism in the United States at the moment is fairly impressive. Most groups (except for those on the (cooney) left) see themselves as working within the ~~idea~~ idea of the Rainbow Coalition (quote Jackson's ^{thing} groups) - using the democratic party but putting their energy into extra-parliamentary politics and ~~that~~ thereby building up a broad mass-based movement. The anti-apartheid issue is proving to be useful in working towards this end. But there is still a lack of unity and the Rainbow coalition is too loose to be much more than an election-time machine at the moment.

Although it's not getting as much media attention as last year the disinvestment / anti-apartheid campaign is still strong. The demonstrations outside the South Africa embassies and consulates are less regular and more attention is being focussed on corporate pressure. On the campuses there is plenty of activity - rallies, petitions, guerrilla theatre, sit-ins, beach-ins (out of all day workshops) and pickets.

The erection of "shanty towns" has become an important

fact. Structures shaped like iron roads shanties are erected 8/ in prominent places on the campuses. The idea is to draw attention to the living conditions of black South Africans and to use them as makeshift detention centres, to focus on detentions and political imprisonment. Usually the university authorities or police come to remove the shanties and they then become a site of struggle. They are also very visible forms of protest - something the media can focus on.

The students set up tables and distribute literature and sometimes hold rallies next to the shanties.

Several other creative methods have been used to draw attention to apartheid. For example, students at American University in Washington DC held an apartheid day when all black students (the minority) became white South Africans and got the best lawns, eating facilities etc while all other students got inferior facilities. The whole student body took part.

The relations between black & white activists is interesting. In general there appears to be far less black exclusion than in the past and people seem to have learned a lot from non-racialism in South Africa. In general most groups (except for the few ultra-left ones) are openly pro-A.N.C. The anti-apartheid groups tend to be black led while most of those involved with the peace groups are white. Black activists still have black concerns and there are some black organisations but most are willing to work with whites in coalitions. Both black & white activists reject the idea that their struggle is one for civil rights, some call it a national struggle, others an anti-colonial

struggle. There is widespread acceptance that blacks must play the key role in the leadership of any progressive coalition - which is why the Gene Jackson-Kambou idea is so widely accepted.

The anti-apartheid issue is increasingly being linked to racism/national oppression in the United States. In such it is seen as more than a focus on the struggles of blacks in South Africa.

The other key issue at the moment is the situation in Nicaragua - which is the question being dealt with most vigorously by the peace groups. The slogan: "Boycott South Africath not Nicaragua" is being used to link the two issues. The Nicaraguan situation is frightening and there

appears to be a real possibility of the US invading that country (as well as Libya).

The right winged students also appear to be getting organized. Last week, I arrived a bit early to a DC-SCAR breakfast I was due to address. I entered the venue and saw a large and very white group of all-American males with haircuts & suits to match. But they had buttons on their lapels with a picture of an African leader and were stuffing doughnuts into their faces so I thought that despite the appearance I must have arrived at the right gathering. On closer inspection, however, the face on the buttons was that of Jonas Savimbi and they were also wearing Stop Communism buttons. It was clearly the pro-apartheid caucus so I departed quietly. It was a rude reminder, however, that I'm only seeing the fringe of American society. Way out there in Middle America there are millions of young Republicans and Moral majoritarians who would just

On a more concrete note: Bayard Rustin says he was calling the editor of the New York Times about an ECC story. David, I think it would be well-worth a phone call or visit to Allen Covell (and perhaps Allen Sparks too) for an ECC / W J T story - perhaps linked with the U N visit.

Also, David, did you get my letter of April 2 about the Lutherans.

Also the Jubilee Foundation have given us \$ 1000 and have sent two letters informing us of this, but they have received no letter of reply. I will return with the cheque. We should write to thank them / inform them we haven't received their letter.

Also, I met with New Society Publishers (Movement for a New Society) and they are keen on the idea of publishing an ECC book. Their idea was a +/- 120 page book dealing with (Militarism) Resistance; statements from township residents, conscripts; cos and a section on international support plus a few chronologies and a foreword by Bishop Tutu. They think it could sell well in the US. It would cost us nothing and would probably make us a lot of profit and could be useful in several ways. They would do the distribution in the United States and could do it in Britain. We would also be free to get someone else to publish it in Britain (eg C I I Relations) and someone in South Africa (eg Keweenaw / David Phillip).

I'll bring back a proposal sheet. The idea would be to get them a draft by September which could then be finished as part of the October visit.

People here are thinking that they may be too early for them to tour South Africa. I suggested late June - mid time for the July call-up activities. They need to know fairly soon.

Also, they are already working out precise agendas, numbers, 11/
funding proposals etc for the October tour. So once WSP
is finished, its something people should give attention
to.

Anyway, that's about all I think. We write again within
the next 10 days. I hope everything's going as planned
with WSP. I feel very eager to find out exactly
what's happening there. From what David says it
sounds like things are going well in all the centres.
At 7am tomorrow its back to New York, so I suppose I
should think about going to bed.

Gavin

Nov. 6, 1986

Dearest Laurie,

A long and warm (but not quite hot, if you know what I mean) Fall is turning into Winter, quickly now reminding us that 1987 will be a fast-paced year, that the '80's are turning into the '90's at an ~~is~~ alarming rate.

Page 3 of the N.Y. Times reports: "Leaving South Africa Increasingly Alone With It's Troubles" in re: IBM & GM, and I cannot help but shift quickly to business - my frined, confidant, dear Laurie.

Just spoke to Ivan Toms, he'll pass the message no, and Ian Linden earlier this week, for another message passed. Your letter arrived two days ago, not dated, but clearly fresh - straight from Graceland.

How can I explain completely, the problems put forth by your letter? Of course I understand your problems (w/FPF and perceptions at that end, and the increasing attacks, etc.), but I cannot help but really feel that with a possible Aida Parker victory for ECC, and Dominique still on hold, you can only lose by backing ECC into the single issue legalistic c-rner, away from your natural allies. If they want to ban you that much, they'll ban you anyway. From that end, as I say, I understand the absolute need for the greatest possible political breadth - and you and I and Gavin and I discussed (and must continue to discuss) legalistic and ~~pp~~ propogandistic ways of making the package acceptable for folks at home.

But from this end, my friend, it is absolutely impossible for us to do a sucesful tour without putting ECE firmly in the context of the wider movement, which is led by UDF. Without UDF, American Committe on Africa will pull out of the coalition immediately. Though Bayard would be thrilled, no significant Black leader - grassroots or governmental - would have high level meetings with you. Advances within the white "mainstream" (to the extent that this actually exösts) would not be forthcoming. Ivan has tilled that field, and Gavin the more progressive end of it, but the next step must be ~~with~~ taken with your Black counterparts in the legal organizing sector.

On the ~~ohher~~ hand, a joint tour, as I and the WRL and the ACOA leadership now see it - would be a unique opportunity to present to the U.S. movement and people (for the first time in years and years) representatives of South African activists - the spectrum of people, Black and white - who are actually struggling legally within South Africa today. We are clear that ECC could not and would not meet with or share a meeting with any organization that was not legal, or with any banned movement, even if the UDF, at times, would. But to present the legal spectrum - Black and white representatives together - to activists here, would indeed be a first, and an historic moment for the peace and anti-apartheid movement here to go beyond disinvestment towards direct links and support work. The myths of: the military, Black vs. white, Black on Black violence, etc. could be addressed as never before.

(2)'

Let me make clear that what we're envisioning and hoping for is a large scale "events" oriented tour. A meeting with the Mayors of Atlanta, Georgia and/or New Orleans, Louisiana, getting the key to the city; with speacial Senate and Congressional caucuses in Wash. D.C.; large meetings in NYC and San Francisco and elsewhere; some stops in the deep South; press conferences and cocktail parties, etc. etc. We've already started the plannign since the go-ahead from Gavin last month, and as the days go ~~no~~ on, more planning is being done. Tomorrow night there's an internal WRL meeting to discuss our role at the next coalition meeting, and to help plan for a special "Racism and Militarism" educational packet that we're producing for the tour. Next Monday another meeting with ACOA and CALCL will discuss fundraising, and will confirm cities and dates (which we've tentatively set, if o.k. by you, at March 5 - April 5).

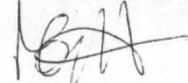
So I need word immediately on what's on or off. I hope that it is more a question of legalistic and logistical manuevering than a cancellation. But a 'by chance' occasional meeting with UDF tour scheme will not work. We'll hold off (maybe permanently) at rpinting UDF/ECC TO stationay, but the tour package, from this end, needs to remain pretty much intact. Maybe folks (ECC?) need to travel in their individual capacity?? Though even this, I think, would be a drawback, and of course I and WRL would be disappointed if ECC couldn't come "officially" and in an organizational capacity.

There's much to be gained at hhis time as far as international solidarity. I hope that we can figure out a way out of this problem.

So much for hurried business. The book looks exciting. And the thought of you as close by as England is exciting, indeed. I've already passed the idea along to one good \$ source, and will work on others in time. Marie and I are well, WRL is getting geared up, Susan S. is in Costa Rica, the New York Mets baseball team have won the "World" Series, and the November mornings are cold, even under my Indian shawl. Be well, my dear friend.

Till I hear your voice,

Love and Struggle,



Matt M.

P.S. - You all should have gotten a significant package, passed on to Beyers from Di Scott here. It had some checks, and many letters of support from Sen. Kennedy, Bishop's Moore and Walker, etc. I'll check on this end to make sure it has been sent out. Keep your eyes posted, and if the worst has happened, I've got copies of everything, and could possibly get the checks re-written.

P.P.S. - Also in the packet was my new home telephone number, though all the old and safe addresses remain the same. Call me at 718-797-9589 in the wee hours, so's I know its you. Also, I've received packet from you, several from Gavin & one from David S. Love to all.

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