

Theology ExChange Programme
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Tenth Anniversary
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Annual Report

Acknowledgements

We would like to take this opportunity to extend our gratitude to all those persons and organizations who have been involved in the life and work of TEP. We say thanks to:

- the staff and National Committee members of TEP, both past and present;
- ' the progressive organizations, both nationally and internationally, with whom we have enjoyed a close working relationship over the years;
- ' our donor partner agencies who believed and trusted in the project through the good and bad moments of our existence;
- all those individuals who assisted in the hosting of TEP's exposure candidates throughout the last ten years in Nicaragua, Bolivia, Brazil, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Peru, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Guatemala, Cuba, Chile and Costa Rica;
- t those who assisted in the planning and facilitation of and input at the TEP annual workshops over the last three years;
- ' those individuals who voluntarily give up valuable time to assist TEP in the daily running of its national office and programmes.

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TEP's Tenth Anniversary

TEP opens

Opportunity, knowledge,

Since 1985 I have shared with TEP its growth anxieties and exiting developments. I have watched it grow from a small invisible Cape Town organisation to a truly national organisation in its structure, operation and networking,

Josette Cole (one of the founders of TEP), Fr. Jotio Xerri, a Dominican priest in Brazil and Lelia Azavedo also from Brazil! are but some of the people worth mentioning when I think back on the history of TEP. They are among those who, against all odds, made a

strengthened its structures nationally and internationally, thus enhancing the prophetic church. A wider and more representative national committee was brought into the life of TEP.

Deborah used her experience and creativity to crystallise the vision of TEP by opening a media wing in order to communicate Third World news. The simplicity with which TEP publications were written, made them accessible to some of the very busy Church activists who had very little time for thick volumes of theological books. It was with sadness that we case for TEP. An organisation of Christians had to bid farewell to existence to activists that/so/ates it self from Peoples Church to organisations the people's struggles is a useless allow for the birth of Churches and villages, for an x/Sat/Qni, 7 Challenge. I have dualised Hilda came in with a nationally and internationally.

In the 18th most South African activists were inward looking (almost to a point of selfishly thinking that South Africa was the only country with problems). But right from those early days, TEP played its role - making me and many others, more aware of the similarities of conditions of life in the so-called Third World countries beyond Africa. My TEP exposure to Brazil in 1987 was an experience which I will carry with me always.

Vivienne Joe Lloyd joined TEP in 1987, he took TEP a step further. It was a clear challenge to TEP. She reminded us that an organisation of Christian activists that isolates itself from the people's struggles, is a useless organisation. She and the other staff members insisted on this approach. The staff's active involvement in the Standing for the Truth Campaign, was one of the ways in which they tried to contribute to the building of the prophetic movement in the Church. Then came along Charles, the persuasive technician theologian who put sense into the mess which we genuinely thought was a Resource Centre. He even aroused the committee members' interest in computers.

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Thoko with Govan Mbeki a! T

Reflections by Th

Chairperson of TEP,s

TEP Staff Charles Ma

Joe Lloyd, Les/ie D/k

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fans of

interaction and reflection

'P Nationa/ Workshop 1990

bko Mpumlwana

National Committee

lr7, Deborah Wi/liams

3/ and Hi/da Ndude

Charles brought more reflection into TEP which was clearly visible at the 1990 workshop. He, together with Vincent in the background, even brought video cameras to remind us that we were in the latter part of the 20th century.

Leslie, the globe trotter pulled everything together by establishing regional contacts and seeking out Christian and church activists to participate in our workshops and exposures programmes. Leslie brought TEP to the people.

It is clearly, the TEP staff which has been the backbone of this organisation. They know what they want, they know their rights and they will not be dictated to, nor be intimidated by national committee. We in the national committee, who are used to a church which operates from the top, down, find this very refreshing. At TEP we are all a team!

It has been interesting to see TEP constantly reviewing its role. When I think back, I am reminded of how, because of the crisis we were facing in the country, we were at times burning to be an "octopus organisation" that wished to be everything to everyone. Then the cool Joe would remind us of our strengths and weaknesses, as well as our limitations and we would be forced to go back to the drawing board.

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The 1990 workshop was one of the highlights of the decade for TEP. Fifty Christian activists came together from different contexts to share about the state of the church and our society especially, since February 1990. The address from DrAlejandro Bendana, the Director of the Centre for International studies in Managua, Nicaragua was the climax of the event. It was indeed a momentous occasion for the first Nicaraguan to have set foot on South African soil to have been brought into the country by TEP. We were very proud of the reception he received from a range of political organisations during his Visist.

Having been given the task of being the chairperson of TEP, I could not have gained a better insight into TEP!

Through my contact with the organisation, I have been given the opportunity to work with dynamic and wonderful people. Our national committee is comprised of interesting personalities such as the sweet-tongued diplomat Wesley; the argumentative

Pet; the jocular finance man Alan; the not-so-easy-to-convince Abe; the thorough, yet unassuming Rogers and the quite and insightful Leslie. How strange it is that out of this diverse group, such wise decisions are made. I could write endless pages on the life and people of TEP. When I think back on this eventful decade, TEP will always be a strong memory.

TEP's Tenth Anniversary

TEP and its history

What is TEP

TEP is a national, ecumenical and educational service agency working within South Africa.

Its commitment is to provide educational opportunities for people involved in justice and development issues within the country, to learn from other compatible situations in the Third World and from each other.

TEP offers this service to the national ecumenical Church by:

- exposing people from Third World countries to South Africa;
- exposing South Africans to the Church of the Poor in Asia, Africa and Latin America;
- translating acquired learnings into popular education for the empowerment of the local Church and organizations;
- making sociological and theological resources on the Third World available to individuals and organizations through our established resource center;
- producing and adapting media related to ecclesial and theological issues, initiatives or events in the local Church with issues, events and compatible contexts in the Third World;
- . convening educational workshops around a relevant social or theological theme.

In these ways, TEP attempts to contribute towards:

- . the development of a socially committed leadership and base within the Church;
- . the emergence of a prophetic movement and theological perspective within the national ecumenical Church;
- the promotion of the need for international solidarity.

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The urban poor of the Philippines

WK -

Dr Bendana with Sister Bernard at TEP Workshop 1990

South-South Dialogue

Convinced that some of the most creative visions and resources for a just and peaceful global order emanate from people in the Third World, TEP, through its diverse project activities, attempts to:-

- establish national, continental and international solidarity links as a prerequisite for the creation of a common struggle against those systems and structures which impede the development of Third World peoples and societies;
- ' provide opportunities for the sharing of insights and perspectives on concrete and common issues which affect the struggles of Third World nations;
- . create mechanisms for exchange of information so as to bring "new" levels of global awareness to how Third World nations are:-
 - ' breaking down dependency on the First World;
 - forging new democratic consciousness;
 - ' empowering the prophetic and popular movements within the Church and in society respectively.
- encourage the emergence of an appropriate and genuine Third World theological expression and identity;
- develop projects for the translation of knowledge and experience gained through South-South into popular education programmes for the empowerment of developing communities, both in the Church and society;
- ' enable Christians to reach consensus with regards to fundamental issues and responses which are of critical importance for the just, democratic and peaceful development of any society;
- establish and promote the important need for linking Church related institutions, movements, initiatives with other compatible or popular organizations, events and institutions in other Third World nations.

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TEP develops links with the South

In 1981, an informal group was set up (with Mike Deeb as coordinator) to promote the development of a project to enable Christians involved in the struggle in South Africa to learn from the experiences of the Church in Latin America and the Middle East.

This emerged after the realisation that hundreds of Church people in South Africa being sent to study theology in Europe and the United States of America, were coming back with a theology divorced from the concrete realities experienced in South Africa. This theology then often became irrelevant and an obstacle to the struggle of the people for liberation. It therefore seemed desirable to develop contacts and opportunities for theological studies in situations which were similar to the South African context and where there was a developed experience of theological reflection on the struggles of the people.

Middle East and Latin America

In 1980, contacts were established with groups and individuals in a number of countries in Latin America and the Middle East. A number of donor agencies in Europe expressed an interest in assisting such an initiative. Support for the concept was strong and widespread enough, to warrant the launching of the project. This led to the decision to develop a project to send people from South Africa to work with groups, and people, within the Church of the poor in Latin America and the Middle East.

It was decided that candidates for the project should be Christians with a proven commitment and maturity, and who had an interest in theological reflection. All these candidates were also to make a commitment to maintaining co-ordination with MEAL (Middle-East and Latin America) on their return, in an effort to develop it and to create channels for inserting the experiences learnt, into the South African context.

Theological focus

During 1983, the project changed its name from MEAL to the Theology Exchange Programme. This change in name, reflected more accurately, the projects broad theological and educational objectives. TEP also established formal links with the Institute of Contextual Theology (ICT), becoming a project "facilitated" by ICT. The TEP committee was also expanded.

In 1984, with Miss. Virginia Zweigenthal as the part-time co-ordinator, much of the work centered around fulfilling the objectives set around the international and Southern African exposure programmes, the resource library, working relations with national organizations and consolidating TEP's infrastructure - giving it a more visible presence in the Western Cape and nationally. It was during this year that a regional committee was set up at Diakonia in Durban to handle recruitment and preparation of candidates in the Natal region.

TEP and ICT

The relationship with ICT led to a request from Fr. Albert Nolan (OP) and a representative of the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) for TEP to take over a "Pastoral Exchange Programme" which they had jointly controlled for some years. The aim of this particular programme, was to send two Catholic priests, each year, to Brazil for an exposure-immersion programme focusing on the reality of Base Ecclesial Communities. TEP agreed to take over the project, with the provisos that it was broadened to accommodate denomination and to lay Church workers as well.

State of Emergency

By the end of 1985, TEP, like many other popular organisations, found itself fundamentally affected by the declaration of the State of Emergency and the subsequent detentions and repression.

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1986 was a year of struggle and survival" for many organisations. (with very little time and space available for creating new directions), TEP tried to keep its head above

water. There was a full-time co-ordinator and an emergency, and temporary arrangement, three workers were employed on a part-time basis. This arrangement lasted until the last quarter of the year.

It was only in November of this year that TEP, at its Elgin Conference in the Western Cape, was able to meet and begin to identify new ways of meeting the challenges of the years that lay ahead. The exposure method and the candidates as a means of empowerment have always formed the basis on which TEP was built. At this meeting, two new ideas were proposed for TEP's educational work. One was an attempt to make TEP's resources as simply an extension, both material and human, more widely available, and in new forms. The other, was an attempt to break new ground in generating different ways of producing indigenous material and experiences. It was based on the need to develop an educational arm for TEP, through which local people would be empowered to understand prophetic theology and would train to create their own theology. After much discussion around the two positions, it was resolved that:-

- our major resource potential within TEP, viz our former exposure candidates, contacts and resource materials, were underutilised; and

- . TEP saw its goal as not merely encouraging South-South dialogue and links but also channeling acquired insights for benefit of the South African situation.

South-South

The extension and utilisation of existing resources and the broadening of South-South Dialogue were seen as vital. In order to do this, it became imperative for people in other areas, beyond the geographical confines of the Western Cape, be brought into closer contact and participation with the work of TEP. Since the 1 January 1987 till now, five full-time workers and the National Committee, have enabled TEP to move beyond the survival and maintenance strategies of 1986.

1981
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
TEP's Tenfh Ann/versory
decade of exposures
Candidate Denomination From Exposure
Mr. P. Moll Anglican Western Cape Nicaragua
8 Brazil
Rev. M. Weeder Anglican Western Cape Nicaragua
Lebanon
Ms. V. Zweigenthal Catholic Western Cape Nicaragua
Brazil/Peru
Mr. M. Deeb Catholic Western Cape Nicaragua/Chile
_ 7 , Braznl/Peru
Rev. J. Buys N.G. (Sending) Western Cape Brazil
Fr. J. Xerri Catholic Brazil South Africa
Ms. L. Azevedo Catholic Brazil South Africa
Mr. M. van Graan Evangelical Western Cape Nicaragua
Brazil
Ms. P. Anthony Anglican Natal Philippines
Mr. P. Anthony Anglican Natal Philippines
Rev. W. Chisolm Anglican Western Cape Brazil
Rev. R. Jacobus N.G. (Sending) Western Cape Brazil
Ms. J. Noel
Rev. P. Mentoer
D.R. (Sending)
Catholic
page 5
Natal
Western Cape
Western Cape
Zimbabwe

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Candidate Denomination From Exposure

Ms. T. Mpumlwana Church of Ethiopia Eastern Cape Brazil

Rev. M. Mpumlwana Church of Ethiopia Eastern Cape Brazil

Rev. R. Petersen Congregational Western Cape Brazil

Rev. Z. Nevuthalu Lutheran N . Transvaal Namibia

Rev. A. Visagie N.G. (Sending) Karoo Philippines

Hong Kong

Bishop N. Ngada African Independ. Witwatersrand Brazil

Mr. S. Wauchope African Independ. Witwatersrand Brazil

Rev. W. Mabuza Methodist Witwatersrand Namibia

Mr. P. Mashiane Catholic Witwatersrand Philippines

Mr. E. Apelgren Catholic Witwatersrand Philippines

Rev. A. Leshaba Anglican E. Transvaal Brazil

Mr. N. Malatje Catholic Pretoria Costa Rica/Cuba

Nicaragua

Mr. A. Barnes Catholic Western Cape Costa Rica

Dr. A. Bendana Catholic Nicaragua South Africa

Ms. N. Mvambo Methodist Natal Philippines

Fr. R. Broderick Catholic E. Transvaal Brazil

Fr. P. Ehle Catholic Brazil South Africa

Ed de la Torre Catholic Philippines South Africa

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1987

1988

1989

1990

1991

TEP's Tenth Anniversary

TEPTs tenth

TEPTs theology from the underside

Rev Charles Villa-Vicencio

The church is divided as much as any other social institution on GOLLIS green earth. Over the years the church has aligned itself with the oppressive forces, and has legitimated apartheid. both dlreetly and indirectly. But at the same time. throughout the history of the Church, there has been a "church within the church". I prefer to see it as the 'lchurch on the marginsl'. It includes some people who find their feet inside the institutional churches. and some people who find themselves outside the institutional churches. ltincludethose who would want to identify with the Christian gospel, with the Christian religion, and with what they understand as a theological interpretation or understanding of the snuggle that is taking place. It is that "church of the margins", that "Church within a church", that llalternative Church", of which I think TEP (Theological Exchange Programme) has always been a superb example. It consists of a group of concerned Christians, with their feet firmly on the ground, trying to make sense of what is happening in the struggle against apartheid, and against economic exploitation.

There is an inter-action that takes place between church and politics, betWween a theological interpretation and a political analysis. A useful question to ask ourselves tonight is: what is theology in this kind of situation? Theology is something that all ofus do instinctively every day of our lives. Human beings are thinking beings, we are thinking animals. When we think, we think about something, we donlt think in a vacuum. We think about our experience, and so, theologically we like to say that experience precedes interpretation, of the event

Theology is a reflection on an event or an experience. Those of us who stand in the Christian tradition, interpret that event in terms of a certain tradition, in terms of a certain culture - a biblical culture if you like. We interpret what happens in our time in terms of a certain set ofsynibols. We interpret it from a Christian theological perspective. But, we fully recognise that other people are interpreting those same events from different perspectives - perhaps from a Muslim perspective, perhaps from a Hindu perspective, perhaps from a secular perspective, a Marxist or capitalist perspective. The interesting thing is that when we stand back, we find that some of those perspectives, some of those different interpretations, actually find one another, they coincide. So theology is always in conversation with other traditions, other ideologies

and interpretations. Politics and theology have always intersected.

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When theology coincided with a liberal interpretation, it was okay. When it coincided with a capitalist interpretation, it was okay. But the moment we begin to see our way of doing "theology from the underside", from the prophetic church side, from the alternative church side - and thus coinciding with socialist interpretations, then everybody throws their hands up and says ,hey this is not theologyl!

In the alternative church, in the prophetic church, there is a synthesis and a coming together of leftists, socialists, prophetic Christians and prophetic Muslim interpretations of what is happening in South Africa. That is good news - it speaks well about the future. There is an attempt by some people, the oppressed people, and those who are seeking to be in solidarity with the oppressed, to find one another, even though their interpretations may be different at one point or another. Every political organisation needs a conscience, needs to be disturbed, needs to be challenged, needs to be lopstokedl a little bit. There are essentially two groups of people who will struggle to keep alive the spirit of a revolution in a new society, and those people are radical theologians, and true and committed communists. Tonight at its tenth anniversary, TEP has brought together representatives from both, the alternative church, and from the MDM (Mass Democratic Movement) to address us on how they see the last ten years, and what role, they feel, the church should play in the future.

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anniversary

TEP a servant of the Church

Rev Malusi Mpumwana

On many occasions, we have often confused the ultimate goal with the immediate challenges that we face. In the past, we thought: "if only we can get so many people out of prison", ten liberation would have come; "if only we can get so many exiles back", liberation would have come, "if only we can publish the names of those who have been killed by the police", we shall have achieved something. We sometimes get confused and think that these small victories are the ultimate victories of our time.

I think that TEP, like many others, is not immune from this mistake. It is quite possible that after ten years of existence, we might begin to feel, that after so many exposure trips, so many books published, and having worked so many long hours we have earned our reward. TEP has identified two very important tasks for itself: to help other South Africans to share in struggles and experiences of other countries; and to serve the South African Church, by offering its resources. I want to pay tribute to TEP by saying that it is a beacon of hope and a drinking well for thirsty Christian activists committed to the risen Christ and His Kingdom values of social justice.

Looking back over ten years, I am reminded of a serious challenge that came to me, through the thoughts and writings of a friend of mine, Steve Biko. He said:

"Obedience to God in the sense that I have accepted it, in the belief that God reveals Himself in His laws inscribed in our conscience, is in fact at the heart of a conviction of most selfless

I want to start by saying Happy Birthday to TEP. The occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of TEP's existence, should, I believe, be a time for reflection. It is a time to reflect on the demands and the challenge for the prophetic movement within the church in our country revolutionaries. It is a call to all people of conscience to offer themselves, and sometimes their lives for the eradication of an evil. To a revolutionary, state evil is a major evil, for out of it flows countless other subsidiary evils that engulf the lives of both the oppressors and the oppressed. The revolutionary sees his task all too often as liberation not only of the oppressed, but also of the oppressor. Happiness can never truly exist in a state of tension, even if the tension is only of conscience. Hence in a stratified society like ours, those who have placed themselves upon pedestals, spend far too much time on the lookout for disturbances, and hence can never have peace of mind. The South African society abounds in fear, and is constantly in a state of frenzy. The

revolutionary seeks to restore faith in life amongst all citizens of his/her country to remove imaginary fears and to seek some consent for the plight of people. To the revolutionary, the church is anti-progress, and therefore anti-God's wishes, because long ago it decided not to obey God, but to obey H

man .

I think that it is a decision on the part of TEP, to be a servant of the church in a way that helps the Church to obey God, rather than human governments. It has done this as part of the prophetic

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movement within the church. The success and the maturity of TEP as an organisation alongside others in the prophetic movement, might lead us into complacency. This could happen in much the same way as the smiling face of President De Klerk, who presents himself as some kind of "Joshua Doore uncle" in the "political business", causes so many in the church to relax.

I believe that it would be helpful to review the developments, in the period of TEP's existence, and to identify key features, that have marked those ten years. What have we seen in society? What have we seen in politics? What have we seen in the church? I have divided my analysis into six phases in South African history, between 1976 and 1991, and I'll sketch out these phases, from the perspective of both society and church.

On paper, the policy of apartheid meant creatures like myself had no claim to South African citizenship. In essence, this meant four things: Firstly, the African would have no access to a vote of equal value to that of a white person in the South African political process. Secondly, that the African would be guaranteed no equality with whites before the law. Thus, the legal and security apparatus could justifiably be maintained for white minority capitalist

interest. Thirdly, the African would have no access to basic needs, like shelter, food, energy, health, sanitation, education and employment.

After all, the South African government could not be expected to provide these services for foreigners from Malawi, Transkei and Venda. Lastly, the African would have no place of ownership in the economy. In the famous words of Dr. Verwoed: "There will be no place for them apart from certain forms of labour." To be sure, even that labour was not recognised, as African workers were excluded in the definition of a worker on the Industrial Conciliation Act. Also it was not allowed for Africans to be recognised as apprentices in industry and in technical fields. Furthermore, the provisions of the Job Reservation Act, prevented production, like land, property, capital and skills etc. The business of the people and their organisations has been to win victories on these issues and the business of government and their security apparatus has been to prevent the people the success on these issues. It is against this background that we run through the six identifiable historical phases.

1. Ugrlslng:1976to1980

The first one is the uprising of 1976 to 1980. The main feature of this first uprising, was the emergence of the powerful youth defiance of police bullets, beginning in Soweto on June 16, and spreading throughout the country till the end of 1980. During this time, there was a mass exodus of youth leaving the country for military training with the liberation movement. Another Burning and barricades: a common scene in the 1980's Africans from certain types of jobs, or from even menial jobs in certain regions of the country, like the Western Cape. There are four fundamental questions at the centre of struggle in South Africa: The question of full political rights, unqualified with any equivocationr The question of democratic law - a defence and security system for the protection of the poor, the weak and the marginalised. The question of the constitutional right to the satisfaction of the basic needs of life. And lastly, the question of economic rights, guaranteeing and facilitating access to the means of feature was the high rate of detentions, and for the first time, provisions for preventive detention under the new Internal Security Act were used in August 1976, to hold many political activists. These mass detentions were marked by increased brutality, which saw the increased frequency of deaths in detention. It ended in a number of positive as well as negative government actions. On the negative side, to begin with, was the banning of eighteen organisations, including the Christian

Institute and a number of its prophetic
functionaries, like Beyers Naude and
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Oshadi Phakadi. The victory of this
first uprising of 1976, was that the
government was forced to introduce the
first reforms.

2. Reforms: 1980 to 1983

In this phase the government made
some concessions in education and
labour. Labour laws were revived,
following the Wiehan and Riekhert
Commissions, allowing the
unionisation of African workers. This
set the stage for the growth of
progressive and non-racial unions.
Some of the more unacceptable
language provisions of Bantu education
were relaxed and teacher working
conditions were improved. At the same
time, more blacks were drawn into
buffer positions of administration in the
education departments. Township
administration was revived following
the collapse of the urban Bantu councils
and in a co-optive move, constitutional
reforms were proposed, allowing for the
inclusion of Indians and Coloureds for
the parliamentary side show, through
the tricameral system. A positive
development of this phase, was the
emergence of a number of agencies for
Christian social awareness: ICT
(Institute for Contextual Theology),
TEAM (The Ecumenical Action
Movement), TEP (Theology Exchange
Programme), Diakonia and many
others. These reforms were so paltry,
and hardly attempted to address the four
fundamental questions of the struggle,
thus triggering off a new phase of a
second mass resistance.

3. Resistance: 1983 to 1985

This phase was dominated by a total
rejection, on the part of the UDF
(United Democratic Front), of the
government's constitutional reforms.
Structures were set up in cities and
villages all over the country. At the
same time, the fast growth of a
progressive trade union movement, in
mines, factories and offices, and the
transport sector culminated in the
formation of the giant Cosatu
federation. These features gave form
and direction to this second mass
resistance, which were lacking in the
first uprising

On the church front, the prophetic
movement was growing fast and was
beginning to identify in the documents
of the liberation movement, things that

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matched the Christian hope of the "reign of God". We recall at this time, the march on Pollsmoor called by the Rev. Allan Boesak. This unified action, of Muslims and Christians, was a significant witness of faith in the Western Cape and the rest of the country.

4. Acute Repression: 1985 to 1989

During the phase of acute repression, we find the government unleashing unprecedented measures of repression, through a "State of Emergency", that gave unmonitored and illegally unchallengeable licence to soldiers to do as they pleased in the townships. We are all witnesses to those times - thousands were detained without trial, hundreds were killed, as heroic battles were fought by untrained and conventionally unarmed people in our streets. We remember the Trojan Horse attack in Athlone. This was also the time of high MK (Umkhonto We Sizwe) activities, and we saw increased executions of political prisoners. Our townships - Bonteheuwel, Nyanga bush, Mitchells Plain, Guguletu - became the operational areas, bases of resistance in the face of repression. Church ministers had mass funerals virtually every week. We began to question our traditional liturgical formulas, as we struggled to keep saying The Lord gave, the Lord has taken, the Lord's name be praised. We began to wonder whether the God to whom the soldiers and the police prayed for success in their sinister operations, was the same as the one their victims prayed to for the protection of their lives. Many white youth of conscience, refused to be conscripted, and the 'Noi' voice grew. The Kairos document came out to help identify the different gods that South African Christians were committed to: the God of the oppressive state, the neutral God of no cause at all, and the God of justice for the oppressed. When the church was called on to pray for the end of unjust rule, on June 16 1986, we were shown that many in the church leadership, were continuing to shy away from the God of justice, for the oppressed. The question remained whether a church, which could not see its way clear, to praying for an end to unjust rule, could ever be committed to the resolution of the four fundamental questions, of the struggle that I identified earlier: - full unqualified political rights, democratic law and security system in defence of the poor and the oppressed, constitutional guarantees for the satisfaction of basic needs, and economic justice guaranteeing, and facilitating effective reversal of access denial to the means of production.

defence of a status quo. In many cases,

it is not simply an inability to see and hear, and I quote: "It is a refusal to see and hear. It is not merely a lack of faith in the God of Life, it is the worship of a false God, the sin of idolatry".

5. Phase of Revolution: 1985 to 1989

This takes me to the phase of revolution 1985 to 1989. Early in this phase in De Klerk and Mandela, unimaginable in the 1980s

The prophetic movement within the church, began to be convinced that the South African experience of Christian hypocrisy was not unique. The joint research and reflection project by South Africans, with Christians from Namibia, South Korea, the Philippines, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala showed this conviction (It is important to note that TEP was extremely instrumental in this process). This joint reflection was published in 1989, in The Road to Damascus and I quote:

"Throughout history, we Christians, have often been deaf to God's voice, and blind to God's presence in people. This lack of faith has prevented us from exercising the prophetic mission that Jesus has given us. We have often been silent, instead of denouncing injustice and oppression. Instead of working for justice and liberation, have often remained uninvolved". The document explains this uninvolvedness in unbelief as caused by either a comfortable and oblivious life, a choice of a convenient God who does not challenge us, or a choice of privilege, and a conscious

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January 1986, the ANC president Oliver Tambo declared the revolution: "Our own tasks are very clear, to bring about the kind of society that is visualised in the Freedom Charter. We have to break down and destroy the old order. We have to make apartheid unworkable, and our country ungovernable".

It was the revolutionary spirit of 'No surrender' It was the spirit of defiance in the MDM campaigns meshed by the liberation movement's international lobby, that gave space for the Churches and the prophetic voices within the churches to share in the triumph of February 2 1990. I always remember the words of the former Archbishop of Cape Town, who was asked to explain after the Goniwe funeral in Cradock, why bishops and priests were seen marching under the red flag of the Communist Party. The Archbishop said: "We have Chosen to walk the path of justice, and if others find it a worthwhile path to be on, they are welcome". -I always remember that the Archbishop actually omitted to note that it was he who was being welcomed in

the path of justice. The Communist Party walked that path long before the Church thought that it was worthwhile. Nevertheless, during this phase, the space was given for the churches and their prophetic voices to share in the triumph of February 2 1990.

6. Phase of Second Reforms:

February 1990

This date opened up the sixth and the last historical phase in the period of TEPLs life. The first reforms which followed 1976, were nowhere near a solution for the four fundamental questions of the struggle. It is not my intention to analyse and interpret the present phase of second reforms, because they are right before us, and all of us can share in that analysis. It should be sufficient for me, to simply remind all that the intention and indeed the promise of the nationalist government, to its electorate, is that the four fundamental questions of the struggle shall never, ever be met to our satisfaction, I think that has always got to be remembered.

It should not surprise anyone that De Klerk keeps saying that no constitution will be passed, before the electorate has agreed to it. The problem is that most Christians, and it is feared that even many political activists, believe that the government has a positive mind on this. I believe it does not. Behind that

smiling face of President De Klerk, is a grim commitment - never to let up.

The first thing that the government did, was to persuade their allies in the churches to abandon what the Kairos document called "State theology", and to identify themselves with "Church theology". And so now, we have Johan Heins, Louw Alberts and everybody else falling over backwards to make sure that they are accommodated in the "normal" structures of the churches in the country. As they move away from "State" to "Church" theology, they are effectively weakening the base of prophetic theology. The question now being asked about the role of prophetic theology is: "why should it be there, when the counter-parts are no longer there".

We know the story of Rustenberg. After consultations, the government, with the white Dutch Reformed Church, agreed that there will be a new strategy to co-opt the churches and weaken the voice of the prophetic churches. The government called together all churches to come together in a conference, which they sponsored. When the Council of Churches and the SACBC (South African Catholic Bishops Conference) were confronted about this, they refused to participate in a church initiative called by the state. The government was very quick to back down, and the offices were closed at the Union Building. But the plans for the conference went ahead.

In the end, we found ourselves with a conference which was, for all intents and purposes, called by President De Klerk. The miracle of Rustenberg, is that in spite of that, the prophetic voice was able to come away with what I consider to be substantial gains.

What are these gains? Rustenberg was able to deny the government, what they had gone to seek at Rustenberg. This included: an endorsement of De Klerk's position in the negotiating process; a charter of Christian witness, which I believe had already been drafted by Professor Heins; the commitment to the establishment of a new ecumenical movement, which would sideline the SACC; and lastly, a commitment from the church to back out of the political scene, and rather committing the church unconditionally to reconciliation. These intentions were defeated. What did happen, is that reconciliation was endorsed, but at all times, together with the language of restitution. I think it is in that language of restitution that something of the four fundamental questions of the struggle can still be accommodated.

As I come to the end, I want to suggest that the challenge for the prophetic movement during these very confusing times, is to develop, not only for itself, but for all Christians, the skills that are necessary to analyses and discern the whiles of the enemy at the present moment. Skills of social analysis, political analysis, and theological reflection, skills of leadership and communication. The government and its supporters have become a lot more sophisticated.

The second challenge is for the prophetic movement within the church not to be satisfied with the limited space that it occupies in the different parts of the country, but to increase its space by simply co-ordinating its activities. The

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people who are in the prophetic voices of the church in the Western Cape, should know what the others are doing. The same applies to the different regions - what is happening in the Western Cape, must be known to Natal, to the Eastern Cape, to the Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Western Transvaal and the Northern Transvaal, and the Free State and so on. If co-ordination of activities and the mutual accountability does not happen, we are going to lose all the things that we have gained until now. And lastly, and I must say this with humility, I believe that the most trusted workers of the liberation movement - those who have come from exile and prison, might well come to believe that their very presence on South African soil is going unhindered. Right in front of our eyes, we have seen the

government being able to get away with an agreement with the ANC, on exiles being able to return on qualified indemnity - that they have to make an admission of guilt to certain actions, before they can be admitted into the country. I know that we have people who are unable to come into the country, because they have refused to say what sins that have committed. The second mistake has been that the ANC has made an agreement with the government which precludes the participation of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. Each time the UNHCR wants to come in, the government says oh no, no, no, we don't want to break our agreement with the ANC. I think that it is a shame that the prophetic movement within the church, has allowed this to continue. Just because the ANC is involved in the discussions, we feel that we have no role to play anymore. I think that what the prophetic voice within the church ought to set up at this time, is a ministry of accompaniment to the negotiating process, that critiques and analyses every agreement that is made, and cries "murder" each time something seems amiss. I repeat that these remarks I say with great humility, because the church does not really have the right to do that. But I think that we owe it to God and to the Christian gospel, at least at this time in our history, to launder our past.

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Church and Community
the challenge

I want to say that I am actually being very careful to make the point, that I am not giving a theological viewpoint tonight, because I don't think I could ever interpret a document as complex as the bible. I am one of those people, who probably read more of the bible, while I was in prison, than in all the time I was out. As a politician, I have always been impressed, by the powerful message of the bible, both in the Old and especially in the New Testament. There are so many things which impress me: the message of Jesus; the example of a man, who was prepared to sacrifice his life, so that others can live a decent, full life; and the vision of human beings, living in a society based on love and equality, a society where individual human beings are valued as people, for their potential and for their contribution. The point I am making is that between church and community, or church and politics, there are many levels of intersection, and many common paths that had been trodden in the past, and will be walked in the future again. When thinking back to the period from 1981 to 1991, one of the first things I recall happening in the Western Cape, was a meeting against the anti-South African Indian Council. This was the first time that in a political meeting publicly, we saw ANC flags being flown openly. That was only ten years ago, and ten years later, we were marching on the day that the ANC and other organisations were unbanned. These last ten years were a profoundly intense and successful period. I want to just start by talking about a few of the good things that happened during that time. A closer unity was built up between church people and the to the Church

Graeme Bloch

wider constituency. But the unity had in fact begun long before this. We can go back to 1976, I remember as a student, the kind of contribution from people like Oom Bey (Beyers Naude), of people like Theo at the Christian Institute in Cape Town. During the days of BC, it was difficult for whites to walk around too confidently, and the church, provided a shelter for the struggles, that kind of burst onto the scene. We can never forget the symbolic significance Regina Mundi, the Catholic church in Rockville, Soweto. I remember the end of 1981 and early 1982, when we were setting up the Detainees Parents Support Committees, in Cape Town, with people like Zoli Malindi and Jenny Schreiner and so on. The church of St. Marks used to play, an important role in providing a place where we could come together, and despite the repressive atmosphere,

discuss what was happening in our own country.

When we think back on the sacrifices that have been made, we always

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remember the Pollsmoor march. I am sure there are many people here, who can remember kneeling and praying while being whipped by the quirts (as they were then called), or sjambocks of the "boers". One thinks of Jan De Waal, who partially lost his sight, after police brutality at the march. He was just one of the many individual church people, who made sacrifices during this period. One cannot forget the significant role that the AME in Hazendal, played during the Defiance Campaign in 1989.

It was at a historic service at the AME church in Hazendal, that restrictees decided that they were no longer going to obey those restrictions, imposed upon them by an unjust government, and where Archbishop Tutu called on the people to embark on a Defiance Campaign.

Along with all this went the development of a vigorous theology from the church, which explained the reasons for the involvement of the church in this process. The Catholic church in Mozambique, aligned itself completely with the colonial project with the "superiority" of the white man. As a result of these mistaken policies, the attitude that Frelimo adopted is not surprising. On the other hand, was the Namibian example, where the church was SWAPO, and SWAPO was the church. I think the South African church fell somewhere inbetween these two models. The contradiction of the church in South Africa, is reflected in a membership that is predominantly black and oppressed, and with a hierarchy, that has remained largely white and male.

The church, quite correctly stepped back, once the political organisations

were unbanned, and the ANC could speak for itself. But I think that perhaps there's been too much of a retreat from social involvement on the part of the church.

The church needs to continue speaking out. During those ten years, the church not only defended other people's struggles, but also got directly involved in the struggle. For example many church groups were part of the UDF. In the whole campaign against the tricameral parliament, the Christians and Muslims, directly took up the struggle.

One thinks of campaigns like the 'Standing for the Truth', which enabled Christians to participate directly and which made a direct and independent contribution to things like the Defiance Campaign. One thinks of the building of an inter-faith approach amongst the church to politics. Church groupings like the Belydende Kring, and people like Allan Boesak, and a network of people in the country areas in particular, did an incredible amount of work to show to people, that in fact what the bible wanted them to do, was to get involved in politics. That the bible wanted them to challenge the oppressive political system. We remember how terrified people were of politics, during 1983 and 1984 and we did not know what the response to a call for a boycott of tricameral elections was going to be. The overwhelming response from the people could not have been achieved without the urging, prodding and pushing, of the churches, and theologising to explain to people why it was legitimate for people to be involved. The church helped people to overcome their fear, and the church became a place, where church members could speak out politically.

The church mobilised and directly rejected apartheid, and directly fought apartheid, and I want to re-emphasise that I see no reason why the church need to shy away from that role in the future either. We must remember that freedom has not come. When it comes to political freedoms, it is still a white minority, that is making decisions about the pace and the direction of changes. The ANC still calls itself a liberation movement, and not a political party. How can you have a political party, when people are still not free to compete effectively, and as equals? We are allowing the organisations that have fought for our freedom, to be pushed back from the frontiers of those freedoms, by the press, by the government, and by our own silence as well. Political witness from the church is even more important now than it was before.

I think the third area, where the church made an incredibly important

contribution, was, of attempting to maintain the dignity of human beings, in a social system that's set out to actually destroy people's humanity. This involves trying to keep people's homes together in some sort of way, in the face of unemployment, alcoholism, crime, the daily violence of life in the townships, poor education and mass removals. We have forgotten how apartheid has systematically destroyed the social fabric of this country. We have come very close to social disintegration. All the time, while apartheid was destroying, it was the church that helped to mobilise at very basic levels, taking blankets to people in Crossroads, setting up soup kitchens in winter, attempting to hold people together, and enable them to speak out and fight the situation in which they were in. In other words, I think that the church's contribution was, and is, and will continue to be, be a church of the poor, a church of the oppressed.

We have seen very clearly, that laws can be lifted off the statute books, while on the ground, things remain the same. So again, this contribution, of building a social fabric, and life of our communities is something that is going to be very important. I think we must talk about the new South Africa, and begin to prepare for it. We must not let ourselves adopt other people's meanings of what that new South Africa is. Much has changed, but much has stayed the same. But we need to shift within that understanding, from a situation of purely opposition, to a situation where we need to take responsibility and actually begin to build the kind of Vision that we have.

What are some of the important issues facing the church now?

Freedom

The first thing is the issue of freedom. I don't think freedom is ever achieved. I

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I think liberty is an ongoing process, but I certainly think even at the basic level of political rights, this country is not free. As citizens and as church people, we need to be talking about how we are going to get to the basics of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa. What kind of constitution are we going to have? It also means talking more actively about things like a constituent assembly and an interim government. These are not matters for only the ANC and the PAC, but they are matters which should concern every citizen. Everyone in South Africa, is going to have to throw their weight behind those demands, otherwise we are going to find ourselves with a constitution that meets FW De Klerk's agenda, and not ours.

Cultural Tolerance.

We need to be fighting for a situation in which everybody is allowed to speak out, be they on the far right, or on the far left. In order to allow for this we need to build a Wm in our political movements. The UDF was able to foster this kind of tolerance, amongst activists on the ground. Jews were able to talk to Christians, Communists could talk to Muslims, Capitalists could talk to Socialists. We now need to revive these traditions of tolerance.

Peace

Another concern is the violence occurring now in our country. It is not just political violence, but also criminal violence on the trains, and in our townships. We know there are going to be no easy solutions to this problem. But it is very clear that institutions like the church, are going to be vitally important in the building of a new society, one that can gradually begin to rid itself of the effects of apartheid and underdevelopment.

Development

The issue of peace, is very closely linked to the issue of development. South Africa will become like any other struggling poor third world country, heavily in debt, finding it very difficult to sustain itself and its people? Africa owes more than its gross national product in a year on its national debt. We are going to find a country like South Africa, being subjected to all sorts of problems related to

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development. We are going to find groupings like the IMF, and the World Bank, who have their own agendas, coming in and trying to tell us what "development" is. Once again, it is going to be important that institutions like the church, who have their fingers at the grassroots, are able to say hang on a second, what you're talking about is poverty or what you're talking about is underdevelopment, or dependence on the imperialist centres. What you're talking about, is not the development of the society.

In other words, the church is going to need to continue to speak out on behalf of the poor and the marginalised. It is going to have to play a key role in ensuring that, not only the organised groupings are given access to the limited resources. That it is not just the political parties or the trade unions, who are able to win benefits for their members, while people in the rural areas, or in squatter camps, remain unorganised or unheard. There has been an attempt to depoliticise development and make a neutral issue, which simply involves technical choices. But development in fact, involves struggles over resources, and is therefore at a key and basic level, a political issue. We need to try and challenge the development agencies, who no longer want to give money to education projects and organisations.

Economic System

Linked to development, is the whole question of how we want to develop, and central to that, is the question of what kind of economic system we want. The economics debate has only just begun. The majority of South Africans do not know what socialism is, and they have not really begun to look at the failures of capitalism. Africa, Latin America and the Philippines and many of the other countries, that TEP would have had contact with, are prime examples of how capitalism has failed the poor and the marginalised of the third world.

There are also many lessons to be learnt from Eastern Europe. Much of what happened in Eastern Europe, is in no way defensible. Yet we must be careful not to become triumphalist in the defeat of some of those regimes, to the point where we lose our critical faculties. Since 1950, the Communist Party has been banned in South Africa, and all socialist ideas have been forced underground. We now actually have a duty to take those ideas, and to look at them, and we need to encourage an openness in debate. We have a special responsibility, to stop the anti-communist sentiments, that one has seen coming from the capitalist press. Of course, one expects it to come from

the press, but we need to be concerned when it comes from progressive church quarters.

We need to make it our special responsibility to look at the kind of economic system that will bring us social justice. It is clear that the answers are not easy, and that the answers are not going to be cliches, that simply get sucked out of our thumbs. But I remain convinced, that at the end of the day, if we want to realise some of the values that are there in the bible, we are going to have to talk about some form of socialism. I always say that socialists are probably the most open-minded people in the world at the moment, because nobody knows what socialism is. There is a kernel of ideas in the bible on social justice, equality and redistribution that needs to be recovered, and which we need to look at. The challenge is to look at how they can be translated into a workable and free democratic system.

Fighting Privilege and Abuse

There also needs to be an ongoing attempt from the grassroots to fight the temptations of power. There is no reason why South Africa should be free of many of the tendencies of neocolonial regimes in Africa. There are going to be people, who's only desire will be to put on a double-breasted suit. There are going to be people in government who will want to earn high salaries, and live in posh houses. We saw this happening in Africa and Eastern Europe, and it will undoubtedly happen here too. So I believe at the level of privilege, and also at the level of human rights, there is going to be an ongoing fight, and an ongoing battle, to which the Church must contribute.

Grassroot Organisation

The building of strong grassroots organisations is a task we are going to

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have to take very seriously. At the end of the day, it is only grassroots people who will be able to countervail the temptations that will inevitably be laid before the political leadership. I think our starting point should be "Never trust a political party, or a liberation movement". The real challenge will be to build a strong civil society, outside of a political society, that can challenge, at all times. Strong independent trade unions, women's organisations and grassroots study circles and so-on need to be developed to play this role. It is essential that the church contributes to strengthening grassroots organisations. But we need to build the new, in such a way that people are encouraged wherever they are, to feel that they have the power to change their situation. The struggle that we have to engage in, is a struggle to create shared

values and shared concerns.

A New Chum

The moral vision of the church, is going to be very important in this whole process. Political organisations have been accused, and I think quite correctly, of having a very instrumental approach to the church, of often using the church. Leftists have a very poor record of understanding what theology and spiritual values are about. Political activists, at times attempted to create a different bible, whereas perhaps we should have learnt, as I said at the beginning, that documents need to be interpreted, and that there can't be any final word on the human situation. Politics can't try and explain the mysteries of human existence. I don't know if the church can, but it can probably do a far better job than politicians can ever do. Human beings are whole, and are not just of the church, but are also of the here and now; are not just spiritual, but are also of the flesh. The moral vision, which the church can provide, will be incredibly important. So I think, in conclusion, what will be essential in the new South Africa, is that we have a church that is deeply rooted in the mass of people; that it remains a critical church, an independent church and that does not feel it has to apologise, when it speaks out on any issue. We need a church that is lively, and such a church will be important to politicians and to the life of the country as a whole.

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Surveying the new frontiers to bridge
TEP in the next decade

through a combination of our own
struggles and the changing world,
we have reached a point where there is
no simple map which we can follow to
guide us in the complicated terrain
ahead. Those who try and approach the
journey with their heads buried in old
maps and dogmatic conceptions are
going to stumble and fail. We now need
to look up and carefully examine the
terrain, fit our sights on the next major
visible Objectives and manoeuvre as
quickly and painlessly as possible. We
need to think creatively, critically and
quickly, and not be imprisoned by our
old conceptions. (New Era Vol.5,
No.2.).

Internationally, progressive movements
have much reason to despair. Given the
crisis in the eastern Europe, socialism
has become a shattered ideal and many
service organisations have been forced
to give serious thought to mapping a
new way forward. This ambiguity is felt
at a religious level as well. Unclear of
its new social role, there is a real
temptation for the churches to stress the
sacramental dimension of its ministry
once again.

Whilst noting this, we also realise that
the basic reasons which gave birth to
many community and church
organisations are still very real.

Mitigated in one form or another,
national issues related to mass poverty
and exploitation, dehumanising
conditions of labour, distortion and
watering down of the gospel,
victimisation through market forces,
violence and various other forms of
social discrimination, have not
disappeared.

All these developments raise a number
of important social issues for TEP
consideration as it attempts to map out
its own direction within the new terrain
of struggle, i.e. both nationally and
internationally.

W

Looking back in history, the
socio-economic crisis in the Eastern
bloc countries will stand out as the
single and most important international
crisis to have reshaped the world and
political trends in the long term.
The interests of the seven most
developed capitalist countries, the
"Group of Seven", are becoming
dominant.

The world today:

it is confronted by a concentration and
centralisation of political, economic
and technological power and control,
without precedent in world history;
it lives under the hegemony of a
neo-liberal/Conservative doctrine
which presents itself as a universal
truth which makes no concession for

any alternative. Their media never forget to draw our attention to the philosophical and economic bankruptcy of socialism; it faces a position where democracy is made synonymous with capitalism and where wealthy nations believe that they alone can resolve the problems of the poor and exploited nations; it observes the "new" international policing role which the USA plays with regards to global relations and order; and it watches the Soviet Union's attempts to align itself with the "Group of Seven".

Strategic alliances

In the light of "new" global threats and challenges, concepts of partnership and mutual responsibility have become a key template to configure strategic alliances, restructure societies, defend capitalist interests, disguise exploitation and suppress dissent.

Obvious examples of this strategy can be witnessed in various developments. One of these is, the unification and rationalisation of the diverse European page 15

economies into one united market economy. This will begin in 1992, and the new regional financing strategies will be structured in the following way:

I Japan will take particular responsibility for capitalist interests in Indo-China,
1 the European Economic Community will be responsible for ailing economy of eastern Europe,

I the United States will be responsible for Latin America and;

I South African will fulfill the same "center-periphery" role with regards to sub-Saharan Africa.

Increased power of the North

On the political level, the North is attempting to transform the United Nations into a mechanism for reinforcing their world hegemony. Democratic principles and objectives of the "United Nations Charter" and of the "Declaration of Human Rights" are being excluded from the political and economic practices of the North, particularly in their relations with the South. Any suggestion of exploitation is denied and international forums like the "Organisation for African Unity", the "Movement for Non-Aligned Nations" and the "United Nations General Assembly", have lost their capacity to exert real influence or control on the concentration of wealth taking place in the North.

The power of the North seems unrestrained and the political, economic and military counteraction which

traditionally came from the old Eastern bloc, no longer exists. In the South, those who once modelled their hopes and societies around the socialist ethic, discover that there is no longer a quick route to socialism. They are slowly retracing their steps and seeking new alliances with the capitalist bloc.

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For progressive political movements, "governing" now involves forging partnerships with past enemies or new social forces. In the name of "peace and stability", mutual agreements and negotiated settlements have been achieved between old national protagonists. We have witnessed this compromising thrust being put into effect in countries like Namibia, Angola, Nicaragua, El Salvador, South Africa, Columbia, Northern Ireland, Mozambique, Korea, etc.

At the same time, the Southern bloc is increasingly being excluded from dictating the global political agenda and benefitting from its markets of commerce. With little, or no collective capacity remaining to exert influence or bargain, nations in the South have been left to sort out their own economic problems. We are fast approaching a time when nations in the South will be forced to compete and enter into bitter struggles with one another for a humble share in the dwindling world resources which the North already controls.

Religious conservatism

Around the world, American-controlled evangelical media has had a history of backing "anti-communist" policies and regimes, no matter how undemocratic and repressive they are. These theologically conservative and right-wing groupings have been the chief opponents of "liberation theology" and have used their pulpits, publications, radio and television, to brand Catholic and Protestant groups who have a theology which favours the poor and oppressed, as "communists". Internationally, the rise of religious conservatism should be a concern not only for the progressive section of the church but for the community as well.

Crisis of civilisation

There is no evidence to justify the optimism of those who assume that capitalism will "solve our problems". To speak of the "triumph of capitalism" and to claim the "failure of communism" in this regard, is to totally disregard the South in other words, to ignore the greater part of humanity. Seen from the South, from the point of view of the world's oppressed peoples, the capitalist system manifests a crisis no less acute and deadly than that of communism.

What we are faced with is a crisis of Civilisation that in different forms, strikes at both capitalism and socialism, and urgently poses the problem of a To speak of the "triumph of capitalism "

and to claim the "failure of communism ",
is to totally disregard the South- in other
words, to ignore the greater
part of humanity
global alternative, at the level of
civilisation. Given this global crisis of
civilisation are there any viable
responses or alternatives left open to us?

The Thlrd way

Given the obvious limitations of
state-monopoloy-socialism and the
not-yet-so obvious limitations of
capitalist-state-welfarism, it is now
becoming fashionable to speak of a
"third way" option. Illustrations of this
"third way" option can find political
expression in "socialist-democratic" or
"democratic-socialist" projects, both of
which are used to advocate a sort of
mixture between the capitalism and
socialist systems. As a new system, the
"third way" caters for an M
combination of "state planning" and
"market systems" and makes political
wisjon for "individual freedom" and
"social welfare". It must be noted, that
most of these experiments, if not all,
where they have been tried, have
inevitably resulted in the evolution of
strong capitalist market systems
anyway.

Search for alternatives

Plans for economic salvation and
models for political transition as
promoted by the North in their current
form, cannot respond to the democratic
interests of societies in the South. It is
the fundamental right of all countries in
the South to demand to be architects of
their own destiny and transformation.
What seems to be emerging is the need
for the development of a common

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language in which the search for an
alternate society can be articulated,
defended and upheld against those
forces who try to deprive us of even the
words and symbols of hope which
signify that change is still possible. We
are convinced that some of the most
important symbols and creative visions
for ajust, peaceful and new world-order
lie with, and could come from, the
people who are oppressed in one way or
another.

The nations of the
South, and the
progressive elements
in the East and the
North, are emerging
from a traumatic past.
Together we are facing
the force of a world
market, monopolised
by the North. This

provides us with a common basis for
defining alternatives. The existence of
oppression, debt, technology, high
commercial barriers in the North; the
inflexibility of the international lending
agencies; and the threat to environment,

and militarization all became the basis for a common platform to be shared by progressive elements in the North, East and South in defense of democracy. They allow for the possibility of the strengthening of power in popular communities, self-determination and self-government, racial and sexual equality.

For about forty years, we have allowed our world to be classified into three distinct socio-political, economic and cultural spheres, namely that of the "First World" (capitalist Western bloc), the "Second World" (the socialist Eastern bloc) and the "Third World" (the remaining "two-thirds world" which enjoys a relationship of dependency and a status of underdevelopment). The crisis in eastern Europe provides us with an opportunity to expose that the real threat to world peace does not lie in the Cold-War theory of "East versus West" but is rooted in fundamental socio-economic contradictions which exist between the developed nations of the "North" and the underdeveloped nations of the "South" on an international level, and between "rich" and "poor" communities, nationally. The ideology of the "Red Scare" which

was effectively used as a tactic to confuse the masses, will prove much more difficult to employ in the future. Both nationally and internationally. there is now space to speak more appropriately of rich and poor communities or nations, and to ask more direct and pertinent questions as to why certain socio-economic imbalances exist.

The North has always fought for, and upheld, the principles of "multiparty democracies" and "free enterprise" as the ideal forms for socio-political and economic organization. To safeguard their interests, the North would have to employ the full range of its technological and financial resources to prove to the rest of the world that democratic capitalism is the solution to the major developmental problems experienced by majority of the nations in the world. Western democracy

Taking note of the international debt TEP's Tenth Anniversary

crisis of the South, the present economic and inflationary crises in countries like the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany; and reflecting on just two instances where the United States has failed to meet major budgets which were promised to the newly-elected governments of Nicaragua and Namibia, one wonders how free enterprise, in the long term, is going to sustain its interests vis-a-vis increasing world need and expectation. The facade of market capitalism, as the only successful economic system for a new-world-order may be difficult to maintain in the long run. Many people will come to understand that the truth about Western democracy is basically an idea of the "survival of the fittest".

South - South debate

South Africa, over the years, has managed to develop a highly sophisticated infrastructures at all levels of political and economic interest. These sectors are controlled by a skilled white

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Nicaragua, one of the countries in the South with which TEP is developing strong South-South links

male-dominated elite who, still guided by their entrenched class interests, have no real democratic vision for, and interest in, the country.

In a climate where our liberation movements have been unbanned, are still violently victimised and are now making preparations for a general election in approximately three years time; it would appear that our only hope for salvation lies in our ability to win over the "minds and hearts" of the masses through the establishment of a united and effective Patriotic Front. The exploited masses still find themselves in a disadvantaged position - lacking the necessary access to resources and skills, to be able to effectively take over the key

ideological and productive sectors of
this society.

At this point in time, stimulating debate
and discussion at a South-South level is
of primary importance, so as to arrive at
strategies for the implementation of
collective alternatives. I believe, we will

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need to effect wide ranging discussions by countries of the South. These discussions would have to reflect on national and regional experiences, and take into account various perspectives expressed on fundamental sectoral issues in the academic, religious, ecological and cultural communities. To achieve this, we need to be more integrated and organised, both regionally and internationally.

New ways of thinking

Democratic forces in the South need to explore a new way of thinking and begin to forge their own political strategy and instruments to define a new alternative. Once this objective becomes more clearly defined, it will be possible to confront, in a more coherent manner, the project of the North, which is rapidly being developed. The first point of convergence will consist of the acceptance of the fact that there is a common foe: conservative thought and anti-democratic positions which in the framework of "North-South" or "Center-Periphery" relations, have their major expression in the political hegemony of the United States.

New processes of thinking, searching and integrating regional and transnational cooperation for alternatives taking place throughout the South must draw closer together in order to reinforce solidarity and put forth a coherent democratic alternative to that presented by the North.

Originality and creativity are indispensable if we are to achieve a theoretical, political and revolutionary breakthrough into the twenty-first century. New democratic proposals must be based on a new type of thinking. The conceptual and organizational effort must represent and propose new forms of struggle against oppression. This means breaking away from some of the conventions, formulas and slogans that outlined old parameters of the progressive and revolutionary forces. Only in this way, will we be able to rescue the right of the people to fight for justice, democracy and peace.

Networking

We need to look at how we are going to network new information, research and actions so that the ordinary people may be empowered to make informed choices about possible ways of addressing problems or options facing them? Can we organize ourselves in such a way to ascertain what are the best means of making a qualitative contribution to the diverse hermeneutical circle of learning and intervention in the country?

What this means for TEP.

In the light of this, and the existing demands placed on TEP, we are convinced that South-South dialogue

has an even more crucial role to play in the long term programme of national reconstruction. Clearly there is a need to locate our focus and activity within the framework of networking and providing vital information which will assist in shaping the Church's programme towards the democratic struggle and reconstruction of the country.

In evaluating our role, it has become quite clear that TEPL's work should center around a threefold function, viz:-
1 to research and provide essential information on popular theological, social and economic issues related to people's struggles in the Third World;

2 to discern how and where solidarity relations of Third World nations can be used to strengthen our mutual global democratic struggle for justice, development and peace; and
3 to inform (through diverse programmes) and bring about new levels of global consciousness within the country.

Our goal is to enable local people and organizations to assess relevant issues and make appropriate interventions or responses.

Information for empowerment

The scope and nature of our existing project activities already locates us within the strategic terrain of struggle which we have already identified. We are dealing primarily with information. In the execution of all our educational projects we are either acquiring, developing or disseminating information related to relevant issues of South Africa in correlation with other Third World experiences.

Over the last ten years, TEP has come to enjoy a unique and unparalleled position with regard to the access to resources. Our resource strength lies in
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the network of individual and organizational contacts, we have developed in the Third World, our mechanisms for communication, the exposure of candidates to Third World Countries and resource materials. It's one thing to have this information, to have these resources. The challenge becomes to effectively organize around them in such a way that we offer a vital service to the community.

We need to continually ask ourselves "What do we want to finally achieve through our educational project activities?"

The answer is quite simple. We want to ensure that our projects around South-South dialogue are executed in such a manner that we can theologically empower people to raise critical consciousness and to develop leadership skills for social action to change the condition under

which they have been brought up. In short, we want to make a significant impact on the community.

Evaluation of TEPls exchange projects
Adopting a limited service function, TEP, through its various exchange programmes over the years has provided the prophetic movement within the national ecumenical church with an opportunity to establish closer ties with popular Christian and community groupings in other Third World countries, especially those sharing compatible situations of repression and resistance.

Guided by the struggle priorities of our national situation, TEP has understood its contribution as essential for the development of "new" perspectives and strategies for overcoming poverty, oppression and dependency in the Third World. Among some of the important issues interface with the Church in society were: Familiarity with changes in superpower relations and structures, and the effects thereof for the rest of the world; issues of negotiations and demilitarization; international debt, ecological and drug crises; repression and resistance strategies have enriched our ability to create programmes to raise the critical consciousness of activists working within the local Church.

TEPTs Tenth Anniversary

Annual Report 1991

The TEP National/ Workshop, highlight of the year

1. Introduction

It would seem like the other day that we sat down to draw up project plans for 1991. Once again we have reached the end of another year, and Once again it is time for project assessments, analysis and planning, budgets and reports. Although we have a volume of news to note. we know your time container may have only one Volume capacity. We therefore are only going to mention only the important issues relating to our organizational activities during the course of this year.

2. The Exposure-immersion Programmes

2.1. Debriefing of TEP's Exposure Candidates of 1990

During the first half of this year, a week-long debriefing session was convened for those candidates who had benefitted from an TEP exposure-immersion programme during 1990, These candidates included:

A) Mr. Alan Barnes

Alan, from the Justice & Peace Commission in Cape Town went to Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Guatemala.

B) Mr. Norman Ialatje

Norman, a youth organizer in Shoshanguve in Pretoria who went to Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Cuba.

Both Alan and Norman were asked to look at the Central American model or methods employed in organising Christians at a grassroots level into a popular and prophetic movement.

C) Fr. Richard Broderick

Dick. from Pliziltborwa spent three months in Brazil. Richard's exposure event was mainly pastoral in focus and he looked at popular methods of education and organizing Within Base Ecclesial Communities.

D) 315. Nomabelu Mvambo

Nomabelu who works on the economic desk in Diakonia, Durban spent some time in the Philippines. Nomabelu's exposure interest centered around these issues: the role and organization of women and workers in the Philippines, and the issue of politically motivated violence and a pastoral response to it.

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Because of other organizational pressures we have only managed to complete the exposure report of Fr. Richard Broderick. We hope to complete and publish the rest of the candidates exposure reports before the end of March 1992.

2.2. Overseas Exposures to South Africa

Given the more "relaxed and open" political climate in South Africa since 2 February 1990, TEP decided to centre its exposure programmes during 1991 on bringing overseas candidates into South Africa. In September of this year, we facilitated the exposure programmes of two important church personalities, viz. Fr. Paul Ehle (OMI), a Catholic priest from Juazeiro, north-east of Brazil; and Mr. Ed de la Torre, a key figure in the Filipino struggle for democracy.

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Paul, sharing with participants how to "do theology" at the TEP Workshop

Fr. Paul Ehle (OMI)

Paul completed his philosophy and theology studies in Rome, was a professor of philosophy and scripture at St. Charles Scholasticate in Canada and for the past eleven years has been working in a poverty stricken areas of Bahia. He has had intense involvement with the formation of community leaders, catechists, lay ministers and other "social agents" through the Pastoral and Catechetical Institute of Salvador, with an accent on reality analysis, scripture ("giving back the Bible to the people"), reflection on experience and liberation.

His exposure programme resulted in the visitation of individuals, organizations and institutions in the following main centers within the country, viz. Cape Town, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Phalaborwa, Germiston and Natal.

The main purpose of his exposure was to assist TEP in facilitating its annual workshop.

Given his own theological concerns in Brazil, the other areas of interest to his "African" exposure included:

Looking at how Christian militants and community leaders relate to the ordinary people;

Understanding processes which have assisted in strengthening the democratic struggle for a new society in South Africa; and

Reflecting on pastoral approaches and Challenges facing the national Church in both an urban and a rural setting.

Mr. Ed De La Torre

Ed de la Torre, is more commonly known as "Ed". Before the declaration of martial law in the Philippines in 1972, Ed was national chaplain to both the Federation of Free Farmers and the Catholic youth organization. He was a board member of the Philippines Ecumenical Committee for Community Organization and the founding chairperson of the Christians for National Liberation (CNL). He also taught theology and sociology at the Divine Word seminary in Tagaytay City and in various colleges in Manila. During martial law in the Philippines, Ed spent a total of nine years in prison. He was released by President Aquino with 500 other political prisoners in March 1986. Until recently, he has been in exile from the Philippines.

Ed was first exposed to the socio-political reality in the Eastern Cape. He then participated in the TEP workshop in Kimberley where he shared with us his experiences and reflections on the following theme, "The prophetic mission and movement in the Third World". Lastly he was exposed to the violence in the Johannesburg area, and met with key political and religious personalities and institutions. He noted that the similarities between what was happening in the Philippines are remarkable. Ed's lively elaboration on South-South issues

3. The Candidates' Post-Trip Forum

The Candidates, Post-Trip Forum brings together all TEP candidates, staff and the National Committee into a workshop where we can reflect and workshop around a common theme related to the exposures projects.

As service organizations within the ecumenical movement, our

concern over the last few years has been focussed on our inability to develop a common educational strategy and models towards empowering those who we have been called to serve. This is even true within areas where there may appear to be a concentration analytical, organizational and theological skills. With this as a serious concern, TEP sought to reflect on how "education and training" is being done in countries within the South. The Candidates, Post-Trip Forum which was convened on the July 4-5 provided us With an opportunity to draw on the candidates) exposure experiences. Functioning as resource persons, the candidate provided us with greater insight and understanding of our mission towards "educating and training for the development of the prophetic movement in the national ecumenical church".

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4. The Annual Workshop

TEP's Tenth Anniversary

EP's annual workshop was successfully convened in Kimberley from the 06-11 September 1991. Approximately fifty persons involved in education and training in their respective denominations or church organizations in various parts of the country were carefully selected to participate in the workshop. The theme of the workshop was: "GOD'S PROPHETIC PLAN IN HISTORY".

Interfaced with recent international and national socio-political and economic shifts, the overall aim of the workshop was to:

1. equip and involve the participants in coming to a theological understanding of 60th prophetic action throughout history;

2. provide the participants with a biblical model which they could confidently use in their respective areas of work towards enabling Christians to continue the reflection process on salvation history: past, present and future.

The TEP National Office is presently working with the material developed at the workshop, and will be publishing it in the first quarter of next year.

The programme was designed and focussed on the following areas:

Workshop focus Resource Persons From

The Bible as a tool for Fr. P. Ehle Brazil
transformation

Methods Of Contextual Bible Institute for the Study of the Bible PMB, Natal
Studies

From Exodus to Monarchy Institute for the Study of the Bible PMB, Natal

Kings and Prophets Mr. I. Lloyd TEP

Exile and Post-Exilic Fr. Emmanuel La Fonte Soweto, Tswi

Jesus, the Prophet

The Early Church to Vatican II

The Prophetic mission and

movement in the "Third World"

The Prophetic movement in

South Africa

Fr. A. Nolan

Rev. A. Brews

Mr. E. de la Torre

Mr. S. Sadie

ICT, Johannesburg

Durban, Natal

The Philippines

Lumko, Germiston

5. Fieldwork

At a National Level

special word of appreciation needs to be extended to Mr.

Leslie Dikeni, TEP's national fieldworker during the past

year. Having no other choice, we realize that he had to

humanize one of the most difficult job descriptions. Thanks

for the protracted periods of time spent away from home in one

or another region preparing and recruiting for the exposure

projects or the national workshop, consulting organizations,

attending important national meetings, analysing what is

happening on the ground and for making qualitative inputs at

the National Office.

Networking

An area of Work Which has demanded a significant amount of
staffs time and attention has been the ever increasing need for

TEP to network with other national organizations. Some of the

more important networking demands have included active

participation in following meetings/initiatives: Nationally:

1. Institute for Contextual Theology (AGM, Steering
Committee and other meetings);

2. Standing for the Truth Campaign and meetings;

3. Jointly convened TEP-ICT Service Organisations meeting;

4. National church project directors' forum;

5. Meetings of the National Youth Leadership Programme;

etc.

Cape Town:

1. Standing for the Truth campaign and meetings;

2. Meetings and networking with other local organizations;

BIC.

5.1. The Consortium for Theological Exchange In
Southern Africa (CONTESA)

After two years of often slow and yet solid organization, we are pleased to note that CONTESA has finally been constituted. At a meeting convened in Johannesburg (20-23 September 1991), organizational representatives from five of
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the six countries invited to participate, met to plan a programme for next year, formally constitute itself and elect an executive committee.

The emerging new structure, CONTESA is a network of progressive church organizations working within six countries within the Southern African region. Through CONTESA, Christians, involved in justice and development issues within their local situations, will be afforded an educational opportunity to benefit from an exposure-immersion in another of the six participating countries within the region.

Through its programmes, CONTESA hopes to serve, educate and empower the ecumenical church, its organizations and individuals for appropriate social and developmental action in the Southern African region; promote the need for a common vision; and encourage solidarity links at the level of the prophetic church within the Southern African region.

Interfaced with the emerging crisis at an international level, we trust that this initiative will act as a catalyst to create a critical awareness that the key to success within the Southern African region will depend on how well we are able to achieve planned intergration at all sectoral levels, viz. economic, political, cultural and even on a theological level.

5.2. At an International South-South Level

he concept of South-South has always been central to the theological and educational work of TEP at the service of the ecumenical church in South Africa.

In terms of this service function, TEP earmarked 1992 as a symbolic year that marks a new "kairos" for people in the "Third World" and a time for renewing our spirituality, theology and struggle for justice and peace. Next year will challenge us to look at "new" ways of exploiting the liberating potential of our Christian faith and traditions so as to decisively break out of the historical and ideological captivity of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Part of TEP's project activities during the course of this year have been spent making preparations to meet some of the challenges as we move forward into a "new world order". It is in the light of this context that one needs to understand TEP's work over the past two years: viz. the stress on TEP's overseas exposure visits to South Africa, the development of consortiums for theological exchange in Southern Africa and at a South-South level, the international fieldtrips to Latin America (Brazil, Peru, Bolivia and Nicaragua), working to a South-South directory of popular church organizations, organizational restructuring and other initiatives.

6. TEP's Tenth Anniversary

6.1. Celebration

EP marked its tenth anniversary celebrations by convening a symposium on the 6th July 1991. Approximately 50 persons from around Cape Town responded to our invitation (to attend this cheese and wine evening and) to listen to Rev. Charles. Villa Vicencio, Rev. Malusi Mpumlwana and Mr. Graham Bloch share their perspectives on the "History of and challenges facing the prophetic movement in South Africa". It was followed by some meaningful socialising at the cheese and wine after the programme.

6.2. Overall Project Evaluation

we realised that it will not be enough just to mark our decade of existence through celebration. Given the new international and national challenges at this historical juncture, we embarked on an overall project evaluation of TEP.

6.3. Finalisation of a New Constitution

In the light of this evaluation a new working constitution was adopted in preparation for TEP's National Consultation which will be convened in August, 1992.

7. TEP Resource Center

Thanks to the resource co-ordinator, we were able to meet most of important objectives we set for this area of work. We are able to boast of a viable South-South resource center which continues to serve the needs of the TEP and the broader

community. This has been achieved through the ongoing and efficient work done in the areas of acquisition, classification, development and advertising of resource material (publications and audio-visuals), facilitation of a library system, and the linking into an electronic mail network.

8. TEP's Media Activities

In the first half of the year we produced the last edition of People's Church and a small comic book called Towards a spirituality Of the EDSA uprising: the promised land or the golden calf story in comics. This booklet looks at a number of important theological issues arising from involvement in struggle and attempts to correlate February 2nd to the EDSA event in the Philippines.

As a result of a joint ICT-TEP Service Organisations Meeting, TEP decided to participate in a rationalising process with other Church service organisations. This involved us supporting the production of a Challenge magazine and closing down of People's Church. Challenge, which is being run by ICT, will come out monthly and is being targeted at all prophetic Christians in the South Africa. TEP has been given the responsibility of writing for the Third World page. In this way we will be able to share our reflections on South-South issues with a far broader readership.

Once our media person returns from maternity leave in the middle of next year, TEP will revive our newsletter on South-South news and issues called TEP Update. We are still busy with translations and our third publication of one of Fr. Carlos Mesters' works, The Hope of the People who Struggle. This is ready for publication and will be coming out in the first half of next year.

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We trust that we have been good stewards with regards to the work we have been called to do in South Africa and the resources we have been entrusted with over the past decade. It is our humble prayer that the project, over the next decade, may grow in strength and stature and, together with other progressive organizations, continue to assist in furthering the ideals of justice, peace and democracy within this land. May God give us the wisdom, courage and commitment to continue to give witness with the poor, oppressed and exploited and to the liberating potential of our Christian faith and traditions.

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