

CALL TO CONSCIENCE NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

Washington, D.C.

January 17th, 19th, 1987

Summary of Decisions

- Howard agreed to develop a statement for the National Steering Committee (NSC) regarding the Call to Conscience (CTC) participation and concerns about the April 25th mobilization. NSC wants to raise the issue of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions through the spring mobilization. Due ASAP.
- CTC endorsed local CTC action in Philadelphia planned for July 16th around the anniversary of the signing of the Constitution and joint session of Congress. NSC will consider later whether to issue a National Call. Co-Chairs need to poll absent NSC members ASAP.
- Jackie Wilson, WOA, will contact Regional Coordinators re: input on national legislation. Regional Coordinators will contact State Coordinators. Opinions are needed on draft legislation. A memo needs to be sent to Regional and State Coordinators alerting them to this task (not assigned.) Needs to happen by mid-February.
- Kathy Flewellen agreed to put working paper in final form. ASAP
- NSC agreed to delete "emergency response and action network" as descriptive phrase of CTC, and replace with "Nationwide Southern Africa Action Network". All future publications will reflect this.
- Minutes of NSC meetings will be sent to State and Local Coordinators by the National Contact Person (NCP) Jerry Herman.
- A one page bulletin will be developed from minutes and sent to constituency. Avel will develop ASAP.
- A form will be developed for use by Regional Coordinators to gather information for their reports. Not assigned.
- Consensus: That we need to broaden the base of our constituency to include more Black people.
- Copies of Pledges received by Jerry (NCP) will be sent back to Regional Coordinators.
- Local groups should localize their Pledge return information, i.e., keep pledges and count at local level.
- State Coordinators need to be informed about who is on the list of national endorsers and encouraged to work with local affiliates. (See list attached to these minutes.)
- Letters need to be sent to national organizations asking them to inform their affiliates of endorsement. Endorsers will be informed of the list of requirements for participating organizations. Not assigned.

- A major National Conference to include a State Coordinators Conference will be held June 26, 27, and 28. Goal: servicing State Coordinators and building the movement. Alternate dates: July 24, 25, and 26. Conference Subcommittee: Makini, Avel, Adeyemi, Daki, Kathy, Veneta, Genna Rae.
- Genna Rae will develop proposals for funding conference and for a national coordinator to maintain network.
- 5,000 buttons will be ready by the end of February for distribution to Regional Coordinators. Poster will be ready by mid-February. Shaka is coordinating.
- Fundraising resources should be shared with the NCP by mid-February for the first conference and then on-going.
- Each region is asked to develop thoughts on Education, Action and Networking and submit to NCP or Genna Rae. Think in terms of benefits and measurable objectives. Ask State Coordinators how they could benefit from additional funding. This information will facilitate fundraising process and is needed immediately.
- Each NSC agenda will include discussions about state of Anti-Apartheid movement, what's happening in Regions, and interplay between Network and movement.
- Future CTC actions will include planning that provides for discussion of and assessment of: 1. our objective, 2. level of visibility, and 3. is the structure working?

Submitted by Avel Gordly
February 26, 1987

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NATIONAL AND REGIONAL REPORT:

Jerry Herman (National Contact Person-NCP) reported that the assessment is that we have been successful at building a network. It is uneven in some places — 44 state coordinators, 11 regional coordinators. One problem to be dealt with is localism. National Steering Committee is growing in strength and commitment though development is uneven. Some fundraising has been accomplished. There is a need for a coordinator to maintain the network. Need to decide on date and location of next NSC meeting - proposed Philadelphia in July (and also a State coordinator conference.) At some point may need to drop the phrase emergency response network from the CTC description. There is a lot of Southern Africa activity which needs to be coordinated as opposed to directed. Last two actions: Machel, Christmas cards. Latter could have been better - problem shortness of time and need to anticipate need to act. In case of Machel, we were a little more prepared as background information had been sent out to the network. Budget \$3,500 start-up from AFSC, \$3,500 from FEX, \$1,000 from WCC program to combat racism. Need to look at putting out larger proposals. \$1,500 from Bread and Roses Philadelphia for local call. Sees Regional Coordinators as strength of movement. There have been 5 meetings over the past year.

Regional Reports - Key Highlights:

Region 11 -- to be given Sunday - Adeyemi Bandele

Region 10: Howard Hawkins - raised issue of needing to know about techniques used to intimidate and harrass demonstrators being used by authorities locally, wondered if anyone else around country experiencing same. Techniques also being used in Europe.

Held Machel Memorial on October 25th

Pledge of Resistance is strong in Vermont, will be coordinating and networking with them

Attempting to network with Rainbow Coalition and Green Party

Will attempt to get State Coordinators together early this year

Region 9 Jerry: PA is coming together - new governor will push Dave's legislation, good state coordinator - need coordinator for New Jersey and Philadelphia, planning a mass action on July 16th - will build the network

Region 7 Makini: Southern area is weak. State coordinators have not done much work. Are currently rebuilding the network. Makini is the new coordinator. NAACP regional will be voting on endorsement soon.

Florida - lost one of two state coordinators

Alabama - have developed a new list of contacts

South Carolina - new state coordinator

North Carolina - need a new state coordinator, possibly Shafeah M'Baliala

Tennessee - Dr. Issac Richards is the state coordinator, is active in Nashville and Memphis and has 20 new endorsers

Atlanta - T-shirt project - 1/2 of the profits will be split with CTC -- T-shirt with Winnie/Nelson Mandela

Region 4 Jerry: North Dakota - sparsely populated, has 2 coordinators, both doing a good job/the R.C. sent in 25 endorsements last month.

Region 3 Veneta: Oklahoma needs a coordinator. Texas is working on divestment Regarding list of children; will get organizations and churches to send in letters regarding children and detainees. Colorado - demonstration at Senator Armstrong's office. Exposed Ambassador of Mozambique to a number of groups. A memorial to Machel was combined with Black West Museum. CC against A - working with churches to take 12 names and write monthly; in Denver a bill passed (pension funds), press conference was held for children detained.

Region 2 Avel: Randy Carter is still Washington State Coordinator. He mailed out 1,000 piece mailing regarding children. CTC is mentioned in SWAN regional newsletter; Machel memorials in Seattle, Spokane - demonstrations continue at office/home of honorary Southern African consulate. Oregon Fair Share and FOR have endorsed.

Region 1 Ron: glad to be here/needs more information. Cited several issues for discussion: resource sharing, public acknowledgements of work, opportunism in the movement. Overall structuring - how are priorities made; political tendencies in work. Said discussions are going on to establish a North American Support Network for Namibia.

Africa Peace Tour Makini raised question about how to include CTC in the tour activities.

Shaka - now over 200 endorsements around country many of them national.

Spring Mobilization

April 25, 26, 27

Clarence Lusane made a presentation about the mobilization - he is national organizer.

What is needed from CTC?

- contacts
- look at local levels
- evolving
- willing to come and speak -- has travel budget

Decision: Howard proposed that a statement be developed this weekend outlining CTC's participation and concerns about the Spring mobilization. Howard agreed to develop this. NSC wants to raise issue of Comprehensive and Mandatory Sanctions through the Spring mobilization and asked Clarence to take back this message.

Philadelphia Demonstration - Shaka

July 16th demonstration proposed for Philadelphia to coincide with 200th anniversary of constitution and joint session of congress. Plan is for 3,000 people to lay down in the streets as part of an action on that date focused on Southern Africa and linking domestic issues.

REACTION TO PROPOSAL

Howard: ought to be domestic issues raised: housing, jobs

The NOW convention will also be in Philadelphia at this time.

Kathy D. The news blackout has left people out of touch with Southern Africa and we are losing people's attention. We need to do something to get people's attention back.

Clarence - suggested getting the Philadelphia demonstration on the Spring Mobilization agenda: "See you in Philly in July!"

Shaka wants feedback - do we as NSC want to endorse the July 16th Philadelphia demonstration? Venita suggested incorporating other issues.

Genna Rae also suggested tie-in for the Philly demonstration, jobs here, jobs Southern Africa, voting rights here, voting rights in Southern Africa.

Ron supports Genna Rae's statement linking domestic issues and sees black people leading out on these issues. Need to include historical questions as well. Even though we may not get to Philadelphia, we can raise these issues wherever we are. We also need to question legitimacy of whether we are citizens - question of reparations.

Cory: likes Ron's suggestion of tying in the historical and domestic.

Clarence: Suggests putting out an alternative document criticizing the constitution - this could be something for the NSC to think about developing - gave example of Freedom Charter, SA.

Overall folks present thought the Philadelphia proposal was a good idea.

Veneta: What does the NSC want to do with it? Make it a national action and get back to our people?

PROCESS: Jerry suggested that if Philadelphia decides to go forward with the demonstration later ask NSC to issue a national call

Howard wants NSC to consider what we are capable of as a network and look at the possibility of endorsing the Philadelphia demonstration this weekend. Later there was general agreement to endorse the local action.

Discussion: Why a Southern Africa Network? Howard Hawkins, Facilitator

Jerry provided an overview of why there is a need for a network. There is a need to reach new people in new areas of the country. Shaka thinks we need to rethink the emergency response aspect of the network.

Rob - How do we deal with the notion of being a network vs. an organization if we stop dealing with the emergency response aspect. Not clear on structure.

Kathy F. raised question regarding process of building a network - status of AA movement and this network. Is this a network to coordinate movement? Need to keep an eye on movement - do analysis and be prepared to move. Gave starvation in Mozambique as example.

Howard: Earlier meetings identified structure within which discussions like above could take place.

Veneta: Network is a mechanism to get information around the country.

Jerry: We need to develop "experts" around the country. We need to create exchange of information instead of "downgivings" of information.

Makini: A lot of the information we share is not in a form that grassroots people can use - Films and videos may not be as accessible in some areas. Makini is concerned about making the issue more visible in the South.

Kathy: How do people know they are part of a larger network? Identified need to give feedback to network (possibly in the form of reports on actions).

Veneta: How can we help the network sound out what will work and what won't fly (at the regional level)?

Jackie: How can we facilitate communication on questions that need answers? i.e., national legislation - she will call Regionals - Regionals will call state coordinators. Right now, she needs opinions on draft legislation.

Kathy F.: How do we create the mood and the demand so that people cannot ignore it?

Howard: We need to stress with local contact that this is a bottom up kind of organization - that people are encouraged to make suggestions through the local coordinators. (State, Regional to the NSC)

At this point in discussion it was recognized that the working paper needs to be put in final form. (Kathy F. agreed to do this)

Rob: Suggests that as Jackie makes calls to get input on ideas for legislative language, that she plant the seed about the need for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

Howard: Suggests that Southern Africa Action Network might be an alternative to Emergency Response Network.

Kathy: What we are asking of ourselves is to clarify our objectives. Suggests strategic discussions for each agenda:

State of AA movement

What's happening in region

Interplay between network and movement

Shaka: suggests that we delete emergency response network and Howard added calling it a Nationwide Southern Africa Action Network, all future publications will reflect this.

NSC agreed to send minutes to state and local coordinators.

Howard: We are creating a sense of motion - we have a pretty good network and it's growing - suggests that a one-page bulletin be taken from minutes and sent to constituency. (Avel agreed to do this).

Suggestion (but not agreed to) was made to encourage state coordinators to submit one-page written reports to Regionals which can be shared in national meetings. It was agreed that a form be developed for use by Regionals to gather information. (not assigned)

Ron agrees to the need for tabloid describing the work.

Makini asked the question; how are Black organizations working on the issue. Suggested that we seriously broaden the base to include Black people. It is embarrassing that in most cities our audiences are white, our protestors are white. We need to shape our messages so that they reach Black people. Ron also agrees that there is a need to expand bases - need to rethink strategy of using politicians and "stargazers." Network has real possibilities -- need to look at NSC - structure, how and who is setting agenda. Go back and look at NSC and consider adding a movement person, someone from the university, a politician, i.e., whatever we decide we need that fits the needs of the structure - that there not be a preponderance of any one group.

Veneta to Ron: "Do you see glaring organization omissions in the NSC?" such as progressive media people, movement people, church, labor - What are people's class outlook?

Legislative Update: Jackie Wilson, Washington Office on Africa

A Democratic Congress carries with it no assurances. Southern Africa will be a bargaining chip. There is a better access to congressional aides. A SADDC bill is expected. Julian Dixon is trying to tack on \$100 million to last year's bill - an emergency measure. This is a supplemental bill expected in 2-3 weeks for transportation development. It includes Angola and Mozambique. Mickey Leland (now in Angola), will propose, 5 years \$550 million or 5 years supplemental. Wants to give money to SADDC and to agencies inside South Africa and Namibia also \$150 million to U.S. Aid, Leland has a non-binding resolution calling for security of monies (given UNITA, SA threat) Gray proposed \$700 million over 5 years - (a bill) starting in 1988 - 50% of money for transportation. Gray, Dixon and Leland are all refusing to deal with security. (i.e., sending money to UNITA to blow up roads used by SADDC). Senator Simon (new chair of Senate African Committee) indicated that part of the push is to get hearings going on Africa.

- A conservative Republican has introduced a UNITA bill

- Namibia - Senator Simon is active on Namibia and Angola - may introduce a bill prohibiting Aid to Namibia and Angola. He will introduce a bill prohibiting introduction

of Namibia Minerals. Dymally will co-sponsor introduction in February and vote after April.

Sanctions: Someone is lined up to introduce a package on Comprehensive Sanctions - waiting for right timing.

Jackie thinks we need a bill that attacks the loopholes in the legislation just passed and a (close loopholes) bill may be introduced in February. Not sold on a technical corrections bill as opposed to the loophole approach or an item by item bill.

Gray: Debt relief for front line or SADDC nations - trade off bill for economic sanctions against Ethiopia -- language addresses communist regime in Ethiopia, ignorance of democratic principles.

Jackie wants to know what people think about Educational Aid, etc. What do people feel - do they want a Dellums bill right now. These are questions that need to be asked through CTC network.

Action: A ctc memo needs to go to regional and state coordinators regarding the need to respond to Jackie Wilson's survey.

Genna Rae to Jackie: -- raised the issue of how can we be sure that our responses and direction of legislation are in sync with UDF and others in South Africa. Are we in touch with South Africans to get this information? - Answer, yes.

Kathy: suggested that a Call to Conscience tabloid could include inside South Africa updates.

Jackie Wilson and Dorothy Thomas are legislative coordinators at WOA.

Organizers Manual:

--Makini suggested a synopsis that links the issues

--Kathy suggested that the manual be done in such a way that pages can be xeroxed

To Be Done: Need to review minutes for items identified that might trigger activation of the network.

The group reviewed the entire manual and made changes in the text.

Decision: Regarding pledges - copies of Pledges received by Regional Coordinators will be forwarded to Jerry. Copies of Pledges received by Jerry will be sent back to Regional Coordinators.

Agreement: Daki suggested that local groups localize their Pledge return information.

Daki stressed the need to activate endorsing organizations and that there should be a statement indicating how to do this.

Kathy raised the question about what level of communication we are having with National endorsing groups beyond their endorsement. To Do/Decision: Inform State Coordinators of National endorsers and ask them to work with the local affiliates. Send a letter to national organizations and ask them to inform their affiliates of endorsement. Need a list of endorsements and National affiliates, i.e., endorsers will be informed of the list of requirements for participating organizations. Avel requested list that list of endorsers be passed out during meeting.

Fundraising

Jerry: local accountability was stressed. Jerry suggest we need to set guidelines.

Assignments for Organizers Manual: Kathy -- Regional destabilization coalition (ACOA) linkage/ analysis (p. 8-9), divestment, disengagements. Writing assignments on organizers manual due in 2 weeks (January 26th).

Announcement: ACOA has a piece titled "Samora, Why He Died" now available.

Regional Reports:

Region II Adeyemi - Has been deeply involved with school programs but Regional Report - will be contacting M. Ngai

Region 8 Daki - As part of his Regional Report, raised issue of WOA and how they have not figured out how they would activate their part of the network, though they will and do participate as a NSC and Steering Committee member. SASP is the group to carry out the Call in D.C. according to Sylvia Hill. Daki said the problem with the last call was timing.

Developing State & Local Coordinators - Daki Napati

Posters have been instrumental in organizing call. We need this type of symbolism. At some point we need to step up our organizing tools to include media. Gave an example of TV-PSA on S.A. Look at events that are already organized, like the King programs. Call can be piggy-backed. Take advantage of times people are already organized.

Assess status of local coalition. It is key to organizing that the Regional Coordinator isn't the State Coordinator. An outsider can have "credibility."

The film Witness to Apartheid has been helpful in getting people signed up. The key is follow-up. The film communicates urgency. Need to maintain this urgency:

1. symbolism
2. use media
3. visit states
4. maintain urgency.

Daki's criticism of Witness to Apartheid is that it does not show people fighting back. Daki is pushing a Namibia component using the SASP Namibia slide show.

State contacts need resources, phones, offices, etc.

Call to Conscience posters to churches. Shaka -- Partners in Ecumenism, Baptist & AME ministers (wing of NCC) have endorsed CTC. There are at least 2,000 Black Ministers around the country who have read about the Call in the PIE newsletter, which is an angle for reaching local Black churches.

Suggestion: ask folks with publications to insert CTC brochures during ACOA Days of Ation.

Jerry raised the issue that people may be staying too close to home physically and in terms of political tendencies. Stressed importance of getting out into our regions. Need to think bigger and wider -- this is a huge network taking shape.

One is an organizer -- or one is a leader. Organizers try to make things happen.

Daki -- need to take advantage of networks that are already in place.

NOTE: Shaka is in the process of producing a poster with Winnie Mandela (5,000.) Daki suggested space at the bottom to localize. Daki also suggested putting children on a poster. Jerry mentioned a photo of badly beaten children. Shaka also mentioned photo of children being packed on hippo. Shaka: we need a poster that links S.A. with domestic issues.

Jerry suggested that Regional Coordinators need to be more aggressive, consistent in contacts with State Coordinators. "Keep juices flowing."

Daki: There is a need to be clear on what kind of timetable we are talking about. Do we want to project an activity around June 16th? How do we want to take advantage of ACOA Days of Action and August 9th?

Daki: We need to get other organizations to own being a part of the network. What if we talked about targeted activities in 50 cities? Jerry: Or in one state? Shaka suggested that in each state two cities be targeted so that we can focus through press releases, for example, that in 50 or 100 cities, Machel memorials were held.

Daki raised the issue of a National Press Conference. We need to be prepared to hold a National Press Conference the next time the network is activated. Daki says several major anti-apartheid organizations have questioned how serious are we as a network.

Accountability and Minimalism - Jerry Herman

Jerry: let's do what we say we're going to do. Need to actively engage in developing the network.

Veneta: How do we get someone else to take over some responsibilities? Howard suggested having Regional meetings where that can be done. Jerry: compared long distance runners to 100 yard dashers. Daki said that it helps as an organizing tool to have a theme.

Daki: Need to look at whether we are really Interim Coordinators or permanent Coordinators. Howard thinks we should keep the concept of Interim. It was agreed that this is a principle that needs to be kept.

Proposal for National CTC Conference to focus on Southern Africa, with the objective to build communications, networking:

1. Share information with other individuals and groups engaged in Anti-Apartheid work.
2. Develop a national calendar of events for 1988.
3. Update from liberation movement
4. Legislative update
5. I.D. National Day of Action.

Proposed date: October 1987, to help plan for 1988.

A conference for people in the movement. Needs to be broad-based and activated -- a non-threatening event. Include labor, clergy, students, Canadians, Caribbeans.

Added focus for national conference: include questionnaire for people who can't be there. Money to get State reps there. Pre Conference meeting with State Coordinators.

Funding: Possible resources include Funding Exchange and U.N. Centre Against Apartheid

Howard wants to see a core of CTC people there and financial help to get them there. Adeyemi: need to build in apparatus to receive reports from people who can't be there.

Daki: suggests adding workshop on Central America and the Caribbean. Adeyemi's vision is Information Sharing vs. coming out of the meeting with a resolution, etc.

Shaka: Funding sources through churches have not been tapped. Daki: training, empowerment, organizing, fundraising.

Adeyemi, Avel, Makini to work on subcommittee

National CTC Conference Dates: Proposed, Not Adopted
Dates: October 10,11,12 (Saturday, Sunday, and Monday) - 1 day for State meeting or
October 16,17,18 (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday)

Process for approval of conference proposal: in writing, to NSC members, and then phone consultation. Daki: highlight information about conference in minutes, and ask if there are conflicts with the date.

Theme: we need one for the conference.
Shaka: would like to videotape conference

Need - Proposal for coordinator and assistant and State Coordinators Meeting (Dated not adopted)

Proposal for State Coordinators Meeting: May 16,17 or 22,24
Suggested sites: New York, Philadelphia, Las Vegas, Atlantic City, Atlanta
Committee: Shaka, Veneta

Avel: Concern raised about taking on two conferences in terms of coordination and money. There was a major discussion about the feasibility of having two major conferences. Adeyemi proposed doing 3 or 4 regional conferences (with Jerry, Veneta, Avel) -- NOT agreed to.

Makini stressed need to focus on servicing and strengthening State Coordinators.

AGREEMENT: One major National Conference to include State Coordinators conference: June 26,27,28. Goal: servicing State Coordinators and building the movement. Alternate dates: July 24,25,26.

Logistics of conference need to be carefully considered. Possibility of part-time Coordinator for conference was discussed. Adeyemi has part-time intern.

Conference Subcommittee: Makini, Avel, Adeyemi, Daki, Kathy, Veneta, Genna Rae

Assessing Last Two Actions: - Makini Coleman

Many Machel memorials throughout Southern Region. Card campaign did not go well. Card Campaign was weakest. Machel memorial more successful of the two. Feedback and monitoring did not work well. Communication is an underlying need.

1. What was our objective?
2. Level of visibility?
3. Does structure work?

Summary comments:

- Kathy suggested that Cards could have been sent to central point in order to assess success of action
- Adeyemi and Jerry stressed need for Co-Chairs to stay in contact with NSC members

Press Releases/Publicity/Video

Shaka suggested a video that could be used to promote the CTC.
Kathy: Is there a media plan? NO. Kathy will develop one. Genna Rae will work with Shaka on video on CTC. Avel will condense minutes for bulletin mailing to Network.

Finance/Fundraising

Posters, buttons - YES

Bumperstickers - NO

T-Shirts - Atlanta developing (Regionals check with State folks to see if there is a market for T-shirts and respond by mid-February)

5,000 buttons will be ready by the end of February for distribution to Regional Coordinators. Poster will be ready by mid-February for distribution to Regional Coordinators.

Adeyemi has secured the phone numbers of Hugh Masekela and Abdullah Ibrahim. Daki suggested that we look at concert around time of National Conference. The Conference Committee will look at feasibility.

Fundraising Strategies:

NSC members are asked to send comments on strategies to the NSC.

Possible fundraising sources should be shared with the NCP by mid-February for the 1st Conference effort and continuing after that.

Need consensus on priorities and needs of CTC (to facilitate fundraising process.)
Education, Networking, Action Any thoughts on these should be written out and submitted to NCP or Genna Rae. Each region is asked to do this. Also think in terms of benefits and measurable objectives. Regional Coordinators should ask State Coordinators how they could benefit from additional funding. Regional Coordinators will oversee getting the above information.

Information about the Funding Exchange and other sources will be disseminated. FEX info was circulated.

Children's Campaign: CTC will establish a subcommittee to develop plans for a project around Soweto Day involving youth that would involve National Education Association and other children's groups we know of.

Notes submitted by Avel Gordly
2/26/87