

SUNDAY WORSHIP

FREEDOM '71

[July 1971]

SERVICE OF CELEBRATION:

CALL TO CELEBRATION.

LEADER :

Beginning his ministry, Jesus said :

The spirit of the Lord has been given to me,
for he has anointed me.
He has sent me to bring the good news to the poor,
to proclaim liberty to captives,
and to the blind new sight,
to set the downtrodden free,
to proclaim the Lord's year of favour.

Luke 4.18

There is good reason to celebrate a man with such a vision
of his life's work.

Song of celebration : ' What's that I hear '

What's that I hear now ringin' in my ear ?
I've heard that sound before,
What's that I hear now ringin' in my ear ?
I hear it more and more.
It's the sound of freedom callin'
ringin' up to the sky.
It's the sound of the old ways a-fellin'
you can hear it if you try,
you can hear it if you try.

What's that I see now shinin' in my eyes ?
I've seen that light before.
What's that I see now shinin' in my eyes ?
I see it more and more.
It's the light of freedom shinin',
shinin' up to the sky.
It's the light of the old ways a-dyin'
you can see it if you try.
You can see it if you try.

What's that I feel now beatin' in my heart ?
I've felt that beat before.
What's that I feel now beatin' in my heart ?
I feel it more and more.
It's the rumble of freedom callin',
climbin' up to the sky.
It's the rumble of the old ways a-fellin'
you can feel it if you try.
You can feel it if you try.
You can feel it if you try, - if you try.

(text and tune : Phil Ochs)

Prayer of celebration

LEADER : Yes, Lord, despite everything there are things to celebrate
things that tell us that our mission is not over,
things, events, people, places.
In them all we hear your continuing call to freedom.

Sorry we can't mention some of the chief things on our minds
but you know how it is here.

PEOPLE: We celebrate Africa

LEADER: as it struggles to throw off the stranglehold of colonialism

PEOPLE: We celebrate American students

LEADER: We celebrate students across the world,

PEOPLE: who try to undermine the emotional, economic and military confidence
and security of oppressive regimes.

PEOPLE: We celebrate world church leaders
LEADER: who have had the courage of their unpopular convictions to support people in their struggle for freedom.
PEOPLE: We celebrate events at Rhodes
LEADER: where students have determined to have a say in organising their own lives.
PEOPLE: We celebrate Springfield students
LEADER: who sat-in to support a student who wanted to make her own decisions
PEOPLE: We celebrate the women's liberation movement,
LEADER: as it affirms that people are not property.
PEOPLE: We celebrate black student leaders
LEADER: who have begun to re-build a confidence in themselves among black people.
PEOPLE: We celebrate homes
LEADER: where children are members of a community not roles in a system.
PEOPLE: We celebrate people in love
LEADER: and those with whom we can share our lives.
PEOPLE: We celebrate friends
LEADER: who support us in our dreams.
PEOPLE: We celebrate people
 (supply, if you wish, the names of people in whom you rejoice)

I celebrate
 I celebrate
 I celebrate
 etc.

LEADER: For Christ's sake we celebrate life.
PEOPLE: Amen.

HERE FOLLOWS A FIVE MINUTE PERIOD OF UNSTRUCTURED AND UNPREPARED ACTIVITY,
 OR NON-ACTIVITY

(Don't wait for any instructions; none will be given)

Service of confession.

Call to confession

LEADER: Beginning his ministry, Jesus said :

The spirit of the Lord has been given to me,
 for he has anointed me.
 He has sent me to bring the good news to the poor,
 to proclaim liberty to captives,
 and to the blind new sight,
 to set the downtrodden free,
 to proclaim the Lord's year of favour.

Luke 4.18

As disciple-followers of a man with such a vision of his life's work there is good reason to confess.

Hymn of confession :

Chorus : Go tell it on the mountain, over the hills and everywhere.
 Go tell it on the mountain, to set my people free !

Who's that yonder glaring at me, O Lord, pardon us !
 Could it be the one who got my charity, O Lord, pardon us !
 Who's that yonder glaring at me ?
 Could it be the one who got my 'charity' ?
 Go, tell it on the mountain, to set my people free.

Who're those yonder with faces so black, O Lord, pardon us !
 Christ, I didn't realize that you'd come back, O Lord, pardon us !
 Who're those yonder with faces so black,
 Christ I didn't realize that you'd come back.
 Go tell it on the mountain, to set my people free.

(continued ..)

Who're we, people, standing here, O Lord, pardon us !
 Supposed to be the ones in your work to share, O Lord pardon us !
 Who're we, people, standing here,
 Supposed to be the ones in your work to share.
 Go tell it on the mountains, to set my people free.

Meditation of confession

PEOPLE: Oh Lord, I hear you.

LEADER: I hear you in the cry of the women
 who watches in helpless hopelessness
 as the bulldozers demolish her home under armed guard

PEOPLE: and I got permission to hold a protest placard.

LEADER: Oh Lord, I see you.

PEOPLE: I see you in hospital statistics
 Age: about six months
 Sex : female
 Name ; unknown
 Cause of death : kwashiorkor
 There were six hundred of you, or were there more ?

LEADER: and I wrote a letter to the paper.

PEOPLE: Oh Lord, I feel you.

LEADER: I feel you pushing and pressing against me
 in the overcrowded Friday train to Soweto
 And I smell the unwashed work on you.

PEOPLE: and I wished I had a car..

LEADER: Oh Lord, I hear you

PEOPLE: Don't shout so loud
 I understand your situation
 I want my freedom just as much

LEADER: But you will land us all in trouble.

PEOPLE: Oh Lord, I see you.

LEADER: Please hide your dying from my eyes
 I fear I might get angry at its waste
 if you should come too close

PEOPLE: and you will land us all in trouble.

LEADER: Oh Lord, I feel you.

PEOPLE: Don't push so hard

LEADER: I can't think of anything else to do.

ALL: Forgive us Lord, wherever you are.
 We are trying to find our way.

HERE FOLLOWS A SHORT PAUSE FOR SILENT MEDITATION

Service of the Word.

Readings :

LEADER: God said, 'Let us make man in our own image, in the likeness
 of ourselves,
 and let them be masters of the fish of the sea, the birds of the heaven,
 the cattle, all the wild beasts and all the reptiles that crawl
 upon the earth.

God created man in the image of himself,
 in the image of God he created him,
 male and female he created them.

God blessed them, saying to them, Be fruitful. multiply, fill the
 earth and conquer it. Be masters of the fish of the sea, the birds
 of heaven and all living animals on the earth..... And so it was.

God saw everything he had made, and indeed it was very good. Evening came and morning came : the sixth day.

Genesis 1. 26-28, 31.

WOMEN:

The man and his wife heard the sound of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day, and they hid from the Lord God among the trees of the garden. But the Lord God called to the man, : "Where are you ?" he asked. "I heard the sound of you in the garden;" he replied : "I was afraid because I was naked, so I hid." "Who told you that you were naked?" he asked. "Have you been eating of the tree I forbade you to eat?" The man replied : "It was the woman you put with me she gave me the fruit and I ate it." Then the Lord God said to the woman: "Because you have done this,

I will multiply your pains in childbearing.

You shall give birth to children in pain.

Your yearning shall be for your husband,

yet he will lord it over you."

Genesis 2. 8-12, 16.

BLACK MEN:

To the man he said : "Because you listened to the voice of your wife and ate from the tree of which I had forbidden you to eat, Accursed shall be the soil because of you.

With suffering shall you get your food from it every day of your life.

It shall yield you thistles and thistles, and you shall eat wild plants.

With sweat on your brow

shall you eat your bread,

until you return to the soil

as you were taken from it.

For dust you are

and to dust you shall return."

Genesis 2. 17-19

WHITE MAN (representing Israelites)

Then there came to power in Egypt a new king who knew nothing of Joseph. 'Look', he said to his subjects: 'these people, the sons of Israel, have become so numerous and strong that they are a threat to us. We must be prudent and take steps against their increasing any further, or if war should break out, they might add to the number of our enemies. They might take arms against us and so escape out of the country'. Accordingly they put slave-drivers over the Israelites to wear them down under heavy loads. But the more they were crushed the more they increased and spread, and the more they came to dread the sons of Israel. The Egyptians forced the sons of Israel into slavery, and

made their lives unbearable with hard labour, work with clay and brick, all kinds of work in the fields; they forced on them every kind of labour.

Exodus 1. 8-14

FREEDOM IS MORE

(an enacted comment written for this occasion by Basil Moore).

LEADER:

When Christ freed us, he meant us to remain free. Stand firm therefore and do not submit again to the yoke of slavery.

Galatians 5.1

(Repeat this as many times as there are people present willing to join in the repetition).

FREE COMMENT AND DISCUSSION

CONCLUDING HYMN OF CORPORATE AFFIRMATION

1. Oh, Freedom, oh freedom,
oh, freedom over me !
And before I'd be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave,
And go home to my Lord and be free
 2. No more crying, no more crying
no more crying over me !
And before I'd be a slave,
I'll be buried in my grave,
And go home to my Lord and be free.
 3. No more no more(supply your own words)
no more over me !
And before I'd be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free.
 4. There'll be singing, there'll be singing
there'll be singing over me !
And before I'd be a slave
I'll be buried in my grave,
And go home to my Lord and be free.
 5. There'll be, there'll be (supply your own words)
there'll be over me !
And before I'd be a slave,
I'll be buried in my grave,
And go home to my Lord and be free.
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freedom '71

UCM conference report .

UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

CONFERENCE REPORT

FREEDOM ' 71

July 9-16, Camp Jonathan, Eston

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I. RESOLUTIONS FROM FREEDOM '71.

STRUCTURES AND FUNCTIONS OF EXECUTIVE.

1/71. THAT the UCM Executive be constituted as follows :

1. President (part time)
2. General Secretary (full time)
3. Black Theology/Consciousness Director (full time)
4. Literacy Director (full time)
5. Women's Liberation Representative (part time)
6. White Consciousness Director (part time)
7. Theological Concerns Director (part time)
8. Ideological Concerns Director (part time)

Prop. S. Ntwase
Sec. J. Messey

Unanimous.

Note 1. Overall function of the Executive.

It was agreed that the executive would serve partly for administration and partly for liaison between the various projects, and NOT as a controlling body. As a consequence the UCM is no longer conceived of as a multi-racial body existing for inter-racial contact, but as a body concerned with liberation. As such it was accepted that the liberation struggle has many different facets which require both in depth exploration of the various aspects in semi-independence by those directly involved and some form of liaison. Hence there need not be any confusion on the part of anyone wishing to participate in any one of the programmes that this participation involves 'belonging' to the UCM - e.g. those participating in the Black Theology programme do not thereby become members of a multi-racial organization.

Note 2. Election Procedure.

(1) President and General Secretary.

In the Conference it was plain that three major areas of 'consciousness' existed which, however inter-twined with each other, were also independent of each other in their specific concerns. These were the 'Black consciousness' group, the 'White consciousness' group, and the 'Women's liberation' group. It was also clear that in the new Executive the President and General Secretary would be the two people who would need to relate to each of the different programmes. As a result it was important that the persons taking up these posts would need not simply a majority support but a clear indication of support from each of the 'caucuses'. Thus it was agreed that each caucus should meet to propose and negotiate with each other and the persons proposed whom they would like to have in these positions.

(2) Black Theology/Consciousness Director.

As this is to be a full-time post it was agreed that the Council could not make the final appointment. This should be left to the Executive. At the same time it was accepted that this appointment affected the Black 'caucus' primarily. Thus it was agreed that the Black 'caucus' should nominate the person to fill the position.

(3) Literacy Director.

As this is to be a full-time appointment requiring a person with skills in this area, it was agreed that the appointment be made by the Executive as and when it became clear that funds to support such an appointment were available.

(4) Women's Liberation Representative.

It was agreed that the women would make the appointment and decide on the terms of the appointment.

(5) White Consciousness Director.

It was agreed that all the whites present, interested in this project would make the appointment and decide on the terms of the appointment.

(6) Theological Concerns Director.

It was agreed that this appointment would be made by the Conference as a whole.

(7) Ideological Concerns Director.

It was agreed that the Ideological concerns group would nominate for the appointment and outline what they envisaged his functions would be, but that the appointment would be made by the Conference as a whole.

(The consequence of adopting this procedure was the smoothest Executive election in the history of Executive elections in the UCM).

Note 3. 'Job descriptions' of some executive positions, including the implications of the new 'structure' for grass-root/campus 'structure'.

(1) Black Theology/Consciousness.

- a. The people resolved to call their movement on black campuses 'The Black Theology Movement'. This umbrella would be used and should be seen as including all the aspects of liberation dealt with in this conference, such as Women's liberation, Literacy, etc.
- b. It is recommended that where it is desired UCM local committees be replaced by 'people's committees' under the name 'Black Theology Movement', and that these local committees be the ones which the General Secretary, President and Director of Black Theology consider as the constituency in the place of the old UCM local committees.

- c. Black campuses should decide on their own local constitutions, but it might be helpful if a 'model' constitution be sent to the various centres by the Black Theology Director.
- d. The National Director of Black Theology is urged to keep in close contact with these 'Black Theology Movement' committees.
- e. The people are urged not only to read Black Theology and Black consciousness literature, but also to start writing their own.
- f. That the Director of Black Theology be in touch with developments in Black centres, especially significant events, such as SASO week, and that he try to make himself available to attend such occasions.

(2) Women's Liberation.

The women envisage women's liberation groups as embracing all women interested in participating in this struggle regardless of their connection or otherwise with the UCM. There will be a loose link through particular members of the UCM who are involved in the Women's Liberation groups.

The women do not wish to have a single person who will represent them throughout the whole term of office of the Executive. They will appoint a person at conference who will represent them for the ensuing three months. Thereafter they will appoint others for terms of three months.

The envisaged functions of the Women's Liberation representative are :

- a. To liaise with various women's groups and present a co-ordinated report to the UCM executive meeting.
- b. To act as a person who would make available information concerning resource materials, slide shows, etc.
- c. To distribute a newsletter of reports, articles, etc. This newsletter would be distributed also to all branches of the UCM and the Black Theology Movement.
- d. To represent women's interests and to see that the principles of the women's struggle are upheld by the Executive.
- e. To attempt to ensure that women's interests are kept in mind and applied in the development of the new literacy work groups, e.g. inkululeko yabafazi.

(3) White Consciousness.

The following regions and groups will form our initial thrust : Natal, Eastern Cape, Witb, white seminaries (White Theology), Stellenbosch and PUFs. They will co-operate with other organizations who are concerned with white liberation and white responsibility in South Africa. The white consciousness group will not be limited to campuses.

At this stage it is expected that the white consciousness groups will be exploring the meaning of humanness and freedom as a basis for an analysis of their situation, oppression and

responsibility. Out of this it is hoped that more meaningful programmes of action may emerge.

Of crucial importance on the local white campus level will be the relationship of the white consciousness group and the Women's Liberation group. It is up to each campus to sort this one out. The member on the Executive is expected to initiate a newsletter (hopefully three issues by the end of the year) co-ordinating and reporting on what has happened in each region, and circulating a list of available resource materials. Each region or group is asked to send a list of resources by the end of August.

Some useful resource material already available is :

- a. Rick Turner's "The relevance of contemporary radical thought" (SPROCAS publication No. 3)
- b. Laurie Schlemmer's "Strategies for Change" (SPROCAS publication - to be published shortly)
- c. Basil Moore's "Towards a Black Theology" (UCM, Box 31846, Braamfontein)
- d. SASO also has some relevant material on 'White Liberalism'. It was also pointed out that Margaret Waspe (Wits UCM) is in contact with a newsletter in which relevant articles can be published which would provide a wider forum for ideas on white consciousness.

It was suggested that White Consciousness Director should look into the possibility of preparing a paper for the conscientization of white school pupils.

It was decided to appoint one representative on the Executive with two alternates who could fill in for him if required, and that the three persons would share the responsibility of this portfolio.

Immediate plans -

- a. Natal intends holding a seminar on white Consciousness and the implications of Black Consciousness for whites. This will be conducted by Basil Moore in Durban and Pietermaritzburg in mid-August.
- b. There will also be a week-end meeting on the 20-21st August in Natal. Although no definite programme has been drawn up yet, people from other regions wishing to participate should contact Jeremy Hurley or Peter Johnstone.
- c. The Natal region explained their plans to use guerilla theatre in major churches in Durban. A report and analysis of these will be made available.
- d. A mailing list of interested persons in white consciousness will be made available.

The central address for the White Consciousness group will be : Peter Johnstone, 180 Chelmsford Road, Durban.

(4) Literacy.

Literacy campaigns at present in operation in South Africa are all run on the old model of education (i.e. essentially learning a skill).

It was accepted that we should work on a new model of education which was more an expression of the people's hopes, aspirations, needs etc., and thus more directly related to liberation.

Practical steps to effect a change in method and approach -

- a. in loco investigation into the conditions of the people.
- b. materials should be compiled to explain the new method of literacy/education.
- c. seminars for study, discussion and work should be held.

It was decided to hold a seminar on literacy teaching at 510 Dunwell House (UCM office,) 35 Jorissen St., Braamfontein, Johannesburg (Tel. 724-3863) on Friday 29th July, beginning at 7.30 p.m. Saturday 30th July from 9.00 a.m. - 5.00 p.m. and Sunday 31st July.

This seminar will include -

- a. Discussions on the possibilities of the new system.
- b. Preparation of 'package materials'.
- c. Consideration of ways of using old literacy materials and injecting them with the new ideology.
- d. Evaluation of the post-literacy materials.

(5) Ideological Concerns.

Events of the past three years have shown that the old liberal Black/White multi-racial love affair is over. However the fight for freedom and justice goes on in the form of black liberation and white consciousness groups, women's liberation groups and literacy groups.

This conference has made it abundantly clear that all these liberation groups are fundamentally related in the participation in the overall project of human liberation. Further there is still both room and necessity for these groups to come together to thrash out pragmatically and honestly their common concerns and inter-relationships without getting 'hung up' about the old limousine liberal multi-racialism. If in the coming together there is inter-racial contact this is not the purpose of the meeting, it is simply because the different aspects of the liberation struggle are and must be inter-related. The UCM is probably the only place in South Africa where this is being done openly and frankly.

The Ideological Concerns group sees its task as working out an 'umbrella ideology' of freedom to serve both as a motivating factor for all groups and as a basis upon which they can come together to sort out their inter-relationships.

Such an ideology of freedom would consist of a set of principles or analyses which would enable us to find out what are the important factors in our situation which work for and against change. (Something of this has already been done and appears in the report of the ideological concerns workshop). It is hoped that this ideological framework will provide both a clear statement of what we are going and, by means of the analysis, an indication of the best means we can use to get there. It is hoped also that this will enable us to find

new areas of activity for a better, more liberated society.

We will send outlines of this ideology to branches for discussion, and criticism, and we hope that members will contribute their own ideas to the clarification of our basic principles. Lionel Lawson will be presenting a paper on the proposed method of analysis.

(6) Theological Concerns.

As Basil Moore was elected to this portfolio, he accepted this as a vote of confidence in himself and the sort of work that he has been doing, and thus a vote that he should continue this exploration of the theology of liberation.

1972 CONFERENCE.

- 2/71. THAT the principle of holding a Conference in 1972 be accepted. The purpose of this conference would be to bring together the various groups and projects for communication and to explore further the meaning and shape of freedom.

Prop. J. Polley
Sec. I. Direko

Unanimous.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION.

- 3/71. THAT this house declares itself fully in support of the world-wide revolutionary struggle for the liberation of all women, and acknowledges this as an integral part of any struggle for human liberation.

Prop. S. Morton
Sec. B. Bird

Unanimous.

POST-LITERACY WRITERS' MANUAL.

- 4/71. THAT an instruction manual for post-literacy writers be drawn up and made available to interested persons and organizations.

Prop. B. Moore
Sec. A. Johnstone

Unanimous.

BLACK THEOLOGY.

- 5/71. THAT this Council instructs the Executive to make every effort to have the most significant of the papers presented at the Regional seminars (and other papers) published in a book of collected essays.

Prop. S. Itwaso
Sec. B. Moore

Unanimous.

6/71. THAT this Council recommends that the Director of the Black Theology programme hold weekend seminars in 1972 in order that laymen and students might more readily be able to attend.

Prop. S. Ntwasa
Sec. B. Moore

Unanimous.

RESOLUTIONS OF THANKS AND CONGRATULATIONS.

7/71 THAT this Council thanks everyone who constructively worked during 1970/71 in the UCM (especially those in the Head Office), and also congratulates the newly elected Presidents of NCFS, NUSAS, ASF and SASO.

Prop. J. Hurley
Sec. J. Massey

Unanimous

8/71 YAY FOR COLIN !

Prop. J. Massey
Sec. I. Direko

Unanimous

II. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1971/72

PRESIDENT Winky Direko (the people's mother)

GENERAL SECRETARY Justice Mplato (In the event of Justice electing to become Literacy Director, it was recommended that the Executive make every effort to make it possible for Basil Moore to be able to accept this post).

BLACK THEOLOGY/CONSCIOUSNESS DIRECTOR Ernest Baartman (nominated)

LITERACY DIRECTOR

WOMEN'S LIBERATION REPRESENTATIVE Sheila Morton (for initial three months)

WHITE CONSCIOUSNESS DIRECTOR Peter Johnstone (shared with Jeremy Hurley and Mike Stent)

THEOLOGICAL CONCERNS DIRECTOR Basil Moore

IC LOGICAL CONCERNS DIRECTOR Robbie de Villiers.

III. UCM REPRESENTATIVES FOR CONFERENCES.

1. South African Council of Churches : August 4th and 5th : James Polley
2. Students Christian Movement : (Rhodesia) : August 21st - 27th :
Manana Square

J. World Student Christian Federation, Africa Conference :

Late September, Ibadan :

Jestic Moloto
Winky Direko
Sabelo Ntwasa
Madikwe Nanthatha.

IV. DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS.

(All the reports given here are abbreviated summaries of those given at the Council Sessions of the Conference. Should anyone wish to read the fuller reports, copies are available on request from the Head Office, P.O. Box 31846, Braamfontein).

1. General Secretary.

(a) Main areas of work. During 1970/71 the activities of the UCM are fanned out in three major directions: the UCM as a movement, the black theology thrust, and the adult education concerns.

i. The UCM as such. The UCM has about 25 local branches in which activities relevant to the particular branch take place. It has also five regions where the chief regional activity has been the formation school. At the national level the executive is concerned with various aspects of the UCM life and especially with the annual conference.

Despite the fact that the UCM has the usual kind of hierarchical structure it has a life-style that is non-bureaucratic. Most of the meetings of the UCM, particularly at regional and national levels, are experimental and dynamic. The constant emphasis is to explore rather than dictate - to learn how to ask the right questions rather than dictate - to learn how to ask the right questions rather than to give glib answers. Even the staff has seen itself almost as a local branch commune with a tremendous opportunity to explore aspects of our life in South Africa and to try to share in the process of exploration.

ii. Black Theology. This activity was sparked off by a paper on the subject by one member of the staff. Since then it has escalated into a national seminar on the topic and a number of regional seminars. It now has the beginnings of a dynamic of its own.

iii. Adult Education. Over the past year and a half the UCM has initiated a number of projects concerned with adult literacy. Two members of staff have been trained in this area and a fair amount of success has been achieved in the three main activities, i.e. teacher training, finding of markets, and post-literacy work. Closely related to this has been community development.

iv. Scholarships. A certain amount of work has been done under the umbrella of the UCM to raise scholarship funds for black people who have been discriminated against. During the past few years a large number of black students have had to leave their university because of their criticism of the situation in

South Africa. Money for this fund has come largely from the Presbyterian Church in the USA and from a Catholic source in Europe. A committee has been set up to administer this fund and is composed as follows: Mr. D. Thebehali, (Chairman), Mrs. W. Kgware, Miss I. Direko, Mr. S. Ntwasa, Mr. J. Moloto, a student member of SASO and Colin Collins.

- (b) International Relations. Colin has been very largely responsible for keeping up contacts. Towards the end of 1970 he had to attend a Peace Conference in Kyoto Japan, and took the opportunity to visit the USA and a large number of European countries. Through this trip our work was explained to a large number of organizations and individuals throughout the world.

Of particular significance during the period was a review of our relationship with the WSCF. Frank letters have been exchanged, and it is hoped that the WSEF will be able to have a clearer understanding of what we are doing and where we stand.

We have preserved cordial and helpful relations with the WSCF Africa Region Office in Nairobi.

At present Mr. Chris Mokoditso is attending the conference of the International Catholic Movement of Students (ICMS), and in negotiating our membership of that body.

- (c) Relations with local bodies. With the exception of the Methodist Church, which has temporarily suspended its support of the UCM, the founding Churches have continued their support, including financial support except in the case of the Catholic Church, of the UCM.

We have also continued to be represented on such bodies as the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, the S.A. Council of Churches, and the Christian Institute. It has been felt, however, that as our critique of society becomes more fundamental so also has the gap between ourselves and these organizations been steadily widening.

- (d) Finance. The financial reports make it plain that the UCM will be in considerable difficulties if substantial sums of money are not received in the fairly near future. At the moment the UCM with its five full-time personnel and virtually three organizations rolled up into one is a fairly big operation involving about R30,000. this year.

Over the past three years an invaluable percentage of our income has come from overseas donors. The two largest donors have been the Methodist Church USA and the WSCF. For 1971 the Methodist Church gave R15,000 and the WSCF R10,000. in 1970.

The WSCF aid has dropped to a trickle this year, and neither of these two sources have promised assistance for next year.

1971 Budget.

EXPENSES - These will be much the same as they were for 1970, i.e. R27,000. except for the following additions -

Literacy + R2,000 extra
Black Theology + R3,000 extra

This makes a total expenditure for 1971 of R32,000.

INCOME - to date, i.e. 17th June, 1971 = R21,847.

This total of R21,847 leaves a deficit of approximately R10,000 out of the total budget of R32,000. It is hoped that the following sums will be received :-

SCM's	R2,000	
Churches	500	
Investment	4,500	
Anglo-American	<u>3,000</u>	<u>R10,000</u>

1972 Budget.

Although appeals have been launched a realistic expectation for income for 1972 would be as follows :-

Overseas sources	+ R3,700
S.A. Churches	+ R1,000
Students and other sources	+ 300

making a total of R5,000. This budget would probably mean the dismissal of the current staff of the UCM and a return to the 1967/68 situation where a Travelling Secretary with limited office assistance would be employed.

This necessitates a re-assessment of the UCM. The fact is that the UCM has become very largely a project-oriented movement. In the appeal for funds that have been made our efforts have been directed primarily to raising funds for the projects operating under the broad umbrella of the UCM.

In practical terms the actual employment of personnel in the UCM could be graded along the lines of projects and according to the money that will be received for the projects. There are five steps. These are given below, and each one is self-explanatory.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION MOVEMENT

<u>U.C.M.</u>	<u>BLACK THEOLOGY</u>	<u>LITERACY</u>	<u>C.E.M. TOTAL</u>
1. R5,000 (1 Exec. and 1 part-time secretary)			R5,000 (1 Exec. and 1/2 Secretary)
2. R5,000 (1 Exec. + 1/2 Secretary)	R8-10,000 (1 Exec. 1 Secretary)		R13-15,000 (2 Exec. 1 1/2 Secretaries)
3. R5,000 (1 student Exec. + 1/2 Secretary)	R8-10,000 (1 Exec. 1 Secretary)	R 5-7,000 (1 Exec. 1/2 Secretary)	R18-22,000 (2 Exec. 1 Student Exec. 2 Secretaries)
4. R5,000 (1 student Exec. + 1/2 Secretary)	R8-10,000 (1 Exec. 1 Secretary)	R15,000 (2 Exec. 1/2 Secretary)	R28-30,000 (3 Exec. 1 Student Exec. 2 Secretaries)
5. R10,000 (1 Exec. + 1 student Exec. + 1 Secretary)	R8-10,000 (1 Exec. 1 Secretary)	R15,000 (2 Exec. 1 Secretary)	R33-35,000 (4 Exec. 1 student Exec. 3 secretaries)

2. Travelling Secretary.

During the past year possibly the most significant factor in the UCM's life has been a slow resurgence of white involvement in the UCM, exemplified particularly on the Wits and UNB campuses, and a fairly rapid fall-off of black involvement, particularly on the black university campuses. This has undoubtedly been the effect of the country-wide black/white polarization which has been especially strong on black campuses. The UCM itself has been in part responsible for this, e.g. in its black theology programme, though the major factor has been the strength of SASO on black campuses.

This fall off of black members has not only affected UCM activities on local campuses, it has also affected the two major programmes of the UCM, Literacy and Black Theology. The literacy programme is absolutely dependent on black student volunteers to do the teaching. During the first half of the year no student has volunteered his services. Black student participation in the black theology seminars has also been disappointingly small.

This situation demands that we re-assess the structures, function, projects and goals of the UCM.

3. Publications.

The Publications Department of the UCM has since the UCM's inception, had a rough passage. This year was no exception. Having abandoned "One for the Road", publications dwindled down to the distribution of various papers, fact sheets and newsletters.

At last Conference it was decided to decentralize the publications to a more regional level, by each region producing a regional magazine. Copies of these regional magazines were supposed to have been sent to the Head Office where articles of general interest would have been extracted and included in the Newsletter.

It appears that only two regions produced one magazine each, and both of these were produced in the second half of 1970.

Two newsletters have been sent out for the 1st and 2nd semesters this year, 1971, informing branches of local, national and international developments. This newsletter probably serves the publication needs of the UCM best at present.

It is extremely difficult to control or inspire the publications work of the UCM from a non-student position, and I would strongly recommend that the incoming publications director be a full-time student, preferably near Head Office.

4. Theological Concerns.

The major theological thrust of the UCM during the past year has been concerned with Black Theology. The intense interest aroused by the paper 'Towards a Black Theology' (over 2,000 copies have been distributed) made it evident that the time was ripe to hold a national seminar on this subject. This was held at St. Ansgar's, Rondebosch, at the beginning of March. The papers presented there have been distributed to all branches, and copies are available from the Head Office.

Two significant decisions were taken at this seminar. The first was to exclude whites from participation. This decision was not seen as binding on future seminars. These later seminars would need to take their own decisions on this question, but it is anticipated that they will take the same decision.

The second decision was to hold a number of regional seminars on the subject to make it possible for more people to become involved in the programme. The first of these regional seminars, for the Transvaal, took place at Hammanskraal from the 8th-10th June. Copies of the papers presented will be made available as soon as possible. The dates for seminars in the other regions are tentatively as follows :

17-19	August	- Natal
23-26	August	- Eastern Cape
6 -9	September	- Zululand
21-23	September	- Western Cape
28-30	September	- Orange Free State / Lesotho
5 -7	October	- Transkei

It is hoped that branches will encourage students - and not only male students - to attend these seminars.

It is strongly recommended that a full-time director of the Black Theology programme be appointed, and that this programme become semi-independent of the UCM.

Negotiations are under way with the SCM Press for a publication of the most significant essays presented at the various seminars.

Just prior to Conference two other papers were put out by the theological concerns department. The first is entitled 'Towards a theology of sexual politics' and is essentially a theological re-assessment in the light of the women's liberation struggle. The second is entitled 'Towards a white theology' which, as the title suggests, is a theological assessment of the situation of whites in South Africa in the light of the insights of black theology. Copies of both of these papers are available from the Head Office.

5. Social Concerns (including literacy).

a. Literacy.

i. Training of Teachers. Since last Conference the following training courses for teachers have been run :-

Umtata	+	10 students	- by Cheryl Horton
UND	+	15 students	- by Colin
JCE	+	15 students	- by Colin
UCT	+	15 students	- by Colin
UNB	+	20 students	- by Justice
Fed. Sem.	-	18 students	- by Ken Haucom and Justice.

ii. Literacy Campaigns. Actual literacy campaigns that have been or are still running are as follows :-

(a) Transkei. The forced cancellation of the Transkei campaign in December has been well publicised. All that we were able to accomplish was the training course for the 10 student volunteer teachers. The actions of the Transkei Government made it impossible to do any actual teaching.

- (b) Northern Natal. Three UCM students spent 2½ months at their vacation on a mission farm in Northern Natal where they taught 25 people. Of these only 5 were completely illiterate, and during the period 3 completed the course. The others had been to school years previously, and quickly recovered their forgotten literacy skills. The UCM volunteers then spent time with these people teaching them basic English and the new metric system. They also trained 2 local people to become literacy teachers to continue the work after they left. There is obviously a pressing need for follow-up work to be done here.
- (c) Rhodes. Rhodes is still running its literacy campaign among black staff. UCI has started a similar endeavour.
- (d) UCI. A UCI campaign to promote literacy among the Coloured people is just starting.

iii. Markets and Motivation. During the course of this year Justice visited many churches and Territorial authorities trying to secure their co-operation for conducting literacy campaigns. The following are institutions which have indicated willingness to co-operate :

- Springvale Anglican Mission - Natal
- St. Chad's Anglican Mission - Natal
- Oetting Catholic Mission - Natal
- Mariathal Catholic Mission - Natal
- Lay Ecumenical Centre - Edenburg, Natal
- Federal Theological Seminary - Eastern Cape
- Grahamstown - Eastern Cape
- IDAMASA Port Elizabeth - Eastern Cape
- Congregational Church, Mtenkade - Eastern Cape
- Tswana Territorial Authority - Northern Cape
- Zulu Territorial Authority - Zululand
- Moravian Church (Giepsloot) - Transvaal

Motivation Days have been run for the Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth groups listed above.

At the beginning of the year the UCM Head Office suggested to the Federal Seminary that they include literacy in their curriculum so as to equip students with literacy skills which they could use in their parishes. It was hoped that this could be included in the field training programme at the seminary. Early in June Ken Bacon and Justice visited the seminary and had discussions with the staff and also trained a number of students. It is hoped that this plan will be accepted by the seminary. If it is, it is likely that other seminaries will follow this lead. This would give a tremendous boost to literacy work.

iv. Future Plans. It is hoped that students will volunteer to do literacy work during the long vacation in some or all of the places mentioned above. The campaign for the long vacation is divided into two major parts :-

a. Teaching programme : A course for literacy teachers will be held at a suitable central spot from November 30th - December 2nd. These teachers will then be sent to the places listed above to spend

the rest of their vacation teaching illiterates to read and write.

(b) Teacher training programme : A course for teachers of teachers will be held from January 4th - 6th. These instructors will then spend 2-3 weeks training local people to become literacy teachers, helping them to set up classes in their own areas, and doing motivation work.

b. Post literacy Project.

Unless a new literate continues reading after the literacy project, and actually develops a book-culture, he will sooner or later drop back into illiteracy. For this reason simple stories on virtually any topic need to be written for new literates. Some work in this area is already being done by the Johannesburg PUG and at Wits.

c. Community Development.

Some research into the needs of rural communities was done at the end of last year by UCM members. This provides some useful information for setting up pilot projects in community development and in writing post-literacy readers. More work on this will be done during the conference workshops.

d. Full-time Literacy Director.

It is strongly recommended that as soon as possible a full-time Director of the literacy campaign be appointed, and that this work be set up in semi-independence of the UCM.

CONFERENCE REPORT AND ASSESSMENT

1. OUTLINE OF PROGRAMME.

The Conference began on the Friday night with the opening address by the President, Justice Moloto. This was followed the same evening by individuals in a number of small groups facing the question 'What are the things that restrict my freedom?'. The intention here was to encourage the participants to focus for themselves the things that they felt to be aspects or causes of their own lack of freedom in their situation. Each of the groups presented a summary of findings (which were published in the Conference newspaper, FREEDOM '71 DAILY. These summaries were analysed, the major areas of the restriction of freedom were isolated, and in the light of this a number of 'commissions' were set up for the 'future game' on Saturday morning.

Saturday morning was spent in the 'future game' 'commissions'. A 'future game' was described as an exercise in fantasy or imagination, and alternatively as an exercise in goal setting. People, aware of their frustrations, expressed the previous evening, were asked to let their imagination run wild and construct a 'fantasy' ideal model of society in which these frustrations would be removed. The 'commissions' set up were as follows :

- Sexual Politics
- Church
- Race Relations
- Planning (Urban and Rural)
- Economics
- Education
- Foreign Affairs
- Central Government

Having let our imaginations run wild (though this did not happen in the commissions, the fascination of the present being too strong), the next step was to bring us sharply back into the present by making an in-depth analysis of the South African society: its strengths and weaknesses. This was not done simply for its own sake, but in order to enable us to plan more carefully for change. (This planning took place in the workshops and in the later Council sessions). It was decided to do this analysis experientially rather than simply by discussions. Thus a simulation game was devised.

A 'simulation game' was described as a means of getting a 3-dimensional picture/experience of where we are in society, the pro- and anti-change forces, and where and how new influences could be enabled to operate. This means that it is a 'reality game' which requires that we study carefully and seriously the 'reality roles' we will play in the game. It requires also that we play the roles seriously and realistically in order that at the end of the game we can sit back and reflect on our experience. The purpose of this reflection is to plan a programme of action which, on the basis of our experience, has been 'reality tested'.

For the game the following groups were set up :

- + The Cabinet
- + The Chamber of Industries
- + The Soweto Urban Bantu Council
- + The Tribal Chiefs
- + The Organization for African Unity
- + An unorganized women's group
- + An unorganized black group.

Preparations and study for the game took place on Saturday afternoon, together with discussion on the validity and value of the game.

The 'simulation game' started after the worship on Sunday morning and continued into the evening, representing 5 days of 1 hour each.

After the analysis of the game on Monday morning. As a result of this analysis a number of planning workshops were set up. As many of the women delegates felt conflicted, wishing to be part of both the women's liberation workshop and other workshops, it was decided to give the early part of Monday afternoon over so that all the women could meet together. This left the men at a loose end, and they decided to use the time for some initial exploration into men's liberation. The men divided themselves into two groups, the married men and the 'White Unmarried Male Brigade' (WUMB). During the later part of Monday afternoon the Conference again divided itself into three 'consciousness' groups in order to accommodate those who wished to share in some of the initial discussions but who later wished to work in the various 'skill' workshops. The three 'consciousness' groups that met were the 'Black consciousness', 'white consciousness,' and 'Women's Liberation' groups.

On Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday 3 hours a day were spent in depth discussion and planning in the following workshops :

- + Black Consciousness/Theology
- + White Consciousness/Theology
- + Women's Liberation
- + Urban and Rural Community Development
- + Preventative Medicine and Nutrition
- + Adult Education (Literacy)
- + Post Literacy Readers
- + Ideology

Interspersed with this main development of the Conference programme were -

- + Current Affairs sessions
- + A service of worship
- + An evening workshop on guerilla theatre
- + A film evening (film : The Incident)
- + Council sessions
- + The Production of a Daily Newspaper
- + Music and dancing.

2. REPORT AND ASSESSMENT.

In order to trace the development through the Conference to the final constructive outcome, which is going to result in a fairly radical change in the structure, programme and goals of the UCM, it is necessary to

re-trace fairly fully the most significant events of the conference. This will, hopefully, enable those who were not present at the conference to understand the new structure and direction of the UCM.

a. President's Address and repercussions in Current Affairs (Saturday evening)

In his opening address to the Freedom '71 Conference Justice outlined the problems facing the UCM.

In the first place, he said, there is a huge power discrepancy between the dictatorial S.A. government, with its authoritarian oppression of blacks, and the UCM, with its concern for the enhancement of human life. In this situation a very high level of committed involvement by members was necessary if the UCM was to be able to make any progress.

Unfortunately within the UCM, he said, there appears to be a growing apathy and lack of involvement. This was creating a situation of crisis within the UCM. While its projects were growing rapidly, especially literacy and black theology, the number of people involved in giving life to these projects had dwindled. This was particularly true of black student involvement - and by their nature the UCM projects depended almost entirely on black students.

Justice suggested that a major reason for this state of affairs was the growing 'black mood', especially on campuses, which made multi-racial organizations highly suspect.

If the UCM is to be able to promote the liberation for which it is in business, Justice appealed to the conference to take seriously the suggestions for new structures which he outlined. The practical alternatives which he could foresee were:

- + that the leadership exercise a very much tighter control over the members;
- + that the UCM become a uni-racial body (either black or white);
- + that the UCM have a black and a white wing;
- + that the UCM exist purely as a project organization with no claim to any membership;
- + that the UCM become a movement concerned with Christian adult education generally, with a number of semi-independent projects such as Black Theology, Literacy and University programmes.

Justice appealed to the conference not to take his suggestions as a counsel of despair. His suggestions were presented as ways in which the UCM might become an effective means to its stated end of liberation, and not an end in itself.

Justice had posed a huge problem which needed an answer. But the fact was that there was no time in the conference programme to discuss the issues raised by Justice until the Current Affairs session on Saturday evening, after the 'future game' and preparation for the simulation game. It was there that the frustration concerning the future of the UCM erupted, and thus an almost panicking embarrassment whether or not the conference and its discussions could possibly serve any useful purpose.

In the Current Affairs session the questions posed were: 'How serious are we about liberation?', 'Why pay lip service to the things we're supposed to do, but don't?', 'Why haven't the black students done anything?'

This last question met the response that the black students had been doing things, but not in the UCM since students on black campuses regard the UCM with suspicion.

These sorts of questions and answers created a frenzy of self-doubt leading to a number of related questions: 'Does the UCM serve any useful purpose?', 'Dedicated to the cause of liberation, had the UCM not become an impediment to the liberation it espoused?', 'Was our existence irrelevant or harmful?', 'Could our discussions achieve anything?'

With an air of desperation someone proposed that we 'either do something meaningful, pack our bags and go home, or change our structures in order to do something meaningful'. Some favoured going home. More were interested in restructuring. With the collapse of morale, attempts were made to revitalise the content of liberation by collapsing or restructuring the UCM. And with this fundamental distinction between neutral structure and potentially meaningful content lost, the session ended.

The problem, of course, was that we had started at the wrong end of the stick. Instead of tackling the question of content, we tackled the question of structure. Without any clear articulation of direction the questions of structure to enable the direction is pointless. But a heavy air of despondency hung over the conference.

But the only tension present in the conference was not the question of structure. Obviously part of the confusion concerning structures was a conviction in the minds of many whites that the structural crisis had arisen because they were being rejected by blacks because they were whites. This was not articulated at this stage, but it was certainly present and emerged later in the conference.

b. Future games.

The future games were tremendously useful in providing the beginnings of a sense of direction for many people. But they also served to raise other tensions. The feeling-after-directions did not take place by the conference as a total group, but by the conference in a number of 'exclusive' groups, e.g. women's liberation and black consciousness. The men reacted sharply to the thought that they were being excluded by the women, and in fact that they were being accused of being oppressors. Alongside this was the lingering fear of whites of being rejected by blacks and again classified as oppressors. This was a real shattering of self-images which resulted in a rather frenzied attempt at self-justification, and thus a clash between, initially, the men (largely white) and the women. This erupted at the Current Affairs session at the end of the simulation game.

Before this is dealt with, however, it may be more useful to summarise the 'fantasy projections' into the ideal future of the various groups.

(1) Sexual Politics. Having agreed that sexual politics are the way unequal exploitative and dehumanising relations between the sexes are maintained in this society, it was accepted that in the ideal future there would be a complete equality between all people - young/old, men/women, black/white, etc.

Interestingly enough the liberation of children was taken as

the starting point - until it was pointed out that here again were women acting out the female role, i.e. we are given no life of our own, but are expected to live vicariously and fulfil ourselves through our children. The following are some of the major projections of the group -

- a. The structure of our society would be a federation of small communities producing for use (survival needs) not profit; and co-operating with each other.
- b. Technology would be encouraged in so far as it helped to take the drudge-work out of life, but it would have to be on a small enough scale to be both ecologically sound and humanising in its labour and management patterns.
- c. There would be no private ownership - and this both ownership of things and other people (i.e. not My woman, My man, My child, etc.)
- d. The nuclear family would be replaced by communal living in which women would be freed from exclusive child-rearing/household maintenance roles, and men given the opportunity to develop through close relationships with children.
- e. ALL would share in production labour - i.e. males would no longer be the breadwinners.
- f. The concept of UNISEX would be in - nobody would be expected to do anything merely because of genetic sex.
- g. A general eroticization of society would be developed, i.e. people encouraged to relate sensually (as opposed to narrowly sexual) to each other (adult/child, male/female, male/male, female/female, child/child) and to the environment (deriving sensual pleasure from the environment not simply 'use' out of it.)
- h. This would mean that the concept of BISEX would also be in - i.e. individuals free to relate sexually to anyone.
- i. Instead of alienating, frustrating LABOUR there would be JOYFUL WORK that would fulfil everyone, male or female.
- j. There would be children's communes (models exist in Vermont) where there would be an interflow between adults and children, but the children would essentially run their own lives, deciding how, where, what etc. they want to learn. Children would be regarded as self-determining people and encouraged from as early an age as possible to share in the decision-making of the community.

(2) The Church. The group began by formulating the question more precisely for itself, i.e. what do we envisage to be the role of the Church in tomorrow's society rather than to-day's. Tomorrow's society was defined as a society in which the evils which at present focus our attention are removed: i.e. among other things a literate society; a society in which educational opportunities are equally available to all; a society in which the gap between the rich and the poor has been reduced to political insignificance; and all people share in making the decisions which directly affect their lives.

Facing the question in this way the group was embarrassed by its inability to see any role for the Church. Slowly it emerged that the Church centres on its concept of God and is not simply co-terminous with any social organization. This switched the discussion to the meaning of 'God'.

The traditional image of God as a 'person' was dismissed in favour of relational images and symbols (e.g. God's love, truth, justice, freedom). It was stressed that while on the one hand we do have some inkling of what these concepts mean because we have experienced their reality (however fleetingly and imperfectly), on the other hand we do not really understand what we are talking about.

In the light of this it was suggested that the Church is a group of people who are seriously engaged in a search for meaning, humanness, freedom, love, truth, justice etc., and who try to bring these visions to reality in their own fellowship and in society. i.e. the Church does NOT depend for its existence on authority, whether this be an authority 'Person', person or creed.

As such this group of people (the Church) must continually examine every structure in society and its own structures and refuse to accept any 'structure' or 'doctrine' as final and absolute. The Church, therefore, exists in small, vital groups who are committed to search for humanness, and to proclaim what they have discovered (however provisional they know they must allow it to be) in word, life and action.

(3) Race Relations. This group concentrated more on the means to rid our society of racial prejudices than on the 'new society'.

It was agreed that 'race relations' had meaning only while 'racial characteristics' were regarded as being important, e.g. pigmentation, country of origin, cultural differences. What we must look for is the ability of people to relate to each other as people.

For this to be achieved it is essential that prejudices should be eliminated as well as discriminatory legislation. The elimination of prejudice would be as important after as before the 'revolution'.

The most important means of eradicating prejudice would be education, and education understood in the very widest sense of the word.

At the level of formal schooling a complete revision would be necessary. Here education would need to be free and compulsory and schools open to all persons in the society. In devising the syllabus attention would have to be given to the needs of the community and to the talents and interests of the pupils. It was felt also that as an international language, English should be the medium of instruction, but that, in addition, one African language should be taught (perhaps the mother tongue).

There would need also to be general adult education, the goal of which would be human liberation. Among the media which could be used in this education would be legislation, the press, radio, and especially inter-personal communication.

Among the necessary reforms of legislation would be :

- + the reversal of the present discriminatory legislation, e.g. 'pass laws', which curtail personal freedom of movement, the 'immorality act' etc.
- + free integration, e.g. in schools
- + equal pay for equal work and better housing and living conditions.

(4) Education. In the group three models of education were presented, i.e. capitalistic (elitist), socialist, and a form of liberated education. The last model was looked at in more detail. It was suggested e.g., that one could envisage education taking place totally outside the school system by setting up networks of centres of resource materials (i.e. libraries, record centres, etc.) and a network of people (people with resources of skills, peers, pedagogues).

In the consequent discussion the whole idea of education was examined. Education was seen as the development of a person's full potentialities both within himself and as a creative member of his community. The process of education should be the process whereby freedom is acquired.

In the more practical discussion participants expressed varying attitudes towards school education. It was agreed, however, that education was by no means limited to a school environment.

Several other points were also debated, e.g. the relative merits of black as opposed to universalist education; the necessity for far less formality in education; the freedom to choose under whom and what to study; the necessity for education to arise out of the immediate environment; the necessity to acquire both basic skills and a broad general education.

(5) Planning (Urban and rural). The framework for this discussion was man's relation with his total environment, i.e. both the 'natural' environment, and the man-made environment both urban and rural.

The group 'utopia' was of a society reacting harmoniously with the natural environment, using it creatively rather than abusing it. This does not imply non-development, but development involving ecological 'management'. The advanced technology in the society must be non-polluting, using natural resources which are not used up quickly and whose waste products are non-polluting, e.g. solar energy, wind energy.

The urban environment would consist of decentralised 'garden cities', with centres of knowledge, 'culture', projects, research, skill resources to serve the larger population. Isolated, individualistic ways of living would be replaced with communal forms of living. There would also be a determined effort to overcome the contradiction between the city and the countryside by a free-flowing inter-relation between the two. Ideally the people would be motivated by an earth ethic which would replace the profit motive - a return to the land as a source of cultural inspiration.

In the rural environment there would be collective farming - e.g. the 'kibbutz' model. In farming ecological considerations would be prime, and existence integrated with the whole of life rather than fragmented.

(6) Economics. In considering the ideal economic future we would like, the group first analysed the present bases of the S.A. economy. The two on which attention was focussed were :

- a. Exploitative economic relationship between black and white :
- i. No legal recognition of African trade unions;
 - ii. Restrictions on geographical and upward occupational mobility (e.g. influx control, job reservation, limitation of expansion in urban areas);
 - iii. A discriminatory educational system, i.e. an educational system which serves to re-inforce the status quo of role assignments - the black man is to be an unskilled labourer.
 - iv. Restricted distribution and ownership of land - migratory labour is enforced as Africans occupy about 13% of the land while the African population is 75% of the total population.
 - v. A culture of poverty - the rich get richer and the poor poorer.
- b. An essentially capitalistic economy, although some non-capitalistic features are present.

The consequences of a and b are -

- An unequal distribution of wealth;
(2) A huge gap in living conditions between the rich (white) and the poor (black).

In projecting the future discussion focussed on the alternatives of capitalism and socialism, no conclusions of any significance were reached.

(7.) Foreign Affairs.

a. The Present. Intrigue seems to typify foreign affairs in the world in general to-day and in South Africa in particular. The personal interests of politicians override those of the people. South Africa's relations are those that will aid her in maintaining apartheid. This contact is especially close with Imperialist America, colonial Spain and Portugal, neo-colonial Malawi, etc. These relations with the Western countries increase the infiltration of the destructive values of the 'coca-cola and fish and chips civilization'. Men and women in South Africa losing their contact on a person-to-person basis, person to community, are becoming machines in this increasingly technological age.

b. The Future. A utopian situation in international relationships was difficult to formulate. A basic change in values was felt to be necessary. Humanitarian and communal rather than individualistic motivations must come to exist. This may involve a change from a political system of nationalistic states to a world government. On an economic level it involves a control of technology by man rather than vice versa. It involves an injection of humanitarian values into a system now controlled by the almighty dollar. A world common market might accompany the world government.

c. The means - in intermediate stages. In South Africa the first essential step towards this utopia is a national government which is a majority government, i.e. a black government. Freedom movements are to be considered very seriously by anyone and an organization truly interested in the final utopia postulated as well as the intermediate step considered

essential. The problems involved are found in the condition of the blacks (as well as whites) - that is starvation, brain-washing, and seduction of possessions, Western technological products.

These problems can only be solved by the blacks themselves. Outside groups such as business companies not only cannot do anything helpful, their very presence is destructive because it re-inforces the status quo. Attempts by whites within the country are rendered valueless, indeed destructive, because they are so paternalistic.

(8). Central Government. The question was discussed in a South African context as this was of the greatest interest to participants.

The first consideration was the necessity of a Central Government - could it be scrapped entirely? In view of the fact that we were dealing with a state with an advanced economy (among other factors) this was answered in the negative. Thus it was decided to define what was wanted ideally from the central government:

- (a) that they should reflect the will of the whole people as fully possible;
- (b) that they should restrict individual and group freedom to the least possible extent;
- (c) that there should be as few opposing and contradicting forces within this government as possible;
- (d) that it should not be organised on capitalist lines and should reject capitalism in its dealings;
- (e) that it should be able to change itself and its ideas as the main streams of thought and technology of the people advanced.

(Note on (d) It was felt that the capitalist system was most abusive of the majority, creating by its very nature inequalities and unnecessary unfreedoms in society and between groups and individuals.)

(Note on (e) - The fact that it should be able to change itself with the advances of the people means that the government never finds itself out of date, conservative, or sticking to anyone line of action or policy which had become outdated by march of time.)

The question then arose - if we are suddenly placed in the position of the government, with all the necessary power, what do we do? what is our policy?

1) EDUCATION. The concept of compulsory education for all was discussed, but no conclusion was reached. Education gives social direction, but must essentially be manipulation to one side or another. This raised the problem - what do we teach and what bias do we give to education - because essentially manipulation limits the freedom of the individual (or even tells the individual what freedom is to be for him). At this point the discussion broke apart and the 'definitive education syllabus' was abandoned. Education

Education was to be part of a liberation process.

2) SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT. What is best for all the people should be scientifically established and the people should at all stages be kept informed and identified with proposed changes.

3) ECONOMICS. We decided broadly on a Socialist economy -

- a) People as a whole own the land.
- b) Equal wages to be worked for.

The problem of motivation was discussed and it was proposed that people would never reach full production if they received equal wages whether they worked or not. One way suggested was that the people be educated into the realization that this was in the greatest interests of themselves and everyone else (e.g. Ujamaa - Julius Nyerere). We remarked on how Red China had overcome their problems of motivation i.e. on the communes where after contributing their due labour on the communal field, they are allowed to produce privately different foodstuffs of their own choice for private consumption. Alternatively, it was suggested that the people be instilled with a broad national conscience which would induce them to give their best for the nation (thus also for themselves and the people).

The same style of management for industry, commerce, etc. was suggested, of course involving all the requisite changes. The capitalistic element implicit in industry raised a problem which was not solved.

Other discussions arose :

In the S.A. context, would a government composed by the group have to impose their freedom from above, by means of force and dictatorship? Some felt definitely, others that it was out of the question.

The political organization of the central government was debated, but every existing political structure was found to be unacceptable in some way or other. It was felt that the maximum communication between people and government was essential - that the government should always administer and carry out what the people wanted without ever imposing, or abusing their power. (The conflict with the education system is noted).

The group felt that it had the utmost difficulty in determining any blueprint at all for a central government.

c. Simulation Game.

i. Introduction. For the simulation game the following groups were set up :

- + The Cabinet
- + The Chamber of Industries
- + The Soweto Urban Bantu Council
- + The Tribal Chiefs

- + The Organization for African Unity
- + An unorganized Women's group
- + An unorganized black group.

The groups, excluding the last two, were chosen as fairly representative 'power blocks' some ardently pro the status quo and some anti it, the idea being to experience the inter-relationships of these power groups as they face a particular situation. In addition the two unorganised groups were established both to see their effect on the course of the game and because they are part of the South African situation.

In addition to the groups a 'control' of about 20 persons was set up. This 'control' consisted of a general overseer who tried to keep track of the developments within the game and, where necessary, to feed in new 'input' into the game; 4 recorders and validators, whose function was to make a note of the communications between the various groups and to 'test' the 'reality' of the communications; 2 English and 2 Afrikaans pressmen whose function was to produce a daily (i.e. hourly) newspaper of the game as a means of keeping all the groups, especially the unorganised groups informed of the developments in the game; a number of messengers to carry the messages from the groups through 'control' to the groups from whom the messages were destined; and a few typists to assist in producing the newspaper and keep a record of the game.

Before the game began there was discussion on the validity and value of the game. A number of objections to it were raised, the most significant of which were -

- that we were simply reproducing the kind of power structures and power plays with which we are so familiar, and thus the more 'real' the game was the more predictable would be the outcome of a cabinet victory. Knowing the outcome of the game before it started, the only really valuable learning would be how to manipulate other people.
- that the game, being a game of established power groups, would of necessity be a game in which women could take no meaningful part.

In response to the first objection it was suggested that since the UCM has chosen to work not among the power groups but among the 'people' but in a society in which the power blocks do operate, there might be real value in experiencing the effect that the unorganised groups could have on the process of the game. Further, it was suggested that since we do have to work in the kind of society represented in the game it was important to try to gain some experience of the motivation for the actions of the power groups by putting ourselves in their situation.

The response to the objection of the women was to make the 'situation' around which the game was played one which directly affected women, i.e. a march by Soweto women on the Urban Bantu Council offices in protest against the increase in the price of bread, during which march the police acted in panic and shot and killed 6 women.

The majority of delegates elected to go ahead with the game, and initially all participated though during the course of the game some of the women withdrew as they felt frustrated by the meaninglessness of their participation.

ii. Report. Below is given a fairly detailed summary of the game.

Wednesday 12-1-73.

1. On Tuesday the 11th January 1973, 8 women were shot by members of the S.A. Police outside the UBC Chambers in Soweto.
2. South African and international reactions split along economic and political lines.
 - (a) Economic reactions :
 - Shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange drop substantially.
 - The Chamber of Industries requested a meeting with the Minister of Finance, Dr. Diedrichs - the meeting is scheduled for Thursday, 13th January.
 - (b) Political reactions :
 - The OAU condemned the shooting as an 'act of genocide'.
 - The UBC rejected provisional Government assurances ; they condemned the shooting and the Pass laws which inspired the original demonstration.
 - The Tswana Territorial Authority condemned 'white Liberal organization'.
 - Possibly important stirrings amongst small groups of both black and white women caused members of the Security Police to investigate their activity.
 - (c) The Government
 - The Cabinet issued its regrets and promised a full investigation of the shooting.
 - All demonstration marches were banned.
 - (d) Comment. Generally, initial reactions were muted : both the government cabinet and the UBC were content to issue statements on the matter. The fact that the Minister of Justice felt called upon to investigate the activities of such a peripheral group as the Women's Liberation seems to indicate that the Cabinet is unsure of the best course of action.

Thursday 13th January.

1. Increasing tension is evident between the Government and the UBC. The Government strongly criticised the UBC for siding with the African cause.
2. Evident also is an unexpected concession on the part of the Government to recognise deep seated defects in their homelands policy. After a meeting with the Chamber of Industries the Government agreed to accelerate development in the homelands.
3. The group of tribal chiefs, in their turn, also requested the Cabinet to increase the rate of industrialization in the homelands.
4. Intensive security has been arranged for the funeral which is scheduled for Saturday.
5. The OAU announced increasing terrorist incursions across the Zambezi. This promises to have serious repercussions.

6. Interesting at this stage is the fact that no one took any notice of the sharp drop on the Stock Exchange.

Comment. Possibly most significant is the lack of immediate palliative measures adopted by the Government. However the Cabinet might be hoping to ease the tension by announcing concessions in their homelands policy, viz. acceleration of industrialization. Evident also is a polarization into sharply antithetical camps of the UBC on the left and the Tribal Chiefs on the right. The latter are apparently determined to bend over backwards to placate the Government.

Footnote: On the 2nd day of the Game the women determined to secede from the game. Their claim is that they are, in a game of power politics, frustrated.

Friday 14th January.

1. Both the Government and the Chamber of Industries have issued statements to the effect that the share market slump is of a temporary nature.
2. The Government has continued to relax its policy with regard to the homelands. It has agreed to allow Blacks a 10% toehold in skilled jobs reserved for whites in Border areas and homelands. It will be interesting to note that cabinet reaction to Chamber requests is to allow the limited formation of trade unions.
3. Mark Thompson, a member of the unaligned Black group, was arrested by the Security Police, but before he could be detained he escaped, and at day's end remained underground.
4. The first major international incident, purportedly inspired by the incidents in S.A. - the kidnapping of a S.A. diplomat in New York.
5. Matanzima called upon the S.A. Government to grant the Transkei more land and full independence. How politically expedient this request is, while S.A. sinks deeper into its economic and political crises, is debatable.
6. The UBC seems to be moving further to the left : how long the Government will continue to tolerate the UBC's increasing radicality, it remains to be seen. The UBC went so far as to agree to a request by radical Blacks to participate in a mass debate at Orlando Stadium on the UBC's alleged lack of initiative following the shooting on Tuesday.

Saturday, 15th January.

1. Two events of major importance occurred :
 - a) At the funeral, attended by 100,000, at least 25 were killed. Speeches by members of the UBC were branded as 'subversive' by the Cabinet.
 - b) The cabinet reacted to the New York kidnapping by turning a granite face to the demands of the CAU.
2. Chamber of Industries continued its attempt to bolster South Africa's failing economy by investing R3m. in the Border area in the Transkei.
3. The Government betrayed its growing nervousness by making a fresh and desperate appeal to the U.K. Government to sell arms to S.A.

4. Despite the swift politicization of the UBC over the past few days, the Council was rejected by radical Blacks at the meeting in Orlando Stadium this afternoon.

Monday 17th.

1. The Cabinet's decision to declare a state of emergency and put the Republic's defence force on alert, is indicative of the panic into which recent events have thrown the Government. The declaration, predictably, dealt the economy a body blow. Not since the Sharpeville period, has such confusion reigned in economic circles. The haste of the Government's action will without doubt have consequences which they cannot possibly have foreseen.

It seems clear that the Cabinet's recent moves to alleviate the dire situation which obtains in the homeland, will to all intents and purposes, cease; at least until the emergency is lifted.

2. The suspension of the UBC is especially significant when one remembers that only two days ago, on Saturday, two members of the Council were booted from Orlando Stadium by a crowd angry with the Council's "wishy-washy" policies. Thus the UBC falls neatly between the two wings, having lost its political influence amongst the Blacks.
3. The kidnapping and murder of the S.A. U.N. Ambassador was, again predictably, acclaimed by the OAU and deplored by the S.A. Government.
4. Both the Government and the Chamber of Industries cast about for means whereby they could restore confidence in the machinery of authority and the economy respectively: viz. a military parade in Cape Town; requests for tighter controls on money leaving S.A. etc.

Tuesday 18th.

1. In an interesting application of pressure, the Chamber of Industries took great exception to the Cabinet's suspension of the UBC.
2. A second about-turn occurred when the Tribal Chiefs' Organization for Bantu Unity (normally particularly subservient to the government) demanded that Blacks and Whites be given equal facilities.
3. The pleas directed by the Cabinet at Kaunda were summarily rejected by that worthy. The S.A. government initiated move to gain friends, it seems, was most politically unwise.
4. The P.M. invited the Pres. of the Chamber of Industries to meet with him and the Minister of Finance, in a last (?) desperate move to contain the economic crisis.
5. At this point the last Trump sounded and gloom descended upon the cosmos.

"Our revels now are ended: these our actors
Are melted into air, into thin air,
And like this insubstantial pageant faded.

We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."

iii. Analysis.

On the Monday morning after the game the conference met to examine the learnings from the game. Much of the analysis concerned the motivations of the various groups for the actions taken. While many of these were very significant, no great value will be served by repeating them here. The following are perhaps the most interesting and significant.

- + In the early part of the game the government was decidedly uneasy about the two unorganised groups, as were some of the groups fairly closely aligned with the government, especially the Chamber of Industries. Of the two unorganised groups the most significant at this stage was the women's group. This stemmed from two major sources. The first was the fact that in the pre-game discussions the women had made their presence powerfully felt, and nobody was quite clear what they would do during the game. This in itself made the groups, including 'control', uneasy about them. In the game itself the women got together with the blacks to become somewhat an 'underground' movement. Nobody was very clear on what they were up to and thus acted as a decided irritant to distract attention from the particular issue of the 8 shot women. Their withdrawal on the second day of the game brought an almost audible sigh of relief from the cabinet. Because the movement among the women was not clearly defined or structured, they could not easily be stopped, and were thus a potentially powerful agent for changing the direction of the game, if only through the confusion they engendered.
- + Very early in the game, also, events began to move rather swiftly beyond the easy control of the cabinet. This was focussed particularly in the rapid economic slump, an international rather than internal reaction. The non-economic-international reactions were at no point particularly significant. CAU recriminations were simply met with counter-accusations. The demands made the New York kidnapers of the S.A. ambassador were met with the classical blunt refusal: "It is better that one man should die rather than the nation perish". Even the shift of the USC towards the more militant black radicals was not particularly significant. But both the cabinet and the chamber of industries were thrown into a state of confusion by the economic slump and, as the report makes clear, took panic measures to bolster the failing economy - ultimately the declaration of a state of emergency with militaristic displays to 'reassure' the public.
- + In the situation where the government was losing control the unorganised black group came into its own. It had to do very little to raise the level of confusion bordering on panic, and it had the government trying to bar people who had had nothing to do with the situation, the Chamber of Industries trying to persuade the government to buy off the tribal chiefs and make concessions to black workers to lessen their 'militancy', and the USC trying to win their favour. As with the women, the presence of a group with grievances but not organised into a power bloc was a powerful irritant in the situation.

which could not easily be contained. But while this confusing 'irritant' was present throughout the game, it really came into its own only as the economic threat reduced confidence.

For those interested in some of the more technical aspects of the game it may be worthwhile noting that there was a fairly high level of resistance to the 'control'. This arose because 'control', while it was aware of the messages passing between the groups, was not always aware of the reasoning and strategies behind the messages. Thus it invalidated certain 'events' which presumably could have changed the course of the game. This 'interference' by control also had the effect of, in some instances, lowering the level of interested involvement in the game by the groups affected. It would seem to be essential that if this problem is to be averted 'control' would need to devise a method of consultation with groups over messages it regards as dubious.

d. Current Affairs on Sexual Politics.

After the simulation game on Sunday evening some of the women called for a current affairs session, the chief purpose of which was to bring into the open the tensions which had been engendered by the women's liberation issue during the conference.

Some of the women pointed out that they felt that they had been treated by many in the conference as a closely knit group wanting no interaction with the other participants. They admitted that they had themselves been responsible for creating something of this attitude towards themselves in their apparently exclusive behaviour. For this they apologised while at the same time claiming that this behaviour was in part a response to being 'boxed' as an exclusive 'women's liberation group'.

The session then exploded over a poster which a group of people (mainly men) had put up on the wall reading: 'Women's Liberation is a male chauvinist trick to make women more available'. For their part the women saw this as insulting. A large part of the response to this was that the poster had been intended as a joke and that the women were taking themselves so seriously as to have lost their sense of humour. Unfortunately, although some women had twice torn down the poster because they deemed it insulting, the poster had re-appeared fixed to the roof over the rafters. Now, it was asked, does this determined behaviour indicate that the poster was nothing more than a joke?

Interspersed with this was a debate on whether or not women should attempt to 'do their thing' in exclusively women's groups, and whether there was not greater value in keeping dialogue open at all points. Here we were back in the earlier debate of trying to convert real issues into questions of structure. This was forcibly pointed out. Some of the women pointed out that part of what women's liberation was about was that they wanted to be able to decide for themselves what needed to be done about the situation of women and how they would go about doing it. If there were men interested in the liberation of women, they should get together to ask themselves how and why they oppressed women, and the extent to which they were being oppressed by the situation in which women were oppressed.

This seemed to ring a few bells. Memories of the confrontation between blacks and whites at Encounter '70 came flooding back for some. Had not blacks made the same eminently reasonable demands of whites?

The general, if not unanimous, acceptance of this demand had the immediate effect of lowering tensions. This is not to imply that those who accepted the demand had really come to appreciate what women's liberation was all about. It was simply an acceptance of the felt need of women to meet and study, and plan as women for women.

In the light of this it was agreed that the men and women should meet separately before the whole range of workshops began to give all concerned an opportunity to participate in the issues of women's liberation. Thus three groups met for a few hours on Monday afternoon; a women's group, a married men's group and an unmarried men's group. Later in the afternoon three different groups met, a women's group, a white group and a black group.

The reports of these groups are given under the heading "Conscientization groups".

e. Conscientization Groups: Reports.

i. Women's Liberation Group. Conflicts among the women about the nature of Woman's Lib. were resolved; various male myths about it were brought up and cleared.

Black women brought up their position: to be both black and female, and the severe repression practised on them (lack of educational opportunity, having little or no legal rights, being unable to own a house in an urban area unless married, individual position of domestic servants, etc.)

As a result of this discussion, it was realized that black liberation and female liberation were totally linked dialectically; and that neither struggle could succeed without the other.

The women discussed their resentment at being regarded as sexual objects for the most part by men; and from this discussion a bit of guerilla theatre arose after supper; a group of women surrounded an isolated man and began to pass comments about his body, whether he would be a good screw or not - in order to teach men what it meant to feel de-personalized and objectified.

The theory and practice of marriage was discussed. Alternative social forms such as collectives and communes were suggested: the fragmented, divisionary way that women related to each other in terms of men, and the necessity of solidarity were discussed.

ii. Married Men's Group.

(1.) Women's liberation implies the need for men's liberation: if men oppress women, men cannot be liberated because liberated people do not oppress others. There is therefore a need for men's liberation.

(2). What concerned this group primarily was to make the attempt to begin to focus the areas of their own oppression.

(3). There was some discussion on how the institution of marriage in a capitalist society was itself oppressive. However most of the members felt that while this issue should not be ignored, the fact was that being already married posed the problem, especially for those with children, of how to make the marriage relationship as human as possible.

(4). There was some discussion also on the parent/child relationship - particularly on the need to break through authoritarian patterns and to find ways in which to enable the whole family to become a community of persons sharing in decision-making.

(5). The main focus of the group, however, was on the way in which the emotional side of our lives had been repressed in our socialization. Almost the sole 'emotional' reality which is 'safe' for a man is related to his penis. Consequently the male/female relationship becomes narrowly sexual, i.e. the relationship of penis to vagina. Because of this restriction of men's usual emotional lives (particularly white Anglo-Saxon men) they have difficulty in relating to one another on an emotional level; if they do the narrow sexual focus tends rapidly to obtrude into the relationship. The black man in the group felt that this emotional repression and restriction is not as true for blacks, though contact with whites has influenced black men.

(5). The aim of our guerilla theatre group was for some of us as individuals to break through this emotional barrier, to share our experience with others, and to provide them with the opportunity of breaking through similar barriers.

iii. White Unmarried Male Brigade. Our discussion which was unintentionally, but probably happily unplanned, began on a fairly abstract level. We abandoned this approach after some time as being unfairly unfruitful. What right does anyone have to presume to liberate another from oppression? Or, more fundamentally, if one is unaware of oppression, can it be said that one is oppressed? Speaking in my personal capacity (always, always) I'd say that the latter question is sterile: if I lack the right to choose, or the capability of choosing, between real alternatives, whether I call myself oppressed or not, objectively, it could be said that I am oppressed. Once I am made aware of my oppression, I can choose whether or not I wish to liberate myself, or be liberated (whether one can 'be liberated' is another question).

Members of the W.U.M.B. then turned to the question of that peculiarly male abhorrence of male-male physical (although non-genital) intimacy. Ughh! Holding hands is after all only the preliminary to full-scale onanism, isn't it? And yet women maintain intimate relationships with women without crossing the line between healthy sensuality and uni-sexualism. (For the moment, accept, please, that homosexuality remains unacceptable practice to members of the W.U.M.B.). And yet, of course, physical intimacy between males is only taboo in the Anglo-Saxon culture groups. If we indulged in such intimacy, it could only add extra-dimensionality to male-male relationships.

Comparison of our inhibitions with the uninhibited nature of the 'Women's Lib.' interpersonal relationships (I mean the casual physical intimacy between members of the 'W.L. Group') inevitably arose. Our observations on their intimacies were essentially male oriented : I make no apology for the undoubted deficiencies of these observations - I am here describing our explorations and not our final discoveries. We feel that the women concerned had exaggerated the physicality of their relationships, but that this exaggeration was inevitable in the early stages of the revolt against the gores inculcated during the years prior to their 'liberation' : a similar exaggeration will without doubt be evident in the hoped for liberation of men in the same sphere.

This abbreviated commentary does not reflect what was to me an extremely strong traditionalist strain which permeated the whole discussion, but which did not, at the same time, detract from the value which I (and I presume others) derived from the session. The easy assumption that so many of us (I mean myself and my brothers) make that we are more liberated than women, or, alternatively, less oppressed, blew up in our faces. Of course we are not; indeed we are more inhibited in our relationships with each other than women are in theirs.

iv. White Consciousness Group. The group heard Steve Biko's paper on Black Consciousness. (We don't need white liberals). Some objected on the grounds that the concept allows for 'Divide and Rule'. Others strongly supported it - : "How can one help someone when your very presence oppresses him?"

The group attempted to focus on their own areas of oppression but got very involved in "whether to leave or to stay in South Africa". The leavers felt the System is so restrictive that there are no other meaningful alternatives. The stayers saw the S.A. tension as beneficially forcing them to know themselves and their attitudes, and to find or create visible alternatives to "running away".

Very gradually the group swung back to talking about our real and personal oppressions, finding along the road that some thought everyone present knew all about oppression so why bother to talk about it. The talkers found themselves returning again and again to the race issue and did not seem able to open up the discussion to wider personal areas of real oppression, although terms like 'humanness', 'freedom to relate to others', 'laws and attitude-formation', 'authoritarianism', 'university education' and martyr complex' were freely used.

v. Black Consciousness Group. We believe that the Black people of S.A. suffer from basically two types of oppression, the first and most formidable is the psychological oppression by themselves which comes as a result of living in a society that constantly re-inforces their inferiority complex through deliberate denigration of the Black man's value systems and intentional deprivation in all aspects of life.

The second one is physical oppression, which is a manifestation of the

racism inherent in S.A. society. It is the intention of the People to rid themselves of both types of oppression and in this regard Black consciousness and the drive towards Black awareness are seen as the most logical and significant means of ridding the Blacks of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude.

Towards this end therefore, we hold the following truths as self-evident :

1. that S.A. is a country where both black and white live together.
2. that the white man must be made aware that one is either part of the problem or part of the solution.
3. that in this context, because of the privileges accorded to them (the white people) by legislation, and because of their continual maintenance of an oppressive regime, WHITES HAVE DEFINED THEMSELVES AS PART OF THE PROBLEM. Therefore we believe that in all matters relating to the struggle towards the realization of the black men's aspirations whites must be excluded.
4. that this attitude must not be interpreted by blacks to imply anti-whitism, but merely a more positive way of attaining a normal situation in S.A.

Definition of Black Consciousness.

1. We define Black people as those who are by law or tradition politically, socially and economically discriminated against as a group in the S.A. society and who identify themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspiration.
2. We accept the basic definition, that in any society an acceptable compromise, the synthesis, will result when there is a strong confrontation between the thesis and the antithesis. In our context we believe that the thesis, i.e. the status quo is a strong whitism and that therefore the antithesis to this can only be an equally strong show of black solidarity. Therefore any acceptable solution will have to accept these two as its basic ingredients.
3. We believe that black consciousness incorporates the following aspects:
 - a. It is a rejection by blacks of all value systems that seek to make them foreigners in the land of their birth.
 - b. It is an attempt by blacks to build up their own value systems and to see themselves as self-defined.
 - c. Inherent in the whole black consciousness programme is a realization of the importance of group action and awareness of the power people wield as a group. Hence group cohesion is an important facet of black consciousness.
 - d. Black consciousness implies the totality of involvement of black people and hence the message of black consciousness has to be spread to reach all segments of the oppressed community. Black consciousness is as such, an attitude of mind and a way of life and is not an exclusive philosophy of any group.
 - f. Black theology, the theology of the oppressed people and of liberation is an important aspect of Black consciousness and seeks to relate black people with their God, a fighting God who abhors all repressive regimes.
 - g. Vocalization of the black consciousness attitude coupled with implementation of practical programmes directed at stimulating awareness amongst black people are important aspects of black consciousness.

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Attitude Towards Integration. We define integration as free participation by individuals in a given society in which all segments contribute proportionately to the joint culture of that society. We therefore believe that integration can never be realised in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust.

Integration does not imply the assimilation of blacks into a society whose values and norms have been determined by whites.

The people therefore believe that integration does not need to be enforced or worked for. It follows automatically when the doors to prejudice are closed through the attainment of a just and free society.

f. Current Affairs on Black Consciousness.

The next session of current affairs was called for by the black consciousness group. The chief purpose of this session was to present the 'People's Manifesto', to explain it, answer any questions concerning it, and to test its acceptability to the conference; in fact spokesmen of the black group made it perfectly clear that if the conference found it unacceptable they would be forced to withdraw from the UCM.

At last, after the long tangle over women's liberation the black/white confrontation surfaced. Black/white tensions had been there from the first evening of the conference when Justice presented his Presidential address.

The initial reaction of a few blacks and more whites was that the manifesto was racialist and that all whites were being rejected because they were white, i.e. irrespective of what they thought, said, or did. Strong pleas were made to the blacks not to reject whites in this fashion.

The response of the spokesmen of the manifesto was :

- + the manifesto was addressed to blacks and not to whites;
- + in the South African situation, because of the oppression practised by whites, it is inevitable that many, if not most, blacks will and do hate whites;
- + whites have no right to ask for or expect acceptance as whites, nor any right to expect to be heard as whites. That sort of black/white dialogue is over;
- + the role of whites may be to examine themselves and the extent to which they are themselves involved in the oppression of blacks, and the extent to which they themselves are being oppressed in a situation which oppresses other people. If they do this they might be able to begin to fight for their own true humanity and humanness;
- + if there are people, who also happen to be white, who show their humanness and thus truly become parts of the liberation struggle, then there is hope that they will be accepted because of what they say and do, but NOT because they are white.

The effect of this session was not simply an acceptance that it is right that blacks should define for themselves their goals and the way in which they will engage in their liberation struggle, but also that whites need to

withdraw from the frenzy for multi-racialism in order to focus for themselves the areas of their oppressing and oppression.

THIS SESSION UNDOUBTEDLY MARKED THE TURNING POINT IN THE CONFERENCE. HAVING STARTED OUT AS A GENERAL UCM CONFERENCE, NOT VERY CLEAR ABOUT ITS DIRECTION OR FUTURE BUT RATHER DESPERATELY WANTING TO BE AND REMAIN TOGETHER, WE HAD TRIED TO BURY IN 'UNITY' THE DIVERSE ISSUES WHICH NEEDED TO BE DEALT WITH INDEPENDENTLY. THIS SELF-INDUCED PRESSURE FOR UNITY AGAINST THE GROUPS WHO SAW THE NEED TO WORK INDEPENDENTLY CREATED THE TREMENDOUS TENSIONS OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE CONFERENCE. NOW THE INDEPENDENT, BUT INTER-RELATED, 'ISSUES' HAD SURFACED VERY CLEARLY, ALLOWING OTHERS TO EMERGE IN THE PROCESS, AND THE DELEGATES WERE KEEN TO GET TOGETHER WITH OTHERS WHO WISHED TO WORK THROUGH THE VARIOUS ISSUES. AS A RESULT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION GROUP, THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS GROUP, AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE MEN'S AND WHITE CONSCIOUSNESS GROUPS WERE SIMPLY NO LONGER A THREAT TO ANYBODY. IN FACT, FEELING FREE TO MOVE INTO AND WORK IN THE VARIOUS 'CONSCIOUSNESS' GROUPS (AND SKILL GROUPS) LED TO A STRONG DESIRE FOR COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE GROUPS (NOT A NEW MERGER).

TO SOME EXTENT THE DESIRE FOR INTER-GROUP COMMUNICATION WAS FELT INITIALLY IN THE EVENING OF GUERRILLA THEATRE. IT EMERGED MORE STRONGLY IN THE DESIRE TO COMMUNICATE AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE THE FINDINGS OF THE VARIOUS WORKSHOPS, AND FINALLY AND MOST CLEARLY IN THE NEW 'FEDERATION OF CONCERNS AND PROJECTS' IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE EXECUTIVE. (cf. pages 1 ff. of this report).

g. Workshop Reports.

i) Women's Liberation Workshop. A number of the women previously in the group chose to go to various other skill and consciousness groups, so a small number of women met.

Future Projects. The major part of the discussion related to future activities possible for women. We considered what ongoing projects could be undertaken by the women after Congress, but collectively and individually in public and private spheres. A number of projects were proposed and discussed at tea with the other women who were not in the group.

1. Developing a network of women in communication throughout the country so that they could be kept in touch with developments all over. The idea is that we will establish a central resource centre at 97 4th Avenue, Linden, Johannesburg. From this address women will be able to get addresses of other women in S.A. interested in the women issue; reprints of articles relevant to the women's struggle; a bibliography of all articles, books, papers, etc. on women that we have discovered and where they are available.
2. Compiling a collection of writings by South African women. In this connection all the women at the Congress who wish to write personal or theoretical articles, poems, bits of prose, etc., are asked to send them to the Linden address within the next month. Will everyone please ask any other women they know who are interested to do the same thing. All articles received will be included totally, uncut,

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and the magazine will be reissued and distributed throughout the country. Will all the women who want copies please write to the Linden address indicating how many copies they want.

3. Consciousness raising. A number of possibilities were suggested :
- Talking to women's organizations.
 - Talking to high-school women.
 - Arranging talks and symposia on university and college campuses.
 - Leafleting supermarkets.

Some possible issues to organize around are :

- Abortion Law Reform. A campaign which we might join is being organized by a woman in Cape Town. (details from Linden address).
- Child care centres.
- Self defence.
- Women's residence rules.

Resources to use are articles (reprints) obtainable from the Linden address. Also it is possible to get copies of Igmi Muhlman's slide and tape show on S.A. women, for showing (write to Linden for details).

4. A Newsletter. If things begin happening, we will attempt to bring out a once-monthly newsletter, keeping people in touch with what is happening all over South Africa. (write to Linden with information of things that are happening and requests for the newsletter).

(Cf. also page 3 of this report).

ii. Black Theology/consciousness Workshop.

1st Session. The people believe that it is necessary for Black people in this country to begin thinking about themselves in a new way, to question certain values which have been adopted from the dominant 'white culture', and then to organize themselves politically around their own experiences which arise from this reflection.

The question was asked, "How do we put this whole programme into practice?". The president of the African Student Movement said that this whole idea could be spread through his particular organization in a special context, i.e. in Soweto through conscientizing the high school students who belong to A.S.M. It was also decided that black people should write articles to newspapers like "The World" being critical of articles which tend to be directionless.

That 'peoples' pressure groups should be set up on campuses to direct the general trend and thinking of black students in terms of the whole surge towards Black consciousness. That the people should flood the churches to challenge them and teach them what HUMANITY is all about, since they seem unaware of it. The people must see their role more in terms of what they can teach rather than what they can learn. That mass media such as newsletters should be made available in the vernacular, so as to accommodate the people who might find English difficult or abhorrent.

2nd Session. University advisory councils have failed to live up to the aspirations of the people. Prof. Ross (Rector of Fort Hare) has been quoted as saying that their duty is an advisory one and that they therefore have no power. In actual fact they are government nominees. We move that they be elected so that they serve a more constructive purpose.

In 1908 in Fort Hare Africans were in a policy-making council. It is inconceivable therefore, that now they have so retrogressed that they can only be in an advisory capacity. Presently the members of the advisory council at Fort Hare who suggested that there be no discrimination in the salaries of staff members have since been dismissed. Further the people feel that the members of the advisory council are not fully qualified and hence since treat students as school children. It is suggested that the students and people pressurise the University authorities and facilitate the appointment of black members of staff.

The people suggested that the students identify with the working class while at 'varsity! Students should see themselves as an integral part of the community. They have been brought up and paid for by the community from which they come, and hence are duty bound to offer their services to the community. It is unfortunate that up to now the educated group have become representatives of the white oppressive structure in the Black community. This is because they do not relate to the community while they are still at 'Varsity and they imbibe so much of the white values (namely capitalism, individualism, etc.) Therefore when they graduate they find it impossible to identify with the masses. As a solution to this the students must, while still students continue being part of the mass, that is constantly in contact with them, by engaging themselves in community projects.

As far as the students are concerned they need extensive politicisation. The death of black consciousness is contained in the ignorance and cowardice of the students. *They do not know their basic rights. So much fear reigns that students no more know what is subversive and what is not, and hence the sickening attitude of subservience.

In summary, the thrust of Black consciousness is two-pronged, on the campuses it is politicisation and heightening the level of awareness. To the community it is identification with the people by the students by way of community projects which would be long-term sustained activities.

(Cf. also p. 2 of this report).

iii. White Theology/consciousness Workshop.

1st Session. The group looked at the situation of whites in South Africa. We used Basil's paper on "White Theology" as a starter for discussion and accepted the division of whites - those who reject the myth of race and authoritarianism, and "whites" - those who accept the myth of race and act in accordance with it. We recognised that the former group of whites (the myth unbelievers) is small, shares the benefits of "white" way of life; that this group is powerless and lacks freedom in our fascist society.

We recognised that we have to liberate ourselves and that because our liberation is tied in with black liberation, if at any stage we stand in the way of black (or women's liberation), we stand in the way of our own liberation.

We then looked at our own environments (university, home, peer groups) to see how the authoritarian/control myth has permeated our lives at every level and what to do about it.

University :

- + Students are excluded from decision-making processes that affect them.
- + The status of the 'Rugger bugger', 'Big drinker', rag queen and 'drummies'.
- + Paternalistic relationship to domestic staff, 'sussies'.
- + Fresher reception - the inculcation of authority into new student 'subjects'.
- + Human relations - particularly in male-male relationships and male-'bird' relationships.
- + Dress - especially Rhodes.

We felt that change could come through guerilla theatre, personal contact rather than handing out pamphlets quoting statistics about homelands, etc.

Home :

- + Father paternalistic head of the home, mother oppressed.
- + We use thing names like "old queen", "old man".
- + Financial dependency on family often means one has to accept paternalistic control.
- + Brothers and sisters who accept the unliberated scene.

One group member recognised that he oppressed his 'little brother'. Others recognised a great dependency of younger brothers/sisters on them. Other group members saw role expectations inculcated in younger brothers and sisters - "little boys don't cry".

Domestic Servants :

Usually 'girl', 'they are stupid'. Little recognition that servants are people - she can't fall pregnant - she can't have men in her 'room'. Family usually knows very little about the 'servant' - where she/he stays, how old her children are, etc. Their wage level.

We felt that there was a tremendous need for real communication in family (without roles coming in) especially in such areas as sex. There was a need to relate to servants as persons, man or woman, with the family and not to treat people as kitchen utensils or "native girls".

Sum Up : Instead of going to a protest meeting about wage structure - start in our own home.

Work : Relation to blacks at work : Whites 'over' blacks as seen in names used, white dominated conversations, different cups at tea-time, white women often do not realize that black workers have penises - this arising from situations where women wearing min-skirts expressed annoyance at being ogled by black men.

The "Boss" is the most unfree man who usually has to promote and represent a whole authority/control structure.

Peer Groups : We felt we should start with our own inhibitions - unliberation - first. Unliberated women who "fall over males" should not be screwed, but be given the liberation works and vice versa. We recognised the need to relate honestly and talk on the meaning of sex especially with someone of the opposite sex.

Myself: We felt we could experiment with opposite styles of life to what we are habitually used to e.g. spontaneity or males relating to other males.

Conclusion: Our role as whites is to try and make liberation radical enough to be fully human.

2nd Session. It must, at the outset, be stressed that the group was in many ways confused about their goals and roles. Quite predictably we saw this in terms of liberation of ourselves in our environment. Necessarily we found this to be part of the dynamic of women's liberation and black liberation. The areas in which we found ourselves to be both oppressed and oppressors.

1. Unfreedom of speech, dissent, action, etc. - we cannot decide our own future - we are squashed by the Power Block.
2. Indoctrination by education - we can offer ourselves and our children a chance for a full life.
3. Human relationships - how do we overcome our inhibitions and lack of communication on an inter-personal level.
4. Our cultural isolation in South Africa.
5. Authoritarianism.

In addition we felt the need for a supportive community to share ideas and difficulties. This should not be structural but rather inter-personal care to counteract the fear of ostracization after any possible consequences of radical action.

The group recognised very clearly that it had only begun to scratch the surface of the issues involved, but saw the need to continue the exploration and analysis.

(Cf. also p. 3 of this report)

iv. Ideological Concerns.

1st Session. Noting the amount of controversy at this congress about the relationships between Black Liberation, Women's Liberation and Human Liberation etc., our group saw its task as trying to work out an over-all conceptual framework which might help clarify these problems - hence the idea of an ideology of freedom. An ideology is seen to be a basis for action and for making moral decisions and therefore will incorporate assertions of value of some sort; hence it cannot be a purely scientific objective means of analysis of our socio-political situation, although careful analysis is an essential preliminary to any worthwhile action.

Further any ideology involves some concept of man and society that is some sort of anthropology. After much of the usual controversy about the essence of man it was agreed to accept Sartre's formulation that man's essential humanity consists in his being able to 'create' his own essence in freedom and responsibility, i.e. man is, or at least can be (if liberated!) a free and responsible creator of values and meanings by which he orders his society and his life in the world, indeed by which he makes life possible. If this is accepted (even with reservations as to the possibility of complete freedom) the traditional ideologies of capitalism, communism, Christianity, nationalism, fascism must be rejected since each in some way lays down absolute rules about what man is, how he should act and how his society (i.e. his relationships with his fellows) should be structured. If such an ideology should take root in a community either "the system" itself or a class of people will come to take on the power of dictating to others what their roles are, how they should act and how relate to their fellows and thereby deny man's very humanity as proposed above, which is to find himself in free and open relation to others and the world.

Further, the fight for freedom must be seen as a necessary pre-condition for our ability to come to grips with what is now sometimes called the "original sin of existence", namely man's loneliness, his essential alienation from the world and other people. When one becomes acutely aware of this it can lead to depression, feelings of futility, meaninglessness, absurdity and "neurosis" which in turn can lead to the nihilistic power mania of Hitler and Marquis de Sade or to anti-social tendencies. Man's only hope in this weird situation are those occasional moments of almost religious fulfillment which he finds in meaningful relationships with other people and the world, and which give him the energy and ability to cope with the mundane world of daily existence. Genuine fulfillment of this sort is obviously impossible if one is living and thinking in the framework of a male or female chauvinism; and extreme nationalism (black or white), a racialistic political system and intensely competitive capitalistic system or an exclusive religion etc. Obviously we must fight for liberation from such oppressive systems if worthwhile human fulfillment is going to be possible. So freedom is both a necessary means and an essential part of an end which is better human relationships, and what the hell are we here for if we are not trying to improve the relations between man and man in our own country or anywhere else.

A criticism of prevalent world ideologies in terms of our proposed ideology of freedom was undertaken with considerable success and we hope others will try to do the same.

However, there was by no means complete agreement about the consistency of this rough framework or whether it could serve to reconcile possible conflicts between "liberation groups". Also the problem of the relation between freedom and justice must be considered: does absolute justice and its laws deny freedom and does absolute freedom deny justice? Also - has religion any role? Think of these problems!

2nd Session. To report on this group's work for Wednesday morning is very difficult for our discussion time that day was wide ranging. Thus this report must be seen as a very loose summary of what took place.

Firstly we had to decide whether what we were doing was writing a pure ideology of providing a framework for analysis of our situation. We found, for instance, that whatever it was we were doing, it should lead both to motivation and action. We noted that our analysis could not be value free. Our value system in our work was "the elimination of the greatest possible number of contradictions in our society".

But in so doing we should not lose sight of the motivating force in the process of eliminating the contradictions, i.e. the ideology that we have is the vision of the future, the frame in moving towards the vision of, as one member put it, the Kingdom of God.

Returning to the contradictions we considered that one of the main ones was "Exploited-exploiter". In this system there is a large amount of alienation which has to be resolved.

However, what is the nature of the alienation? We noted that this alienation is not of a purely physical nature. We tried to use the term "human alienation" as this seemed more adequately to cover our needs. In human alienation we saw that in liberty/solidarity there had to be a real acceptance of people. This acceptance should not be in terms of objects. The I-Thou relationship here is human relationship.

In this we noted that there were two possibilities of framework of analysis: "economic contradiction" and "human contradiction". To use any single one would be inadequate. Both are important. The analysis therefore has to embrace all aspects of society.

In this, we repeat, we noted that the overall reference point would probably be an ethical one. Or, to coin a new word (?), ethics-justice. We noted that the resolving of priorities in action is a purely pragmatic question.

What are the contradictions therefore. We suggest the following (not in order of priority):

- + Drugs - political use of anti-drug emotions.
- + Propaganda.
- + Sex (necessity of spartan attitudes)(Moral control).
- + Mass media (I.V., SABC, Newspaper analysis).
- + Isolationism.
- + Counter cultures.
- + Class structure in (a) Consumerism; (b) Labour.
- + National Military service - role of chaplains?
- + Church.
- + Ideologies Black-White consciousness.
- + Universities - Education as a whole.

(Cf. also p. 5 of this report).

v. Adult Education (Literacy) Workshop.

1st Session. Russ Kidd addressed the group on the work done in Swaziland based on Paulo Freire method (developed and used in Brazil and Chile).

Literacy was defined by the group as a main source of communication, but this would be unrealistic in a society which lacks literature, or has difficulty in its distribution in a non-literate environment. So that more basically it is a vehicle of communication, bringing awareness to the people of their environment, so helping in their liberation, but with no emphasis on follow-up materials. Functional approach is applied in Swaziland, where literacy is a tool and not an end, it integrates socio-economic issues, selectively intensively, and is adaptable and oriented to life work and community.

Following Paulo Freire method, the problems of rural Swaziland had been studied, and after nine months it was concluded that the resettlement problem (re-organization of community) was the greatest issue.

100 Words related to the problem were compiled and then watered down to 30. These 30 words combine all sounds of Siswati and incorporate 30 socio-economic issues as well - literacy technique was outlined.

Teachers go out to communities, who make their own blackboards, with a set of 30 pictures. As a picture is put up, first the issues around this word are discussed fully. The word is constructed on a syllable system, so that the syllables can be re-arranged to form any amount of new words. With the next word, a new vowel is introduced, and with the aid of the known consonants numerous new words can be built in a brick-like process, which, it was pointed out, could only work with a phonetic language. So after 10 to 15 lessons, 80% of the Siswati vocabulary can be formed. These courses are held over a short, intensive period during the slack agricultural season, which also corresponds with university holidays, so that the teachers are mainly students.

The group then underwent an exercise of simulating a farming community in Swaziland, with questioning as to its motivation, methods, etc. of farming. This was to demonstrate the very important pre-teaching sessions that literacy classes should go through, bringing out the basic issues of one's life, and then relating them to writing, and the process making people more aware of their motives and problems. This is the foundation of Paulo Freire method.

The discussion was concluded by deciding what should be done by ourselves :

1. Compiling a package of materials for teachers, applied to our situation, and vocabulary (i.e. Zulu).
2. Need of follow-up reading was strongly felt and a group of people are now interested to participate in such workshops.
3. The possibility of adapting this method to urban situations in South Africa was also put forward.

This work could be done by whites in co-operation with blacks, as the whites could not enter the field of actually teaching.

2nd Session. The concept of education as it is known in the Western world was outlined briefly. Its function is basically to teach people to read, write and count, on the assumption that what the Western man does is 'right' and that he has the best possible way of life. Education is a tool given to illiterates, to make them become like the Western man, who then uses them and makes them 'clerks of the colonial system'.

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(Reading was defined as a way to transpose into permanent form, the sounds of the spoken language to which meaning has been given conventionally). Hodgkins (in 1823) said : "MEN BETTER BE WITHOUT EDUCATION, THAN BE EDUCATED BY THEIR RULERS."

This method is in strong contrast to the Paulo Freire method (outlined in a paper by P. Sanders). Paulo Freire maintains that education is another tool of oppression, which creates a gap where the Western man, as holder of the tool, is always a step ahead. His definition of Education is : "BECOMING CRITICAL, AWARE OF ONE'S REALITY AROUND ONESELF IN MANNER WHICH LEADS TO EFFECTIVE ACTION UPON IT."

Some ideas of this method :-

- 1) Persons : This is the starting point.
Where are the people? and What are their problems?
It was decided that you go and look for the people as they don't come to you and you work among them to find out their problems. In South Africa, "oppression" would seem to be an overriding factor as it would seem to have divided the country into three areas - the cities, the Bantustans and the farm labourers. The system would evolve from inside thereafter.
- 2) Process : Where does the process of liberation start? With our goal of development the people can transform their realities as "MAN IS AN UNFINISHED REALITY".
- 3) Persons and Process: There are no teachers in this system, they would be process-persons (or co-ordinators) from within the community and they would act as catalysts.

The group decided to take the urban problem and put into practice one aspect of this method, namely finding out a set of generative words relevant to urban people. Suitable Zulu words were found, namely :-

Housing	indle	beer halls (liquor)	utshwala
Employment	umchango	wealth	impilo
influx control	inwama	prostitution	ubufebe
wages	ibalo	unfaithful partners	ukuplunga
passbook	idopasi	church	isonto
transport	isikhala	laws / economic structures)	u-basi
police	amaphoyisi	women's plight	inkululeko yabafazi
education	isibele	starvation	indlala
fear of the S.P.	impimpi	human relations	ukuzwana
thugs	otatolisi	poverty	inhlupheko
whites	anabhunu	freedom	inkululeko
Government	uhulumeni	food	ukudla
electricity	ugesi		

The theme of this set of words : FRAGMENTATION.

The group then decided to illustrate some of these words in a fashion that would set the people talking about their environment this leading to pre-reading and writing awareness discussions. This set of pictures would form the co-ordinators' text book. These illustrations were put up on the walls of the conference hall.

(Cf. also p. 4 of this report)

vi) Post Literacy Readers Workshop. The group agreed that a simple but comprehensive manual for writers of this material should be drawn up and made available to interested persons.

It was agreed also that it might be useful to present a summary of some of the chief technical points discussed.

a. Mechanics.

- i. Short lines (the eye should be able to pick up the first word of the line below while looking at the last word of the line above - to enable the new reader not to 'jump' lines and so lose the thread of the story.)
N.B. The final printing should be large (15 point).
- ii. Sentences should normally contain a single idea (to make the 'gestalt' process of understanding and holding inter-related ideas together).
- iii. Stories should be illustrated. The functions of illustrations being
 - a. to fill in situational or background details and so eliminate any unnecessary or boring words and descriptions.
 - b. to help identify unfamiliar objects referred to in the script, i.e. mainly designed to 'fill in' the script and to carry the story forward.
 - c. in children's stories illustrations ought to tell the story itself. In adult stories, illustrations ought not to replace the need to read the text.
- iv. Lay out.
 - a. work on double page spread.
 - b. read script carefully - work out page distribution of script (chief crisis action should come on fresh page).
 - c. plan illustration - each double page should have -
 - i. one major large illustration of the chief event on that page.
 - ii. subsidiary events should also be illustrated;
 - iii. balance chief and subsidiary illustrations;
 - iv. vary visual impressions of pages.
 - d. most useful illustrations are -
 - i. simple line diagrams;
 - ii. if human beings are drawn avoid as much as possible cutting body in half or illustrating only one of a pair of limbs.
- v. As illiterates are usually poor keep stories short. (Printing costs are about 1½c. per page - i.e. a 6-7 page book will cost about 10 cents).
- vi. A vocabulary as small as possible (repeat rather than vary words).

b. Audience.

Writer should have specific readers in mind, e.g.
general rural specific rural area rural men rural women
general urban specific town/city urban men urban women
children (i.e. for parents to read to children)
newly literates trying to learn to read and write in English
newly literates trying to learn to read and write in the vernacular.

c. 'Ideology'

- i. Nothing that a person writes is ever unbiased.
- ii. Readers - especially newly-literates - will learn and internalize the bias of the author (it takes a very sophisticated reader to read critically. The inexperienced reader tends to invest the written word with an aura of sacred infallibility. This is especially true of newly literates who marvel at the ability of others to write. This carries over to an acceptance of the general 'genius' of the author. So take care - our aim is liberation and we as authors should grapple to understand this freedom for ourselves. Only then does our writing stand the chance of being liberating - and we should do all we can to understand the situation of our audience.

d. Themes. Conscientization is not simply raising awareness of cultural and political oppression. Humanness is also about being able to shape rather than being controlled by the natural environment. Thus literature on health, food, farming etc. can also be conscientizing.

e. Versionising. Not straight translating but placing story in situation and idiom of readers who also speak different language. The original story can be written in any language and from any context. The task of the versioniser is to place the whole story in a new setting.

f. Testing. Duplicated copies are tested for suitability in selected groups; depending on their reactions, printing is undertaken.

NOTE: It should be borne in mind that this material is simply starter material. Our hope and intention must be that the newly literates themselves will write their own literature.

A considerable percentage of the group's time was spent in working through some of the post-literacy material available in order to gain some practical experience of the theoretical points outlined above.

vii. Preventative Medicine Workshop.

1st Session. The look the group took at the problems of preventative medicine in S.A. was not a pleasant one. Having defined (to an extent) the role of medicine in society, problem after problem revealed itself in terms of the physical, economic and social reality. Where do you start with people who have no food, no money, no fuel, and in addition, who oppose the ill-informed high-handed attempts of the white medical 'establishment'. In attempting to find solutions the ideal medical worker must be found. It was realised that such a person MUST be a member of the community - volunteers who cannot train the local inhabitants (i.e. do-gooders) are useless. White doctors, it was pointed out, would never play an effective role, as there would never be more than one or two truly 'literate' white doctors. The role of these few, in terms of Black power concepts, is certainly a confusing one.

At this stage, too, the Black doctors are very ineffectual.

Approaching the problem from a different angle, it was agreed that nutrition was probably the most pressing problem, and further discussions will centre round this aspect.

2nd Session. It was found that for any project to be realised by this workshop, we would have to work hand in hand with the urban and rural planning group and the literacy group, because the problems to be overcome (we had found in the previous workshop that the most immediate, pressing problem was nutrition), are a direct result of bad community development, which can only be overcome by working in collaboration with groups directly concerned with these factors.

Consequently a trip was arranged to Valley Trust, a project primarily concerned with "agriculture-medicine", i.e. agriculture related to medicine (nutrition). Here we spoke to Mr. Mazibuko who elaborated to a great extent on the type of work he was doing and enlightened us on what his achievements had been.

The conclusion then arrived at was that generally a project should and would be suggested on lines similar to that found at VALLEY TRUST.

3rd Session. Concurrent with the theme of this conference the nutrition-preventative medicine group concluded that to accomplish anything further in the form of workshops, we would have to construct a real project on which to work. After talking, and our visit to the Valley Trust, we realised that the initiation of such a project was impractical right now because it requires unavailable capital and skilled people to advise on equipment and techniques.

Our conclusions for starting a real "Health Programme" start with the collection of a team of people who are skilled in nutrition, medicine, agriculture and food preparation. The value was stressed of having a special medical man, ideally a volunteer who could be trained in a short time, possibly two years. We were also impressed by Mr. Mazibuko on the importance of learning effective techniques of reaching the people e.g. "go up to the level of the people; don't bring them down to your own". Here is stressed the need to have respect for the ways of the people while imparting knowledge one has gained through special education.

viii. Urban and Rural Planning Workshop.

1st Session.

The group first considered existing economic processes within established structures, and decided that they offered little hope of even alleviating the suffering of the black majority. The question of the relationship between "Black Liberation", "Black Consciousness", etc. and the small-scale practical projects to be discussed, was raised.

Since disagreement about the extent to which the black people were "ready" for political action threatened to disrupt proceedings permanently, we agreed that the central issue was "what can we do now, in our own communities". The framework for future discussion was outlined:

1. WHAT : Identifying a need or problem, or an opportunity.
2. WHERE : Concretising where the problem or opportunity exists, what group of people are involved.
3. WHO : Identifying the agency which will initiate and carry through the project.
4. HOW : The organizational structure to achieve the goals; the resources needed.

Some suggestions were made, to be discussed in the workshop in greater detail, e.g. a Black Bank, a savings and credit union, homework schemes, consumer co-ops., home grown fruit and vegetables, crafts workshops etc.

The possibilities and problems of a consumer co-operative were gone into, although more information was needed, and a decision was made to acquire this at a later stage. One suggestion was that preliminary co-operative buying projects, on the level of friends sharing the shopping load, could lead on to larger projects.

A consumer co-operative itself is an organization which buys in bulk direct from the wholesaler, and thus provides cheaper commodities to the members of the co-op. A certain amount of capital is needed to set up the organization, and usually subscriptions are levied to members. Difficulties are : the renting of a shop, getting permission from authorities, and the motivational base in the community itself. Future discussions will attempt to follow up further suggestions.

2nd Session. On Wednesday morning people from several workshops visited Mr. Mazibuko from the Valley Trust in order to find out more about his agricultural projects. The aim of this article is to convey some of the information that was given regarding garden projects, and, in particular, compost heap making and the 'trench system'. This information might be put to use in both rural and urban areas.

The 'Trench System' of growing vegetables.

1. The trench should be 6 ft. wide and as long as possible or necessary.
2. Dig one foot of the top-soil and place it about 3 foot above the trench.
3. Dig one foot deeper and place this soil (the mid soil) about 18 inches above the trench.
4. Dig another foot deeper and place this soil below the trench. The trench should now be about waist deep.
5. Loosen the soil at the bottom of the trench.
6. Place four fingers (about two inches of topsoil) in the bottom of the trench.
7. Place grass, leaves, twigs from shrubs etc. on top of the two inches of topsoil. The grass must be about one foot deep.
8. Place two inches of midsoil on top of the grass.
9. Place a second one-foot layer of grass in the trench.
10. Place four inches of midsoil on top of the grass.
11. Place a third one-foot layer of grass into the trench.
12. Mix the remaining top-soil and mid-soil and place it into the trench.
13. NOTE: If the animal factor is available (i.e. chicken or cow manure) then it should be added to the layers of grass. The animal factor adds greatly to the fertility of the soil and it should be added if

from the conference experience might help to make this clearer.

Barney came into the conference with a sense of his own enrichment through a sensuous relationship with nature. This he shared with us simply by inviting us to take an orange and to feel its coolness against our cheeks, its smell, its softness, its hardness, its roundness, the taste of its skin, the taste, smell and coolness of its juice, etc. Here there was no actor and no audience, just a man sharing his joys.

Similarly, the married men's group, having become aware of the emotional sterility of their lives and, in particular, their embarrassed inability to relate to other men physically, blind-folded themselves and in pairs, while music played, began to reach out for each other. Initially, physical contact was rebuffed, in some instances violently. Slowly acceptance became more confident until the blind-folds were removed. They held each other, they danced, and then invited the other men in the audience to share with them in their experience of breaking through this barrier. Soon all the men had joined in the dancing. Then the women were included. Everyone had become part of the action initiated by the small group of six 'actors'.

- * This means that guerilla theatre which relies upon insult or humiliation, unless it goes beyond this to communication (Cf. the report of the women's group under the Conscientization group reports) must be seen to have limited value.
- * If the aim of guerilla theatre is to raise a new level of consciousness or a new level of awareness, then the means used require imagination. The 'something new' needs to be apprehended in the initiating action (the 'presentation') itself.

During the evening of guerilla theatre the first indications were felt that the groups which had battled through the tremendous tensions for their right to be independent, now wished to say something to each other about the valuable insights they had gained through working independently and facing their own peculiar situation.

i. FREEDOM '71 (Conference daily newspaper).

A highly successful innovation at this year's conference, was a daily newspaper. The function of the paper was not primarily to carry comment, though this was by no means discouraged, because the Current Affairs sessions of the conference served this purpose extremely well. Its main function was to obviate the incredible tedium of 'plenary sessions' or 'report backs' which take up so much time when a great deal of the conference work is done in small groups. Thus FREEDOM ('71) DAILY, issued each morning, carried comprehensive reports of the activities of the previous day, especially reports of group work. If anyone wanted a 'plenary discussion' on any of these reports the

Current Affairs sessions were there for this. In addition events on the day's programme which needed fairly detailed or comprehensive introduction were carried in the paper.

Although this meant a good deal of work for the few people involved in running the paper, it did mean that we were able to do a lot more work without losing communication between the various groups. It means also that we had an accurate and detailed record of the conference as a whole.

Worship.

As is our custom at UCM conferences one service of worship was pre-arranged, and delegates were free to arrange other services if they so wished. At Freedom '71 the pre-arranged service was held.

This worship consisted of a liturgy which, at a number of points, opened up to allow for spontaneous action. Copies of the liturgy are obtainable from the UCM Head Office. The central feature of the liturgy was a play or 'dramatic comment', entitled 'Freedom is More', written for the occasion by Basil Moors (copies of this are also available), with time for free comment and discussion after it.

By habit this worship was held on Sunday morning. This was certainly not the most happy time for it. As has been explained elsewhere in this report, this was the time when tensions were at their height in the conference, but had not yet broken out into the open. But the whole worship, especially the 'play' dealt overtly with the theme of oppression, and in particular the oppression of women and blacks. These were the issues of tension, sharply felt but not yet articulated. Thus 'free discussion' on the issues was hardly free.

In addition to this the play suggested very strongly the unity of the oppressed in their diversity. This anticipated too much of the process of the conference and on the Sunday the real struggle was for the recognition of the diversity of oppressed groups.

While it is not fair to say that the worship 'failed', it is fair to say that because of the 'timing' its communicative value was not very great. But, perhaps, in the light of later events in the conference, it was prophetic. To say this is the highest form of praise of a service of worship.

k. The future of the UCM.

The new structure of the UCM, as outlined in pages 1 ff. of this report, is a reflection of what took place in the conference. At the probable cost of boring repetition it may be worth while re-stating in

a few sentences the major flow of events that finally created the new direction for the UCM.

We began Conference as a multi-racial body, afraid of seeing the UCM collapse under the pressure of the new black mood on black campuses. But because we were aware of the mood and its effect on the UCM we desperately tried to ask ourselves questions about new structures, questions which could not be answered because tensions between blacks and whites were too high, and awareness of direction was too low.

While this black/white tension took some time to surface a tension not before experienced within the UCM took over - the tension between men and women.

Both of these tensions were lowered once they had surfaced in the conference and it had been genuinely and widely accepted that both the blacks and the women would and must focus for themselves the areas of their oppression, and decide whether and how they would struggle for their liberation. Once this was accepted not only were the women's and the black's groups able to function without the tremendous resistance of the predominantly white male remainder, but this 'remainder' also came to see the value of focussing for themselves what it meant to be white and male in South Africa.

As a result all present were able to get into groups to discuss and work through the issues which affected them directly and thus in which they had a stake.

As these various groups in their diversity began to focus on the burning issues which affected them directly the different 'skills' workshops were able to come into their own. Picking up the issues from the different 'consciousness' groups they were able to apply them in working out the methods and content of their particular skill. Thus the 'skills' workshops became a focus of communication and unity between the different 'consciousness' groups.

Thus conference began to see itself as a sort of federation of the different groups - both consciousness groups and skills groups. While work at depth went on in the different groups in virtual independence of each other - i.e. with a minimum of interference - a growing need was felt to share the new insights gained. Beyond this, it was also felt that there was a need to develop a more total view of what liberation or freedom is all about in both secular and theological terms. Thus groups concerned with this more total 'over-view' emerged.

All of this was translated into the new structure of the UCM and its executive. The groups formed at conference felt the need to continue and spread the work begun at conference on their campuses and in the wider society. As a result the diversified interest/project structure of the conference is probably what the old UCM will come to look like on campuses - i.e. groups concerned with women's liberation, black theology, white liberation, ideology, literacy, preventative medicine, urban and rural development and NOT just a group of people rather generally and unspecifically interested in the 'UCM'. At the same time it was felt that it

would be useful if these various and scattered groups could have a person or group of people through whom the activities of each area of concern could be co-ordinated. Thus the groups which had defined an on-going programme for themselves each chose such a co-ordinating person or group of people, and these people were also appointed as representatives of the groups on the Executive. The effect of this was to make the Executive NOT a policy-making body, but a consultative body. Decisions on programmes, policy, etc., will be made by the various groups or the persons representing them on the Executive, e.g. the Director of black theology, not the executive, will be responsible for the black theology movement. At the same time it is confidently expected that the various groups will be prepared not only to talk to one another but also to listen to one another.

This acceptance of diversity and the independence of the diverse groups explains why the Council took so few resolutions. Indications of projects and their contents will be found in the reports of the various groups which are presented in this report. No particularly strong need was felt (or reason seen) for the Council either to ratify or reject the plans of the groups.

As much as there was an acceptance of the validity of diversity in the conference which was reflected in the structure of the Executive and the new direction for campuses, so also there was an acceptance of the need not only for communication but a unity which would not act against the diversity. This was reflected in the appointment of directors of ideological and theological concerns, and also in the election of the President and General Secretary.

When all is finally said about the new structures and direction of the 'UCH', which has in effect become a Movement concerned with some aspects of Christian adult education, the crunch will come in what is achieved 'back home'. There is no salvation in structures. They can only be more or less inhibiting or more or less enabling. The only value in a structure is its ability to serve a movement. It is the movement that counts - the movement towards freedom.
