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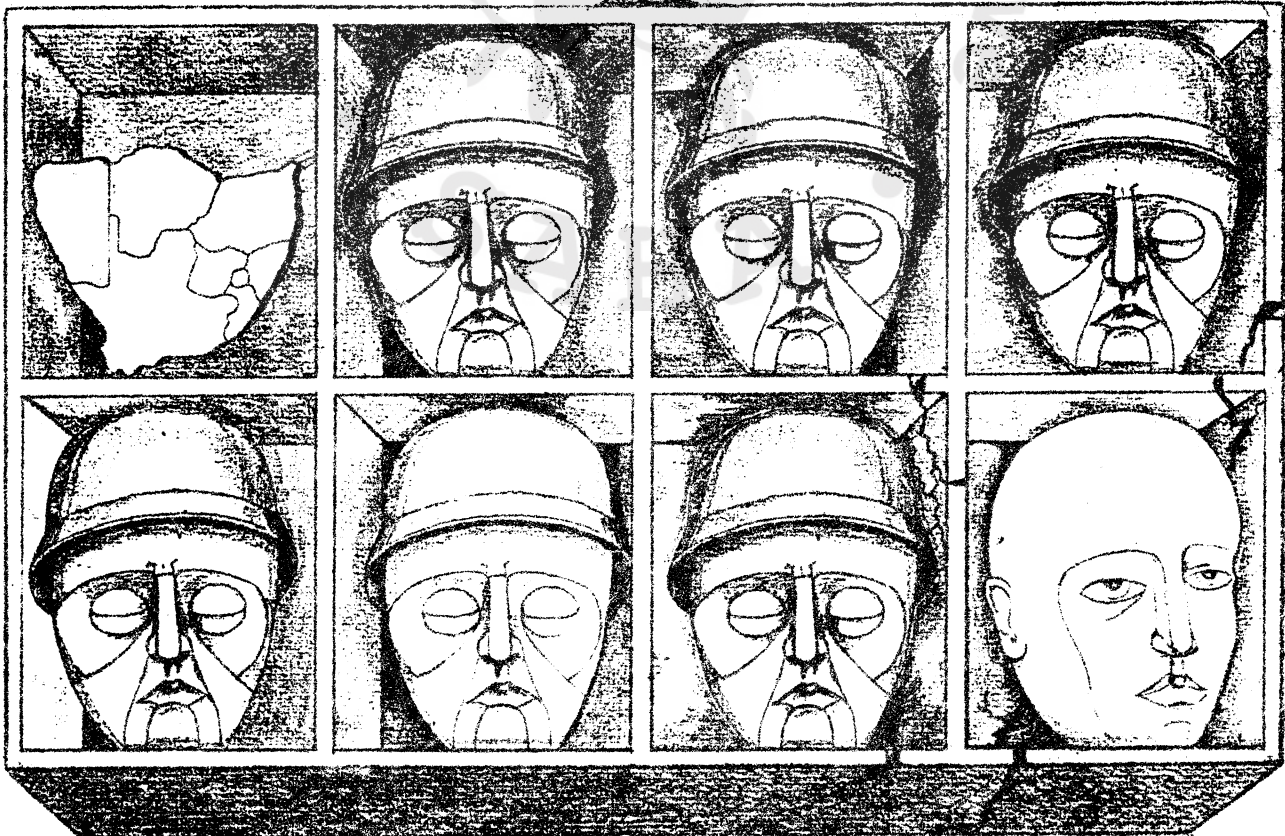
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The Report on the 5th National Conference of the Conscientious Objectors Support Groups

Popular History
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THE REPORT ON THE 5TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS SUPPORT GROUPS

WILGESPRUIT, JOHANNESBURG

19 - 22 JULY 1984

- Contents -

	Page
1. Process of the Conference	2
Declarations	2
2. Update on the Role of the SADF in Southern Africa ..	4
3. The Conscientious Objectors Support Groups	5
(a) Reports - (i) Cape Town	6
(ii) Durban	6
(iii) Johannesburg	10
(iv) Pietermaritzburg	11
(v) Grahamstown	11
(b) What is COSG?	11
(i) The Role of COSG	11
(ii) The Tasks of COSG	12
(iii) What is COSG's Constituency?	12
(iv) Development of COSG and Recruitment	12
(v) Research and Resources	13
(c) Communication between COSGs	13
(d) "Objector"	14
(e) Relationship of COSG to ECC	15
(f) Simulation of a Campaign	16
4. The Board for Religious Objection	20
(a) Input in 3 Parts	20
(b) Discussion on the Board	22
5. The Workshops	23
1. Counselling	23
2. Youth and Schools	24
3. Sexism and the Military	27
4. Non-Violent Conflict Resolution	41
5. Conscription, Militarisation and Resistance	43
6. Summary of Tasks	53

1. PROCESS OF THE CONFERENCE

The conference was prepared by a planning group from Johannesburg COSG. This group started off the conference with some icebreaking activities, it set up affinity groups, it reviewed the agenda and then handed responsibility over to a process group.

Affinity groups

Everyone was randomly assigned to an "affinity group" of between five and eight members. Affinity groups met daily and were a place for people to talk about how they were feeling, and to discuss problems, tensions or conflicts, and to just chat amicably. It was a time to reflect on the conference without being task-oriented.

Process group

A group made up of two representatives from each COSG plus assorted others from regions with no COSGs - to keep track of the conference, adjust the agenda, and generally make sure that work was proceeding productively. The process group in fact had to reorganise Sunday's agenda at the request of workshops and affinity groups.

The concert

It was a joll! Wine, cheesy things, biscuits plus serious and unserious poetry, drama, songs and skits.

Celebration of unity

To end off, we celebrated our unity and commitment by reading the following declarations, paying tribute to certain objectors, and singing a "spiral song".

"Let us remember who we are....

A people united against the growing militarisation of our land,
working towards the right of conscience of those who say
'we will not fight in this war'.

LET US BREAK DOWN THE WALLS THAT SEPARATE US, LET US UNITE
IN HOPE AND STRENGTH.

There have been times when we have been divisive in our thinking,
in our speech, in our actions. We have classified and imprisoned
one another.

LET US BREAK.....

We were meant to be one people, ruled by peace, feasting in freedom,
freed from injustice, truly human people, responsible and responsive
in the life we lead, the love we share, the relationships we create.

LET US BREAK.....

We need courage to do what is right - even when it is not allowed,
and persistence in undermining unjust structures until they
crumble into dust.

LET US BREAK DOWN THE WALLS THAT SEPARATE US. LET US UNITE
IN HOPE AND STRENGTH."

TOWARDS A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND

A Declaration to End Conscription

We live in an unjust society where basic human rights are denied to the majority of the people.

We live in an unequal society where the land and wealth are owned by the majority.

We live in a society in a state of civil war, where brother is called on to fight brother.

WE CALL FOR AN END TO CONSCRIPTION.

Young men are conscripted to maintain the illegal occupation of Namibia, and to wage unjust war against foreign countries.

Young men are conscripted to assist in the implementation and defence of apartheid policies.

Young men who refuse to serve are faced with the choice of a life of exile or a possible six years in prison.

WE CALL FOR AN END TO CONSCRIPTION.

We believe that the financial cost of the war increases the poverty of our country, and that money should rather be used in the interests of peace.

We believe that the extension of conscription to coloured and Indian citizens will increase conflict and further divide our country.

WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE MORAL RIGHT OF SOUTH AFRICANS TO EXERCISE FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND TO CHOOSE NOT TO SERVE IN THE SADF.

WE CALL FOR AN END TO CONSCRIPTION.

WE CALL FOR A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND.

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2. UPDATE ON THE ROLE OF THE S A D F IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Changes in the past year make last year's discussion seem irrelevant.

Some of these changes are

- change from support for destabilisation to support for Nkomati Accord;
- Defence Amendment Act;
- The White Paper on defence.

Nkomati Accord and European tour seen as victory for Government, but are not entirely so. It is true that the Accord was a result of destabilisation and attempts to destroy the ANC in neighbouring states, and that it was not an agreement between equals.

But it also shows

- a failure of destabilisation
 - especially in terms of its cost and the cost of the Namibian war;
 - and diplomatic pressure from overseas at a time SA was needing support.
- economic pressure on SA, necessitating trade
 - IMF loan
 - arms trade
- internal pressure in SA from the UDF, churches, etc.

So the agreements are not a victory for the S A D F.

We need also to look at what the agreements mean for neighbouring states. The gains for Mozambique and Angola are minimal. They have been forced into the agreement.

MOZAMBIQUE

Apparent gains for Mozambique are the slowing down of the MNR, the potential for rebuilding, and the increase of economic activity. (However, there is no guarantee that the MNR will slow down as it has apparently stockpiled lots of arms.)

ANGOLA

The Angolan agreement resulted in the Joint Monitoring Committee involving FAPLA and South Africa but it does not mention UNITA and SA's support for UNITA.

NAMIBIA

The failure of the Lusaka talks between SA and SWAPO has significant implications.

- SWAPO is calling for the implementation of UN Resolution 435.
- SA seems to have no intention of implementing 435. It is stalling so that it can try to boost the image of the Multi-party Conference; it also fears a right wing backlash.

Despite "disengagement", SA was still 50km into Angola in July 1984.

DEFENCE WHITE PAPER - IMPLICATIONS FOR SA

Despite all the "peace" the rhetoric has not changed. Still talk of "Soviet onslaught". The White Paper makes it clear that the S A D F is anticipating continued war

- continued build up of conventional arms
- building an airfield in Northern Transvaal
- talk of using roads as airstrips
- increased military activity in N Cape and N Transvaal
- development of G6 guns

Why?

- neighbouring states together are much weaker than SA
- SWAPO and ANC are guerillas - don't require conventional weapons

Possible answers:

- a realisation that peace accords won't work
- redeployment for the future when destabilisation or invasion may become necessary
- containing internal unrest.

COMMANDOS

Despite Le Grange's claims of having smashed the ANC, there is still emphasis on building commando units

- so far there are eight new commando units
- by the end of 1984 there will be twelve more
- there is talk of organising the entire country into units
- seems to point to anticipation of increased ANC activity.

CONSCRIPTION

Although there is talk of coloured and Indian conscription, there has been no legislation for it this year.

We need to remain aware of this issue.

It is possible that the issue of the conscription of women may again arise.

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3. THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS SUPPORT GROUPS

(a) REPORTS

(i) CAPE TOWN COSG

This time last year Cape Town COSG decided to form a number of working groups. These have been operating for a year now and we are in some position to assess how they have worked.

COSG is made up of the "War and Peace" subcommittee, the media subcommittee, the anti-conscription subcommittee, and the support group.

A noticeable exception, although planned for last year, is an internal education subcommittee. To some extent its role has been taken up by the steering committee in organising monthly open meetings. This has however not been sufficient.

WAR AND PEACE

The War and Peace subcom's main function has been to raise issues of militarisation among school students. They have put out a newsletter which is posted to individual students. Because this is a new area of work, much thought still has to be put into the best ways of reaching schools - plays; talks; newspapers; personal contact or mailing; etc.

A number of people have moved into this subcom as it is an exciting, although a difficult one, in which to work.

MEDIA

The media subcom has expanded over the last six months with ten active members at present. While having as its brief the production of all kinds of media (posters, pamphlets, etc), the subcom has tended to concentrate on producing "Objector".

With the influx of person-power and skills, the group is now in a better position to produce other media regularly. In this regard the group felt it would be useful to work in conjunction with the anti-conscription subcom (and therefore the End Conscription Campaign) in order to see how we could be of assistance there.

Some confusion has existed over the nature and spread of the readership of "Objector". Still, it seems to have been accepted as a legitimate, national, anti-war newspaper. Production has been fairly regular (four issues this year) although until recently too centralised. Skills workshops and more democratic structures have been planned to ensure continuity of skills and the building of the group.

THE SUPPORT GROUP

The support of COs and their families fell to this subcom. Membership of the subcom averaged four to five, which definitely was understaffed.

Initially our goals included the gathering of information: court records, statements of previous COs, and the maintenance of up-to-date information on the Defence Amendment Act of last year. A great deal of material was produced relating to Peter Hathorn's internment in prison and of necessity we built an expanding resource file of prison regulations and tips on how to support someone facing a jail sentence.

This we thought to be very useful information for the growing number of people who were objecting at the July intake and to camps. A growing number of COs, and their friends and families, received a package containing extracts from letters of COs, newspaper cuttings, publications, tips, debates, etc.

Then came Paul Dobson's decision to object and for us the attempt to publicise his position and court case via radio, press, mail and meetings. Signed statements by COSG and other concerned groups assisted this.

Brett Myrdal's decision to object prompted the greatest peak in our activity as we tried to publicise his stand. Signatures of support from individuals, organisations and churches. Following the dropping of charges, a very well-attended meeting was held in support of Brett.

Billy Paddock visited, sharing on a few occasions some insight into life behind bars as a CO. Our note "Standing on the inside looking in" was produced following his visit.

New year, the release of Peter Hathorn and all rejoicing ... his experiences were shared very usefully in an open COSG forum.

Our major work this year has been around the Board for Religious Objection with attempts to summarise and interpret the Act and publicise both its existence as an option and criticisms of it.

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION

The anti-conscription subcom was set up after the 1983 national conference to initiate the campaign against conscription and to establish a broad-based committee to take it up.

The group drew up a proposed structure and working principles for this committee and sent these to all organisations possibly interested in such a campaign together with invitations to a meeting to discuss forming a committee.

This came to fruition in November when the End Conscription Committee (CT) was formally inaugurated. The +/- sixteen participating organisations included Black Sash, NUSAS, Western Province Council of Churches, SUCA and ADAC.

Since then the Anti-con and its members have taken on a chunk of the ECC work, eg organising the public meeting and much of the media of the Namibia focus in May, as well as being involved in much of the other activity. Most of the group have attended the ECC meetings regularly.

Along with the executive, the group has been an important source of ideas and initiative in ECC. This has been facilitated by its small size (+/- five people) and its stability. Almost everyone had been in the group from the beginning of the campaign. A consequence has been that the group has struggled to get new people involved.

Anti-con is presently assessing its own role and ideas for the future of the campaign. A solid base has been built. Our challenge is to capitalise on this and make the next six months a time of widespread mobilisation and action.

STEERING COMMITTEE

Steering Committee is made up of one representative from each subcom, and a treasurer. Assessments of the role of steering com did not take place as rigorously as hoped. We had a weekend away together in February at which thorough assessments took place and we have just held an assessment as preparation for conference.

A major criticism of our work has been in a lack of overall creative direction for COSG. On the one hand the administration and co-ordination was taking place, but the different areas of work could have been far more positively related.

More exciting ways of arranging meetings and the importance of the follow-up of new members has been stressed. National contact is always a shortcoming and we have created a special portfolio to attempt to improve this.

Educational meetings were held once a month over the past four months. These were well attended. One problem was that they were not interlinked or in any logical sequence. This will be discussed further and a programme set up for the next six months. They were very successful in making the forum that COSG provides more openly accessible to a wider group of people.

CONCLUSION

COSG (W Cape) has developed significantly over the past year. It has drawn in new members, taken up new and challenging activities, extended information and questions related to anti-militarism to more people than before. There are still, however, many problems and weak areas. We have lost people from the group, we could use many more in the work we have set out for ourselves. There is much we still have to learn about the areas we are tackling ... still there is a solid framework and a group of people dedicated to the work of COSG.

(ii) DURBAN COSG

MONTHLY MEETINGS

Meetings are held monthly although some difficulties have been experienced in finding a time suitable for all members.

Membership has increased slightly since the last conference with some students attending.

Minutes are sent to fifty people in the Durban area; average attendance at meetings is eight.

The group felt the need to meet more informally and therefore arranged a bring-and-share supper which was an opportunity to get to know one another better. The video "The Line" was shown during the evening. It tells the story of an American conscript who went AWOL from the war in Vietnam.

It was very good to have visitors from other COSGs.

SUPPORT AND NEWS OF LOCAL CONSCRIPTS AND POTENTIAL CONSCRIPTS

A growing number of young people have contacted members of COSG and discussed conscription and military service and the alternatives.

Paul Dobson was sentenced to a year in a civilian jail in September last year. The group is in contact with Paul through his wife who sometimes attends the monthly meeting. Paul was given an ignominious discharge. He has been allowed to study.

Billy Paddock came out of jail in October.

Victor McGregor has applied to the Board in January 1984 for alternative service on religious grounds. As the Catholic and Quaker Churches (of which Victor is a member) have refused to appoint a representative to the Board, Victor's application has not yet come up for consideration.

A member of the group has refused to let her son fill in and sign the registration forms which were given to him at school.

Two families (that we know of) have refused to permit their sons to take part in school cadets.

CONFERENCE

Planning of the annual COSG Conference was undertaken by the group and held at the University of Natal. A public meeting was also held and two of the main speakers were Desmond Tutu and (sic)

1983 CONFERENCE REPORT

Two members of the group spent many hours compiling the report of last year's conference. The reports were distributed to all who attended the conference. Costs of the report were covered by the conference fee and donations received.

Members of the group spoke at various organisations giving a report-back and making valuable contacts.

MOVEMENT AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

Towards the end of 1983 COSG brought together representatives of Church, Women, Students and Community Organisations to look at the formation of a group to call for an end to conscription.

This group now meets monthly and is presently involved in an attitude survey on conscription. This survey, it is hoped, will be administered in the organisations represented.

PAMPHLET ENTITLED "MUST I FIGHT?"

The pamphlet explains and summarises the Defence Amendment Act. It was produced and is being distributed to young people facing the call-up and those counselling them.

WORKSHOP ON COUNSELLING MANUAL

A morning workshop to introduce the Counselling Manual to Clergy and persons in counselling positions was held in June. The workshop was well attended and those present expressed interest in further workshops of this kind.

As well as introducing the manual, there was a session on counselling skills, which some participants found particularly helpful.

SACC NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Members of the group were invited to take part in a group organising a backdrop on Militarisation at the SACC National Conference. This was very successful and influenced the Conference to pass several resolutions on conscientious objection, conscription, chaplaincy, cadets and the war in Namibia.

AFFIRMATION OF COSG BY VICTOR MCGREGOR

Victor asked that his great feeling of gratitude be placed on record for the support shown to him, and he wished also to place on record the help that the regular monthly meetings were to him personally.

Number of members in our region
Nature and membership of sub-groups
Liaison with other organisations
Most successful work last year

- Fifty on mailing list
- Durban does not have sub-groups
- MAC and Diakonia
- Conference, doing something tangible
- Workshop on Counselling - tangible
- Support - feedback received

Least successful work

- Getting MAC off the ground
- Other organisations besides COSG don't attend

What work/action most enjoyed
Working process of general COSG

- Get-together and video
- Rotate minute-taking and chair, no standing committee but working groups
- Monthly at a member's home; no public meetings

How often group meets

- Consensus by inertia
- Minutes, verbal network, Diakonia office
- MAC, getting consensus efficiently, publicity, people too busy and conflicting commitments, difficulty in finding suitable meeting time, meetings too long and end late.

Decision-making process
Information circulated
Major problems

(iii) JOHANNESBURG COSG

After the 1983 Durban conference Johannesburg COSG formed itself into working groups - to deal with

- End Conscription Campaign
- Counselling
- Publicity and Media (never got going).

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

Towards the end of 1983 this group produced a background booklet of working papers on militarisation, conscription and the Defence Act. This was used to establish contact with various target groups with a view to forming a local broadly-based End Conscription group. This group met for the first time in January 1984 - with just five organisations represented. This number later increased to ten.

In March a goal-planning workshop (organised by Human Awareness Programme) was held. In April and May a Focus on Namibia was planned, to co-incide with the July call-up. The Focus took place from June to July with various organisations taking responsibility for different functions. Events included a slide-tape presentation, a street picket, a vigil for those called up and for all victims of the war in Namibia, and a public meeting. The Focus received good press coverage. A very successful "multi-media concert" attracted a large crowd.

A problem the COSG/ECC group has encountered is getting the other COSG members to become involved in the anti-conscription issue.

COUNSELLING

In conjunction with the SACC this group brought out a very comprehensive Counsellors' Manual at the end of 1983. This was widely circulated, and is being updated as changes in the regulations or laws concerning conscripts become effective. The Manual was banned by the Publications Board, but this order was rescinded on appeal.

The Advice Bureau on Conscientious Objection (ABCO) has a panel of counsellors available. More publicity is needed for this service.

CONTACT WITH OTHER GROUPS

COSG has contact with other organisations mainly through overlaps in membership. These groups include Jhb ECC, NUSAS and the Wits campus, the Catholic War and Peace group, the SACC Justice and Reconciliation and Youth desks, and the anti-conscription committee of the UDF.

GROWTH AND CHANGE

Over the year the Jhb COSG has acquired a broader base due to its diversification into sub-groups, and because non-church people have felt more at home whereas previously the group had a more specifically Christian bias.

Through its participation in ECC and specifically the Namibia focus, participation in the SACC Conference, and through the work of ABCO, the group has to some extent "gone public". However, publications and media communication are still a "withered branch."

MEETINGS

The regular monthly meeting deals mainly with business (reports from sub-groups, news about the Board or from other regions, etc) and is usually planned and run by two facilitators who are chosen at the previous meeting. Internal education/social meetings are held occasionally during the space between monthly meetings.

Finance consists of voluntary contributions at meetings to cover costs of postage. There is no formal committee structure.

MILITARISATION FOCUS TO THE 1984 SACC CONFERENCE

At the request of the SACC, a group within Jhb COSG ran a militarisation focus at the annual conference of the SACC. Speakers on Poverty and Militarisation, the Chaplaincy, the Board for Religious Objection, and the church in Namibia, were reinforced by a visual display of photographs, newspaper clippings and posters.

Five resolutions, on conscription, the chaplaincy, the withdrawal of troops from Namibia, the use of taxation for military purposes, will be taken back to the member churches of the SACC for ratification.

CONCLUSION

Johannesburg COSG has developed during the year, but needs to concentrate more on communication both within the group and with other COSGs. The absence of a media group is a lack which needs remedying.

(iv) PIETERMARITZBURG

Pietermaritzburg does not have a properly constituted COSG. In the past year a number of individuals who are considering objecting have consulted with PACSA and the Black Sash, for advice.

School cadets have become an issue among some parents in Pietermaritzburg, and a few parents have removed their children from cadets. Letters to the "Natal Witness" have informed parents of their rights to remove children with written permission and this has been discussed more widely in parents' meetings.

NUSAS in Pietermaritzburg is starting to plan an anti-conscription group to direct ECC work in the forthcoming term.

(v) GRAHAMSTOWN

No COSG exists in Grahamstown, although it has been discussed. As yet there has not been a sufficiently active movement among those interested to start a COSG. NUSAS will support any group formed and are planning to run an anti-military focus next term.

(b) WHAT IS COSG?

METHOD

One workshop discussed "What is COSG?"

It was then decided that everyone should discuss the role, task, and constituency of COSG.

This section of the minutes also looks at the workshops on Research and Resources, and on Development and Recruiting.

(i) THE ROLE OF COSG

- (a) A support group for COs, their families and friends.
- (b) A support group for people facing the issue of CO.
- (c) A group uniting all objectors.
- (d) A group resisting the military, militarisation and the unjust war.
- (e) A peace movement.
- (f) A resource group on militarisation.
- (g) An initiator and member organisation of ECC.

(ii) THE TASKS OF COSG

- (a) To do research on the Board, assist people going before the Board, devise strategy for dealing with the Board, publicising Board hearings, working out ways to test the Board and expand its definitions.
- (b) To collect information on militarisation in South Africa and abroad, to monitor SADF activities, and to be informed on legislation.
- (c) Continue support for CO. To look into ways of supporting people who go into exile. To use individuals' cases as a way of publicising the issue.
- (d) To make information on procedure for COs accessible, to counsel conscripts on CO, publicise our counselling services (ABCO etc) and the existence of COSG.
- (e) To find ways of linking CO and anti-militarism to the non-racial struggle for democracy, to expand the focus from CO to broader opposition to the SADF.
- (f) To develop ties with people in Namibia.
- (g) COSG needs to expand, draw people in and actively recruit on the basis of broad anti-militarism.

(iii) WHAT IS COSG's CONSTITUENCY? (i.e. the target group who we aim our message at)

- (a) PTAs.
- (b) Parents (especially mothers) of potential conscripts - whites, coloureds and Indians.
- (c) Scholars, students, people at techs and teacher training colleges.
- (d) Men being called up for camps.
- (e) Chaplains.
- (f) Church and church youth.
- (g) Youth - in schools, clubs, organisations, congresses, etc.
Anti-establishment and subcultural youth.
- (h) Veterans; ex-national servicemen.
- (i) Conscripts - in terms of information on the Board.

(iv) DEVELOPMENT OF COSG AND RECRUITMENT

- (a) Who do we recruit?
 - organised democrats, eg in UDF, JODAC, Black Sash.
 - people in church groups like J & P, and in seminaries.
 - parents and families.
- (b) How do we recruit and approach groups?
 - broad "anti-military", "pro-peace" approach.
 - use audio-visual aids.
 - COSG presence at meetings: hand out pamphlets, have tables with information, take addresses of interested people. (At meetings held by groups like NUSAS, UDF, JODAC, SACC, etc)
 - organise open COSG meetings to discuss or debate issues.
 - use the mailing lists of organisations.
 - be disciplined in the way we project ourselves, eg dress, language.
- (c) How do we train new COSG members and keep "old" members developing?
 - plan meetings with new members in mind

- training through:
 - involvement in actions and campaigns,
 - workshops on media, writing and other skills,
 - discussion on topics like different positions of COs
- one COSG member could perhaps be given the task of thinking about the training of new people, but it is the responsibility of all COSG members

(v) RESEARCH AND RESOURCES

COSGs need to collect resources, encourage and do research, and provide a resource service.

Examples: Legislation on CO, conscription;
Military Secrets Act;
Defence White Paper;
Military propaganda on TV, etc;
Factsheets produced by other COSGs and other organisations;
Paratus.

(a) Sources of information:

- media: TV, magazines, newsclippings
- theses and other research done at universities
- Department of Information
- provincial libraries
- SAIRR, SACBC, SACC, SRC Resources, CRIC, Diakonia, etc.
- Hansards

(b) Outlets for news

- student press, alternative press, Objector, Non-Violence News, Outlook, Frontline
- CIRCULATE TO ALL COSGs!

(c) Monitoring of SADF activities

- talk to community organisations, student groups, teachers, to find out what's going on.

(d) Suggestion

One COSG member from each region to take responsibility for collecting resources in that region and to circulate them to other COSGs.

(c) COMMUNICATION BETWEEN COSGs

METHOD

The importance and shortcomings of inter-COSG communication were brought out in the regional reports, and were discussed more fully in the planning workshops on the last day of the conference.

FINDINGS

Problem areas were identified as follows:

1. New groups (Port Elizabeth, Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria) are not nurtured by established COSGs, and tend to fade out.
2. The "courier service" between centres is haphazard.
3. Information from other countries is either not being received here, or, if received, is not being disseminated.
4. SA news on CO and related issues is not going out internationally.
5. "Objector" - should it go national? (See separate report on the discussion and decisions about "Objector".) In any case, there is a need for each COSG to have a local newsletter.

6. There is a need to locate where COs are coming from and to keep in touch with them. (There is at present no way of doing this except possibly through campus networks.)

(d) "OBJECTOR"

A workshop looked at the present state of "Objector". The workshop was followed by a planning session where the direction for "Objector" for the next year was outlined.

THE WORKSHOP

- (i) The role of "Objector" as COSG's mouthpiece:

- source of information on laws, procedures, call-up, etc;
- dissemination of information on militarisation and CO-related news;
- in-depth feature articles on specific issues.

- (ii) The constituency "Objector" should aim at:

- primarily youth: those who are and who will be conscripted, especially scholars and students;
- people to whom conscription may be extended (coloureds and Indians);
- must remain flexible and may have to be written at different levels.

- (iii) Input from other regions to "Objector":

It was felt that each region should have a person who will be responsible for sending news to "Objector". The kind of contributions include:

- news about objectors;
- features on issues of militarisation;
- cultural contributions;
- photos;
- book reviews;
- cartoons, etc.

- (iv) COSG regions could ask SASPU to organise workshops on news-gathering and journalist writing skills in an attempt to organise a media group in each region.

- (v) "Objector" to be edited and produced in Cape Town for the meantime.

- (vi) It was felt to be important to develop relations with local press contacts.

- (vii) It was generally agreed that an attempt should be made at establishing a national newsletter.

THE PLANNING (for each region)

- (i) Establish media committees in each region:

- for local media needs;
- for contributions towards a national "Objector" (news gathering);
- for distribution of "Objector".

- (ii) Hold media workshops to initiate the above.

- (iii) National co-ordination:

- identify persons responsible: contact person in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Pretoria;
- decide on a theme for next issue fairly well in advance;
- communication to contain ideas for the following focus;

- Cape Town to co-ordinate material with flexibility for each region's needs.
- "Objector" needs to be a forum for debate, containing a broad spectrum of CO issues.
- Need to communicate deadline dates.

(iv) CONTENT (for each region)

- Feature stories related to the theme of each edition.
- Broad coverage of other anti-military activity, eg. ECC, UDF, international.
- Regional COSG news.
- Cultural input, eg. book reviews, play reviews, poems, "Did You Know?".
- Photographs, cartoons, etc.

(v) FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

Will depend on the growth of regional media committees.

(vi) DISTRIBUTION

To organisations like UDF, churches, NUSAS, Black Sash, Race Relations, civil rights organisations, women's organisations, CAL, YCS and other church youth, NEUSA, etc.

Problem: we do not know how well these organisations carry out distribution. These organisations should be approached regularly with the aim of establishing a committed, reliable contact person in each.

Areas to develop distribution: bookshops, subscriptions, techs, teachers' training colleges, schools.

(e) RELATIONSHIP OF COSG TO ECC

METHOD

The relationship of COSG to ECC cropped up in various ways during the conference, starting with the regional reports from Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg. On the Friday evening of the conference the various functions of COSG were considered, and one of the workshops covered the relationship of COSG to ECC.

FINDINGS

Both Durban and Johannesburg have had difficulty in separating the roles and identity of COSG and the anti-conscription movement (MAC or ECC). In Durban all members of COSG are also members of MAC, and in Johannesburg a large number of COSG members are in ECC, and this has led to a lack of direction in COSG, at a time when the direct CO support function has temporarily dried up until the results of the Board hearings become apparent.

In Cape Town there is a clear demarcation of work groups within COSG, and Anti-con is the COSG work group for ECC, which is seen as a separate body from COSG.

Cape Town and Johannesburg have had problems in getting ECC matters fully discussed by the whole COSG; it was felt that all COSGs have a role to play in anti-conscription, and that each COSG needs to mandate its ECC representative on specific issues. It was also suggested that one of COSG's tasks should be to monitor the SADF locally and report to the local ECC. There needs to be clear two-way communication between COSG and ECC so that for instance COSG resources and people are available to ECC for special campaigns, etc. ECCs need to define their own structure, and COSGs need to look at their whole function - see "What is COSG?"

(f) SIMULATION OF A CAMPAIGN

SIMULATION GAME : RUNNING A CAMPAIGN

(1) Before the game

(a) Choose a campaign theme. This should be relevant to the group, eg. Women to be conscripted in 1985.

(b) Assign people to roles:

- eg. COSG - 10 people (does not work well if group is too big); the group that runs the campaign.
- Community - 3 to 6 people who represent main groups in the community, eg. Black Sash, UWO, the Church, UDF, right-wing groups, etc.
- Printer - 1 community printer.
- Press - 3 people to represent the press - more or less liberal. To take statements from COSG and anyone else and produce a newspaper every 20 minutes. (Newspaper: headlines on newsprint.)
- SP - 2 or 3 people who are part of the public but who are primed to be informers.
- Military HQ - 2 or 3 people to be the Army and who release press statements on the need for conscription extension and on "total onslaught", etc.
- Observers/
Public - Everyone else is the Public who also act as observers.

(2) At the start of the game

Give out roles: give tables to each person with his/her role. Give people time to discuss their roles, eg. COSG needs to work out how they will operate; the Community needs to work out who they will represent, etc. (15 mins)

(3) During the game

Let the game start - the first press release must come out within the first five minutes of the game. Let the game run for about an hour. (60 mins)

(4) After the game

(a) Initial discussion

- (i) In role groups - quick discussion of what happened.
- (ii) Get people to de-role, take off role tables.
- (iii) Plenary - quick discussion of what happened.

(20 mins)

(b) Small-group discussion: count people off so that the roles are mixed up.

Discuss: what did you learn about:

- (i) strategy and planning
- (ii) organisational practice
- (iii) media work
- (iv) press work
- (v) planning action
- (vi) liaison with other groups
- (vii) public relations

.....etc.

(45 mins)

(5) Plenary

One group reports; others add: what were the strengths and weaknesses of COSG in running the campaign?

(45 mins)

(6) Role sheets

(a) The Military (3 or 4 people)

Issue press releases that explain:

- the intensifying total onslaught;
- the need to increase conscription;
- the unpatriotic nature of anyone who doesn't agree with you.

(i.e. it must be very convincing propaganda)

Newspapers are produced every 20 minutes. The press is very co-operative and will print your press releases.

You respond to pressure in the community by intensifying your propaganda and/or adapting legislation. (Use your discretion.)

You must also liaise with the security police who have been given the task of liaising with you and reporting all their findings to you.

Your first press release (within 5 minutes of the start of the game) is:
FROM JANUARY 1985 WHITE WOMEN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 18 AND 25 YEARS WILL BE CONSCRIPTED INTO THE SADF FOR ONE YEAR. THEY WILL BE USED FOR NON-COMBATANT AND CLERICAL WORK, BUT THEY WILL UNDERGO BASIC TRAINING IN WHICH THEY WILL LEARN TO USE WEAPONS, ETC.

(b) The Press (more or less liberal) (3 or 4 people)

Your task is to produce a newspaper every 20 minutes (headlines and brief summaries on newsprint). You print all the military press releases, but you are ambivalent about printing COSG releases. You sometimes mis-quote statements and releases from COSG.

If there is no news coming in, make some up!

You are not very responsive to written press releases from COSG; you would prefer it if they came and talked to you for at least 10 minutes (COSG members don't know this).

Your first newspaper (within 5 minutes of the start of the game) will announce that women will be conscripted in January 1985 - the military will supply you with all the necessary details.

Don't make up news that COSG has to respond to unless it has to do with the conscription of women (if you do, it complicates the game unnecessarily).

(c) The Security Police (3 or 4 people)

Try not to reveal your identity, be part of the public/observers.

Your tasks are the following (not necessarily in order):

- harrass the printer;
- harrass the community;
- identify and detain COSG chairperson at a crucial moment, and any other COSG members at your discretion;
- investigate, intimidate, etc.;
- liaise with the military and report your findings to them.

Be creative but be discreet.

(Security Police should be given roles beforehand and during the game should be part of the "Public".)

(d) Community Organisation (3 to 6 people - or more)

You represent all the major organisations and the churches, etc. COSG must also approach you if they need halls, buses, etc.

You can represent any organisation that COSG approaches and any others you can think of. Use your discretion and act accordingly. In the first 5 minutes of the game, an event will happen to which COSG will respond and to which you may decide to respond (as any organisation you choose to be).

It may help to assign types of organisations to the people playing this role, eg. one to be church groups, one to be women's groups, one to be right-wing groups, etc.

(e) COSG (not more than 10 people)

- 1 person - you are the COSG chairperson. You try to involve many people in COSG work, but under pressure you tend to take on a lot of the work yourself.
- 2 or 3 people - you are a committed member of COSG. You take on work, have useful ideas and are reliable.
- 2 or 3 people - you are a COSG member but you are also a student and although you are usually committed to working in COSG, it is now October and you are about to write exams and after that you will be involved in preparing and attending the NUSAS congress.
- 2 or 3 people - you are a COSG member, you're very interested but you CAN'T take on any work because you are totally over-committed elsewhere or you think that one meeting a week is already a big commitment.
- 1 person - you are the "COSG dissenter". You disagree with everything and are always negative and critical.

NB: COSG's campaign is aimed at getting public support.

ANALYSIS OF SIMULATION

Strengths and weaknesses shown by COSG.

(1) In terms of strategy

- no discussion of basic issues, so no clear idea of what they wanted to say: NO AIMS
- leadership: not clear.

Learnings for COSG:

- reflects a general lack of strategy in COSG and a lack of structure through which to do this.

(2) In terms of press and media

- attitude to press was antagonistic: this is counter-productive;
- no one was delegated to deal with the press;
- not reacting to news coming through;
- didn't contact media when organising picket;
- need to use alternative press and radio.

Learnings for COSG:

- need a press person who sets up an ongoing relationship with the press and who knows sympathetic people;
- need a person (or two) to keep newsclippings and does research on what's going on;
- must make newsworthy events, and contact the press for them"
- give press information kits: do the background work for them.

(3) Public impact

- confusing; no consistent message for the public;
- no attempt to identify target group and to attract them.

Learnings for COSG:

- COSG has traditionally not tried to expand, perhaps it's time to think of actively recruiting;
- need to identify target groups and aim specific message at each group.

(4) Involving other organisations

- not involved in pickets;
- no co-ordination with other organisations;
- need to know clearly who is who in the community.

Learnings for COSG:

- need an ongoing relationship with organisations both to consult them and to involve them.

(5) Action

- chaotic and unplanned.

Learnings for COSG:

- are we just support groups or are we also action groups?

(6) Organisational practice

- no structures or procedures, eg. delegation of tasks to subgroups;
- no way of dealing with new people, in terms of security and of training.

Learnings for COSG:

- a total lack of structure can lead to problems, eg. domination by one or two people, or chaos!
- for campaigns and other work that needs co-ordination, structures are needed to have maximum participation and maximum effectiveness;
- need minutes, agendas, etc.

HOW USEFUL WAS THE GAME?

Other things that we learnt:

- need minutes for records of decisions;
- listening is important;
- need more structure for discussing issues and developing strategies;
- need long and short term strategies;
- security is important in terms of new people and provocateurs;
- use people's skills and train new people BEFORE a crisis - in quiet times.

THE GAME?

- Needed a venue with more space; ideally separate rooms for army, community, etc.
- People should wear role tags, derole after the game by taking off the tags.
- Needed some way of allowing people to discuss their roles before starting the game.
- Could have used the news announcements to structure the time into "chunks".
- Obviously it exaggerated the problem (hopefully!) in COSG.
- Some COSG members should have been committed. The game was stacked against COSG.

4. THE BOARD FOR RELIGIOUS OBJECTION

A. INPUT IN THREE PARTS

1. CHANGES AS A RESULT OF THE BOARD

THE THREE CATEGORIES OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION (AS RECOGNISED BY THE BOARD)

- (i) Non-combatants (1x length of military service);
- (ii) Prepared to do maintenance tasks without a uniform ($1\frac{1}{2}$ x military service);
(The president of the board, Steyn, described the difference between (i) and (ii) by saying that (i) is people who are prepared to put the bullets into guns and then pass the guns to others to shoot, whereas (ii) is people prepared only to do maintenance tasks without handling guns.)
- (iii) Refusal to render any form of military service in any armed force ($1\frac{1}{2}$ x military service).

Those who are not classified in any of the above categories are liable for a prison sentence $1\frac{1}{2}$ x the length of remaining service.

GAINS

1. Civilian board (set up by the Department of Manpower) to hear applications for alternative service.
2. Any person may apply - before, during or after military service. Change from peace church recognition only.
3. Principle of non-military national service recognised.

LOSSES

1. Failure to include selective objectors.
2. Punitive prison sentence.
3. Unreasonably long alternative service.
4. Biased composition of the Board.

2. EXPERIENCE OF THE BOARD AND POSSIBLE STRATEGY

November 1980 - first indication of moves to provide for alternative service. A group of people drafted a set of proposals for the Board, mentioning conscription as the root of the problem.

The Board can be seen as a manoeuvre by the Government to remain in control of the situation. It recognises pacifism and does not recognise the just war theory.

During World War I, 40 objectors died and 70 went insane in the U.K. as a result of treatment received in prisons there. The lesson for us is that we need to maintain pressure in order that further gains be made.

M.T. Steyn (Head of Board) - grandson of President Steyn. Past Administrator-General of South West Africa.

Board meets in public.

Procedure for application to the Board - see Counsellor's Manual.

Up to now the Board has seen only "peace church" objectors. 45 cases (of different natures) are due to be heard in early August 1984. These cases should be closely watched as they may create precedents or challenge the provisions of the Board.

Pressure on the Board must be reasonable and must be morally based.

People should be encouraged to apply to the Board - even if not religious or pacifist - to show the inadequacy of the Board.

Watching and publicising cases is important.

Those who are accepted for alternative service should apply pressure for better terms.

A rejection of the Board could perhaps be considered, especially if many just war objectors go to jail.

Attempt to expand the areas of recognition.

3. HOW DOES THE NEW LEGISLATION CHANGE THE DIRECTION OF THE C O MOVEMENT?

At present - those objectors who do not fall within the provisions of the Board face alternatives of prison sentences (6 years) or exile. It was therefore questioned whether religious objectors should accept the Board and alternative service. The positive aspects of going before the Board are:

1. Can stay in the country.
2. Alternative service is an overt form of resistance to the SADF - although not as powerful as imprisonment.
3. It appears as though there are chances of getting an acceptable form of alternative service.

The negative aspects of going before the Board are:

1. The churches struggled for years to have legislation affecting C Os reformed. The Board does not represent reform but rather repression. Applying to the Board legitimates this instrument of repression.
2. By establishing the Board, the Government sought to split the C O movement. If religious pacifists apply to the Board, the C O movement will no longer be presenting a united front.
3. The alternative service in the Department of Manpower will take place within the framework of the apartheid system, the injustice of which is the cause of many people's objection to being in the SADF in the first place.
4. An application undermines the stand (which COSG applauded) that some churches have taken against the Board.
5. An application accepts the theological contradictions of the Board: Heyns believes that conscientious objection to war is legitimate only on "just war" grounds and he refutes pacifism, yet the practice of the Board is a reversal of this. This shows up the true colours of the Board.

B. DISCUSSION ON THE BOARD

COSGSs should be active in publicising the statements of COs appearing before the Board. There is potential for cases to be taken before the Supreme Court for review. This is only a procedural review and if the Supreme Court overrides the Board's decision, the case merely goes back to the Board.

It was generally felt that we need to establish the points at which we can make realistic and maximum gains from using the Board.

PLANS FOR WORK ON THE BOARD

1. Broadening the definition of the Board through:
 - making direct proposals - letters, etc.;
 - through the content of objectors' statements;
 - through getting the churches and other interested organisations to initiate a meeting between themselves and the SADF for the purpose of redefining the limits of the Board.
2. Briefing/fact sheets about the Board, explaining details such as how to apply and what the limits of the Board are. (After August.)
3. Identifying test areas of the Board; e.g. the kinds of jobs one can do if accepted for alternative service, the kind of pay one gets, etc.
4. Establishing broader theological and secular bases for objection.

PUBLICITY

1. Joint campaigns.
2. Joint statements.
3. Speaking tours around the country.
4. Church campaigns for greater rights for objectors.

CONTACT BETWEEN CENTRES

Objectors to travel around the country to talk about their experiences.
Information regarding test cases to be circulated.

5. THE WORKSHOPS

1. COUNSELLING

METHOD

The counselling function of COSG was explored at a workshop, as well as in one of the planning groups and the plenary planning session on the final day of the conference.

FINDINGS

At the workshop, the different needs of conscripts for counselling were explored and three types of counselling were identified:

information-provision for an individual thinking for the first time about CO;
non-directive personal counselling (perhaps in conjunction with a group of sympathetic friends) to help the person clarify his mind on what stand he will take;
supportive counselling to deal with the issues and practical problems arising from his decision.

It was strongly felt that COSGs did not realise the importance of proper training for counsellors. An untrained counsellor, for example, could lead an individual to adopt a stand which was not right for him or for which he was not adequately prepared. Training in a non-directive approach would rectify this.

The planning group also discussed the importance of active listening and non-directive counselling in the training of counsellors. Training workshops had been held in some centres and are still needed in some others.

The development of counselling services was seen as an important and achievable task of all COSGs.

Other points raised in the planning session were:

- The sharing of telephone numbers between counselling groups in the different centres.
- The sharing of counselling skills between groups, by resource people travelling between the centres.
- Co-ordination between COSG counsellors and counselling services outside COSG, e.g. Lifeline, the clergy, or in the case of war victims referral to a well-informed clinical psychologist or psychiatrist.
- Publicity for available counselling services, e.g. to clergy, schools, technikons, universities, youth groups; can be done by pamphlets or an informal network.
- In areas where there is no COSG counselling group, key people need to be found as contacts, and use made of written counselling.
- There is a need for chaplains (and other clergy) to be trained in the counselling of possible religious objectors, with information about the functioning of the Board.
- Some doubts were expressed about the name "ABCO", which might imply a bias towards CO, but this was for each COSG to decide.
- The idea of clinical interns setting up group work for the help especially of ex-service war victims was mooted.

2. YOUTH AND SCHOOLS

1. Input on the role of teachers and what is expected of them in the promotion of Christian National Education in SA schools. (See attached documents.)
2. Simulation game on Veldschools, followed by an assessment, and by an attempt to isolate some ways of addressing the problem of militarisation in schools:
 - initial determining and creation of channels of contact with high school students;
 - creation and distribution of information on:
 - cadets;
 - Veld schools;
 - registration.

As next year (1985) is International Youth Year, it was felt that COSG should look more seriously into youth matters, and should initiate the following:

Making contact with:

- as many youth groups as possible; get to know their structures;
- teachers and final-year teaching students (through Education Faculties and NEUSA);
- church structures, e.g. SCA and other affiliated youth groups;
- parents and parents' organisations in schools and churches.

To do all of this COSG needs to try to:

- build up education/information programmes (talks, videos, slide-tape shows, etc.);
- launch a campaign through ECC early next year aimed specifically at scholars, focusing on cadets, Veld schools and registration;
- advertise COSG's facilities to other organisations (Black Sash, women's groups, etc.), church education groups, school contacts, etc., in an attempt to make COSG known as an information centre and a back-up service for scholars.

Attached documents:

1. "Veldschool Schoemansdal" (printed sic.).
2. "Proposal for Development of 'Right Living' Syllabus in 'Indian' Schools".
3. Northview High School, Youth Moral Preparedness, Std 8, Citizenship.
4. "Citizenship" (Suggested Std 10).

DOCUMENT 1

VELDSCHOOL SCHOEMANSDAL

INSURGENSIE

The onslaught against South Africa is a total onslaught. An onslaught that is 80% psychological and 20% physical. We also talk about two fronts. The onslaught on norms, values, culture, religion, etc. belong to the psychological onslaught. The onslaught on S.A. has intensified violently in the last decade. The R.S.A. is nearly isolated on all levels today, without allies and with many enemies. How do we know all this? The S.A.D.F. monitors 16 radiostations today that broadcasts negative propoganda against South Africa. They are Radio Zambia, Radio Da-res-Salaam, Radio Nigeria, Radio Ghana, Radio Moskou, Radio Peking, B.B.C., Voice of America, Radio Deutsche Welle, Radio German Democratic Republic (D.D.R.), Radio Uganda, Radio Botswana, Radio Angola, Radio Brazzaville Kongo, Radio Mozambique and Radio United Nations.

Like it has been said before, this is a total onslaught with the following main themes:

Military
Economical
Ideological
Political
Apartheid
Racism
Religion
Colonialism

There are basically three factors in insurgensie:

1. It first deals, with the destroyer or enemy (insurgent) that is behind the attack. (Who supports SWAPO, ANC, PAC, MPLA, FRELIMO ? etc.)
2. Secondly it is an attack or threat or complete annihilation.
3. It thirdly deals with a target group or groups at which the attack is aimed. All the isms can be seen as the insurgent. This is a struggle of light against darkness (Efesians 6:12). Angola and Mozambique are examples. To overthrow the existing order. Chaos and anarchy are the breeding grounds for the Anti-Christian forces.

Thompson describes it in three phases:

1. Building up phase (mobilization weapons etc.)
2. Guerilla phase.
3. Insurgensie phase.

METHODS OF THE INSURGENT

A. AMPUTATION

1. Boycotts (Sport, weapons, economical)
2. Isolation
3. Salami (Slice by slice to give in a bit by bit - can always set it right later)
4. Conversational distortion (Lies - double standards today in the world - World Council of Churches - support for the Marxist groups eg. SWAPO, of anti-Christian movement.)

B. SELF PARALYSIS

1. Trojan horse (infiltration)
2. Smear techniques (leaders e.g. (Information Scandal)
3. Wedge technique (To drive a wedge amongst the various peoples in South Africa)
4. Quicksand (Eg. Coloured problem)

WHO IS THE TARGET GROUP?

The youth is the priority target - the youth is also more vulnerable for new ideologies. Destroy all moral norms (pornography destroys the family image - promotes divorces - free love - Unisex - Certain music is there to influence and destroy the youth.)

TO WHAT EXTENT HAS THIS BREAKDOWN PROCESS BEEN SUCCESSFUL

Tjou en Lai already mentions in 1963 of the use of drugs as a weapon against the Americans. 60% of the U S A soldiers in Vietnam used drugs (Marihüana) Four out of every five that were killed in battle had dagga in their possession. 23% was Heroin dependants. In Holland the moral ethical standard has deteriorated tremendously in the last decade.

WHERE DO WE STAND IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. The whites in S.A. are expendable.
2. Black majority rule is non-expendable.
3. Racist anti-white revolution.
4. In the struggle between U.S.A. and Soviet Russia to gain the power of Africa, South Africa is the scapegoat for both.

HOW CAN WE DEFEND OURSELVES?

1. PHYSICAL PREPAREDNESS

- A. Good and safe economical country.
- B. Strategic position
- C. Safety of the Country
- D. Proficiency
- E. Self efficiency.

2. MENTAL PREPAREDNESS

- A. Complete involvement - all races - all levels of society.
- B. Desire to survive (continue to exist)
- C. Motivation
- D. Patriotism
- E. Preservation of the community
- F. Purpose conscious
- G. Faith in God - True Faith.

1 Samuel 17 v. 26

1 Samuel 17 v. 42 - 47.

DOCUMENT 2

PROPOSALS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF "RIGHT LIVING"

SYLLABUS IN "INDIAN" SCHOOLS

A. CITIZENSHIP

STANDARD 6

1. SOUTH AFRICA. Its size, beauty and richness. How its children should and may show their love for South Africa.
2. The symbols of our loyalty and pride.
 - a. The national flag.
 - b. The national anthem.
 - c. The coat of arms.Their composition, content, significance and use.
3. Our national festive days.
Historical connection.
Suitable ways of celebration.
Our duty in respect of each one.

STANDARD 7

1. The strategic position of South Africa in respect of Africa and the rest of the world.
2. Our national heroes and the message of their life.
Nameless heroes.
School heroes.
3. Our national monuments.
Historical background.
Our duty towards them.

STANDARD 8

1. The population make-up of South Africa. Common bonds.
Demands made on the inhabitants by the make-up.
How good relationships may be built up.
2. Rules and laws in the family, school, the group, the community, the team and the state.
Their function, origin and value. Results of negation.
3. Industrial legislation and apprenticeship.
Employment Bureau of the Department of Labour.
4. Franchise, civic duty and civic rights.

STANDARD 9

1. South Africa's task in the world.
2. The necessity of good relations between the population groups and how this may be effected.
3. The Bantu:
His inheritance and task.
Tribal customs and usages and the inculcation thereof in their youth.
Dangers of detribalization.

Our task of christianisation.

The place and task of the developing and developed Bantu in the homeland and elsewhere.

4. Our inheritance and our heritage.

STANDARD 10

1. The wonder of partnership.
2. The organisation of the defence force.
3. The rights, duties and privileges of a citizen of South Africa.
Franchise and what an election comprises.



DOCUMENT 3

NORTHVIEW HIGH SCHOOL

YOUTH MORAL PREPAREDNESS

STD 8

CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is the broad topic which we are going to follow in our Youth Preparedness programme this year.

DEFINITION OF CITIZENSHIP

Before looking at the different aspects of this concept we call citizenship we should define the word, "citizen". As adult citizens of tomorrow's South Africa, this is important to you all. The Concise Oxford English Dictionary defines the word "citizen" as "a member, native or naturalised, of a state." Other related words are - civic, civilian, city, etc.

They all owe their derivation to the Latin words - civis - a citizen
and civitas - a state.

A nation or state grants certain rights and privileges to its citizens and demands certain duties from them. Protection while travelling or living abroad is one of these rights. The value and conditions of citizenship change from nation to nation.

HISTORY OF CITIZENSHIP

The idea of citizenship is by no means new. Consider the Greek city-states. (Examples are Athens and Corinth). In Greece at this time citizenship was granted to males of many classes, also to a few foreigners and freed slaves. Citizenship was also important to the people of ancient Rome.

Discuss: (i) The Greek city-state and the role of its citizens.
(ii) The Romans and citizenship rights - what does S.P.Q.R. stand for?

CITIZENSHIP IN SOUTH AFRICA AND WORLD TODAY

After the 17th century when some kings made many small states into nations, the peoples of these states began to think of themselves as citizens of these nations as well as subjects of the king. In modern times South Africa and every other country provide ways of becoming a citizen. For most people citizenship is a matter of birth. Most people place a high value on keeping their citizenship. Citizens owe loyalty to their country. In return they are granted many rights and privileges.

CITIZENSHIP DUTIES

Some duties are:

1. MILITARY SERVICE is a citizenship duty for young men in most countries.
2. A citizen may be called upon to serve as a member of a jury.
3. It is a citizen's duty to obey the law.

Discuss: (i) The duties of a citizen.
Add to the above.
What does citizenship entail?
N.B. The Department of the Interior has listed ELEVEN duties for a citizen.
(ii) What is a good citizen?

- (iii) Aliens - many countries, including South Africa, grant citizenship rights to aliens upon certain conditions - what are they? - What is this process called?

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

Some examples are:

1. The right to vote.
2. The privilege to share in the country's natural resources.

Discuss: (i) Add to the above and discuss within your group.

N.B. The Department of the Interior has listed EIGHT rights for a citizen.

- (ii) There are often cases reported on television or in the press of citizens of South Africa (and of other countries) who are in need of their government's protection when they are in another country, e.g. the crew of the yacht JULIE II, of whom one member was the South African girl, Charlene Hollis of Cape Town.



DOCUMENT 4

CITIZENSHIP

(Suggested Std 10)

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RULES AND LAWS

THEIR FUNCTION, ORIGIN AND VALUE

WHY ARE RULES AND LAWS NECESSARY IN EVERY GROUP, FROM THE PRIMARY FAMILY GROUP TO THE COMPOSITE STATE?

1. Protection.
2. Security.
3. Co-operation.
4. Peaceful co-existence.
5. Restraint of deviate members.

Rules in the family from the point of view of function, origin and value:

Who is the authority in the family?

What is done to members who break the rules?

Do you think family rules should change from time to time?

Imagine a situation where there are no rules in the family and try to tell the story.

Discuss rules in the secondary groups to which the child belongs:

- (a) the school;
- (b) the team;
- (c) the group.

Who is the authority in each of these groups?

Who makes up the rules?

What is done to deviate members? Is this the same as in the family group?

Why is it necessary to have authority in every group?

Discuss the function, origin and value of the rules in each of these groups.

LAWS (Ref: "The S A Legal System and its Background", by Hahlo and Kahn)

Principle of order and regularity

The legal system of a country is one of the social controls that regulate the behaviour of man in society. (Other controls - religion, ethics, conventions, etc.)

- (a) Authority and in the last resort force are the very essence of the law.
- (b) Law must be supported by an accepted belief of the community in the legitimacy of the underlying authority.
- (c) Law is to maintain peace and order in the community.
- (d) Man must live in society to achieve his full development.
- (e) Society cannot exist without law - without rules of conduct there cannot be order - without order there cannot be peace and full progress.
- (f) Law makes it possible for individuals to live side by side.
- (g) Restraints which law imposes on man's freedom of action are the price which man has to pay for living in communities - those which hold back also protect.
- (h) Without law there could be no division of labour, no transmission of knowledge, no culture.
- (i) Once there is an organised society there is the necessity of law of some kind. The growth of society and law are but two aspects of one and the same progress.
- (j) Law is one of civilisation's finest flowers.

Purpose and function

1. A law is needed to check man's aggressive nature.
2. A limitation of our freedom of action must be accepted for the order of society as a whole.
3. Justice depends on our moral values.
4. Justice expresses the prevailing sense of the community to what is feared and right.
5. The law must subscribe rules to cover every possible situation in our complex society.

1. Law is an agency of social control - controls government, institutions, citizens, etc.
2. Law exists in the interest of the community to control and regulate the community.
3. Laws are usually reasonable - must be general and apply to all - not one individual.

If there are no rules of conduct there cannot be order and without order there cannot be peace or progress. If we were allowed absolute liberty, then another's liberty would be restricted.

We all have conflicting interests, but law, by imposing order, allows us to live harmoniously. Man lives in communities; the latter is the price they pay for freedom and action curtailed. The advantages are obviously great - my freedom is restricted - but at the same time the law, by imposing order, protects me from another's freedom to do as he pleases.

(2. OUR HERITAGE AND WHAT WE BEQUEATH (Wills; The Executor))

3. THE ORGANISATION OF THE S A DEFENCE FORCE

National Service

1. The reasons for National Service

National Service is the privilege and duty of every available healthy citizen.

- (a) National Service is nothing new - in fact it can be traced back as far as our earliest history, when every fit young man was responsible for his own safety and his country's. Already during the time of the two republics, there was legal preparation for National Service on the part of all citizens.
- (b) Until world peace has been achieved, the necessity for Armed Forces will continue.
- (c) Within the space of two years the trainee must acquire the necessary independence, and skill to handle any sort of weapon.
- (d) The system of national service is also a positive education in citizenship. The recruit certainly develops pride in himself, the armed forces, and his uniform, as well as a love for his country. A more mature and developed young citizen emerges, with new values and knowledge which he did not previously have.
- (e) An army must be vitally motivated and soundly orientated. An unmotivated soldier lacks affiliation, pride and trust; he is a man without loyalty to his country. If motivation is the basis of power, then knowledge is the key to motivation. This means that the recruit must know a variety of subjects; balanced study of them can give him a positive approach to problems, and can teach him to think independently on conscientious subjects. If a soldier is trained only to handle weapons, he is only partially qualified to fulfil his duty. He must know why he is fighting, and he must have faith in himself and God. Without this faith and motivation, there is nothing for which he can fight.

2. The National Service System

According to the Defence Regulations, it is compulsory for all citizens to undergo National Service in the year they turn eighteen. In addition to this, any non-citizens who indicate at the time of registration for National Service that they intend becoming naturalised are also liable for service. Another aim of this system is to organise the armed forces into an efficient integrated single unit. Research has shown that certain changes in the system are necessary, and these will be effected legally in due course.

3. Some facts about National Service

It is a system which legally demands that every medically fit South African citizen fulfil his role in the defence of the country, especially during the present time of uncertainty, unrest and economic instability. It gives every young man the following opportunities:

- (a) to pay the debt of honour required of him in the military sense;
- (b) to submit to a certain degree of sacrifice which is an essential aspect of life, one which involves his love of his country, peace and freedom;
- (c) to mature in both a spiritual and a military sense, in circumstances where good food and healthy exercise are important, and at a time in his life when he can receive the greatest benefit;
- (d) to experience according to his ability and interests, practicalities and situations which will stand him in good stead in later life;
- (e) to face all kinds of situations with a variety of companions, and to handle different human relationships;
- (f) to be able to give an account of himself in any responsible position, and to utilise his capabilities to the full in any crisis situation;
- (g) to develop his religious life together with his friends;
- (h) to return to civilian life as a man, a full product of his military training, someone on whom his country can rely.

4. Registration for National Service

The procedure is as follows:

- (a) All white male citizens are obliged to apply for registration during the period 1 January to 28 February in the year in which they turn sixteen. The same applies to non-citizens who have been resident in the Republic for five years at the time of registration.
- (b) Scholars must register with their principal. Those who have left school must do so at their local police station.

5. Selection of candidates for National Service

During the year immediately preceding the first year of National Service, each prospective serviceman is sent full details in the form of an information brochure. In July/August of that year, he has the opportunity of appearing before a selection committee at his school, where he completes a questionnaire under their supervision.

6. Assignment for National Service

The assignment of national servicemen is done by the Registration Office of the South African Armed Forces, based on the answers given in the questionnaire, allowing for all the requirements of service. Servicemen cannot be assigned to training before the year in which they turn eighteen, or while they are still full-time scholars.

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8. It is my duty to assist in the preservation of the natural beauty of my country and to conserve its soil.
9. It is my duty to promote road safety.
10. To develop by physical, intellectual and social capacities that I shall be an asset to my people.
11. It is my duty to be tolerant to my fellow citizens.

Attributes of a good citizen

A good citizen is:

1. unselfish; he realises that he is part of a community and is willing to be of service to that community;
2. dignified and respects the traditions and institutions of his nation;
3. reasons for himself and is conversant with national issues;
4. lives within the law;
5. proud of his citizenship and jealous of his country's honour.

In the discussion, consider people who (a) have been good citizens and (b) who have not.



3. SEXISM AND THE MILITARY

The central intent of this workshop was to raise consciousness on the connections between sexism and the military.

1. Brainstorm

After reviewing the agenda together, we divided into two groups. One group brainstormed words and concepts associated with sexism, the other to do with the military. These were listed on newsprint.

2. Connections

Back in the large group, we compared the lists, and saw how many similarities there are between the dynamics of sexism and of the military. Some obvious connections were those to do with aggression, competition, dominance, dehumanisation, other person as object, violence, authoritarianism. The most obvious connection is that in both realms, men are at the top.

3. Sexism in the military

Men who had been in the military gave examples of sexism in the military. One example given was that a soldier must refer to his rifle as his girlfriend (sic), and must go to bed with his rifles sometimes. Women in the group were very upset to be associated in military men's minds with a rifle, an instrument of death. They felt a more appropriate association for a rifle is with the penis. The group also talked about the way the military fosters the correlation of masculinity with aggression.

4. The interdependence of sexism and the military

How related are the two dynamics in terms of cause and effect? Is it possible to deal with the military without dealing with sexism as well? Opinion in the group was divided as to whether the two can be dealt with as separate issues or not.

5. Framework for a feminist critique of the military

Radical feminists assert that the principles the military operate by are totally opposite to feminist principles. Input along these lines was provided from an article by Helen Michalowski (article attached to this report). Her critique of the military is that it:

1. assumes that might makes right;
2. assumes that technology is more important than life;
3. runs on an out-and-out hierarchy;
4. takes control over the use to which your body is put;
5. operates from a dualistic "either/or", "subject/object" worldview.

6. Alternatives

We brainstormed words and concepts which we felt express alternatives to the dynamics of sexism and militarism. The list included words like co-operation, equality, mutual respect, gentleness, kindness, etc.

We had some discussion on where to start the change process: on the personal level even though the wider situation is not conducive, or must we change the wider situation first?

We also talked pro and con on the matter of compromising one's ideals (with respect to kindness, gentleness, etc.) now, due to the requirements of the "struggle", in the hope of attaining them later - the question of means and ends.

7. Evaluation

People appreciated the opportunity of fully participating by having their ideas and experiences as the main input for the workshop. However, there was a feeling that there should have been more structured input. There was a feeling, too, that our discussion was too general: there could have been more analysis of the topic in the light of the specific South African situation.

ATTACHED DOCUMENT: FROM "RESISTANCE NEWS", APRIL/MAY 1982. Published by the NATIONAL RESISTANCE COMMITTEE, Box 42488, San Francisco, CA 94142, U.S.A.

FIVE FEMINIST PRINCIPLES

Helen Michalowski

....A more fundamental reason why feminists have to be opposed to the military is that it is in every respect totally opposite to what feminist principles are. I would like to name just five of these.

First, off the top, the military starts with an assumption that might makes right. The bottom line is the military is about killing - it is alright to get your way, even if you have to kill somebody. No matter what part of the military you are in: if you are a typist, if you are signing payroll checks, you are supporting a system whose purpose is to kill people. And if you come down to it, that's true if you pay your taxes.

The second way militarism is opposed to everything feminism stands for is that it runs on an assumption that technology is more important than life. You see human and material resources going into producing ever more sophisticated ways of killing people, rather than cleaning up the mess they have made of the environment or figuring how to clothe, feed, shelter, and get people around....

The third way in which militarism has got backwards thinking is that it runs on an out-and-out hierarchy. I think women have made really valuable contributions in figuring out collective work styles: how do we work in a cooperative fashion rather than with an assumption that some people are more important than other people?

In the military your social status you wear on your sleeve or on your shoulder. One of the first things they teach you in boot camp is who takes orders from whom. And along with that, the orders are to be followed without question.

The fourth point is that in the military you have - I don't want to say **no control**, because people always have ultimate control over what they do with themselves - but in the military you lose a lot of control over the use to which your body is put.

My body is my own. What I do with my body is my own business and keep your laws off it. I'm going to control my own body.

In World War II they exposed thousands of American GIs, not to mention Japanese people, to radiation. They ran experiments. Now we have people dying of cancers. And the government has yet to admit that these are military related so veterans may get VA benefits.

During Vietnam they dropped all kinds of herbicides. And they have yet to acknowledge that people who are suffering from skin diseases, liver diseases, still-born babies and deformed babies is a result of being exposed. It's military related, but people aren't getting treatment.

The fifth and last point in which militarist thinking and practice is wrong, is the "either/or," "subject/object," "I/other" kind of worldview. This is hard to talk about because what I am trying to describe is a **way of thinking**.

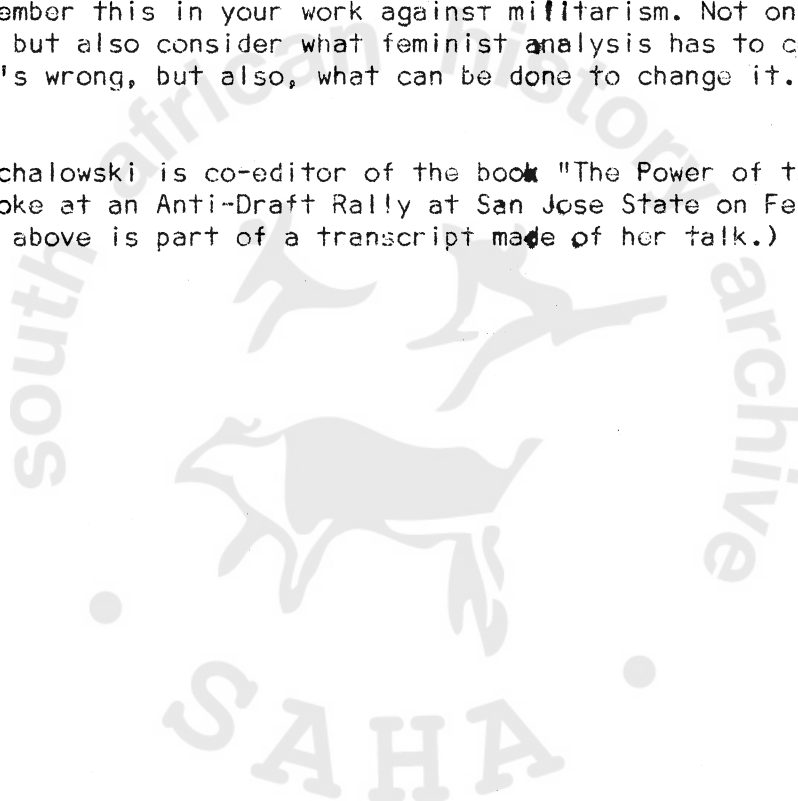
Maybe it would be easier if I start by contrasting it with a more wholistic worldview that says, "We are all related. We are not only related to other people, but to the earth itself." In contrast the military's "either/or" attitude tries to limit people's alternatives. So you get things like: "You either register for the draft or you go to prison for five years." What about the other alternatives? What about being a CO? What about being a resister? What about working against the whole thing? What other alternatives are there to going to war?

They like to think in terms of black and white. By limiting people's options, they can push you into corners. The military has a thing of: "Well, we have to get them, or they are going to get us." But what about this: maybe our security rests in making them feel secure?

I can give another example of this "I/it" kind of thinking as opposed to "we are all in this together." The military makes people into objects. You have to have an "enemy". And the only way you can get people to go out and kill other people, particularly if you have never seen them before and they have never done anything to you, is to make them into objects. Treat them like they are not people. The way the military does that is by treating its own people as objects first. The function of Basic Training is to break down the person's individuality, their sense of their own person. And once they have succeeded in making the recruit feel like a "thing" - a functioning unit - then it is a little easier, at least on the surface, for that person to go out and obliterate other people. The military uses racism to do this. They also use sexism....

By continuous harassment, reducing people to their sexuality and then belittling their sexuality. I think this is important when you consider how many thousands and millions of people who have been through the military come back out and have got these kinds of attitudes: that masculinity is equated with dominance and aggression. And people who have been encouraged to think that equality for women means being like men. I would encourage you to remember this in your work against militarism. Not only have an anti-capitalist analysis, but also consider what feminist analysis has to contribute, not only to showing what's wrong, but also, what can be done to change it.

(Helen Michalowski is co-editor of the book "The Power of the People."
Helen spoke at an Anti-Draft Rally at San Jose State on February 26,
1982. The above is part of a transcript made of her talk.)



4. NON-VIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION

This workshop explored two areas of conflict, where one of the participants in the conflict is an advocate of non-violence; and where the non-violent person is in the position of mediator or peacemaker in a conflict between two others.

Participants were asked to identify areas of conflict in their own personal experience, and these were briefly discussed. Then an example of a conflict between two "others" was given, and the possible actions of a non-violent passerby in trying to resolve this conflict were explored.

Part of the workshop consisted of an exercise in listening, and the importance of this aspect of conflict resolution was thereby emphasised.

The workshop concentrated on areas of personal conflict rather than larger issues.



5. CONSCRIPTION, MILITARISATION AND RESISTANCE

Step 1: Define a broad vision.

e.g. non-racial democratic South Africa,
at peace with our people and neighbours,
working on meeting the demands of the Freedom Charter.

Step 2: Define achievable goals.

e.g. stop extension of conscription;
win support for democratic movement;
undermine support for SADF;
legalise objection to registration at school.

Step 3: Elements to be considered in planning action:

Individuals;
Groups;
Communication and information;
Time, money, geography;
Traditions, social pressure;
Attitudes and values;
Strengths and weaknesses of organisation;
New constitution.

Write each of these as a heading on a separate piece of newsprint.
Then quickly (3 minutes per sheet) brainstorm as many elements
related to the goal(s) that work for or against us.

e.g.

<u>Individuals</u>	
<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>
Boesak Sheena etc.	Rajbansi Le Grange etc.

Brainstorm - so do it fast and non-critically.

Step 4: Go through each sheet and give points to each element,
(or rule out those you decide are irrelevant):

- 5 - very important;
- 4 - quite important;
- 3 - of moderate importance;
- 2 - of little importance;
- 1 - of almost no importance.

This takes time but is a useful "force-field" analysis for
venturing into new areas.

Step 5: Pick out all the 4s and 5s and work out strategies.

Strengthen for forces:

- add support - resources;
- set up activities;
- build alliances, add new allies.

Weaken against forces:

- eliminate;
- isolate;
- neutralise;
- bypass.

ATTACHED DOCUMENTS:

198 Nonviolent Tactics (Gene Sharp);
The Alinsky Approach;
Tactical Planning Checklist;
Development of Tactics.



198 NON-VIOLENT TACTICS (Gene Sharp)

PROTEST AND PERSUASION

Formal statements

1. public speeches
2. letters of opposition
3. declaration by organisations and institutions
4. signed public statements
5. declarations of indictment or intention
6. group or mass petitions

Communication with a wider audience

7. slogans, caricatures, symbols
8. banners, posters, displays
9. leaflets, pamphlets, books
10. newspapers and journals
11. records, radio, television
12. skywriting, earthwriting

Group representations

13. deputations
14. mock awards
15. group lobbying
16. picketing
17. mock elections

Symbolic public acts

18. displays of flags and symbolic colours
19. wearing of symbols
20. prayer and worship
21. delivering symbolic objects
22. protest disrobing
23. destruction of own property
24. symbolic lights
25. displays of portraits
26. paint as protest
27. new signs and names
28. symbolic sounds
29. symbolic reclamations
30. rude gestures

Pressure on individuals

31. "haunting" officials
32. taunting officials
33. fraternisation
34. vigils

Drama and music

35. humorous skits and pranks
36. performances of plays and music
37. singing

Processions

38. marches
39. parades
40. religious processions

41. pilgrimages
42. motorcades

Honouring the dead

43. political mourning
44. mock funerals
45. demonstrative funerals
46. homage at burial places

Public assemblies

47. assemblies of protest or support
48. protest meetings
49. camouflaged meetings of protest
50. teach-ins

Withdrawal and renunciation

51. walkout
52. silence
53. renouncing honours
54. turning one's back

SOCIAL NON-CO-OPERATION

Ostracism of persons

55. social boycott
56. selective social boycott
57. lysistratic non-action
58. excommunication
59. interdict

Non-co-operation with social events, customs and institutions

60. suspension of social and sports activities
61. boycott of social affairs
62. student strike
63. social disobedience
64. withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from social system

65. stay-at-home
66. total personal non-co-operation
67. flight of workers
68. sanctuary
69. collective disappearance
70. protest emigration

ECONOMIC NON-CO-OPERATION/BOYCOTTS

Action by consumers

71. consumers' boycott
72. nonconsumption of boycotted goods
73. policy of austerity
74. rent withholding
75. refusal to rent
76. national consumers' boycott
77. international consumers' boycott

- 144. stalling and obstruction
- 145. general administrative non-co-operation
- 146. judicial non-co-operation
- 147. deliberate inefficiency and selective non-co-operation by enforcement agencies
- 148. mutiny

Domestic governmental action

- 149. quasi-legal evasions and delays
- 150. non-co-operation by constituent governmental units

International governmental action

- 151. changes in diplomatic and other representation
- 152. delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
- 153. withholding of diplomatic recognition
- 154. severance of diplomatic relations
- 155. withdrawal from international organisations
- 156. expulsion from international organisations
- 157. refusal of membership in international bodies

NON-VIOLENT INTERVENTION

Psychological intervention

- 158. self-exposure to the elements
- 159. the fast
 - (a) fast of moral pressure
 - (b) hunger strike
 - (c) satagrahic fast
- 160. reverse trial
- 161. non-violent harassment

Physical intervention

- 162. sit-in
- 163. stand-in
- 164. ride-in
- 165. wade-in
- 166. mill-in
- 167. pray-in

- 168. non-violent raids
- 169. non-violent air raids
- 170. non-violent invasion
- 171. non-violent interjection
- 172. non-violent obstruction
- 173. non-violent occupation

Social intervention

- 174. establishing new social patterns
- 175. overloading of facilities
- 176. stall-in
- 177. speak-in
- 178. guerrilla theatre
- 179. alternative social institutions
- 180. alternative communication system

Economic intervention

- 181. reverse strike
- 182. stay-in strike
- 183. non-violent land seizures
- 184. defiance of blockades
- 185. politically motivated counterfeiting
- 186. preclusive purchasing
- 187. seizure of assets
- 188. dumping
- 189. selective patronage
- 190. alternative markets
- 191. alternative transport systems
- 192. alternative economic institutions

Political intervention

- 193. overloading of administrative systems
- 194. disclosing identities of secret agents
- 195. civil disobedience of "natural" laws
- 196. seeking imprisonment
- 197. work-on without collaboration
- 198. dual sovereignty and parallel government

THE ALINSKY APPROACH

Drawing on his work of more than thirty years as a community and industrial organiser in the United States, Saul Alinsky devised thirteen tactical "rules for radicals". They are very American in style, pragmatic, amoral and hardhitting. We don't necessarily agree with all of them, but they are thought-provoking and could provide the basis for a long theoretical discussion of tactic development.

1. Power is not only what you have, but what the enemy thinks you have. Power has always derived from two main sources, money and people. Lacking money, the Have-Nots must build power with their own flesh and blood, creating a mass movement which expresses itself with mass tactics.
2. Never go outside the experience of your people. If you do, the result is confusion, fear, retreat, and a breakdown of communication.
3. Wherever possible, go outside the experience of the enemy. Here you **want** to cause confusion, fear and retreat. Don't do what is expected.
4. Make the enemy live up to their own book of rules. Very, very few organisations can do this, or live up to their projected image. The classic example is to show how unchristian the actions of the Church are.
5. Ridicule is man's most potent weapon.*
6. A good tactic is one that your people enjoy-
7. A tactic that drags on too long becomes a drag. People can only sustain interest in an issue for a limited time, then it becomes a ritualistic commitment.
8. Keep the pressure on, with different tactics and actions, and utilise every opportunity.
9. The threat is usually more terrifying than the thing itself.
10. The major premise for tactics is the development of the operations that will maintain a constant pressure upon the opposition. This pressure produces the reactions which lead to the next action and so on. Constant pressure sustains action.
11. If you push a negative hard enough and deep enough it will break into its counter-side; this is based on the principle that every positive has its negative.
12. The price of a successful attack is a constructive alternative. This alternative must be clearly worked out and must be capable of being implemented if the attack is successful. This is why it is so important to have a clear strategy and goals.
13. Pick the target, freeze it, personalise it, and polarise it. In a complex society it is easy for someone to "pass the buck". Find a target, and disregard all the "Why pick on me?" pleas. The target must be one person - not a system or a committee or a company, but the chairperson or director. The issue is then polarised: he or she becomes all bad, while we are all good and truthful.

For Alinsky, the polarisation outlined in Rule 13 is the key to successful organising. Other organisers believe that success comes not necessarily from polarising situations but from discovering and defining such areas of agreement as might exist and working to broaden them, changing attitudes and structures. As with the debate on "violent" versus "non-violent" tactics, this is one which each group has to have for itself.

* Ridiculing, belittling and "putting down" people is a tactic often used by men - but we believe it is contrary to the principles of feminist and non-violent organising. We have, therefore, retained Alinsky's use of the word "man" here, rather than changing it to "people".

TACTICAL PLANNING CHECKLIST

When developing tactics, it's worth referring to these twenty points, and considering how they apply in your situation.

1. Work for a victory, even if it's only a small one.
2. Objectives should be achievable with the current level of support.
3. Make the best use of the people, resources and strengths you have. Be sure that everyone has been properly briefed or trained.
4. Seize and keep the initiative.
5. Relate tactics to strategy, and tactical goals to strategic goals and aims.
6. Tactics should be used when the opposition is weakest or most receptive.
7. Tactics should be used when the campaigners are strongest and best prepared.
8. Targets should be real and concrete, and once selected should be held.
9. The target should be the weakest or least defensible point of the opposition, or should be personalised.
10. The indirect approach is best.
11. Plan ahead, and work out contingency plans for possible responses.
12. Escalate the tactics only in line with the strategy.
13. Precede a tactic by a build-up, demand or ultimatum.
14. Prepare the press beforehand.
15. Use the tactics you enjoy. Variety, familiarity and brevity are best.
16. The tactic should be dramatic, if possible symbolising the essence of the conflict.
17. Be positive and constructive. Offer realistic alternatives.
18. Allow the opposition to change their position without losing too much face. Challenge their actions and functions, not their existence.
19. Keep the pressure on.
20. Evaluate the tactic and responses to it afterwards, and use that evaluation in the development of further tactics.

DEVELOPMENT OF TACTICS

Using Gene Sharp's list of non-violent tactics and Alinsky's rules as discussion points we can look at some of the things to consider when deciding on tactics within any group. Obviously this will be a continuing discussion, drawing on your day-to-day experience in using various tactics and on your changing objectives or priorities as situations change.

Insofar as possible tactics should be an integral part of a strategy, rather than a series of spasmodic, occasional, semi-directed actions which are mostly symbolic. Symbolic actions do, of course, make gains sometimes, but without a strategy the gains are not consolidated so the situation easily reverts to the old one.

Even with a comprehensive strategy, tactics are begun on the basis of incomplete knowledge and evoke or provoke responses which can never be completely predicted. The precise nature and the timing of tactics can never be completely dictated beforehand, so a variety of flexible options should be prepared.

Analysis of case histories, the successes and failures of other groups and the successes and failures of your own group should precede the implementation of any tactic. And the tactic, once used, should itself be evaluated and analysed, so that the lessons learnt can be applied to the next tactical decision.

No strategy, no matter how comprehensive, can fully define the actions of which it will be comprised. A strategy is not a blueprint of what will happen, but a guide to what can realistically be expected to happen in order to reach the strategic goal. Good tacticians will rely neither on an inflexibly rigid plan nor on a reactive approach in which every action is determined by external actions, events or forces. Effective tactical planning lies between those extremes.

There are many factors to be considered when planning tactics. Some of them are choice of targets, indirectness, timing, strength, the initiative, psychological factors, let-outs, alternatives, publicity, escalation, and creativity.

Targets

The target of a tactic is the person, group or organisation against which a specific action is directed. A target is not the same as the tactical goal (which is what will be achieved if the tactic is successful) or the aim (the abstract towards which the tactic is working). A target is specific, often temporarily chosen for experience or for tactical advantage. Individuals involved in the campaign can often relate more easily to an identifiable "other" as the object of their protests, and the media - rightly or wrongly - like to present issues in terms of individuals. For example, a tactic in a campaign for better housing might well be more effectively directed at the chairperson of the Council's housing committee, rather than at the whole Council or even the whole housing committee. In most cases, of course, the blame lies not with one individual or group but with the system as a whole, and it is important to ensure that campaigners do not "scapegoat" or become so intent on one target that they lose sight of the real causes of the problem.

Indirectness

This corresponds to Alinsky's third rule: whenever possible, go outside the experience of the opposition. This is not an infallible rule - nothing is - because in some cases surprise can precipitate a hasty action by the opposition which is detrimental to the campaigners and which it has difficulty in withdrawing. But in general an indirect approach in both methods and objectives will be best. The confusion and lack of preparation by the opposition will allow larger gains to be made immediately, or a hasty and ill-planned response by the opposition can provide opportunities for further tactical manoeuvring by the campaign.

Timing

An ill-timed tactic can be not just useless but very harmful. For example, organising a march early on in a campaign can merely show the opposition how weak you are. Timing needs to be considered in the light of the total situation:

- Critical times for the opposition: tactics geared to their meetings or other decisive events;
- Most receptive times for the press: tactics geared to press/TV/radio deadlines or slack new periods;
- Best times for participants: using the commitment which exists and enabling as many people as possible to be involved - for example, not conflicting with a home fixture of the local team!

The best psychological moment for both supporters and opposition is not easy to judge but every attempt should be made to do so.

Strength

It is folly to bit off more than you can chew. The tactical goal should be chosen realistically rather than optimistically and should be achievable with the strength of support available; the tactic should be designed to make the best use of available strength. Optimism should be confined to the development of goals and strategy.

If you are uncertain of the strength of support, it is possible to devise tactics which will help to judge it. Gandhi, for example, wrote, "Hartal (a sort of boycott) was a proper indication to me of how far I would be able to carry civil disobedience." Evaluations of previous tactics should provide some indication of the resources available for future tactics.

The strength needs to be concentrated at the right point at the right time - a balancing act as difficult as choosing the right timing. It is usually best to concentrate the strength against the specific aspect of the situation which is least defensible and which best exemplifies the "evil" being fought, in order to arouse the greatest sympathy and support amongst campaigners and the public.

The initiative

If the opposition has the initiative they are in part dictating your actions - controlling, to their advantage, the timing, place and possibly the nature of your action. Tactics are often a response to an action by the opposition, but they are a calculated and, if possible, previously planned response. This may be achieved by contingency tactical planning, that is, by considering all the possible responses of the opposition to an intended action and then preparing tactics for each of these possible responses.

Psychological factors

Most campaigns are defeated not by the superior force of the opposition but by the boredom, apathy, and low morale of their own members and supporters. It is vitally important to choose achievable objectives; there is nothing like victory - no matter how small and limited - to boost morale and revive flagging interest. Other important psychological factors in tactical planning are enjoyment, variety and duration. Especially if mass participation is required, enjoyment is very important - a "dance-in" and festival are more likely to arouse support than a sit-in. Variety between tactics helps to sustain the morale of campaigners as well as press interest, and can also confuse the opposition. Tactics should not drag on so that people get bored and leave; the duration should be carefully limited so that people are not seen to be drifting away.

Let-outs

Realistically, one cannot usually define "success" as total capitulation by the opposition. If one's objective is something which can be achieved only by the opposition destroying itself or looking unacceptably stupid, it is unlikely to be successful. It is

far better to decide on a tactical goal which the opposition can (however unwillingly!) allow to be achieved. Ideally, the tactical goal will be in the form of a positive alternative which is presented to the opposition as a possibility from which compromises can be drawn. Or it might be better not to proclaim your real objective - in other words, the tactical goal is to reach the best possible agreed solution through negotiations. It is easy to see situations only in terms of "winning everything" or "losing everything". Effective campaigns operate not in those terms, but in terms of compromise, negotiation, conciliation and the development of alternatives which force neither side to be completely defeated.

Alternatives

If the people are presented with facts and explanations they will generally accept them, however suspect, without much protest. Questioning and choosing usually start to happen only when people are presented with two theories or two sets of facts. The public are likely to support and accept protest campaigns only when the campaigns present realistic alternatives to existing policies. Good tactics present alternative interpretations of reality and alternative possibilities for future action, combined with protest and resistance. Consider, for example, the likely long-term effects (on campaign supporters as well as on the opposition and the general public) of a housing campaign in which tenants go on rent strike to protest against the bad state of repair of the building; and a similar campaign in which tenants withhold rent from the authorities, put the money into a special account and then use the money to undertake their own repairs to the building.

Publicity

For many tactics, publicity is the prime objective. Even where it is of secondary importance, it is nearly always welcome. Tactics which seek publicity should be clear and unequivocal in their message, presenting the conflict and the parties in it in a way which is favourable to the campaign. Often tactics which produce symbolic photographs are the most effective. In the US several years ago, for example, the government denied that it was sending arms shipments to Pakistan during the Bangladesh conflict. Aware that a ship was being loaded with arms, protestors sailed canoes into the mouth of the port and blockaded the ship. For five days, the picture of a dozen small canoes dwarfed against the towering bulk of the arms ship was on every TV channel news broadcast and in every newspaper.

Escalation

Just as fighting escalates in a war, so can tactics escalate in their militancy. But it is best if escalation is closely integrated with the overall strategy of the campaign, rather than arising from the run of action and reaction. A good strategy will include escalation of tactics, possibly with certain dates or stages in mind, so that the choice of tactics will depend on the stage of the campaign as well as the opportunity and resources of the campaigners. A change to more militant tactics may be more effective if, integrated with the strategy, it is preceded by a strongly worded statement of intent indicating what responses the campaigners intend to make.

Creativity

Even when all these factors have been considered, the process of tactical planning requires more than just analysis of the total situation and reference to an overall strategy; it demands imagination and creativity, especially where publicity is a factor. It is unfortunately true that simple protest marches in central London no longer rate even a tiny mention in the press. Careful evaluation of previous tactics and their results, including press response and opposition reactions, can be the most important element in the development of future tactics. Try to ensure at all times that creativity and new ideas are not stifled, and that members and participants feel able to suggest new and untried ideas without being made to look foolish.

6. SUMMARY OF TASKS

1. Set up media sub-committees in COSG.
 2. Run a media workshop.
 3. Cape Town to complete its factsheet.
 4. Compile a factsheet on the Board.
 5. Publicise objectors and people appearing before the Board.
 6. Do groundwork for a Youth Campaign linked to International Youth Year for 1985.
 - Make up contact-lists of teachers, HED students, NEUSA members, SCAs at schools, youth organisations, SACC Youth Council;
 - Look at ways of taking up cadets, veld schools and registration;
 - Sort out relationship to ECC youth work.
- In November we will assess the possibility of a Youth Campaign.**
7. Get a resource person for each COSG.
 - Sort out a filing system, and a system for circulating resources;
 - Work out a system for monitoring SADF activity. Make contact with student and community groups that could provide information.
 8. Circulate contact numbers for counselling service.
Liaise with other COSGs - share information and resources and counselling skills.
Roving workshops?
Publicise counselling services to clergy, chaplains, schools, techs and universities.
 - Run a course for military chaplains on the Board and how to refer/counsel conscripts and national servicemen.
 9. Active contact with our constituency.
 10. Think about ways of referring/counselling war victims.
Identify sympathetic professional counsellors or therapists.
 11. Bear in mind the need for ongoing training for COSG members.
 12. Contribute to and distribute "Objector".

SOME DEADLINES

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|------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1984 | JULY | - Set up "resources system" |
| | | - Get a liaison person for "national liaison" |
| | | - Get an "Objector" contact person |
| | AUGUST | - 10th: "Objector" copy deadline |
| | | - Media workshop |
| | SEPTEMBER | - Board factsheet (Johannesburg to co-ordinate) |
| | OCTOBER | - Counselling workshop |
| | NOVEMBER | - Assessment of possibility of a Youth Campaign |
| 1985 | | - INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR |
