



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

**THE MINISTRY OF DR BEYERS NAUDÉ:**  
TOWARDS DEVELOPING A COMPREHENSIVE MISSION (COMMUNICATION)  
STRATEGY TOWARDS THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION

By

MNYALAZA TOBIAS MASUKU

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR (PhD)

in the Department of Science of Religion and Missiology

Faculty of

THEOLOGY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

PROMOTOR: PROF C J P NIEMANDT

NOVEMBER 2010

## SUMMARY

This thesis proposes that the ministry of Dr Beyers Naudé to the victims of oppression during the apartheid rule in South Africa had a missionary dimension. It argues that the credibility of the Christian faith was challenged by the victims of oppression, as a result of the way in which it was used as a supportive tool for oppression. Through his ministry, Beyers Naudé succeeded in communicating the Christian faith in a special way to the victims of oppression. This led to a change of mind for the victims of oppression with regard to their negative attitude to the Christian faith.

This study further resulted in the development of a comprehensive mission (communication) strategy to the victims of oppression. The argument is that there is another form of post-1994 victims of oppression in South Africa made out of those who feel left out by government poverty alleviation, economic development and service delivery programmes. The inability of government to strike a balance between the rich and the poor as well as corruption will always yield the 'disadvantaged' section of society who may feel 'oppressed', neglected and left out in favour of the few who have 'connections' at higher levels of government. These victims' response will be characterized by anger which results into protest actions similar to those seen during the time of the ministry of Beyers Naudé. The question posed in this study is 'how to minister to angry people who feel left out by government?' In order to respond to this challenge and to equip ministers of religion and other interested people, a comprehensive mission (communication) strategy to victims of oppression was therefore developed based on the example of Beyers Naudé.

The main question posed in this study around the reason for the success of Beyers Naudé's ministry is "what 'muthi' did he use to win the hearts, love and support of the victims of oppression?" In order to answer this question, there is a three step approach that has been followed. Firstly I looked at factors that made him or influenced his making i.e. his life from his birth to his 'conversion', South African political landscape divided into two periods (1940-1963 and 1963-1994) as well as Faith Based Organisations' response to apartheid. Secondly, I looked at his actual

ministry to the victims of oppression from 1963 to 1994. I divided his ministry between the categories of centripetal and centrifugal patterns of mission. Thirdly a comprehensive mission (communication) strategy to the victims of oppression was developed, based on his contribution to a positive Christian witness.

In the concluding chapter, I made some proposals for a way-forward in terms of areas for further study which were triggered by this research. The best statement for concluding this study, indicating the commitment of Beyers Naudé for God's mission and how this was misunderstood by his church (the DRC) was taken from Mokgoebo (2009) who states:

Beyers Naudé was a prophet of his time. As the saying goes, 'the prophet is never respected at his own home'. His witness will remain long after we have gone, as a White man who was grasped by the powerful message of the Kingdom of God, of justice and reconciliation.

**KEY TERMS:** African Initiated Churches, African National Congress, Afrikaner-Broederbond, Apartheid, Belydende-kring/Broederkring, Black Consciousness movement, Black and White, 'Conversion', 'Daughter' Churches, Dominee, Dutch Reformed Church, Mission, Mission Strategy, Muthi, Nationalist Party, Peoples' War, Race/racism, Victims of oppression/apartheid and Volk.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The principle of UBUNTU has been greatly applicable in my preparation of this study. For those who may not be familiar with it, Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu (in Ryan 2005: v) comes to their rescue when he explains that it means “I am because you are.” It further means that a human being is not an individual or island but part of others, thus: “A person is a person through other persons” (ibid). This has been applicable in this study. The success of this study was made possible by the contributions and cooperation with others. I was like a mechanic and they were like spanner boys and girls who gave me the necessary tools and advice while I was building up this project. I wish therefore, to thank all my spanner boys and girls.

Some of my spanner boys and girls are my colleagues in the Department of Defence, especially those from the Chaplain General Division. I cannot mention all their names except the Chaplain General, Brig Gen (Rev) Marius Cornelissen who supported me throughout by also granting me permission for research leave within the busy schedule and limited human capacity in our Division. The fact that he even attended the occasion of my public defence of this doctorate at the University of Pretoria on 1 December 2010 within his busy scheduled humbled me deeply. I thank the Chaplain General Staff Council members for their prayers and understanding when I was absent from some of their monthly meetings due to this project. A special word of gratitude goes to members of the office of the Chaplain General for their moral support in different ways. They have all been good spanner boys and girls to me.

Some of my spanner boys have been my interviewees; Proff J.N.J. (Klippiess) Kritzinger, Nico Botha, Piet Meiring, Drr Andre Bartlett, Rudolf Meyer, Revs Siphon Tshelane, Zack Mokgoebo and Mr Johann Naudé (son of Beyers Naudé). They were excellent spanner boys in sacrificing their busy schedules to ensure that they give me the best with regards to their knowledge of Beyers Naudé.

My other spanner boys were at the University of Pretoria, the Faculty of Theology staff and library who have all been helpful. Proff Hennie Pieterse and Graham Duncan were helpful. Professor Pieterse gave me some research tips while Prof

Duncan gave me many volumes of the Christian Institute publication, Pro Veritate. The organizers of the research methodology annual seminars at this university played a significant role through their seminars. The bursary from this university was another important spanner that facilitated my research.

My other spanner boys and girls were at UNISA, for the role they played in my theological development from junior to masters' degree as well as the academic exposure and opportunities they gave me. Their injection of intellectual capacity in me made things easier for the University of Pretoria to guide me further towards this degree.

Some of my spanner boys and girls were in Stellenbosch University. This university was important because it housed three institutions which played an important role in this study. The institutions in question were; the library of the Faculty of Theology, the Dr Beyers Naudé Centre and the Archive office of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). All the people I came across in the above institutions during my research visits gave me untold support needed and hospitality.

My other spanner boys and girls were my colleagues and members in the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa (URCSA), particularly the congregation of Delmas. I cannot mention them all by name because they are many. Their prayers and moral support in different ways are greatly appreciated. Among the membership of the URCSA who were not from the ranks of ministers but who have been helpful are represented in the contribution of a Psychologist of note Prof Cecil Bodibe. His helping hand in his busy schedule is greatly appreciated.

When I read acknowledgements in other theses, I fail to see the acknowledgements of promoters. Let me therefore be the 'first' to acknowledge my promoter who guided me well through his wisdom, love and above all, his intellect. Within his huge academic abilities, I have also been able to discern a great sense of devotion from him as a man of God. In my academic journey with him, he exposed me to many academic opportunities such as attending relevant conferences and lecturing. He was the foreman of all my spanner boys and girls who enabled me to construct this

car which is the ministry of Beyers Naudé to the victims of oppression and the mission strategy that came out of it.

I thank my wife, Nkele and two boys, Jabu and Bongani for their support and understanding when I had to sacrifice some family outings and other ‘nice’ things for the sake of this study. My sister Leah although she is not ‘educated’ in understanding academic matters has always been ‘pushy’, pressurizing me to finish up this study whenever I paid her a visit. I therefore dedicate this thesis to them as representative of all the mothers and children of Africa and the world. They are among the major spanner boys and girls without whom this car would not have been fixed.

**ADVENT 2010**

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

AAC	All Africa Conference
AB	Afrikaner-Broederbond
AFM	Apostolic Faith Mission
AICs	African Initiated Churches
ATR	African Traditional Religions
BC	Black Consciousness
CI	Christian Institute
CSV	Christelike Studentevereniging
COPE	Congress of the People
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
DRCA	Dutch Reformed Church in Africa
DRMC	Dutch Reformed Mission Church
FEDSEM	Federal Theological Seminary
KJV	Kerk Jeugvereniging
NGKA	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika
NGSK	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk
NHKSA	Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk in Suider Afrika
NP	Nationalist Party
SA	South Africa
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SPROCAS	Study Project about Christianity in an Apartheid Society
UDF	United Democratic Front
UNISA	University of South Africa
URCSA	Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa
WCC	World Council of Churches



**DR BEYERS NAUDÉ AND WIFE, ILSE**





**Dr Beyers Naudé in action on God's mission to the victims of oppression**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Summary.....	ii
Key terms.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
List of abbreviations used.....	vii

### CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

<b>1. PURPOSE, RELEVANCE AND METHOD.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.....	1
1.2. RELEVANCE.....	4
1.3. RESEARCH METHODS AND SOURCES.....	5
1.3.1. Literature study.....	5
1.3.2. Interviews.....	6
1.3.3. Analytical tool used.....	9
1.3.4. Terminology and concepts.....	14
1.3.5. Missiological approach and theological points of departure.....	20
1.3.6. Structure.....	26

### CHAPTER 2: BEYERS NAUDÉ FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS ‘CONVERSION’, SOUTH AFRICA, FAITH BASED ORGANISATIONS AND APARTHEID

2.1. INTRODUCTION.....	28
2.2. EARLY LIFE.....	29
2.2.1. Parental background.....	29
2.2.2. Childhood and youth.....	31
2.2.3. Encounter with children of other races.....	33
2.2.4. Theological formation: University student.....	36
2.2.5. Involvement in youth movements.....	38
2.2.6. Beyers Naudé and his spirituality.....	39



<b>2.3. MINISTRY IN THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH (DRC) 1940-1963.....</b>	<b>39</b>
2.3.1. The Dutch Reformed Church in perspective.....	39
2.3.2. Ministry in the Dutch Reformed Church congregations.....	42
2.3.2.1. Wellington: 1940-1942.....	42
2.3.2.2. Loxton: 1942-1945.....	43
2.3.2.3. Pretoria South-Olifantsfontein: 1945-1949.....	44
2.3.2.4. Pretoria East: 1949-1954.....	45
2.3.2.5. Potchefstroom: 1954-1959.....	48
2.3.2.6. Aasvoëlkop: 1959-1963.....	50
<b>2.4. THE ‘CONVERSION’ OF BEYERS NAUDÉ .....</b>	<b>51</b>
2.4.1. The ‘conversion’.....	51
2.4.2. The Christian Institute.....	55
2.4.3. The reaction of the DRC and the <i>volk</i> to Beyers Naude’s ‘conversion’.....	56
<b>2.5. THE MISSION FIELD: POLITICAL CLIMATE IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ IN THE DRC (1940-1963) AND TO THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION (1963-1994).....</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>2.5.1. SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ IN THE DRC: 1940-1963.....</b>	<b>57</b>
2.5.1.1. An overview of the political landscape of South Africa .....	57
2.5.1.2. Selected apartheid legislations passed during the period under review.....	63
a. The prohibition of mixed marriages Act of 1949.....	64
b. Population Registration Act of 1950.....	64
c. Group Areas Act of 1950.....	64
d. Pass Laws of 1952.....	65
e. Bantu Education Act of 1953.....	65
f. Reservation of separate amenities Act of 1953.....	66



g.	Bantu Urban Areas Act of 1954.....	67
h.	Mines and Wok Act of 1956.....	67
i.	Bantu Homelands Citizen Act of 1970.....	68
2.5.1.3.	Response by the victims of oppression to government apartheid policies.....	68
<b>2.5.2.</b>	<b>SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ TO THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION: 1963-1994.....</b>	<b>72</b>
2.5.2.1.	An overview of the political landscape of South Africa.....	72
2.5.2.2.	Political dynamics of South Africa.....	75
a.	Government strategic action against victims of oppression.....	75
b.	Victims of oppression's strategic response to government action.....	80
<b>2.6.</b>	<b>FAITH BASED ORGANISATIONS' RESPONSE TO APARTHEID.....</b>	<b>88</b>
2.6.1.	Background.....	88
2.6.2.	Apartheid is embraced by churches.....	89
2.6.3.	Apartheid is rejected by churches.....	91
2.6.4.	Churches adopt a neutral stance (quiet diplomacy) on apartheid.....	92
2.6.5.	Ecumenical bodies.....	97
2.6.6.	Main minority religions.....	98
<b>2.7.</b>	<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>100</b>

## CHAPTER 3: THE NATURE AND IMPACT OF THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ TO THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID, 1963 TO 1994

3.1. INTRODUCTION.....	101
3.2. MISSION STRATEGY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ.....	102
3.2.1. Beyers Naudé and Liberation Theology.....	102
3.2.2. The character of Beyers Naudé .....	108
3.2.2.1. Positive character.....	108
3.2.2.2. Negative character.....	122
3.2.3. Centripetal mission pattern of Beyers Naudé .....	124
3.2.4. Centrifugal mission pattern of Beyers Naudé .....	128
3.3. OUTCOMES OF THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ TO THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION.....	141
3.3.1. Negative response .....	141
3.3.2. Positive response.....	150
<b>3.4. CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>159</b>

## CHAPTER 4: TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE MISSION STRATEGY TO THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION

4.1. INTRODUCTION.....	162
4.2. DEVELOPING A COMPREHENSIVE MISSION STRATEGY.....	163
<b>4.2.1. Methods.....</b>	<b>163</b>
4.2.1.1. Agents of mission.....	163
4.2.1.2. Word (preaching).....	165
4.2.1.3. Interaction with authorities.....	167
4.2.1.4. Context.....	168
4.2.1.5. Development.....	169
4.2.1.6. Interlocutors.....	170

4.2.1.7.	Teaching.....	170
<b>a.</b>	<i>Teaching means of Beyers Naudé</i> .....	170
	i. The Christian Institute.....	171
	ii. The Belydende-kring .....	172
	iii. Pro Veritate.....	172
	iv. African Independent Church Association.....	173
	v. The SPROCAS.....	174
	vi. The South African Council of Churches (SACC).....	174
	vii. Liberation movements.....	175
<b>b.</b>	<i>Support related teachings</i> .....	175
	i. Support to victims' initiatives.....	175
	ii. Support to ecumenical initiatives.....	176
	iii. Support by ministry of presence.....	176
	iv. Support by counseling .....	176
<b>c.</b>	<i>Character related teachings</i> .....	177
	i. Being a faithful servant of God.....	177
	ii. Deep faith.....	177
	iii. Maintaining a neutral stance.....	178
	iv. Humility.....	178
	v. Identification with the weak, the have-nots.....	178
	vi. Accessibility.....	179
	vii. Courage and perseverance.....	179
	viii, Theology of religions.....	180
	ix. Being a role model.....	180
<b>d.</b>	<i>Ethics related teachings</i> .....	181
	i. On the use of violence.....	181
	ii. On scriptural justification of oppression.....	182
	iii. On military conscientious objection.....	182
	iv. On social issues.....	183
	v. On support to liberation movements.....	183



vi.	On love to enemies.....	184
vii.	On radicalism.....	184
viii.	On investment.....	185
ix.	On acknowledging one's identity.....	185
x.	On armed struggle.....	186
xi.	On location of the place of residence.....	187
<b>4.2.2.</b>	<b>Motives.....</b>	<b>187</b>
4.2.2.1.	Use of Bible.....	187
4.2.2.2.	Scope of salvation.....	188
4.2.2.3.	Culture.....	189
4.2.2.4.	Reconciliation.....	189
<b>4.3.</b>	<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>192</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION</b>		
<b>5.1.</b>	<b>CONCLUSIVE OVERVIEW.....</b>	<b>193</b>
<b>5.2.</b>	<b>LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ.....</b>	<b>197</b>
5.2.1.	The influence of strong Afrikaner cultural upbringing.....	197
5.2.2.	Diminishing prophetic voice of the church in post-Beyers Naudé period.....	199
5.2.3.	Stigmata of the cross.....	200
5.2.4.	The transforming DRC.....	202
5.2.5.	Contextual ministry as today's mission approach.....	204
5.2.6.	Ministry by presence.....	204
5.2.7.	Salvation as liberation to full humanity.....	205
5.2.8.	Beyers Naude's hermeneutics.....	206
5.2.9.	Beyers Naude's personal devotion.....	206
5.2.10.	Reconciliation.....	207
5.2.11.	Ecumenism.....	209
5.2.12.	Interaction with authorities.....	209



<b>5.3.</b>	<b>FINAL CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>210</b>
5.4.	WAY-FORWARD.....	211
5.4.1.	Areas for further study.....	211
<b>6.</b>	<b>LIST OF REFERENCES CITED.....</b>	<b>214</b>
<b>7.</b>	<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>229</b>
A:	INTERVIEW WITH DR. A.L. BARTLETT.....	229
B:	INTERVIEW WITH PROF. N.A. BOTHA.....	231
C:	INTERVIEW WITH PROF. J.N.J. KRITZINGER.....	234
D:	INTERVIEW WITH PROF. P.G.J. MEIRING.....	238
E:	INTERVIEW WITH DR R. A. MEYER.....	244
F:	INTERVIEW WITH REV. Z. MOKGOEBO.....	248
G:	INTERVIEW WITH REV. S. S. TSHELANE.....	253
H:	INTERVIEW WITH MR. J. NAUDÉ .....	259
I:	APARTHEID LEGISLATIONS .....	265
J:	SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCHES.....	226



## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1. PURPOSE, RELEVANCE AND METHOD

#### 1.1. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The close association which existed between the apartheid regime and the Christian church, albeit by and large with one particular denomination, brought the credibility of the Gospel of Jesus Christ into question. The loser in this case proved to be not the state but the church, whose message of love, peace and justice became tarnished by an inhumane and sinful ideology (Lubbe 2009:131).

The study argues that the ministry of Dr Beyers Naudé<sup>1</sup> during the apartheid rule in South Africa brought a missionary dimension to the victims of apartheid. These victims are people who were disillusioned by the Christian faith as a result of the way in which it was misused as a tool for oppression (Ryan 2005:v). This element uniquely communicated the Christian message to these victims in such a way that while they doubted and rejected this religion, they ultimately embraced it because he touched them through his ministry (Ryan 2005:vi).

During the apartheid rule in South Africa, the misuse of the Bible and Christianity for political means as an oppressive tool discouraged some Christians from their faith. Most victims of this situation were from the oppressed Black majority. The damage caused by the situation as explained above, led to many theological questions from the oppressed. Some of them revolved around the dilemma and doubts that the Christian religion was 'successfully' employed as an oppressive machinery. They therefore rejected Christianity and became 'atheists' while some joined other religions.

Hatred of the Christian faith and everything that was associated with it grew among victims of oppression. For instance, during the political uprisings of the mid-

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr Beyers Naudé shall hereinafter and throughout this study be referred to merely as Beyers Naudé without the title (Dr) for the purpose of convenience.

seventies, churches were burnt down. Black Christians were perceived by the freedom fighters to be passive and useless in the struggle. There was state propaganda that the freedom fighters were against religions and that churches were going to be destroyed.

The faithful lifestyles of some Christians especially those from the communities that championed the course of oppression turned the tide around. Beyers Naudé was among them. His faithful lifestyle in obedience to God did not only 'surprise' the victims of oppression because his actions were unexpected, but brought them back to the Christian faith.

The ministry of Beyers Naudé came to these victims of oppression at a time when as in the case of Miroslav Volf (2006:6), they were still remembering their interrogators and finding it difficult to remove them from their minds. Volf (ibid) referring to the process he employed of forgetting his torturer, whom he called Captain G indicated how he wanted to erase him from his mind with immediate effect. However, he realized that it was not easy to do that. Captain G remained in his mind and continued to threaten him repeatedly. It is good that in the process, Volf was able to overcome these memories although the question of his relationship with the Captain was not yet fully addressed. He succeeded in healing himself of this matter, but he gave credit to psychological and political reasons. In this case it should be understood that the sidelining of Captain G from the memory of Volf was the efforts of the latter's own initiative without the action of the former. A different scenario in the case of the victims of oppression is that Beyers Naudé took the initiative.

The life of Beyers Naudé in the South African political scene during the apartheid period ignited a Christian flame in the hearts of the victims of oppression. He became a missionary within the politicized people of South Africa and succeeded to witness to the liberating and transforming power of Jesus Christ, restoring credibility for the Christian faith. As a result of people like him, religious communities are reaping positive fruits in the political life of South Africa today. The position given by the present government officials and other politicians to religious leaders is that of the highest honour. For instance, advice or viewpoints of religious communities are sought after every day and church related statements and terminologies such as the

“ANC is a broad *church* for people with diverse views” (City Press, 13 July 2008) are borrowed from the church and thereafter employed in political debates. In addition, long speeches by politicians are sometimes referred to as ‘sermons’ and politicians who had disagreements and later reconciled would refer to themselves as singing the same ‘hymn’ from the same ‘hymn book’.

This study seeks to indicate that Beyers Naudé’s ministry in South Africa had vast missiological implications. There were people who came to appreciate the importance of Christianity in their lives because of him. He served as an example of the best attributes of the Christian faith at a time when the Christian witness was at risk. The purpose of this study is therefore to unearth the missionary dimension of Beyers Naudé in the midst of political turmoil in South Africa. It is an attempt to find out what ‘muthi’ he used to win the hearts and love of the victims of oppression, thus bringing back the credibility of this religion. Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu (2005:48) wrestled with similar questions with regards to Beyers Naudé’s miraculous acceptance by the victims of apartheid. Reflecting on Beyers Naudé’s election as South African Council of Churches (SACC) General Secretary in 1985 (despite the council’s decision to no longer elect a White person to this position since most of the member churches were Black), he asked:

How could such an unlikely candidate, such a quintessential *N G dominee*, who saw nothing wrong with apartheid and who opposed supporting Britain against Hitler in World War II, have become a man who could be appointed General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches without anyone raising an eyebrow or being outraged? What had happened to effect what seemed such an extraordinary metamorphosis? For as a supporter of apartheid, which had been declared a heresy by SACC following the epoch-making declaration by WARC in 1982, he would have been total anathema, someone that the organization would not have wished to touch with the proverbial barge pole, especially as the Church to which he belonged then had left the SACC two decades previously. What had happened? (ibid).

Beyers Naudé therefore, demonstrated and conveyed a story of a positive Christian witness in South Africa within the realm of Christian mission through his ministry and contribution for the victims of apartheid.

In order to answer the question of Beyers Naudé's 'muthi' for success among victims of oppression, there is a three step approach that has been followed. Firstly I looked at those factors that made him or influenced his making i.e. his life from his birth to his 'conversion', South African political landscape divided into two periods (1940-1963 and 1963-1994) as well as Faith Based Organisations' response to apartheid. Secondly, I looked at his actual ministry to the victims of oppression from 1963 to 1994. I divided his ministry between the categories of centripetal and centrifugal patterns of mission. Thirdly a comprehensive mission (communication) strategy to the victims of oppression was developed, based on his contribution to a positive Christian witness.

## **1.2. RELEVANCE**

The study focuses on the ministry of Beyers Naudé to the victims of oppression in South Africa with effect from the early 1960s to the dawn of democracy in 1994. It also develops a comprehensive mission strategy to them based on lessons learned from his ministry.

Although this study focuses on the victims of oppression covering the period of the ministry of Beyers Naudé, my thesis is that there are post-1994 victims of another form of oppression or 'apartheid'. They are made out of those who feel left out by government economic development and service delivery programmes. My reasons for the development of a comprehensive mission strategy are based on the need for a tool to minister to this post-1994 new form of victims of oppression. The victims of oppression will always be a part of any society until the end of time whether democratic or not. As I write this study, the country is infested with dissatisfaction on service delivery, characterized by protests that remind one of the scenes in the township streets during the ministry and era of Beyers Naudé in the 1970s and 1980s. For instance, there were eighty three (83) service delivery protests during the first half of 2010 (City Press, 5 December 2010).

These are victims of oppression of our time and will continue to feature, even in future. Their characteristics are always the same (as those of the time of Beyers Naudé) and they are demonstrated by anger, mass action i.e. protest marches followed by violence, destruction to property, littering on streets, police action and injuries. The question is, “how could the ministry of Beyers Naudé influence a ministry to this new generation of the oppressed?” The comprehensive mission (communication) strategy to the victims of oppression seeks to provide answers to this question. It endeavours to equip ministers of religion and other interested individuals of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and beyond, with a formidable tool that will enable them to face the challenges of our times (and those still to come) with regards to the execution of *Missio Dei*.

### **1.3. RESEARCH METHODS AND SOURCES**

As part of the research methods and sources, this study entails a literature study, structured interviews and the analysis of those interviews. It therefore suggests two approaches which converge at the point of conversation where they are used interactively. This means that there is no specific area in which the interviews are analysed separately but have been employed as part of my interlocutors. This approach has also been followed by Heaney (2004) in which he drew his five interviews into dialogue interchangeably with his literature study. The interviews feature predominantly in chapters three and four and they have added more personal information which has not been completely covered in some of the literature study that I consulted.

#### **1.3.1. Literature study**

In my selection of sources for this study, attention has been on those that enabled me to gain insight and information on Beyers Naudé and other structures and entities that had influence in his life. The following four source areas were significant. Firstly, I consulted works (books) written about Beyers Naudé. These included his biographies, festschrift and many other relevant works. Secondly, relevant doctoral theses were consulted. The most outstanding thesis was one by Dr Michael Heaney on Beyers Naudé, written from an ecumenical perspective. This source has been

helpful throughout. Thirdly, a wide range of print and electronic media were consulted. This indicated that the unique ministry of Beyers Naudé attracted media attention. In this category, I also included journal articles. Fourthly, the publications of the Christian Institute, Pro Veritate were consulted as well. Editions of this publication, covering the period of its existence, starting from the early 1960 to the late 1970s when it was banned with other Black publications were also used in this study.

### **1.3.2. Interviews**

Eight structured interviews were also conducted as part of the sources for this study. They were structured in such a way that they asked similar questions to see if all the interviewees confirm or differ on certain aspects of him (appendice A-H). However, interviews that were directed at his family members were structured differently.

A qualitative research approach has been followed resulting from the structure of the interviews. This research approach was more attractive than the quantitative one because of the following four reasons. Firstly, quantitative research cannot produce the desired results about my interlocutor (Beyers Naudé) who was researched from various aspects of his life in this study. This means that I equally looked at Beyers Naudé from various aspects of his life, not only for instance, his sermons as was the case with Pieterse (1995) when he analysed the sermons of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. What I want from my interlocutor cannot be fully researched with a quantitative approach as I am not interested in measuring data or numbers but in understanding and explaining data about him. My reason for electing this approach could also be described in terms of the motivation given by Hollway and Jefferson (2000:2) for their preference of qualitative research for social sciences when they wrote that “if quantitative survey-based research is not up to addressing ‘what does this mean’ and ‘why’ questions, it does not follow that the other, qualitative research tradition has ready answers to such questions.” He however acknowledges that there are assumptions in this tradition.

Secondly, I followed the example of Heaney (2004) who also employed the same approach (with his five interviews) in his study of Beyers Naudé’s ecumenical

contributions. I also observed that this approach is more appropriate in the study that focuses on various aspects of the individual's life as was the case with those who did it previously such as, for instance Heaney (2004) and another study I conducted (Masuku 1998).

Thirdly, my attraction was based on the fact that Hollway and Jefferson (2000:1) identified a qualitative interview as "the most common qualitative method used in social sciences." Therefore, this study being part of social sciences becomes relevant in the usage of this research approach. In employing qualitative interviews, I endorsed the statement by Flick (2007:ix) when he stated that "in recent years, qualitative research has enjoyed a period of unprecedented growth and diversification as it has become an established and respected research approach across a variety of disciplines and contexts."

Fourthly, my reasons for employing this research approach are also accommodated in Creswell (2007:40) when he mentioned the following points as grounds for the use of qualitative research:

- Because we need a complex detailed understanding of the issue. This is only possible by talking directly with people, going to their homes or places of work and allowing them to tell their stories unencumbered by what we expect to find or what we have read in literature.
- When we want to empower individuals to share their stories, hear their voices, and minimize the power relationship that often exist between a researcher and the participants in a study.
- When we want to write in a literary, flexibility style that conveys stories, or theater, or poems, without the restrictions of formal academic structures of writing.
- When we want to understand the context or settings in which participants in a study address a problem or issue.
- Because quantitative measures and statistical analyses simply do not fit the problem. Interactions among people, for example, are difficult to capture with

existing measures, and these measures may not be sensitive to issues such as gender, race, economic status, and individual differences.

The qualitative approach is therefore more appropriate for the purpose of this study. This is because it enabled me to gather enough information needed on various aspects of Beyers Naudé's life. This is true in the reasoning of Berg (1989:2) when he unfolded the meaning of *quality or qualitative* against *quantitative*. He argued that *quality* "refers to the what, how, when, and where of a thing, its essence and ambivalence." Consequently, he defined *qualitative research* as referring to "the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things" as its main characteristics. On the other hand and differently from the above definition, quantitative research refers to "counts and measures of things" as its major characteristics. What I need for my research makes more sense from this definition of qualitative research than quantitative research. Apart from this, this approach employed in this study has all the characteristics of qualitative research as seen by Hollway and Jefferson (2000:1). For instance, they stated that it should be characterized by the following points among others:

- The researcher needs to start by having an interest in a particular subject.
- Reading the literature, which is mostly survey-based, one may reach different conclusions and assumptions which need to be verified.
- The need to identify acquaintances who are willing to be informants to see if they can shed some light.
- Come up with a structured interview in which a series of questions have been constructed, designed to explore on a face to face basis.
- Then follows the analysis of the answers captured in the interviews to make some overall sense of them.

In trying to understand, define and identify some common features of qualitative research Flick (2007:x) stated that this research approach is meant to "approach the world 'out there' (not in laboratories) and to understand, describe and sometimes explain social phenomena 'from the inside' in a number of different ways".



Having this in mind, Flick (2007:xi) emphasises the importance of context and cases in qualitative research as a means for understanding of an issue being studied. While underlining the importance of context, case studies or a series of them, their history and context are important for understanding a particular study. Creswell (2007:37) expanded this approach clearly in his definition of the role of qualitative researchers by indicating that they tend to collect data in the field. He continued to indicate that “...[T]hey do not bring individuals to the lab, nor do they typically send out instruments for individuals to complete.” Creswell regards this as the heart of qualitative research, a natural setting in which the researcher experiences a face-to-face interaction with the people.

The interviews became important because they supplemented and even confirmed the information gathered from the literature study. This qualitative approach employed in this study, took into consideration the characteristics as identified by Hollway and Jefferson as well as the approach as defined by Flick above. For instance, in following Flick, context and case studies characterized this study.

A careful selection of key people (interviewees) was made. They represented different categories of people who were close to Beyers Naudé. My selection of interviewees was guided by the following three categories. Firstly, those who knew Beyers Naudé very well as friends and colleagues in the DRC, the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (that later formed part of the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa) and the Christian Institute. Secondly, there were those who benefited from the activities of Beyers Naudé, such as his financial beneficiaries for the purpose of their studies. Thirdly, those who were in organizations, institutions or churches that benefited from his ministry and fourthly, members of his family. This process is in line with Hollway and Jefferson (2000:1) who when defining processes of qualitative research advised on the identification of “acquaintances who are willing to be informants to see if you can shed some light on these questions.”

### **1.3.3. Analytical tool used**

In order to develop a comprehensive mission strategy for the victims of oppression and to analyse some of the interviews conducted, I have applied a 'grid' that was

used in 1992 to introduce different models of Christian mission in the missiology study guide of the first year at the University of South Africa (UNISA) (Saayman 1992; cf Masuku 1998:4-5). This grid is divided into *methods* and *motives* for mission and it looks as follows:

1. **Methods**

- a. Agents of mission.
- b. Word (preaching).
- c. Healing ministry.
- d. Teaching.
- e. Worship.
- f. Interaction with authorities.
- g. Context.
- h. Development.

2. **Motives**

- a. Use of Bibles.
- b. Scope of salvation.
- c. Culture.
- d. Cooperation.
- e. Planting.
- f. Young churches.

This analytical tool was successfully used in different areas by different scholars. Verkuyl (1978:163 & 176) analysed mission by using *motives* and *goals*. He divided his motives into pure and impure, while under goals he discussed the goal of saving individual souls. Over and above Verkuyl's employment of this tool and UNISA where it was used to analyse different theological models (Saayman 1992:16-308), it was also used by Masuku (1998:116-124) to analyse sermons of the first African missionary of the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa in Botswana and Banda (1996:27-162) when he analysed the emergence of mission in the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk van Afrika (NHKA), although with some changes.

Banda (1996:7) however, limits this grid of questions under *method* to the following dimensions:

- a. Agents of mission (i.e. missionaries, clergy, laity, evangelists, women, their training, organized bodies and societies).
- b. Social Ministries (healing, teaching, schools, literacy, development projects, etc).
- c. Interaction with authorities.
- d. Indigenisation (adaptation, contextualization, effect on worship, etc).

Banda had the following under *motives* and *goals*:

- a. Key Biblical passage (s) and missiological ideas (advanced to resist or promote missions).
- b. The view of civilization or indigenous culture.
- c. Attitude towards other churches or mission societies (cooperation, competition or conflict).
- d. Church and state relations (cooperation, protection, conflict, legislation on mission and land allocation).
- e. View of church planting and the mission of the 'younger' church.

This analytical tool was very attractive to me for my development of mission strategy and at the same time in the analysis of the interviews conducted. As mentioned earlier (1.3), the analysis of the interviews will be entertained throughout this study as part of the sources or part of my interlocutors with other relevant works as building blocks for the development of mission strategy in chapter four. In so doing, I will be following the route followed by Heaney (2004) who did not dedicate a special chapter that was purely for the analysis of his five interviews, but where he used them in the same way like other sources, to strengthen his arguments.

However, I acknowledge the critique by Kritzinger (1995:380-381; cf Masuku 1998:6) on some aspects of this tool in his study of religious communities when he reasoned that its design has too many subdivisions, thus making it very complex as a good hermeneutic tool. However, I found this tool helpful and relevant for my study with

regards to the development of the mission strategy to the victims of oppression because the topics of the subheadings (dimensions) correctly capture the scope of themes I intend to address. To make this tool more relevant to this research and in taking Kritzinger's critique to heart, it was modified slightly as follows:

## 1. **Methods**

- a. Agents of mission.
- b. Word (preaching).
- c. Teaching.
- d. Interaction with authorities.
- e. Context.
- f. Development.
- g. Interlocutors.

## 2. **Motives (goals)**

- a. Use of Bibles.
- b. Scope of salvation.
- c. Culture.
- d. Reconciliation.

The areas of this design that were affected by my modification constitute 20% of this grid. For instance, under the section of methods, I took out *healing ministry* and *worship* and added *Interlocutors* and *Ministry by presence*, the latter under the dimension of teaching. I found these two dimensions useful because they constituted some of the methods used by Beyers Naudé. They collectively earned him success in his ministry to the victims of oppression.

The dimension of *interlocutors* was borrowed from the praxis 'cycle' or matrix with seven dimensions. This is another useful analytical tool. The seven dimensions are; *reflection, agency or identification (interlocutors), context analysis, ecclesiastical analysis, theological values, planning or strategizing and reflexivity*. This tool was developed in South Africa into a seven dimensional cycle by Cochrane, De Gruchy

and Petersen (1991:13). It originated from one that is commonly known as S-J-A meaning See-Judge-Act which is characterized by three dimensions. The three dimensions of S-J-A can be defined as *Analysis-Biblical support-Do something* respectively. This three dimensional approach in the process was converted into a four dimensional *pastoral cycle* by two Catholic theologians, Joe Holland and Peter Henriot (in Cochrane et al 1991:13). This consisted of Insertion-Analysis-Reflection-Planting.

This praxis matrix tool has its characteristic as a mobilizing framework that enables people to contribute to transformation in their respective environments. It further defines mission as praxis. Praxis in this tool is understood as a mixture of theory and practice, (like in *ora et labora*) as opposed to defining it in terms of practice or action only. It cooks thinking and action in the same pot. This tool, although it is also relevant, gives limited space to the issues I want to address. This is apparent in comparison with the one I chose because it clearly defines methods and motives in line with the approach I wanted to follow in developing mission strategy. The subdivision (dimension) of *interlocutors* was taken from this tool as one of its dimensions. This dimension fully accommodated Beyers Naudé's character as someone who inserted himself into other people, as part of a collective and an organic intellectual.

Another dimension that was added under *method* but under the wings of the dimension of teaching is *Support of ministry by presence*. This dimension was taken from the Religious policy of the Department of Defence (DOD) of South Africa (DOD Rel Pol 2009:30). It requires chaplains to minister to the members of department by presenting themselves (making themselves visible) wherever the members are. Hirsch (2006:133) addresses presence as part of incarnational lifestyle, an important aspect for missiological significance. Saayman (2007:5) referred to this as humanization. This dimension will be of assistance in the development of the mission strategy because through it, one can appreciate the success of ministry as epitomized by the example of Beyers Naudé.

Another part under *methods* that was affected by my modification was the expansion of the dimension of *teaching*. This dimension was expanded by additional aspects

such as; the *Teaching means of Beyers Naudé*, *Support related teachings*, *Character related teachings* as well as *Ethics related teachings*. All these are based on the success example of the ministry of Beyers Naudé.

The employment of the grid will be of assistance to me as my development and analytical tool, in the creation of a mission strategy for the victims of oppression. It has all the requirements I needed for the accomplishment of this mission strategy with all the relevant dimensions.

#### **1.3.4. Terminology and concepts**

Certain terminologies and concepts which may not be familiar to other people were employed in this study. It is therefore important to explain them for the purpose of better understanding and uninterrupted reading of this thesis. I will also express my views on some of them and give reasons for using them.

##### **a. Dominee**

This is the title of a Minister of Religion employed in the Reformed Churches such as the DRC. It is abbreviated as Ds written without a dot at the end. Masuku (1998:13) says that “this title refers to Ministers of Religion in churches of reformed tradition, with Afrikaans language background.” This title is equivalent to Reverend or Pastor. Odendal (1994:158) traces the origin of this term from the Latin *dominus* referring to a protestant Minister of Religion.

##### **b. ‘Conversion’**

Written within inverted commas in this study, this term suggests that its usage is different from the conventional one. Its usage in this study is twofold. Firstly, it refers to the change of heart of the DRC particularly from supporting apartheid. Secondly, it refers to the change of heart of Beyers Naudé from personally supporting apartheid in the DRC to fighting against it. The need for conversion doesn’t only affect the perpetrators of injustice but both what Volf (2006:178) referred to as the “wronged

and wrongdoers alike.” According to Volf (ibid), this is because human beings are “fallible, finite and fragile.”

c. Victims of oppression/apartheid

This refers to human products of apartheid. These are those who have been disadvantaged by this system and consequently took up arms of all kind to fight against it. They did not face the situation lying down but fought it in different platforms both from within the country and in exile outside the borders of South Africa. Some fought it from the streets by throwing whatever they came across at the security forces, others fought it academically through books and education while others skipped the country to organize themselves into military formations against apartheid forces.

Volf (2006:78-80) shed a new light in the understanding of new identity when he argued that the wronged normally get identities from the wrong they suffered. For instance, when building an example of this from the South African context, within the confines of this study, the apartheid wronged are being called victims of apartheid/oppression as their identity.

Although this study focused on the type of victims of oppression as defined above, I also introduced another type of victims of oppression that are addressed by the comprehensive mission strategy to be developed in chapter four. These new form of victims of oppression are victims of another form of ‘apartheid’. These are the post 1994 sections of society who will feel left out by the government’s economic development and service delivery programmes.

d. ‘Muthi’

*Muthi* refers to an African traditional medical device. It is used to treat different kinds of illnesses like conventional (western) medicine does. In addition, it is believed that it can also be used to perform miraculous and supernatural activities. *Muthis* are of different types and they differ in their degree of capabilities from one traditional healer to another. Clients of traditional healers are always in search for the most

powerful healer with the most potent medicine (*muthi*). The *muthi* concept has been used in this study in reference to the ability of Beyers Naudé to perform an almost impossible activity, of winning the hearts of the victims of oppression, a very difficult undertaking for a White person at the height of apartheid and its resultant racial hatred.

e. Mission Strategy

It refers to a proposed plan or approach on how Christian mission is to be practiced, in this case within a particular context and time. Ntshumayelo (2005:42) puts it well when he contends that “strategy is derived from the Greek word ‘strategos’, which means a plan or policy to achieve something or planning of a war or campaign.” In this case, it refers to a mission plan for the victims of oppression built from the approach adopted by Beyers Naudé.

f. Volk

This is an Afrikaans version for the term nation or the people. Sometimes it is used possessively as in *Volkskas*, *Volkblad* and *Volkkleur*. Odendal (1994:1226) defines this term to refer to “a group of people who through unity of language and historical development have a clear sense togetherness” (my translation). In this study, this term is used to refer to the Afrikaners as a people in relation with Beyers Naudé’s worldview.

g. The Afrikaner-Broederbond

This is a secret Afrikaner cultural organization that was started in 1918 with an aim to protect Afrikaner interests in the world (South Africa) dominated by English speaking and African people. The reason for the birth of the Broederbond was defined by Serfontein (1979:29) as the prevention of the disappearance of the Afrikaner *volk* as a separate political, language, social and cultural entity. In the midst of poverty after the First World War, the Afrikaner had to ensure that they were not swamped by the English who were economically and culturally stronger than them at the time. Ryan (2005:10) called it “a pro-Afrikaner organization.” Another helpful definition is from



Nash (2005:33) who stated that Broederbond “was to be a service body for the reconciliation of all the Afrikaners in a single brotherhood, one in which Afrikaners, amidst confusion and disunity, would be able to work together for the survival of the Afrikaner people and the promotion of Afrikaner interest.”

This organization features in this study in relation to its association and influence on Beyers Naudé through his parents and church as well as the active role he played in the life of this organization and how he later turned against it. Although Afrikaner-Broederbond is the official name of this organization, I will refer to it as Broederbond throughout this study.

h. Broederkring/Belydende-kring

This was an organization formed by individuals within the ranks of the so called daughter churches of the DRC. The aim was to play a prophetic role against the apartheid support of the DRC and predominantly to fight for unity within the DRC family churches. This body changed its name to Belydende-kring from 1988 in order to accommodate women. This term features in this study as a result of the role played by Beyers Naudé in the life of this organization which was used as a tool to fight the DRC’s justification of racial division in church.

i. ‘Daughter’ churches

The DRC conceived racially divided churches as a result of her mission policy and work in South Africa. These churches were racially divided between Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Their relationship was referred by the DRC as that of a mother (DRC) and her daughters namely the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (Africans), Dutch Reformed Mission Church (Coloureds) and Reformed Church in Africa (Indians). This concept is not a sole DRC property as Masuku (1998:12) indicated that “‘daughter’ churches (DCs) is a phrase that was common in various church circles including the family of the DRCs. In this context it refers to the racially separated churches that were born as a result of DRC mission.”

This phrase, 'daughter' churches has been employed in this study as a result of the nature of their prophetic role in their relation to the DRC and the role played by Beyers Naudé in them.

j. Peoples' war

This concept was coined by the African National Congress (ANC) to refer to the process of making South Africa ungovernable after her peaceful resistance against apartheid was met with brutality from the security forces. This marked the beginning of the process of meeting violence with violence. A reasonable part of Beyers Naudé's ministry was practiced in this volatile context of the Peoples' war.

k. Mission

The term generally refers to an assignment to which one has been sent to do. It is true to the expression that goes, 'mission accomplished'. This means that an assignment to which one has been tasked has been successfully completed. Hornby (1983:399) concurs when judged from his definition of mission as "the sending out of a number of persons to perform a special task, usually abroad, especially the sending out of missionaries to convert people by preaching and teaching." Macdonald (1950:402) expands this definition by referring to mission as "a sending of an agent, delegate or messenger: the purpose for which one is sent: persons sent on a mission: an embassy."

Within the Christian faith, it is understood that all believers have been sent out on a mission to communicate the Good News of Jesus Christ in order to bring change in the world and peoples' lives. This is true from Saayman (2007:4) when he broadly defined mission as "the over-arching dimension of Christian life in the world." It has to do with bringing the Kingdom of God into existence in the world (Verkuyl 1978:5). Bosch (1991:9) expressed it well when he contended that mission underlines the relationship between God and the world.

People who are engaged in Christian mission are called missionaries and the study of mission is called Missiology (Verkuyl 1978:5; cf Bosch 1991:9). Mission within the

context of this study, has been employed to refer to the fact that the contribution of Beyers Naudé for the victims of apartheid was a mission of God to change the world for the better, thus bringing the Kingdom of God into existence on earth.

#### I. Race groups/ethnic groups

Race or ethnic groups are used alternatively with the latter assuming more popularity than the former on the international stage. They are closely related and intertwined but are not the same particularly with regard to the South African scene and the period of the ministry of Beyers Naudé covered in this study. South Africa could not be understood historically without analysing the dynamics of race. The struggle in South Africa was more of a race issue than on ethnic lines. Different countries worldwide are identified by either one or both of these concepts. For instance, while South African history is identified by race and racism, countries such as Rwanda, Burundi and Bosnia Herzegovina are identified by ethnicism or ethnic struggles.

The understanding of these two concepts within the South African historical context is that race has got to do with differences based on colour, that is, between Blacks and Whites while ethnic groups are based on appearances regardless of the colour issue. This element becomes clear from Ndebele (in Kritzing 1988:116-117) when he states; “the white race tries to minimize the conflict within and between its ethnic groups in order to maximize the conflict within and between the ethnic groups of the oppressed black race in order to minimize the latter’s resistance in the racial conflict.” The colour character in the South African situation became clear in Boesak (1988:93) who defined it in terms of White Reformed Christians oppressing Black Christians. Biko (1989:205) referring to the period covering the ministry of Beyers Naudé, also supported the view that colour is at the center of South African politics.

My usage of race in this study is therefore to be understood within the context of colour differences between Blacks who were segregated from Whites. Thus, the usage of ethnic groups in the place of race groups in this study will be misleading within the South African historical context.

### **1.3.5. Missiological approach and theological points of departure**

In discussing the ministry of Beyers Naudé especially within the dynamic and turbulent period from 1963 to 1994, it is important to outline my understanding of Christian mission with regard to his work. This is necessary because I analysed his ministry within the framework of my understanding of Christian mission.

I approach this study as a participant observer. With regard to this study of the ministry of Beyers Naudé to the victims of oppression (to which I am one), I agree with Jorgensen (1989:12-13) who indicated the importance of participant observation for scholarly problems as when:

- Little is known about the phenomenon (a newly formed group or movement, emotion work, fundamentalist Christian schools, impoverished human conduct).
- There are important differences between the views of insiders as opposed to outsiders (ethnic groups, labor unions, etc).
- The phenomenon is somewhat obscured from the views of outsiders (private, intimate interactions and groups, such as physical and mental illness, teenage sexuality, family life, or religious ritual).
- The phenomenon is hidden from public view (crime and deviance, secretive groups and organizations, such as drug users and dealers, cultic and sectarian religions).

In further shedding light on this matter Jorgensen (ibid.13) stated that: “Participant observation is especially appropriate for exploratory studies, descriptive studies, and studies aimed at generating theoretical interpretations.” This study fits well into the above measurement.

I approach this study as one of the million victims of oppression to whom Beyers Naudé ministered. In addition, I am a Minister in the church that gave him a spiritual shelter and restored his status as a Minister of Religion after he was forced to resign as a Minister in the DRC (3.2.4). I studied at Turfloop Theological Seminary that was

connected to the University of the North (currently University of Limpopo) during the 1980s. This university was a site of political freedom protests during the climax of the ministry of Beyers Naudé in the 1970s and 1980s. In student mass protest meetings, his name was mentioned with high respect. I saw people who did not trust the commitment of Whites in the opposition to apartheid changing their perceptions as a result of his ministry. I was also personally greatly touched and influenced by his ministry and contribution for the victims of oppression.

My thesis is that Beyers Naudé was a missionary in South Africa. I look at him with missionary spectacles. This is because I agree with Kritzinger, Meiring and Saayman (1984:15) who in his definition of a *missionary* came up with two categories. The first one (not according to an order of priority) is what he called “ordained ‘official missionaries’” and the second one is “all believers who in one way or another become implicated in their missionary task.” These two categories converge to the same point which implicates every believer in missionary work. But the traditional understanding of a *missionary* is one that supports what has been referred to as *ordained official missionaries*. Kritzinger et al (1984:1; cf Kritzinger et al 1994:40) supports the idea that the missionary responsibility is the task of all believers. At the same time he acknowledged the traditional element of missionary understanding. For instance, he wrote: “In recent times, however, the church has become convinced that missionary work is not the mandate for the few, for small groups of specialized enthusiasts. It is the fundamental task of the entire church. Mission and church cannot be divorced.”

Another link between church and mission could be seen from each of the five ecclesial types by Avery Dulles (in Bosch 1991:368) who categorised the church “as *institution*, as *mystical body of Christ*, as *sacrament*, as *herald*, or as *servant*.” Bosch (1991:369) referred to a shift in missionary thinking within Protestants circles as judged by the contribution of world missionary conferences on the relationship between church and mission. All world missionary conferences from Edinburgh (1910) to Mexico (1963) wrestled with the question of the relationship between church and mission. Tambaram (1938) stood above other conferences in a sense that this relationship was clearly cemented. Since Tambaram, it became apparent that church and mission belong together. The idea that mission implies a movement

from a Christian world to non-Christian countries disappeared. It became apparent that mission also implies a movement through the church as well (Bosch 1991:370).

In the light of all these arguments, it could be concluded that the church cannot be divorced from mission work. Bosch (1991:372) defined it well when he stated that

...in the emerging ecclesiology, *the church is seen as essentially missionary*. The Biblical model behind this conviction, which finds its classical expression in AG 9<sup>2</sup> ('The pilgrim church is missionary by its very nature'), is the one we find in 1 Peter 2-9. Here the church is not the sender, but the one sent.

Because *missionary* is an inclusive qualification, Beyers Naudé became one of the finest missionaries who succeeded to play a big role in the continued credibility of the Christian faith among the victims of oppression. Although he never used the term, his activities in South Africa can be understood as part of the *Missio Dei*, and he could be understood as somebody driven by his conviction that he was on God's mission. He was acting within the parameters of the argument by Bosch (1991:372) when he stated that "since God is a missionary God, God's people are a missionary people." His activities were propelled by his Christian convictions that he was acting within the parameters of God's mission mandate. His ministry did not end with the DRC in 1963 when he was forced to leave that church. The fact that from 1963 onwards he served the people of South Africa, means that he continued his Christian mission to the entire South Africa (Meiring 2009). This became clear when he weighed options with regards to his ministry between the time when he was still ministering in the DRC and when he would be out of the service of the DRC, he wrote:

As for my own position, I want to make it clear that I am not looking for any other work than what I am presently doing. It is going well in the congregation....The point is that I can't go for much longer with all my congregational work and carry out all the other activities as I am doing at present....If we are convinced that the work of Christ can be done from within

---

<sup>2</sup> This refers to Ad Gentes from Vaticanum II.

but also from outside the NGK, then I am prepared to make myself available for such work (in Ryan 2005:71).

My understanding of Christian mission should therefore be spelt out from the onset to avoid confusion from those who may still understand Christian mission in a more conventional and narrow sense i.e. conversion of people, planting of churches or even going to far off places, crossing frontiers (Kritzinger at al 1994:1; cf Neill 1977:510). Saayman (1991:11) refers to this category of Christians as those who believe that mission “should be concerned about purely spiritual matters.” Bosch (1991:376) refers to this category as those who believe that “mission was a process of reproducing churches, and once these had been reproduced, all energy was spent on maintenance.” Christian mission is more than that. My understanding of Christian mission determines the way in which I analyzed the work and activities of Beyers Naudé in this study.

What therefore is my understanding of Christian mission? My understanding of Christian mission is more than the traditional way as explained above. My mind in this regard was influenced by missiologists such as Prof J.N.J. Kritzinger (1988:6) who looked at Christian mission as the work of people in this world who took a decision to follow the footsteps of Jesus of Nazareth in the work that He was doing. It refers to those who decided to continue His work for the realization of God’s new world. The characteristics of this envisaged new world is love, peace and justice in this world and age that is tainted with suffering, sin, death, diseases, unemployment, racism and sexism. According to Kritzinger (ibid) these agents of *Missio Dei*,

...see it as their calling from God to change (emphasis by author) the world, by speaking and living the Good News of God’s grace. Following the example of Jesus, they strive to contribute in word and deed to the struggle of the poor and oppressed for a just and loving society, in which people may become whole human beings.

Contextual analysis is therefore at the centre of mission praxis. Looking at the South African context, Bredekamp and Ross (1995:1; cf Heyns 1980:213; see Pro Veritate 15 April 1966:5) emphasised this point by warning that, “identifying the boundaries

between religion and family life, between religion and politics and even between religion and economics has always been very difficult, and in the context of South African history, virtually impossible.” An addition to this view comes from Frost and Hirsch (2003:16) who hold that “the church by its very nature has an indissoluble relationship to the surrounding cultural context. This relationship defines the practical nature of its mission.”

Barth (in Bosch 1991:377) sees this change in approach “as a restoration of the doctrine of the prophetic office of Christ and the church.” According to Barth, within Protestantism, this new mission approach took place after the Second World War. The church’s orientation towards the world was greatly embraced. Barth further indicated that the church that was the conqueror of the world in Edinburgh (1910) became a church in solidarity with the world. In addition, the Dutch ‘theology of the apostolate’ perceived the church in terms of its relationship with the world. The reformed tradition is characterized by a strong emphasis on life and the world and an openness to understand the world (Burger 2001:89; cf Niemandt 2007:47; see Vroom 2008:202). Calvin brought God’s will to bear on all areas of life. His concern was that the glory of God be celebrated and witnessed to at all levels of life, that all of creation sing God’s praises in concrete and vibrant ways, and that the beauty of God’s will be manifest in our patterns of life both great and small (Report of international consultation 2007:4). It is God’s mission – the *Missio Dei* - the work of the triune God for the sake of the world, in which the church is privileged to participate (Kirk 2000:25). Mission is both what God does and who God is, an attribute of God (Bosch 1991:390). Mission thus is not primarily an activity of the church, but an attribute of God, for God is a missionary God (Guder 2000:20).

The same understanding of Christian mission is held by Saayman (2007:5) who defined it as the central dimension of Christian life in the world. It meant a comprehensive ministry in the world and this became apparent when the risen Christ was sending His disciples to the world. The type of ministry and the world to which He and His disciples were sent was “...on a comprehensive ministry which included proclaiming the good news, setting free the captives, healing the sick, and announcing the arrival of the year of the Jubilee (John 20, Luke 4)” (ibid).



Beyers Naudé fitted well in this category of agents of God's mission in the world and particularly to the victims of apartheid in South Africa. He did not limit "the Christian faith to a private vertical experience with no social implications" (Lubbe 2009:127) but also valued the importance of the horizontal dimension of this faith. For instance, in the sermon he preached in the early 1960s in a school hall this became apparent:

All people are called to love one another...the outcome of this love is that I should allow other people to have the same rights and opportunities as my group demand... The truth and justice is renewed in the church, and a nation is strengthened ...only when people search for the truth and justice which is the will of God. Therefore, all laws which hinder love and justice between people are against the will of God....(in Ryan 2005:70).

This definition means that Christians as agents of Christian mission should undergo incarnation like Jesus of Nazareth did. This will enable them to fully understand the realities of this world to which they have been sent to transform for the better. They should therefore incarnate the Christian message into the dynamics of this world. Saayman (2007:5) calls this process *humanization*. This means that Jesus Christ became a new human being who inserted Himself into the pains and joys of this world for all of us in order to be truly human in relation to ourselves and neighbours. Saayman (ibid) however, is quick to warn that by employing terminologies such as *humanization*, this does not suggest devaluation or dilution of the spiritual element of mission. According to Saayman, humanisation is fully spiritual if understood in the light of Psalm 8 where human beings are rated above everything on earth but slightly less than God and angels. Maluleke (1998:325) refers to situations such as this concern by Saayman when he stated that

...when Christians discuss poverty and the cry of the poor in Africa, they are not merely discussing events, processes and ideologies that take shape outside of the Church and Christianity. The truth is that dispossession ideologies can be and are manufactured and sustained within Christianity and within Christian churches.

Beyers Naudé pursued this mission approach and he was misunderstood and confused with politicians as it also happened with Jesus with regards to His misunderstanding by the Roman authorities. Consequently, in his response to this situation, he set the record straight while preaching at the Emmerentia school hall on Sunday morning of 27 May 1962 that he was on God's mission (in Ryan 2005:70):

I do not regard these issues that I've raised as being political ones, but I speak of them as deep Christian convictions which have grown in me over a long period and which are the basis of a serious study of the Word of God. I am not saying these things to bring the government into disrepute, to intimidate any group or to indoctrinate you.... [I] am also not saying this to give support to the enemies of our church. No! There is just one motive, one goal in me to proclaim nothing other than Jesus Christ who was crucified.

My approach to Beyers Naudé's activities in this study was shaped by this comprehensive understanding of Christian mission which is in line with the definitions mentioned above. The conventional or traditional understanding of Christian mission, i.e. the conversion of individuals or groups and the gathering of those converts into churches, takes place within this broader or more inclusive perspective of *Missio Dei*.

### **1.3.6. Structure**

The structure and outline of the chapters of this work can be expressed through the following questions:

a. *What were influential factors in Beyers Naudé's upbringing which shaped his thinking?*

Chapter 2: The ministry approach of Beyers Naudé cannot be easily understood without the background information of factors that shaped his early formation as a child. Information in this regard was unearthed by focusing on religious and political factors that informed his upbringing. I looked at his life from his birth to his 'conversion', unpacked the political dynamics of South Africa during his ministry in

the Dutch Reformed Church (1940-1963) and to the victims of oppression afterwards (1963-1994) and how Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) (churches) responded to apartheid.

*b. What was the nature of Beyers Naudé's ministry in South Africa to the victims of oppression?*

Chapter 3: Having looked at the political dynamics that led to his choice of justice, it is fitting at this stage to look at his actual ministry approach. The big question addressed in this chapter is "what 'muthi' did Beyers Naudé use to win the support, love and admiration of the victims of the system that was meted out by his 'volk' and church? Qualitative interviews were predominantly employed in this chapter and the importance of this approach (qualitative) for this study is explained in 1.3.2 above. Qualitative interviews became more appropriate than quantitative interviews because they enabled the researcher to gather adequate information about various aspects of the life of Beyers Naudé. Heaney (2004) who wrote about him from an ecumenical position also followed the same qualitative approach. This enabled him to unearth the desired information about him from various aspects of his life.

*c. Did Beyers Naudé's ministry bring a new understanding and approach in the practice of mission among the victims of oppression?*

Chapter 4: This chapter develops a comprehensive mission (communication) strategy to the victims of oppression that is built from the example of Beyers Naudé's ministry approach. As in chapter 3, the employment of qualitative interviews became evident in this chapter. The importance of qualitative interviews in this research was explained in 1.3.2 above.

*d. What legacy did Beyers Naudé leave behind?*

Chapter 5: This chapter concludes by identifying certain aspects of the ministry of Beyers Naudé that stood out as his legacy. It also concluded by proposing areas for further research, emanating from this study.

## CHAPTER 2: BEYERS NAUDÉ FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS ‘CONVERSION’, SOUTH AFRICA, FAITH BASED ORGANISATIONS AND APARTHEID

### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

What is all the fuss about Beyers Naudé? It is sad that he died, yes, but it's not as if he was tortured or spent time in jail or led a liberation movement. Why do people hail him as if he was a national hero of the caliber of Walter Sisulu? (The Star, 9 September 2004).

This question as summarized by Max du Preez above is dominant in the minds of some people. It comes to their minds when they notice the respect the majority of people especially the victims of oppression had for Beyers Naudé. They fail to understand that he ministered to them (victims) in a unique way which brought meaning into their lives. It is therefore true that one such victim, Prof Russel Botman (2004) described him as “a good man, full of the Holy Spirit and a deep faith. His sermons were always expressions of hope. The courage to hope and to give account of one's hope were the cornerstone of his ministry.” Randall (1982:1) adds that

...those who know Beyers Naudé well will not doubt the deep sincerity of the motivation or of the convictions which have led him almost inexorably over the period of twenty five years to his position. And many will not hesitate to say that they see in his example something of God's plan for South Africa.

The ministry of Beyers Naudé is better understood if we take cognisance of his making. There are factors in his upbringing which will pave our way for understanding his ministry later in this study. Important pillars among these are his early life and ministry within the context of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). Concerning his early life, important aspects will include (among others) his parental background, childhood and youth, theological formation, his spirituality and the political climate during his youth. As far as his ministry in the DRC is concerned, attention will be paid to the background ministry approach of the DRC especially around the race question and a look into his ministry in all the six DRC congregations he served.

## 2.2. EARLY LIFE

### 2.2.1. Parental background

The parental background of Beyers Naudé will be of assistance in the understanding of his ministry in this study. Christiaan Frederich Beyers Naudé was born in Roodepoort, Johannesburg on 10 May 1915. One can appreciate how his birth and childhood in the city might have influenced his choice of strategic areas for his ministry in both the DRC (2.3.2) and later the victims of oppression (3.2.3). He shares the same year of birth with Mr John Vorster, a nationalist who later became Prime Minister and leader of the National Party and played a role in his life (D'Oliveira 1977:9). He had one brother, Jozua (jr) who was also a *dominee* and six sisters, one of whom was married to a *dominee*, Rev Frans O'Brian Geldenhuys. He was raised in what Cedric Mason (Business Day, 8 September 2004) calls "the heart of Afrikanerdom." His father, Jozua Franchoise was a founding member of the Afrikaner-Broederbond<sup>3</sup>, the organisation that supported apartheid and of which attention will be paid later in this chapter (ibid). While he was considered a brave soldier, he also acted as a chaplain during the Anglo-Boer war by ministering and comforting the Boer soldiers on Sundays when they had time (Ryan 2005:6). In the words of Villa-Vicencio (1995:18; cf Randall 1982:2), Beyers Naudé's father was "of conservative Voortrekker and Dutch stock". His mother Adriana (Ada) Johanna Zondagh van Huyssteen like his father Jozua, was a person of profound religiosity, an ardent member of the DRC.

Beyers Naudé's father Jozua was born in Middelburg, Cape on 20 March 1873, a teacher by profession and the town's catechism master during the war who later (1909) qualified as a *dominee* from the DRC Theological Seminary in Stellenbosch. He was born from a family that was described as "conservative, religious Afrikaners, faithful members of the DRC who brought up their children in accordance with the strict Calvinist and evangelistic traditions of their faith. Everyday there was family worship and on Sundays the whole family attended church" (Ryan 2005:4-5). Beyers Naudé was born during a period categorized by Saayman (2007:63) as the

---

<sup>3</sup> Hereafter to be referred to as the Broederbond throughout this thesis except in quotations and headings.

Second Wave (1867-1939). Although he acknowledged that DRC membership declined because of disillusionment as a result of the economic hardship of the Afrikaners at the time, Beyers Naudé's parents would be among those described by Saayman (2007:63) as follows: "By the early 1940s a survey done in Johannesburg showed that less than 30% of DRC members still attended church services and Holy Communion and still upheld the custom of family prayers."

His father's friend and role model was a Boer general, Christiaan Frederich Beyers. The influence of this general on Beyers Naudé's father was strong in such a way that he went outside their Afrikaner custom and named his son Beyers after him instead of his maternal grandfather (Randall 1982:3). Villa-Vicencio (1995:18) indicates that General Christiaan Frederich Beyers was a rebel Afrikaner general who drowned in the Vaal river while trying to evade arrest by the British colonial government forces.

Striking characteristics about Beyers Naude's father which might be of value in the understanding of his ministry approach in South Africa are the fact that he was strongly committed to the DRC's evangelism and believed in the urgent need to spread the gospel, fought for the independence and development of Afrikaans as a language and culture, was a rebel who refused to accept the Vereeniging peace treaty (on 31 May 1902) and refused to hand over his rifle after the war. He was a radical who regarded General Jan Smuts as a traitor to the Afrikaner cause. His father, while a *dominee*, was touched by the poverty of his congregation. After the Broederbond was formed in 1918, Jozua was elected its first President. He never had much time to spend with his family as he was deeply involved in national political issues, except after he accepted a call to Piet Retief DRC congregation (Ryan 2005:5; cf Randall 1982:5).

The background of Beyers Naudé's parents as judged by their relationship with the Boer general, who, like other generals of the time, represented a conservative political thinking, might have strongly influenced him. The fact that his parents moved away from the tradition of naming their son from a close family member, further stressed the high level of the influence in question. The fact that he never denied or shied away from his Afrikaner identity and heritage in his ministry to the oppressed proved the deep dimension of the parental nationalist influence. To demonstrate

Beyers Naudé's connection to his Afrikaner heritage, Villa-Vicencio (1995:18) quotes him likening himself with St Paul who didn't want to divorce himself from his Jewish heritage in his ministry thus:

I can identify with St Paul who once observed that if anyone could boast in his Jewishness it was he. Well, if anyone could be so foolish as to want to boast about Afrikaner identity in this day and age, then it is me. My roots are strong and my heritage pure.

Later in this study, it will be indicated that because of his ministry approach, his fellow Afrikaners turned against him. Despite this, his love for his Afrikaans language was 'written on the wall for all to see'. He was not ashamed of it nor denied that he was an Afrikaner.

What influence did his parents have on him? The answer to this question would unfold in the next chapter of this study. However, it is worth mentioning the similarities between Beyers Naudé and his father Jozua. In the words of Ryan (2005:5),

...both were deeply religious with strong convictions and a sense of justice, not afraid to go against the stream and to risk criticism when they felt their principles were at stake. Jozua displayed great energy and drive and piled on himself numerous commitments and responsibilities, a characteristic people would also recognize in Beyers.

### **2.2.2. Childhood and youth**

What lessons can one learn from his childhood and youth in the quest for understanding his ministry approach? His mother's ethics of child upbringing provides a picture of a childhood foundation in the Naudé family as echoed by Beyers Naudé (in Villa-Vicencio 1995:20) himself:

She had strong views on the way in which her children should be raised. We were required to be well educated, religious and obedient to our parents. She

showed an unbending prejudice against the British and never questioned the rightness of the Afrikaner cause or their goal of eventual political dominance. It was not until later that I questioned her values or the control she exercised over my life.

Out of this scenario, one sees a strict and conservative upbringing rooted in deep religious convictions and obedience to parents. It is also apparent from the above quote that a child brought up in this environment will be a strong Afrikaner nationalist who will support the political cause and struggle of his people. The animosity against the British will become part of the mental shape of children raised in his situation. Beyers Naudé did not escape this Afrikaner nationalistic trappings against the British. It would be seen as we proceed in the following chapters how this trend influenced the life and struggle of Beyers Naudé when judged against his love for the Afrikaner people and his proud Afrikaner identity despite the mistakes they made which shaped his ministry and struggle for the victims of apartheid later on.

Beyers Naudé's father also had tremendous influence on his eight children especially his two sons. Villa-Vincencio (1995:20) described him as "a determined and zealous nationalist with an uncompromising sense of divine mission...in his understanding of the promises of God to the Afrikaner nation. He instilled within them the stories of the British military aggression and their flagrant disregard for the human rights of the Afrikaner people."

As a youth, he was among those who "were discouraged from questioning a system which they were told was sanctioned by God to ensure their nation's continued survival" (Ryan 2005:4). This situation makes it difficult for any member from this group especially the youth to deviate from their national 'moral' code of conduct.

Beyers Naudé was taught to differentiate between the roles of males and females at home and in life in general. The girls were expected to perform domestic chores while the boys did related roles such as gardening (Ryan 2005:14). Plaatjies-Van Huffel (2006:109; cf Naudé 1995:13) stated that in the Naudé family women were "...portrayed in traditional roles as mothers, pastors' wives and sisters; helping,



serving and/or attending to the needs of males. His sisters for example, tended to the clothes of their brothers, while the males were slaughtering goats.”

The scenario as depicted above has the potential of yielding a person with a conservative frame of mind in a nationalistic sense, coupled with a negative perception of the British. It is no surprise therefore that Beyers Naudé, having been brought up in similar political circumstances, found it hard to come out of this kraal. Ryan (2005:4) should therefore be understood from this background that like most Afrikaner youth. Beyers Naudé was loyal to his people and the nationalist cause for a period of 45 years. Like most others, he was happy and did not question it when the Nationalist Party took over in 1948 and introduced what he called “hardship and suffering for the black majority” (ibid). The parental resistance of Beyers Naudé against the British colonialists which was inherited by his children enabled Beyers Naudé to be loyal to his people and their nationalistic cause. This resistance empowered him to defy the apartheid system for the victims of oppression as it would be seen later on in this study.

### **2.2.3. Encounter with children of other races**

Beyers Naudé had limited contact with children of other races. In the light of the general political spirit of the time which discouraged contact among races, Beyers Naudé’s contact with Blacks might have been done behind the back of his parents especially when they played during the day. Saayman (2009:17) opened a window of the childhood life of Nico Smith which gives a picture of how Afrikaner children of the time were taught with regards to race relations. When Nico Smith tried to befriend Aia Lena, their domestic assistant, his mother Maria reprimanded him strongly, “a White person does not stand and chat with a Black person. You only chat with them when you instruct them to work” (my translation). When Nico Smith and his sister tried to play with the children of Aia Lena, Saayman (ibid) uses the following expression to demonstrate her harsh dislike of this practice with anger, “was die vet heeltemal in die vuur<sup>4</sup>.” On that day she reminded her children of the teachings they

---

<sup>4</sup> Loosely translated as: *The oil (petrol) was completely on fire*, meaning that the situation completely exploded.

seem to have ignored: “You do not play with small kaffirs and you do not shake hands with them. They are dirty” (my translation, *ibid*).

This scene provides a clear picture of what the children of those days were taught with regards to racism. These racist teachings, translate themselves into racial attitudes against other people leading to what Mpako (1999:237) referred to as “a general attitude of superiority...and...avoidance of contact, not engaging with black people as equals.” Adding to this view, this kind of teaching leads to what Beyers Naudé (2005:55) outlined as the general attitude of the Afrikaner that is, the character of

...seeing himself and his people as a nation apart from others, separate first of all from the other white cultural groups (especially the English-speaking South Africans of British descent), but also from the non-white national groups in our country.

This also resulted into the attitude of looking at people who are not White as inferior and the responsibility the Whites have over them, i.e. of acting as their guardians and to regard them as ‘children’ who need to be guided to maturity, who cannot do anything without the assistance of Whites. However, this view has changed over the years (*ibid*: 55-56).

One among the few contacts allowed with Blacks was when they were to spread the gospel to them and give them work. Despite this limited opportunity for contact with other races, Beyers Naudé during the time when his father was a *dominee*, moving from place to place, opportunities for contact with other races appeared. For instance, when his parents were ministering to a congregation in Piet Retief, he was exposed to Zulu speaking children. According to Ryan (2005:11), “he spoke Zulu better than he did Afrikaans, but knowledge of the language soon faded from his young mind.”

At Genadendal he had a more profound contact with the ‘Coloured’ community and another church other than the DRC. Randall (1982:10) summarised Beyers Naudé’s first experience of inter-racial contact in Genadendal mission station well thus:

Visiting Genadendal was an important experience for Naudé. There he had his first real contact across the colour line, meeting and talking with 'Coloured' people on a basis approaching equality. As a schoolboy in Graaff-Reinet he had played with children from the local township, swimming with them in the river, but this was his first real contact at an adult level.

Genadendal mission station played a significant role in the racial orientation of Beyers Naudé. Another important role played by this mission station was the way in which it provided a platform for him to experience and attend the first non-racial Christian community during his courtship of Ilse Weder between 1936 and the beginning of the Second World War. Genadendal community provided him with a different picture which was contrary to his beliefs then and his cultural upbringing which promoted racial divide (Bredenkamp & Ross 1995: ix; cf Nash 2005:32).

While his father was ministering the DRC congregation of Graaff-Reinet, there was a Dutch Reformed Mission Church (NG Sendingkerk) in the local township but contact between Blacks and Whites never existed (Naudé 1995:30). The fact that Beyers Naudé was an extrovert as a boy, energetic and more sociable (Ryan 2005:13) than his brother named Jozua, indicates that it was easy for him to play and socialize with children of other race groups.

Another racial contact of Beyers Naudé with people of other races behind his parents' knowledge was when his father was a *dominee* in the Cape. His congregation had 'Coloureds' although they were only allowed to occupy the back pews. Despite the fact that contact with children (as it was also the case with adults) of other races was not allowed, Beyers Naudé during the day played with 'Coloured' children and even swam with them on Sundays River (Ryan 2005:18).

Despite the fact that the political atmosphere during the time of his upbringing did not encourage racial contact, Beyers Naudé was able to meet and play with children of other races. It appears that his parents like the majority of White parents then, obeyed Dr D.F. Malan (in Ngcokovane 1989:95), who contended that "whites and blacks must be separated socially, politically, residentially and industrially as far as

possible.” The fact that his parents taught them apartheid, resulted in this situation. Ngcokovane (1989:84) is therefore correct in saying that *apartheid* has been understood by its supporters “as a solution to South Africa’s racial problem which they believe has been created by the fact that two distinct groups of people with distinctive characters and values have come together.” This has disadvantaged Beyers Naudé to experience the wealth of contact with other people.

#### **2.2.4. Theological formation: University student**

Having looked into his childhood and youth, it is important to focus on another area of his making which relates to his theological formation as a university student. This is essential as one of the bridges that lead to our understanding of Beyers Naudé.

Beyers Naudé attended the University of Stellenbosch and enrolled on 15 January 1932 after matriculation in 1931 (Naudé 1995:23). The aim of his enrolment was to study theology in order to become a minister in the DRC. The practice of sons following the footprints of their fathers as ministers was also common during the period which Saayman (2007:62) called the Second Wave (2.2.1). He quoted Du Plessis (in Saayman 2007:65) who indicated, with regards to this period “that ministers became more actively interested in mission, and that the sons of ministers came forward in large numbers to offer themselves for service in new and distance fields.” Saayman (2007:65) adds that

...the DRC mission in Central Africa, especially in Malawi and Zimbabwe, is characterized by the many family members who became missionaries in the same field.... Remarkable is also the number of children of missionaries who followed in their parents’ footprints.

The University of Stellenbosch played an important role in his theological formation and in the general development of his leadership qualities. This university was the bastion of Afrikanerdom and intelligence. Many Afrikaner leaders were trained in this institution. According to Ryan (2005:19), this university shaped generations of Afrikaner elite. In the interpretation of Randall (1982:6), this university was “the oldest and proudest of the Afrikaans universities.”

By 1932 when Beyers Naudé enrolled at this university, it was still conservative in terms of maintaining the strict Afrikaans tradition. But for Beyers Naudé it was a taste of fresh air from strict family rules. Beyers Naudé started university education at Stellenbosch with his brother. He was an extrovert while his brother was an introvert. The difference between him and his brother became clear in the nicknames they got at university, 'Oorlog and Vrede' (war and peace) (Ryan 2005:21). It was at this university where Beyers Naudé “for the first time in his life was free to choose, to explore, to socialize, go to dance, meet girls, to read and be challenged by new views” (Ryan 2005:20).

Beyers Naudé as an extrovert was active in most respects at the university. Following his father's footsteps, he stayed in Wilgenhof residence, a custodian of proud Afrikaans traditions. The active lifestyle of Beyers Naudé at the university is captured by Ryan (2005:20; cf Randall 1982:7):

Beyers became a well known figure in the hostel and was later elected its *primarius* or student chairman. The brothers spent their university days with many Afrikaners who were destined for top positions in church and political life, including future Prime Minister John Vorster, one of Beyers Naudé's adversaries in debating circles.

Beyers Naudé became active in many respects at the campus, For instance, he was a prominent member of the debating societies on campus and regularly debated against a team that was led by John Vorster. His active life in public speaking earned him the position of the presidency of the Student Representative Council in 1937 (Cape Times, 16 Sept 2004). He was “a personable and charismatic campus personality” (Randall 1982:7). Beyers Naudé also became a member of the hiking club *Berg en Toer Klub* to which he became chairperson (Ryan 2005:20-21). His leadership style could further be described from the fact that he “was more inclined to hear out the views of other people and use gentle persuasion to try and change their minds” (Ryan 2005:21; cf Randall 1982:7).

There were early signs of resistance to the status quo in Beyers Naudé. At one stage he and several students established an anonymous newspaper that propagated liberal views and questioned some of the tenets of traditional, conservative Afrikanerdom. This paper was called *Pro Liberate*. This had influence thirty years later in the journal called *Pro Veritate*, which contributed to his friction with his church and 'volk' (Randall 1982:7-8).

For his studies, after three years he earned a BA degree followed by an MA after an additional year. It was after eight years when he qualified in Theology from the Stellenbosch School of Theology.

The fact that Beyers Naudé's parents enrolled him at this 'proudest' university indicates that they wanted the best education for their children. In addition to this scenario, the hall of residence that he occupied represented a strong statement in terms of prestige and association with some of the most respected leaders who stayed in the same residence. This university did not only prepare Beyers Naudé for academic life but gave him a platform to develop his leadership qualities and his skills as an orator which were demonstrated by his debating skills. He also participated socially by joining clubs and other cultural activities like his presidency of the Student Representative Council. The fact that he was prepared to listen and hear other peoples' views became an added advantage.

### **2.2.5. Involvement in youth movements**

Beyers Naudé was involved in an active church life and Christian youth movements. Some of his involvements were during his university days. During that period, he was a member of the *Christelike Studentevereniging (CSV)* (Students Christian Union (Ryan 2005:21).

It is striking that in most of the organizations which he attended, he assumed leadership positions. This could also be seen from his time as a member of the Student Representative Council where he was chosen chairperson, and the same applied to the hiking club or *Berg en Toer Klub*. Judged from his involvement in other

areas, it made it difficult for Randall (1982:7) to understand why he was not involved in the *Afrikaanse Studentebond*.

### **2.2.6. Beyers Naudé and his spirituality**

Beyers Naudé graduated from the DRC catechism class at the age of sixteen. Though he was a Christian before his graduation from catechism, he also experienced a personal connection with Christ afterwards. It all started during Pentecostal services which involved prayer meetings and church services leading up to the day of Pentecost. During those prayers and church services, he was touched by the sermons of his father which were preached in May and June 1930 and gave himself to Christ afresh. His new Christian experience however, did not neutralise him from his rebellious attitude. This was shown when he joined other boys who protested against the ‘authoritarian’ nature of the principal while at high school (Ryan 2005:18).

At this age Beyers Naudé’s new Christian experience did not cause him to view the world differently as he did later in his years. The fact that he reflected differently on the Bible happened afterwards. It would be seen later that “he began to examine his Bible and theology more critically, and reluctantly admitted to himself that apartheid was not scriptural, that its effects were unacceptable, that Christians were one people throughout the world....” (Business Day, 8 September 2004).

## **2.3. MINISTRY IN THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH (DRC) 1940-1963**

### **2.3.1. The Dutch Reformed Church in perspective**

In order to pave a better understanding of Beyers Naudé’s ministry especially as a champion of the victims of apartheid racism, it is important to unearth the background of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) policy on race relations. This will build the foundation in our understanding of the theological background from which his church expected him like other ministers of this church, to base their ministry.

Beyers Naudé served six congregations of the DRC from 1940 to 1963 before he underwent a radical ‘conversion’ and embarked on his ministry to the victims of apartheid. Before looking into each of the congregations he served, it is important to understand factors that contributed to the DRC’s race policy. This is because this church was not born racist, but this system came on board in the process.

Beyers Naudé was a Minister of the DRC. When one addresses his early ministry it is important to understand the approach of his church on race relations then. It will therefore be easy to see how his church’s race teachings or policy might have had a bearing on him becoming a champion of the victims of racism and oppression under the apartheid government.

The story of the support for apartheid was not part of the DRC agenda. It is therefore necessary to understand some indicators that led to its eventual support of apartheid that played a role in the life of Beyers Naudé especially during his ministry in the DRC from 1940 to 1963. The following areas address the indicators in question:

- *The Dutch Reformed Church synod decision of 1857*

The DRC synodical decision of 1857 forms the basis of this church’s approach on race relations. It became clear that the church was aware that racism cannot be biblically justified and is thus un-Christian. Before 1857 the DRC accommodated all people regardless of race until a time when a small group of White members complained that they cannot partake in Holy Communion with other races. The race approach to solve this problem as seen from the decision of 1857 was not an easy one. The racist decision was taken due to “the weakness of some” (Müller 1993:121; cf Naudé 1995:133; see Ngcokovane 1989:40).

This decision had far-reaching consequences in terms of race relations in church and government. The so-called daughter churches (1.3.4 (i)) which later on were born as a result of the DRC mission were the results of this decision. On the other hand, the official apartheid policies of the National Party that came into power many years later, were also indirectly influenced by this decision.



- *Dr (Reverend) D.F. Malan and the Nationalist Party*

Dr (Rev) D.F. Malan was a Minister of the DRC and his influence in the politics of this country during the early ministry of Beyers Naudé is enormous. At one stage he was a Minister of the DRC congregation of Graaff-Reinet from 1913 to 1915 (Naudé 1995:20). Beyers Naudé's father was also at some stage a DRC minister in the same congregation (Graaff-Reinet). It is known that Dr D.F. Malan resigned from active church ministry by the time he became a leader of the Nationalist Party but his background as a minister, like other *dominees* then, was enormous in politics and the Nationalist Party in particular.

Already during the 1930s, he was described as someone who “emerged as a new leader of Afrikaner nationalism” (Ryan 2005:24) and in 1934 he established the Purified Nationalist Party (ibid). Ryan (ibid) reasoned that in 1948 when the Nationalist Party came to power, it provided the institutional pillar of apartheid, the Broederbond provided the ideological pillar and the DRC provided the religious and moral pillar.

- *Dutch Reformed Church and the Afrikaner-Broederbond*

There has always been a link between the DRC, Broederbond and Beyers Naudé. The immediate link of Beyers Naudé with the Broederbond could be traced from his father who was both a co-founder and active member of this body. Beyers Naudé himself joined the Broederbond in 1940 at the age of twenty five and on his first year as a minister of the DRC (Randall 1982:10; cf Naudé 1995:33).

The association of DRC with the Broederbond could be traced from its establishment in 1918 during which Ministers of the DRC like Dr D.F. Malan played an important role. At some stage the DRC Ministers dominated the Broederbond. This was also confirmed by the reaction of Rev V. de Vos who protested by leaving the DRC, reasoning that it dominated the Broederbond.

There was a time when the Ministers of the DRC were counted at 357 members of the of Broederbond above other professionals such as lawyers and members of parliament (Ngcokovane 1989:63).

Another example of the relationship between the DRC with the Broederbond could be seen from the Minister of Lands, Senator Conroy (in Ngcokovane 1989:65) when speaking in parliament in 1946 spoke “of the hundreds of ministers of religion in the Dutch Reformed Church who had dragged politics into the church and that ninety percent of the Afrikaners churches had been brought under the influence of the Broederbond.”

The relationship that existed between the DRC and the Broederbond judged by the big number of ministers from this church who enlisted as members is a point at stake. Ministers of this church were not mostly ordinary members, but occupied positions of leadership and were co-founders of it. This meant that DRC ministers were influential in most of the decisions taken in that organisation. Beyers Naudé, like other ministers, was also a member of this organization from the early age of twenty five.

### **2.3.2. Ministry in the Dutch Reformed Church congregations**

#### **2.3.2.1. Wellington: 1940-1942**

Beyers Naudé arrived in the congregation of Wellington as an assistant minister in December 1939. However, he was installed on 27 July 1940 in that congregation and the induction service was conducted by his father. This was his first congregation after training (Ryan 2005:30; cf Naudé 1995:32; see Randall 1982:10). He entered the Wellington congregation, a young and energetic man of God. During his service in this congregation, Beyers Naudé accepted the status quo. In his own words he stated: “I accepted the religious, social and political status quo and set out to be a good and successful minister” (Ryan 2005:31).

There are quite a number of activities which Beyers Naudé was involved in at Wellington. From the onset he determined his areas of focus as youth work,

evangelism and mission work (Ryan 2005:31). He was therefore involved in youth ministry and built contacts with the theological students of the college in town. His focus on evangelism was an influence from his parents who also had a sharp emphasis on this, as well as the evangelical influence in the DRC by Scottish Pastors, such as Andrew Murray. He always remembered his father who injected in him the need to win new converts. In Wellington he set himself three main ministry goals namely youth work, evangelism and mission work of which remained eminent in his thinking and activities (Ibid). There were other areas that enhanced his missionary zeal like his visits to the Genadendal mission station and the DRC Mission Institute in Wellington where White students were trained as ministers of the 'Coloured' wing of the DRC. He was concerned that the training was inferior than the one meant for White DRC as offered in Stellenbosch. Beyers Naudé's observation of the difference in training is clear when he stated:

I discovered for the first time the deep feeling of inferiority which a number of these students had, about their status, about their future and therefore also about their commitment. They felt...they were regarded as second-class people, and that it imposed an attitude of subservience and a hidden aggressiveness on the part of some of them (in Ryan 2005:31).

#### 2.3.2.2. Loxton: 1942-1945

Beyers Naudé's second congregation in 1942 was Loxton and it was situated in the middle of the Great Karoo (Randall 1982:11; cf Naudé 1995:34). Loxton was one congregation where he particularly enjoyed his work as a minister. The congregation had many outlying farms that gave Beyers Naudé insight into the life and worldview of a rural Afrikaans community (Randall 1982:11). This might be because it was a small town at the periphery of everything. In his own words he wrote: "I enjoyed preaching, doing house-visits, visiting the famers on the wide stretch of land and I was back on the Karoo, and I felt it was my world" (my translation, Naudé 1995:35).

One of the major political challenges during his ministry at Loxton was the tension that existed between the National Party and the Ossewa Brandwag (OB). This tension also showed itself in his congregation where an OB group dominated. The

division between these groups also showed themselves in the Broederbond where the OB also dominated. During his ministry in this congregation, Beyers was challenged to maintain a neutral position and to pray for this tension not to lead to an explosion. He also advised and warned them that their political views and divisions should be handled in such a way that it does not cause damage to their Afrikanerdom and the interest of the Afrikaners in general (Naudé 1995:36).

During his ministry in this congregation there were two areas that became prominent. Not in their order of priority, the first one was his maintenance of neutrality over the political tensions that existed between the aforementioned two groups. The second one was his nationalism as an Afrikaner when judged from the advice he gave to the two groups to remember not to taint the Afrikaner interest and identity in their quest for political truth. It is important to see later in this study how this impacted in his ministry to the victims of oppression.

#### 2.3.2.3. Pretoria South-Olifantsfontein: 1945-1949

As his third congregation, Beyers Naudé accepted a call to the congregation of Pretoria South in 1945. While the previous congregation was ministered during the war, this congregation was ministered after the war and he had to deal with post war trauma. This congregation was situated in Irene and started as a wing of the Bosman Street Dutch Reformed Church. However, it grew rapidly and soon became an independent congregation. Senior politicians such as General Jan Smuts were members of this congregation. But surprisingly, although his house was in Irene, he kept his church membership in Bosman Street (main church) where his friend Rev Johan Reyneke was a minister. This did not bother Beyers Naudé because he understood their friendship (Naudé 1995:36; cf Randall 1982:11).

As a result of the fast growth of this part of the congregation, two church halls were constructed, one in Lyttelton and another one in Olifantsfontein. Pretoria South congregation was divided between these two areas with Dr. Danie Louw remaining the minister of Lyttelton and Beyers Naudé ministering Olifantsfontein.

The war concentration camp in Irene was situated within the boundaries of the congregation of Beyers Naudé. It also included the military community of Robert Heights (currently Thaba Tshwane). Beyers Naudé had to deal with the hate that existed between the British and the Afrikaners as a result of the war and the British treatment of the Afrikaners in the concentration camps.

The approach that he used to deal with the situation is explained by him thus (Naudé 1995:36-37):

More than once, I read Biblical texts which were about reconciliation more especially in the New Testament and asked myself: Does the gospel have the inherent spiritual power to change bitterness, fruits of many unjust and suffering on so many innocent women and children into forgiveness and reconciliation? How could it happened? What should happen afterwards? (my translation).

Apart from a reconciliatory message that Beyers Naudé conveyed to this congregation as part of his ministry, there were some other challenges that he faced. This touched on the friction that resulted from the civilian members of his congregation who did not want to accept soldiers who wore a uniform with red bands when they attended the church service on Sundays. Beyers Naudé succeeded in adding sense into the disgruntled in order to accept those members who according to military culture then, were forced to wear a uniform with the red bands (Naudé 1995:37). In the light of what has been seen above, striking features of Beyers Naudé's ministry in this congregation were reconciliation of the Afrikaners with the British and acceptance of the military part of this congregation by the civilian section.

#### 2.3.2.4. Pretoria East 1949-1954

Beyers Naudé accepted a call to this congregation in 1949 as a student minister (chaplain) and joined two other colleagues, Dr Ben Marais and Rev Johan Luckhoff. In this congregation there were three things that had a lasting impact in his life (Naudé 1995:38; cf Randall 1982:12):

- Book by Dr Ben Marais: *Die Kleurkrisis en die Weste*.

Dr Ben Marais wrote a book entitled *Die Kleurkrisis en die Weste*<sup>5</sup> which appeared in 1952. In this book he questioned the Biblical justification of racial segregation (apartheid) but contended that it (racism) can be justified on certain practical considerations. This book caused a lot of storm not only among the Afrikaners and the DRC, but also in the Broederbond circles. Beyers Naudé supported some views contained in this book concerning race relations but was unable to disclose his views for the sake of his good relationship with his colleagues.

- Kerk Jeugvereniging (KJV) of the DRC.

Beyers Naudé's ministry in Pretoria East coincided with the establishment of the *Kerk Jeugvereniging (KJV)*<sup>6</sup>, of the DRC and the 1954 KJV in Heidelberg. The decision of the KJV Headquarters to elect Beyers Naudé with Rev W. de W. Strauss to make an intensive study (for six months, June to December 1953) about youth work in Europe and North America became a highlight of Beyers Naudé's ministry and was an eye opener for him on matters of race relations.

This first overseas visit of Beyers Naudé enabled him to intermingle with youth of all races with Protestant church backgrounds from thirteen countries. During the visit they received heavy questioning on church, the DRC in particular and apartheid. As a result of this experience, this visit had tremendous impact in different ways on Beyers Naudé as could be deduced from his comments (Naudé 1995:38): "The new vision of church unity, race and human relations, as well as the ecumenical movement was born in me" (my translation).

From the above, it became apparent that his exposure to the KJV and his overseas visit offered him an opportunity to have practical encounters with the youth of all races. The experience of a mix with other races placed him far ahead of most Whites particularly Afrikaner youth in South Africa who did not have an

---

<sup>5</sup> The title means Colour Crisis and the West

<sup>6</sup> Church Youth Organisation.

opportunity to meet their South African Black counterparts then. Worse of all Beyers Naudé himself had to have this experience overseas after having failed to have it in his own country. The fact that they had serious discussions around church and racism as well as the possible role that the youth can play left him with an indelible mark that made him a champion of the oppressed as would be seen later in this study.

- Friendship with theologians of all races

Beyers Naudé's ministry at Pretoria East afforded him an opportunity to meet theologians at the University of Pretoria and brought him closer to the DRC racially based so called daughter churches (1.3.4 (i)). He also met theological students who were to become ministers in the above-mentioned categories of racially based 'daughter' churches (Naudé 1995:40; cf Masuku 1998:12).

The Pretoria East congregation opened more doors for him and became an eye opener in many ways. Firstly he acknowledged that as a student minister, this opportunity ignited his interest to work with the youth. Secondly, the DRC mission work in Africa in which he invested interest and the wave of political independence of countries to which the DRC had mission projects sent a strong message in his mind in terms of change. Thirdly, his interest in evangelism which placed his focus on pastoral work. This venture enabled him to have a golden opportunity to build the KJV (Naudé 1995:40).

The Tomlinson report was another thorn in Beyers Naudé's side. This report was welcomed by the apartheid government for it supported apartheid in terms of separate development and thus limited Blacks to 13 percent of South Africa. The report denied integration at all costs (Müller 1993:487-488; cf Ngcokovane 1989:112,113; cf Naudé 1995:40; see Saayman 2007:72). Though the apartheid government welcomed it, they did not accept the financial recommendation of it.

Pretoria East congregation was fertile ground for Beyers Naudé's exposure to different theological debates. This was due to his close proximity to the University,

coupled with his appointment as a student minister. This scenario prepared him to be one among great thinkers and orators as reflected in the preceding parts of this study.

#### 2.3.2.5. Potchefstroom: 1954-1959

From Pretoria East, Beyers Naudé was called to the congregation of Potchefstroom to join Rev Gert Worst. Potchefstroom congregation was embroiled in party political divisions where a parallel congregation Mooi-river was established within the same congregational boundaries.

His stay and ministry at this congregation, like at the Pretoria East congregation, the University of Potchefstroom afforded him an opportunity to engage in theological debate in search for answers. He also had an opportunity to reflect on his first overseas experience. During his time there, the Reformed Ecumenical Synod had a session at Potchefstroom. Although he was not an official delegate of his church, he had an opportunity to attend the open sessions. During this synod, debates ranged around church unity, the Word and apartheid (Naudé 1995:41; cf Randall 1982:15).

Beyers Naudé (1995:41-41) as a result of this encounter, had time to reflect on the following five scriptural texts used by DRC ministers in their justification of apartheid:

- Gen. 1:27. About the meaning of people who are made in God's image.
- Gen. 11:1-9. About the meaning of the story of the tower of Babel.
- Deut. 32:8-9. About boundaries which were pronounced by God for people and nations.
- Acts. 2:5-11. About the functions of the Holy Spirit and the explanation thereof.
- Acts. 17:26. About St. Paul's pronouncement on the Areopagus that God created all nations from one image.

On the other hand, Beyers Naudé (1995:42) studied other texts which carried an opposing message from the above as reflected below:



- How to handle strangers (Lev 19:33, Jes. 56:3, 6, Mark 11:17).
- The case of Jesus and the Samaritan woman (John 4:1-42).
- Christ's prayer for the unity of the church (John 17:20-23).
- St. Paul's judgment on Peter's actions in Antioch and his double standard towards non-Jewish believers (Gal. 2:11-21, Gal 3:28).
- Where St. Paul gives Christians a new meaning of circumcision (Phil. 3:1-11).

It was all these conflicting views of the Bible by the DRC, to which he was a minister, which impacted considerably in his mind and formed a new perception of the theological truth. Beyers Naudé gradually realized that it is impossible to justify apartheid biblically. The situation at Potchefstroom, according to Randall (1982:15) deepened his inner conflict and doubts about the theology of the DRC. There were very few other DRC ministers (such as Rev. Bertie Brink) who saw things the same way as Beyers Naudé did. They were however aware that it will take a long time for the DRC to 'convert'. Rev. Bertie Brink (in Naudé 1995:43) in his response to Beyers Naudé's questions on this matter wrote: "Brother Beyers, I just want to advise you that it is still going to take years and years before our church realizes that apartheid cannot be scripturally justified. Therefore, we must be patient" (my translation).

Beyers Naudé was elected to the position of moderator of the then Transvaal Synod of the DRC in 1958 (Randall 1982:15). While in Potchefstroom, he enjoyed regular visits by former University of Pretoria students who were at the time of the visit, working in the DRC 'daughter' churches. They invited him to their congregations to see the situation. While he was impressed by the love of those Black members, he was appalled by the horrific situations in which they were subjected by apartheid (Randall 1982:15; cf Naudé 1995:44; see Adonis 2005:117).

Beyers Naudé's ministry in Potchefstroom congregation marked a milestone in his struggle for theological truth. It was while in Potchefstroom where he gathered more facts and answers to the fact that apartheid was biblically unjustifiable. He wanted to act on this new found truth by pronouncing his disagreement with his church on this but kept on postponing as he thought of the consequences. Worst of all, he did not

by this time even inform his wife about his inner struggle (1995:43-44). He was walking with a time bomb which was ready to explode anytime.

#### 2.3.2.6. Aasvoëlkop: 1959-1963

Beyers Naudé accepted a call to Aasvoëlkop congregation in November 1959, his last DRC congregation. This congregation was established from the congregation of Linden which was ministered by Rev. Gideon Boshoff (Randall 1982:16). It was a congregation in a wealthy suburb of Johannesburg. In the light of his new found truth, Beyers Naudé had an inner struggle as to whether he can accept the call to this congregation or not. The question that came to his mind could have been “Should I continue to minister from the platform of my church’s biblical justification of apartheid which is in conflict with the will of God?”

The inner struggle of Beyers Naudé continued in this congregation. At this congregation he had already gathered more facts in his quest for truth on the questionable marriage between the apartheid system and the Bible. There were doubts as to when to speak out his heart on this matter. The events and times of his ministry in this congregation made it difficult for Beyers Naudé to continue to hide within himself what he believed to be the gospel truth on the subject of race relations.

Two events forced Beyers Naudé to speak out. These were the World Council of Churches’ meeting at Cottesloe, Johannesburg with their South African member churches from 7 to 14 December 1960 and the 21 March 1960 anti-pass peaceful marchers’ massacre in what came to be known as the Sharpeville Massacre (Ngcokovane 1989:157; cf Naudé 1995:46). Mason (in Business Day 8 Sept 2004) and Mutambirwa (in WCC 1991:7) also acknowledged that this tragedy, during which 69 people were killed and 187 injured was a turning point in Beyers Naudé’s life (De Grunchy 1986:62.63).

In 1963, the DRC as a result of his ministry forced him to choose between the church and the Christian Institute. According to Mason (in Business Day 8 Sept 2004) “it was a choice between obedience in faith and subjection to the authority of the

church. He must obey God rather than man. He hung his gown on the pulpit and walked out, a reluctant rebel, 48 years old.”

It was in this congregation where Beyers Naudé decided to reveal his standpoint in the sermon preached on 22 September 1963 to which the congregation had mixed reaction (Naudé 1995:68). The DRC and Aasvoëlkop congregation could not accommodate him anymore with these views that were deemed contrary to the church’. His farewell function (which looked like a funeral service with tears on the faces of people) at Aasvoëlkop congregation took place on Friday 1 November 1963 after which he worked for the Christian Institute from Monday 4 November 1963 (Naudé 1995:70, 72).

Beyers Naudé’s departure from the Aasvoëlkop congregation marked the beginning of his effective ministry to the victims of oppression in South Africa as could be seen later in this study. He demonstrated great courage especially with the risk that he was putting his family in. Worst of all, he even stated that he did not have money to buy a house when removed from the church manse. He had to be assisted by Dr. Jan van Rooyen from Parkhurst for a cheaper house in Greenside (Naudé 1995:69). The fact that he took this risky decision despite his poor financial status, confirmed what Botman (2004) said about him in outlining his character as a man of integrity that, “he was one of those who could not be diverted from his sacred duty and obedience neither by financial gain nor political and ecclesial ambition.”

## **2.4. THE ‘CONVERSION’ OF BEYERS NAUDÉ**

### **2.4.1. The ‘conversion’**

What is it that changed a Pharisee of the Pharisees (cf Gal 1:4; Phil 3:4-5) into Christ’s apostle to the Gentiles, a persecutor of the early Christian movement into its protagonist, a person who perceived Jesus Christ as an impostor and a threat to Judaism into one who embraced him as the center of his life, indeed of the universe? Paul himself gives only one answer; it was his encounter with the risen Christ (Bosch 1991:125)

In our quest for the reasons behind Beyers Naudé's 'conversion', similar questions as the one asked by Bosch above come to mind when one recalls that for forty five years of his early life he supported apartheid (Ryan 2005:4). The 'conversion' of Beyers Naudé from biblically supporting apartheid into being a faithful servant of God in the fight for justice has been a long and a painful one. He had an inner struggle with his conscience whether to continue blessing apartheid scripturally or to listen to his Christian convictions. He ultimately reached his 'conversion' through several processes and events. These included his encounter with ministers of other races and churches, the Sharpsville massacre of 1960, the Cottesloe consultation of 1960, the role of the Christian Institute and the reaction of the DRC afterwards.

Beyers Naude's contact with ministers of other races and churches was an important step in the process of his 'conversion'. The times of Beyers Naudé's upbringing which was characterized by strict laws which discouraged racial contacts made it difficult for him to meet other ministers. His parents, who were supporters of racist organizations such as the Broederbond as seen in this study, limited his opportunities to have contact with other peoples.

The first contact between him and ministers of other races and churches did not take place in South Africa but overseas during his first visit abroad on Kerk jeugvereniging (KJV) mission in 1954. There he was able to meet Protestant youth ministers of all races from thirteen countries, an experience which left a lasting impact on him. During that encounter, he had to respond to heavy questions hurled on the DRC race policy (Naudé 1995:38; cf Heaney 2004:39).

Another situation that brought him closer to meeting ministers of other races and churches was while he was a minister at the Pretoria East congregation (1949-1954). He met student ministers who were to become ministers in the racially based so called daughter churches of the DRC (Naudé1995:40).

Another closer contact was while he was a minister at the DRC congregation of Potchefstroom after 1954. Ministers who were students at the University of Pretoria who made contact with him while he was a student minister, who were working as missionaries in the so called daughter churches, paid him visits for advice on

problems they experienced in Black congregations. Some of those ministers invited him to their congregations to have first hand information and experience (Randall 1982:15-16).

The Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960 touched Beyers Naudé deeply. This tragedy happened while he was a minister of the elite DRC congregation at Aasvoëlkop, Johannesburg from 1959 to 1963 (Randall 1982:17). The impact of this tragedy was not only felt by Beyers Naudé but affected many areas of human society. For instance, Mandela (1998:47) referring to the massacre concluded that, “South Africa was never to be the same again.” The DRC delegates to the Cottesloe consultation when asked as to why they rejected apartheid by signing the consultation statement, in their response they quoted the impact of the Sharpeville massacre as what occupied their minds during the consultation session. They reasoned that their “aberrant stand had been due to the shock of the Sharpeville massacre” (Ngcokovane 1989:158). De Gruchy (1986:104) wrote, “Nothing quite like this had happened before to disturb the apparent tranquility of white South Africa and the confidence of foreign investors.”

Referring to the extent of the impact of Sharpeville on the ‘conversion’ of Beyers Naudé, Archbishop Denis Hurley (in Randall 1982:17) looked at Sharpeville as: “The culminating event in the process of ‘conversion’ experienced by Beyers Naudé, ‘out of that tragedy God spoke to Beyers Naudé.’”

For Beyers Naudé, ‘conversion’ meant a new approach to ministry different from the traditional approach in the DRC which he had pursued for more than twenty years. The new ‘conversion’ for him meant “a growing involvement on the basis of ecumenical collaboration in the social and political issues of South Africa, culminating in a far-reaching identification with the cause of the oppressed” (Randall 1982:71-72). Sharpeville for Beyers Naudé, meant a God-driven justice for the downtrodden oriented ministry. Referring to the injustices meted out against the oppressed that culminated in Sharpeville, his children indicated the impact of Sharpeville as follows: “Most of all, it was the events of Sharpeville, the killing of 69 school children (sic) involved in a peaceful protest, that finally turned the tide” (Tribune 12 September 2004).

The Cottesloe consultation held in Johannesburg from 7-14 December 1960 marked a turning point in Beyers Naudé's inner struggle on race relations and apartheid justification by the DRC. According to De Gruchy (1986:65), this consultation was presided over by Dr F.C. Fry, Chairperson of the central committee of the WCC. It was attended by delegates of South African member churches and representatives from their WCC counterparts. Also in attendance were eighteen Black participants, eight lay people, ministers and theologians. Representatives of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) were all White and tended to keep apart. It was alleged that they were in regular contact with Prime Minister Verwoerd. The DRC delegation was at the centre of things and even supported the consultation statement that rejected apartheid because it was based on their preparatory document (*ibid*).

The action adopted by the DRC delegation received a negative reaction from Prime Minister Verwoerd and the conservative group within the DRC. The DRC decided to withdraw from the WCC as a result of this controversy. Some of the DRC delegates attending this consultation recanted and reasoned that they signed the statement under pressure. Beyers Naudé, one of the DRC delegates was disappointed by the DRC reaction on the Cottesloe statement and refused to join his fellow delegates in dissociating themselves from the statement. This marked Beyers Naudé's 'conversion' from biblically supporting apartheid into following his Christian convictions.

The next two years until 1963 had not been easy years for Beyers Naudé as he continued with internal conflict. According to Randall (1971:26), the first part of 1963 must have been a time of intense personal conflict for Beyers Naudé. Despite the fact that for more than twenty years he was a faithful member of the Broederbond, he had increasingly grown unhappy about his position in this organization.

He was also forced by the DRC synod to make a decision if he wants to continue serving as editor of the *Pro Veritate* and Director of the Christian Institute (CI) as well as keeping his status as minister of the DRC. Beyers Naudé's decision to take the position of directorship of the Christian Institute and Editor of the *Pro Veritate* would cost him his status as a minister and Moderator of the Southern Transvaal DRC synod (Randall 1982:27-29).

Beyers Naudé made his decision to remain Director of the CI and announced this during his final sermon at his Aasvoëlkop congregation on 22 September 1963. He took up his position at the CI and became a member of one of the 'daughter' churches of the DRC in Alexandra.

When interviewed by the ABC News Nightline broadcast of 21 March 1985 referring to his 'conversion' twenty five years ago he responded as follows:

I came to the conclusion on the basis of my theological study, on the basis of my personal contacts with 'blacks' and 'coloureds' and Indians, that the policy of apartheid was unchristian, it was immoral, and it was unfeasible, and the events since 1960 have more than proven that fact (in Ngcokovane 1989:158).

#### **2.4.2. The Christian Institute**

Beyers Naudé was made to choose between the DRC and the Directorship of the Christian Institute (CI) in 1963. He ultimately chose the latter. It is therefore important to understand the character and the function of this organization which played an important role in Beyers Naudé's process of decision-making.

The pillars of the CI which was officially established on 13 August 1963 was declared as being the Word of God and the faith in the Trinitarian God. The CI started with 150 members in 1963 and grew to 1000 by 1964. Their line of action was study and prayer groups. The focus of the study groups was on materials concerning the South African race and church situation. The job profile of Beyers Naudé was to promote inter-racial contact among Christians, the promotion of ecumenism and to expose Afrikaners to other Christian approaches. Therefore, the character of this organization remained interdenominational, inter-racial Christians who believed that all human-beings are equally part of God's total creation and that no race group should regard itself above other racial groups. It was a prophetic forum of individual members from different denominations. At the same time, the CI wanted to be part of the churches and encouraged members to be loyal to their own denominations (Heaney 2004:82-84).

The DRC and other Afrikaans speaking churches stood up as the main opponents of the CI while the approach of English-speaking churches was positive. The reason for the opposition by the Afrikaans churches led by the DRC could be traced from the way in which Heaney (2004:84) refers to them as “the great supporters of apartheid” (my translation) and the Institute standing in contrast against apartheid.

### **2.4.3. The reaction of the DRC and the *volk* to Beyers Naudé’s ‘conversion’**

The route taken by Beyers Naudé has been a difficult one since it created more enemies for him from the ranks of his church, the Broederbond and the ‘volk’ in general. Ngcokovane (1989:158) is correct in saying that “by his stand, he struck at the heart of the Afrikaner civil religion.” He further stated that this was the beginning of his hard road as he was rejected by the DRC and his ‘volk’ and called him “kaffir boetie” (‘nigger brother’) (ibid).

The reaction of the DRC to Beyers Naudé’s position and how this will affect him is interpreted by Randall (1982:29) to mean the loss of his status as a minister in the DRC, the automatic loss of his position as moderator of the Southern Transvaal synod, the end of any other prospects in his church and the wrath of his *volk*.

Beyers Naudé’s congregation of Aasvoëlkop was the first to know of his decision to leave the DRC before the higher church organs. The great day was on 22 September 1963 when he preached his last sermon to this congregation. The theme of his sermon was “Obedience to God” and his text verse was from Acts 5:29, “We must be obedient to God more than to man” (My translation, Naudé 1995:68). The unfolding of events during that day is captured by Randall (ibid) as follows:

There followed his farewell sermon, delivered to a packed congregation. The ‘*Akte van Demissie*’ was officially read out from the front of the church. Then Beyers Naudé, officially *dominee* for the last time, stepped down from the pulpit and in a gesture symbolizing the stripping off of his status, took off his robe before the silent congregation, many of whom were weeping.



In the view of Kistner (1995:42), Beyers Naudé's choice of the route of obedience to God and resistance to injustice meant loneliness and isolation from people of his own Afrikaner family and cultural background. Most of those who were close to him came to regard him as a traitor to his people and church.

## **2.5. THE MISSION FIELD: POLITICAL CLIMATE IN SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ IN THE DRC (1940-1963) AND TO THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION (1963-1994)**

### **2.5.1. SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ IN THE DRC: 1940-1963**

#### **2.5.1.1. An overview of the political landscape of South Africa**

At the time of and preceding Beyers Naudé's birth, politically, South Africa was still fresh from the government of the Union of South Africa led by Prime Minister, General C.L. Botha. In 1915 when Beyers Naudé was born, the new Prime Minister, General J. B. M. Hertzog just took over from Prime Minister Botha accusing the latter of leniency on the English.

During both Botha and later Hertzog governments, racism was entrenched in the law of the land. The Native Land Act (No. 27 of 1913) was introduced during the term of the first parliament as a result of what was called "Black encroachment on White areas" (Müller 1993: 393). This racist Act received a strong and negative reaction from Black leaders that in February 1914 they even sent a deputation to Britain to force the British government to intervene (Müller 1993:396).

During Beyers Naudé's youth in 1924 when General Hertzog of the National Party won the Whites only election, the situation of Blacks remained unchanged and they continued to place them at the periphery of political activities. The question of poor Whites was the main focus for the new government. Blacks were barred from owning farms. Laws to preserve jobs for Whites only, were passed, such as the Wage Act of 1925 and the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926. Some major developments of 1925 were that South Africa obtained its own flag that flew alongside the Union Jack and Afrikaans was recognized officially as a language. Blacks were considered

backwards and primitive during those times. Whites were made to understand themselves as political masters while Blacks were their servants meant to occupy inferior positions in society. Afrikaners regarded themselves as having a duty to spread the gospel and civilization to Blacks, yet, guarded against social mixing of races (Ryan 2005:17).

Whilst being a minister of the DRC in Graaff Reinet, Beyers Naudé's father also did mission work to the Coloured community but converts were made to join the Coloureds only *Sendingkerk*. The few 'Coloureds' who attended the DRC when Beyers Naudé's father arrived in Graaff Reinet, while he was a boy, were only permitted to occupy the back pews. The parents of Beyers Naudé supported this racism and their children believed they were correct (Ryan 2005:17-18).

The situation above indicates that Beyers Naudé was born and bred into a political scenario that propagated a huge political divide among races. This political picture developed into many shapes throughout his life that in 1948 was coined and termed apartheid. This is a situation which he saw and supported as a young man and fought against later in his life.

- *The Afrikaner-Broederbond as a political tool*

If one wants to understand the true character of Afrikanerdom and also to interpret the very soul of Afrikaner nationalism, it is essential to have a knowledge and understanding of the *Broederbond's* 'nature, philosophy, actions and machination (Ngcokovane 1989:59).

In the study about Beyers Naudé, it is important to study this movement. This is because in addition to the fact that Beyers Naudé became a member of this movement, his father was its founding member and first president (Ryan 2005:10).

Even if the Broederbond was formed three years after the birth of Beyers Naudé, his father who was influential in this movement might have also influenced him when he brought him up. Beyers Naudé joined the Broederbond with excitement at the age of 25 in 1940 at his first congregation of Wellington.

Already during that time, the Broederbond was known for its unwavering support of a Biblical justification for apartheid (Naudé 1995: 32-33).

The characteristics of the Broederbond centered on the promotion, unity and development of the Afrikaner nation from the inferiority they suffered from the British. Serfontein (1979:29) explained this when he stated that “more bitter for the Afrikaners than the fact of physical inequality was the English attitude of superiority, arrogance and contempt for the Afrikaner and his language.” The grounds for the birth of this movement had further been defined by Serfontein (ibid) as the prevention of the disappearance of the Afrikaner *volk* as a separate political, language, social and cultural entity. In the midst of poverty after the First World War, the Afrikaner had to ensure that they were not swamped by the English who were economically and culturally stronger than them at the time. Ryan (2005:10) called the Broederbond “a pro-Afrikaner organization.” In explaining what he meant by this, he reasoned that “it was to be a service organization for the reconciliation of all Afrikaners in a single brotherhood, an organization in which Afrikaners could work together for the survival of the Afrikaner people in South Africa and the promotion of its interest” (2005:10).

Ryan (2005:10) contends that this movement nurtured and championed the policy of apartheid to ensure the survival of Afrikaners and was supported by Ngcokovane (1989:64) who stated that “the aims of the Broederbond bear a striking resemblance to those of the National Party of SA as stated in its ‘Constitution and Programme of Principle’....The ‘think-tank’ of the Broederbond designed basic government policy.”

Qualifications required for membership of the Broederbond were people of high profile within the ranks of Afrikaners such as politicians, church leaders, teachers, medical officers, business and provincial administration (Serfontein 1979:79). Ngcokovane (1989:65) also concurs that “a fair number of important posts in the public services, the defence force and the police were occupied by members of the Broederbond.” It was in 1940 while at Wellington when, at the age of twenty five, Beyers Naudé joined the Broederbond (Naudé 1995:33). As to how this period and its characteristics might have influenced him, this would be seen later in this study.

Beyers Naudé's youth was dominated by the influence of the Broederbond. His father was among the main players in this organization as its first president. He applied this movement's policies in the upbringing of his children. It appears to have been a common practice for Beyers Naudé's father to bring public politics into his home-life in the upbringing of his children. For instance, his hatred for the British reflected in his family and the upbringing of his children when he taught them to call the English "die Rooinekke" (Naudé 1995:11).

His membership to the Broederbond also influenced the way in which he reared his children. Beyers Naudé's father influenced by the Broederbond became a champion in the struggle for the survival of Afrikaner culture and language. He played an important role in the development of Afrikaans in the Transvaal. His calling to the DRC congregation of Graaff-Reinet was an attempt to salvage this language and culture from dilution by the Cape dominated English culture (Naudé 1995:12-13).

Beyers Naudé inherited the love for Afrikaner nationalism from his Broederbond father. Another indication of the Broederbond influence on him was seen in his love for the Afrikaner language and culture even when later on in his life he became a critic of the Afrikaners' promotion of apartheid and his subsequent rejection by his *volk*. Ryan (2005:4) states that

...even though his *volk* turned their back on him, he never lost his deep love for the Afrikaans language and never became ashamed, nor tried to deny, that he was an Afrikaner. His family was long rooted in South Africa and his father had been closely associated with the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism.

- *The impact of World War 2*

The impact of the Second World War (1939-1945) is another area that can assist in the understanding of Beyers Naudé's activities and thinking as embraced in his ministry to the people of South Africa. The question asked is what impact did the Second World War have on Beyers Naudé? During the First World War, Beyers Naudé was a baby. The impact of that war might not have directly affected him. But

during the Second World War he was a youth aged twenty four at the beginning of this war in 1939. The political landscape and thinking of the time could have left an indelible mark in his life.

Apart from politics, the impact of the Second World War was also predominantly in the area of economy which grew alarmingly as a result of the industrial boom which was meant to produce goods for the war. This economic scenario was captured by Müller (1993:449) thus:

A noteworthy aspect of the South African economy during the years 1939-1945 was the rapid development of industry. To encourage the establishment of industries the government founded the Industrial Development Corporation (I.D.C.) in 1940, and in 1941 the development of industries was further stimulated by the founding of two more important institutions, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (C.S.I.R.) which was to help solve various difficulties encountered frequently by industries, and the South African Bureau of Standards (S.A.B.S.) which was to test the quality of locally manufactured industrial goods.

This saw an influx by Blacks into cities, something which threatened the White working class. The political party that was in power then was the United Party led by General Jan Smuts. This party apparently did not have a plan acceptable for Whites to deal with the White insecurity as a result of the Black influx.

Commissions were set up to address the influx of Blacks into the cities but did not yield the desired results. One of those commissions was the Native Law Commission (or Fagan Commission) to address what came to be known as the “Native Question” (Ngcokovane 1989:33-35).

The fact that Beyers Naudé was twenty four years old when the Second World War started in 1939 and thirty years when it ended in 1945 suggests that he was old enough to understand the political activities of that period, and open to be influenced by them. Two years into the Second World War saw him starting to work in his first congregation (of Wellington) (Naudé 1995:32) and this is indicative of the fact that he

was even academically mature enough to understand and to read about events of the time.

- *The birth of the Apartheid Era in 1948*

The official introduction of apartheid after the victory of the National Party in 1948 marked another era in the political landscape of this country. During this time Beyers Naudé was thirty three years old and an adult enough to learn something from that period. By this time he was not yet 'converted' to justice but was still enjoying and supporting apartheid. His state of mind with regards to his allegiance to the political order of the day is well captured by Ryan (2005:5) who indicated his support for the nationalist cause of the Afrikaner people and the victory of the National Party in 1948.

One of the reasons why the National Party won the 1948 elections was because it promised the White electorate apartheid. Beyers Naudé as a Nationalist Party and Broederbond member at the time, as well as a minister of the DRC congregation of Olifantsfontein, was very happy about his party's victory (Naudé 1995:37). They had a plan to prevent the Black workers' influx into the cities of South Africa, something which the defeated United Party did not have (Müller 1993:463; cf Ngcokovane 1989:33). Since the National Party took over in 1948, a stream of repressive laws were introduced to deal with the "Native Question" (appendix I).

The victory of official apartheid in South Africa through the Nationalist Party in 1948 saw the reinforcement of resistance from the oppressed masses. This coincided with and was informed by the global trend where "it was felt that it was wrong for European powers to have colonies in Asia and Africa and for whites to rule over other races in those colonies. Non-whites in Asia and Africa should be given the right to rule themselves" (Müller 1993:463). Oppressed communities in South Africa increased their fight through political organizations such as the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, South African Indian Council, to mention but a few.

### **2.5.1.2. Selected apartheid legislations passed during the period under review**

The Nationalists came to power in 1948 on a minority vote...The new government moved swiftly to systematize and entrench racial separation through the Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act and the immorality Act. The suppression of Communism Act was to penalize opposition. These four laws alone were enough to start changing, with painful effect, not only the social geography but also human relations and the sense of dignity of most people in the country (Nash 2005:33).

In order to better understand the reasons that led to the unique ministry of Beyers Naudé and the factors that led to his 'conversion,' it is important to understand the apartheid legislation package and have it in mind as we proceed with this study. The apartheid legislations in question passed during the period under review is listed in appendix I.

All these Acts constituted what came to be known worldwide as apartheid. The Biblical justification of these Acts which formed the huge package of apartheid, shaped the ministry of Beyers Naudé to the people of South Africa, particularly the victims of apartheid.

An analysis of the spread of these acts over the years indicates that only one law was passed in 1949. This suggests that there had not been apartheid laws passed during the first year of ascension into power of the Nationalist Party government in 1948. Most apartheid laws were passed in 1950 during which time five were passed. During 1951 three laws were passed. The same applies to 1953, 1959 and 1961. There were only two laws passed in 1952. The remaining years (1954, 1955, 1956, 1967 and 1970) were like 1949 with only one law passed in each of them.

It should be noted that the Acts passed in the last two years (1967 and 1970), were passed when Beyers Naudé was no longer a Minister of Religion in the DRC. During this time he was ministering to the people of South Africa, especially the victims of apartheid. Although all the legislations ignited reaction from the oppressed, the following Acts caused even more:

**a. The prohibition of mixed marriages Act of 1949**

This Act forbade marriage between people of different racial backgrounds. The focus was between Blacks and Whites. Related to this Act was the Immorality Act of 1950. This Act prohibited inter-marital relations between Whites and Blacks. It did not only focus on the Africans but all the Black racial groups i.e. 'Coloured' and Indians as well (Ngcokovane 1989:107).

**b. Population registration Act of 1950**

This Act formalized racial classification by introducing identity cards for people over the age of eighteen and specifying their racial groups. Ngcokovane (1989:107) correctly puts it that it was aimed at defining the borderline of colour. He further stated that this Act would record the racial classification of every individual in order to effect the separation between Blacks and Whites in all spheres with precision and certainty.

**c. Group Areas Act of 1950**

This Act was passed on 27 April 1950 and it partitioned South Africa into different areas with each allocated to different racial groups. This law was the basis upon which political and social segregations were constructed. Ngcokovane (1989:107) explained this Act thus:

Under this Act, the Nationalist Party zoned this country by race. This Act requires that the population be assigned to separate areas and territories meant for different races. If, for example an area is proclaimed by government for any race group, people of other races can neither own nor occupy property in it. The Act also implied forcible removal of people who might be where they are not 'supposed' to be.

This Act affected many victims of apartheid including Dr Allan Boesak's family which was forcefully removed from Somerset West during the 1950s to comply with it (Gastrow 1992:11). Related to the above Act was the Prevention of illegal squatting



Act of 1951. This Act enabled the government to demolish Black shack-land slums. Ngcokovane (1989:30) indicated that competition for jobs prevented Blacks from a decent living and forced them to live in slums.

**d. Pass Laws of 1952**

By this Act, Pass-books were issued to Africans. They were forced to carry them wherever they went and were used as instruments to control their movements in the so-called White areas. The Act was met with resistance as it would be seen later in this study when dealing with responses of the victims of apartheid.

The Act saw a lot of mass demonstrations against the issuing and carrying of these books and the most notable one being that of Sharpeville which came to be known as the Sharpeville massacre. It took place on 21 March 1960 during which 69 people were killed by the security forces (2.4.1). As part of their participation in the protest, Mr Mandela burned his pass-book in Orlando while Chief Albert Luthuli burned his in Pretoria, both on 26 March 1960 (Mandela1998:46).

**e. Bantu Education Act of 1953**

By this Act, a separate education system was crafted for African students under 'Bantu' Education Department. According to Ngcokovane (1989:107), this Act transferred responsibility of education from the provincial education authorities to the Department of 'Bantu' Education and compelled Africans to attend ethnically divided African schools which were divided along old 'tribal' lines as an attempt to reinforce ethnic loyalties. A Church Historian Hildebrandt (1981:223) described this Act as:

...one of the most far-reaching 'apartheid' measures which took African education out of the missionary control and made it an instrument of government policy of reshaping men's minds....Africans, therefore, were to be given an inferior kind of education, to fit them for their chief function in South Africa, that of labourers. For more than a hundred years, church leaders and missionaries had sought to give the best and most helpful education to the

Africans in South Africa, but after 1953 the South African government no longer allowed them to help Africans in this way.

Closely related to this Act was the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. Ngcokovane (1989:108) states that this Act prescribed that no Black students could be admitted to a 'White university' without permission from the minister.

Separate universities were established along racial and ethnic lines. For example, the University of Zululand was for the Zulus, University of the North for the Bapedi, Basotho, Batswana and Venda while the University of Fort Hare was for the isiXhosa speaking students. The universities for the 'Coloureds' and Indians were established one in the Western Cape and another one in Natal respectively.

The above scenario was outlined by Mandela (1990:65) in 1957 as follows:

An inferior type of education, known as Bantu education, and designed to relegate the Africans to a position of perpetual servitude in a baasskap society, is now in force in almost all African primary schools throughout the country and will be introduced in all secondary and high schools next year. The Separate Universities Education Bill, now before Parliament, is a step to extend Bantu education to the field of higher education.

**f. Reservation of separate amenities Act of 1953**

This Act prevented Black people from using the same public amenities such as restaurants, restrooms and swimming pools. It would be seen later in this study as we will be looking at the response of the victims of apartheid how this Act was challenged. Mandela (1998:30) indicated how defiance campaigns were organized against this Act. For instance, he wrote; "in the first stage a small number of well trained volunteers would break specially chosen laws in some urban areas. They would use toilets, waiting rooms, railway compartments and post-office entrances that were for whites only."

**g. Bantu Urban Areas Act of 1954**

The Act curtailed Black migration to urban areas. Ngcokovane (1989:30) states two reasons that forced Blacks to move to urban areas; firstly they did not have land because it was taken away from them forcefully and secondly money tax for Blacks was introduced. For this reason, they were forced to work in urban areas for White industrialists in order to pay for those taxes. In addition, the hope of a better life was also a driving force.

According to the apartheid government, Blacks had a limited role to play in the urban areas. For instance, the then Prime Minister, Dr D.F. Malan (in Ngcokovane 1989:93) stated that they were only temporary workers and that all surplus (Africans) must be taken away from the urban areas as soon as possible. Mandela (1990:59) narrates a painful story of a woman who was arrested and deported from Krugersdorp to her home village far away despite the fact that her husband (who had worked thirty years for the municipality) just collapsed and died. This happened while she was also to prepare for the funeral of her husband. This behaviour demonstrated the unsympathetic nature of the system towards its victims.

The effect of this Act could well be understood from Posel (in Swilling et al: 1991:22) who reasoned thus: “The city was merely a temporary base for the purposes of taking up employment. Any labour ‘surplus’ among the ‘tribalised’ groups could be eradicated by expelling the unemployed back to their areas of origin.”

**h. Mines and Work Act of 1956**

This Act reserved jobs along racial lines, which meant that better jobs were reserved for Whites and dirty type of jobs for Blacks. An excellent scenario of this is outlined by Ngcokovane (1989:30, 31) who indicated that when both Black and White unskilled labourers came to the cities to look for employment in the mines during the twenties, the latter had political power and enjoyed preferential treatment at the expense of Blacks.

## **i. Bantu Homelands Citizen Act of 1970**

This Act falls outside the period under review. My attraction to it was the fact that it further deepened the detachment of Blacks from South African citizenship and fast-tracked tribal division among Africans. This Act which was referred to by Mandela (1990:77) as “Verwoerd’s tribalism”, created a ‘homeland’ system for Africans based on their ethnic lines. It denied Black Africans South African citizenship by making sure they belonged to all the ten Bantustans based on different African groups. It was encouraged that they should take ‘independence’ in order to fully take away their citizenship although at the end not all of them opted for ‘independence’. The strategy was to create a space in South Africa in which Whites would be in the majority. The then Secretary of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr W.W.M. Eiselen (in Mandela 1990:77-78) puts it as follows: “All the Bantu have their permanent homes in the Reserves and their entry into other areas and into the urban areas is merely of a temporary nature and for economic reasons. In other words, they are admitted as work-seekers, not as settlers.”

This Act also attracted comments from other ministers. The Prime Minister, Dr H.F. Verwoerd commended it as “a supremely positive step towards placing Africans on the road to self-government” while the Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr De Wet Nel stated “the people in the Reserves would gradually be given more powers to rule themselves” (in Mandela 1990:79).

### **2.5.1.3. Response by the victims of oppression to government apartheid policies**

Victims of apartheid from the general civil society took up arms against the apartheid government. In this section, focus will be on organized events and incidents that were related to actions against apartheid during the period under review. It should be noted however that during the limits of the period in question, the African National Congress (ANC) was a dominant political organization and as such she occupied a bigger space in action against apartheid than any other organizations then. This may not mean that all victims of apartheid were members of this organization, but whenever she organized action throughout the country, the majority of people

responded positively. It would therefore be understandable that in the discussions that follow, most voices will be from this political organization. Mandela (1998: 27) demonstrated this scenario when he wrote that:

Malan wasted no time, he quickly built the foundation of the apartheid system, brick by brick....The ANC could no longer sit back and watch from the sidelines. The Youth League drafted a Programme of Action calling for strikes, stayaways, passive resistance, protest demonstrations, and other forms of mass action. For the ANC, this was a big break with the past. Up until this time, it has always kept within the law.

- *The Period of Defiance Campaigns*

Defiance campaigns represented a formidable weapon in the fight against apartheid. The ANC in May 1952, in alliance with the Indian Congress organized campaigns in defiance of unjust laws. The campaigns were divided into two stages. The first one was by a small number of volunteers who would break certain laws in urban areas such as the use of toilets, waiting rooms, railway compartments and post office entrances that were meant for Whites only. The second phase was for mass action which included strikes across the country. In order to guarantee the success of this action, the ANC and the Indian Congress formed a National Volunteer Committee to drive the campaigns (Mandela 1998:30).

- *The Congress of the People (COPE): 1955*

Another form of response against apartheid was a national convention that was called “the Congress of the People” (Mandela 1998:36). It took place on 25 and 26 June 1955 at dusty Kliptown, southwest of Johannesburg. The congress represented all people of this country regardless of race, colour and gender. It was to draw up a Freedom Charter for South Africa. Not less than 3 000 delegates of all race groups attended the congress. The first part of the Freedom Charter that was formed by the congress read as follows:

We the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know...that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white...and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people (Mandela 1998:38).

On the afternoon of the second day the police stormed into the Congress and suspected delegates for committing treason. They destroyed papers, pushed people around and searched them one by one as they (the people) were later allowed to leave the area (Luthuli 1989:142-143).

- *The adoption of an armed struggle*

After continuing with peaceful means without making an impact in the government, the ANC decided to adopt an arms struggle. They reminded themselves of the Sesotho saying that, “the attacks of a wild beast cannot be stopped with only bare hands” (Mandela 1998:55). After repeated attempts by Mr Nelson Mandela to convince his colleagues to adopt the arms approach, the National Executive Committee ultimately accepted it.

The army under the control of the ANC was formed in 1961. It was called Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) and Mr Nelson Mandela was elected Commander-in-Chief of the new army. It made the first strike on 16 December 1961. After the first explosion, a pamphlet of an Umkhonto We Sizwe manifesto was distributed and an extract from it which reads as follows:

The time has come in the life of any nation where there remains only two choices; submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom (Mandela 1990:122).

The distribution of the manifesto, particularly after the first strike by this armed wing, suggests that the ANC was not sure if the masses would support this wing. The manifesto is dominated by the introduction of the wing and reasons for its existence. The reasons to write it, as well as the timing of its distribution might have been

influenced by the struggle that Mr Mandela (1998:53-56) had in convincing the ANC internal structures about the necessity of such a body.

- *Formation of leftwing political organizations*

The intransigence of the apartheid government ignited another response in the form of encouraging the formation of left-wing political organizations. One example of this was the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) on 6 April 1959 (Mandela 1998:45).

The birth of this new organization that broke away from the ANC was a response to the view that the ANC was diluted by its acceptance of Whites within its membership. Mandela (1998:45) puts it thus: “But the main cause of their break-away was their objection to the Freedom Charter and to the presence of Indians and whites in the struggle.” Mr Robert Sobukwe was elected its first President.

- *Mass Demonstrations*

The apartheid government indirectly triggered mass demonstrations against itself all over the country and abroad. Two protests became prominent . The first one was the women’s protest against the pass law and they marched to the Union Buildings on 9 August 1956 (Gastrow 1992:282). The second one was a protest in Sharpeville which attracted world attention. It made headlines because of the heavy handedness on the part of the security forces. The demonstration was organized by the Pan Africanist Congress. The date was 21 March 1960 during which police killed 69 Africans. More than 400 people including women and children were wounded. Most of the victims were shot in the back as they tried to flee from the police (Mandela 1998:47).

The Sharpeville incident left South African society in a crisis. De Gruchy (1986:104) explained it thus; “Post-Sharpeville South Africa was a society in crisis. Nothing quite like this had happened before to disturb the apparent tranquility of white South Africa and the confidence of foreign investors.”

- *The All-African Conference and stay-at-home 1960-1961*

Another response by the victims of oppression demonstrated itself with the organization of the consultative conference of African leaders on 16 December 1960 in Orlando, Soweto. The aim of the conference was defiance against the celebration of Republic day, 31 May. The resolutions of this conference revealed a clear line of onslaught on racism as seen below:

The congress (Mandela 1990:95) agreed on the urgent need for African unity and

- The removal of the scourge of apartheid from every phase of national life.
- The immediate establishment of a non-racial democracy.
- The effective use of non-violent pressures against apartheid.

Another meeting by this body was called in Pietermaritzburg on 25-26 March 1961 by the Ad hoc committee. It was motivated by the Sharpeville tragedy of 21 March 1960. During that meeting, Mr Nelson Mandela was appointed honorary secretary of the All-In-National Action Council. He was tasked to organize demonstrations against the proclamation of South Africa as a republic on 31 May, to campaign for a national convention, and for a three-day-stay-at-home strike on 29, 30 and 31 May 1961 (Gastrow 1992:145).

## **2.5.2. SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ TO THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION: 1963-1994**

### **2.5.2.1. An overview of the political landscape of South Africa**

In South Africa, the years 1960-1977 saw untold developments in socio-political and economic areas. This was the period during which apartheid was applied in the lives of millions of South Africans and where the ideology and theology of apartheid was developed in all circles. The decade started with the traumatic events at Sharpeville when a great number of Black people openly took action against apartheid (my translation, Heaney 2004:49).



The previous period focused on the political climate in South Africa during the period of the ministry of Beyers Naudé in the DRC from 1940 to 1963. That political landscape was very important in the understanding of what built up to the ‘conversion’ of Beyers Naudé. This period connects from his ‘conversion’ in the early 1960s onwards when in 1963 he got involved in what Meyer (2006:124) referred to as his “public career,” meaning his ministry to the entire South Africa, especially the victims of apartheid.

The main area of difference between these periods was in the political climate and the ministry approach of Beyers Naudé. The political climate was different in the sense that during the previous period (before the 1960s), the government was still formulating laws and was at the initial stage of implementing them. Reaction from victims of oppression was still peaceful, and the armed struggle was not yet adopted. More adults than youth participated in the fight against apartheid. This means that protest matches and other forms of resistance were an adult matter. The ministry of Beyers Naudé was still in the DRC and for a greater part of this period, he supported apartheid.

Differently, the period under review was marked by turbulent action, vibrancy and violence on the side of the apartheid victims in their response to apartheid violence. The adoption of an armed struggle was made during this period. This period also saw participants in the struggle dominated by the youth, some of whom inexperienced in terms of military practice. Their level of inexperience led Ellis and Sechaba (1992:33) to describe them as “the army of amateurs, hardly any of whom had knowledge of weapons. Some of them caused civilian casualties and even blew themselves up with their homemade bombs.” The state on the other side was more brutal in terms of torture to the victims of oppression and all who oppose it. The ministry of Beyers Naudé zoomed into this most difficult period in South Africa based on the nature of the political climate. The struggle participants transformed from those of dignified adult men and women in formal suits and hats during protest matches in the 1950s into that of youth action, the so called stone throwing ‘comrades’ since the mid-1970s (International Defence and Aid....1988).

Most of the legislations passed during the late 1940s and the entire 1950s were fully implemented and operational. Their impacts were already felt by the victims of apartheid. The difference between these periods in terms of political dynamism, with regards to the freedom struggle by the then dominant freedom organization, the ANC has also been noted by Dubow (2000:85) when he wrote that “the 1980s were not the 1950s, and the domestic political landscape which the ANC confronted was infinitely more complex and crowded than it had been twenty years earlier.” Meyer (2006:124) regarded this period as that of crisis in the life of Beyers Naudé. He outlined the different perspectives for both Black and White South Africans with regards to the political situation in the country. He stated that for Whites it was a ‘Christian’ Separate Development and from Blacks it was an ‘unchristian’ apartheid. Meyers (2009) regards this period as an exciting, sad and dangerous time, a time for a new society and opportunity for Beyers Naudé, a time for a breakthrough towards a new South Africa. The climax of this period was during the 1980s, and Saayman (2009:12) described it as follows:

The mid-eighties of the previous century in SA marked the high point of the struggle against apartheid in SA. It was the time when everything was conceived in terms of the ‘total onslaught’ of the liberation movement against the illegitimate state, and the ‘total strategy’ of the state to overcome the ‘terrorist’ onslaught.

This period was marked by dynamic political changes in South Africa. Among them were the imprisonments of the main Black political leaders on Robben Island, the birth of the Black Consciousness movement, Black on Black violence, the peoples’ war, boycotts and stay-aways, sanctions, the effects of the arms struggle by the victims of oppression and the dawn of democracy in 1994. The 1994 democracy was preceded by violent racist killings, banning of Black political organizations and large scale political violence. Beyers Naudé’s ministry coincided with the most challenging period in South Africa. He was regarded as God-sent to this situation at the most appropriate time. Heaney (2004:2) noted this when he wrote: “...to dr Beyers Naudé. You were the correct person at the right time in South Africa. This is how God wanted it to be. You made yourself available to be used by God. Therefore I dedicate this thesis to dr Beyers Naudé” (my translation).

Beyers Naudé's ministry to South Africa was understood by him as part of his mission responsibilities to God. He regarded himself as the subject of God's mission in South Africa. He had a strong interest in mission and evangelism. His deep interest in mission was personally articulated in the interview conducted by Prof Lammert Leertouwer between him and Dr Dorothee Solle<sup>7</sup> on 20 June 1986. When explaining factors that led to his 'conversion' he stated:

The first is a theological one. When, after the Second World War, in looking at what was happening in Africa, the whole process of decolonization, freedom, political freedom, coming to Africa, the cry of millions of Africans throughout the continent to throw off the yoke of colonialism, with my deep interest in mission, in evangelism, and in the youth work of the church, I asked myself: 'what does this say to us in South Africa?' (WCC 1986:4-5).

In order to fully understand the ministry of Beyers Naudé, which he understood as "the hand of God guiding me into a new direction" (WCC 1986:6), it is important to first look at some of the dynamics of this period that shaped and characterized his mission field, South Africa.

### **2.5.2.2. Political dynamics of South Africa**

#### **a. Government strategic action against the victims of oppression**

The entry of Beyers Naudé into his ministry to the people of South Africa must be understood within the context of the life imprisonment of Black political leaders such as Mr Nelson Mandela in 1964 (Dubow 2000:vii). This imprisonment left a wide gap in Black leadership and in the fight for freedom in the years preceding the incarceration. For some times it appeared as if the government was in control of the situation. Dubow (2000:70-71) outlined it as follows:

For at least a decade after 1964 the ANC virtually ceased to exist in South Africa and the prospects for liberation appeared more remote than

---

<sup>7</sup>. A German theologian on behalf of IKON Television, the Dutch ecumenical broadcasting company.

ever....This sense of despair was shared by all but the most optimistic observers. Under the leadership of Hendrik Verwoerd white minority rule seemed more secure and arrogant than ever. During the 1960s South Africa's annual 6 per cent economic growth rate was exceeded only by Japan, and white South Africans had become among the most affluent groups in the world.

Referring to the imprisonment of mainly ANC leadership during this period, Dubow (2000:73) commented that "the period after Rivonia was particularly hard" while Mandela (in Dubow 2000:73) called it "dark years." Ellis and Sechaba (1992:41) judged the mid-1960s as "the most depressing period in the history of the ANC, and were very difficult for the Communist Party too. Internal supporters were neutralized or imprisoned, senior leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment, and many exiled members were demoralized." Meyer (2006:124) called it a time for crisis. Beyers Naudé's ministry to the people of South Africa after he left the DRC in 1963 was faced with this political leadership gap. Max du Preez (The Star, 9 September 2004) explained the role of Beyers Naudé during this period as follows:

Exactly because Black South Africans knew that he was a murgen-been Afrikaner, he became a symbol of hope during the dark time between the 1960s and the late 1980s. His presence meant that not all Afrikaners and Whites were intractable racists and oppressors, with some pressure and persuasion the rest could one day follow.

The ministry of Beyers Naudé to the people of South Africa was also shaped by the wrath of the security forces. In their quest to quell resistance from the victims of apartheid, they were not merciful to the people who questioned the government's oppressive policies. Imprisonment without trial was enforced and suspects were tortured in every means in order to force them to speak out the 'truth'. The nature of state violence through the security forces is captured by Kane-Berman (1993:15) as follows:

When Black people demonstrated against pass laws at Sharpeville in 1960, it mowed them down with sten guns. When school children demonstrated

against Bantu Education in Soweto in 1976, it shot them down too. It banned and house arrested people after stigmatizing many of them as communists, and several dozen of them it beat to death or drove to suicide in detention.

The fact that the father of the Black Consciousness (BC) movement, Mr Steve Biko “was brutally killed while held in police detention in 1977” (Dubow 2000:81; cf Ellis & Sechaba 1992:114) is an example of torture as meted out by the security forces to the victims of apartheid. Powers given to security forces during the state of emergencies went along with the wrath of untold torture. For instance, state of emergencies “permitted the security forces to detain suspected troublemakers (sic) at will without fear of legal recourse. Torture became widespread as over 24 000 people were detained in the second half of 1986” (Ellis & Sechaba 1992:163). The security forces also had powers to kill the enemies of state as it happened with their attempt to assassinate Mr Steve Tshwete (Ellis & Sechaba 1992:179). Beyers Naudé is not strange to the wrath of the security forces and had a particular link with Biko and the BC.

Beyers Naudé’s ministry period was marked by banning orders especially for political parties, media and individuals. The action of government was described by Kane-Berman (1993:15) as follows:

It banned and house arrested people after stigmatizing many of them as communists, and several dozen of them it beat to death or drove to suicide in detention. Not content with the banning of people it closed down newspapers and banned numerous political organizations.

The early 1960s saw the banning of three political organisations namely ANC, PAC and the Communist Party (Dubow 2000:vii; cf Kane-Berman 1993:11). The banning of these three organisations was made under the Unlawful Organisations Act. This means that they were unable to function lawfully in the country until 2 February 1990 when political organisations were unbanned (Ellis & Sechaba 1992:30-31). When Beyers Naudé started with his ministry he was faced with this political vacuum within the ranks of the victims of apartheid.

The period (1963-1994) saw three states of emergencies imposed by the apartheid government as a means of quelling down violence. The first state of emergency came as a result of the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. During the first state of emergency, about 20 000 victims of oppression were detained (Ellis & Sechaba 1992:30). The second state of emergency came as a result of the activities of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1985. This was declared over large parts of South Africa. According to Dubow (2000:90) there was a massive crackdown by the security forces during which many activists were arrested. The last state of emergency was in 1986 after the largest ever national stay away (Ellis & Sechaba 1992:163; cf Dubow 2000:viii).

During the period in question in the ministry of Beyers Naudé (1963-1994), the Christian faith continued to be used by government as an oppressive strategy. The political approach was a further development of what Ellis and Sechaba (1992:80) called “an old-fashioned, Bible-quoting Calvinist fundamentalism of Dr D.F. Malan, the first National Party prime minister.” By 1976, Deputy Minister of Bantu Education and Administration and a former DRC dominee, Dr A. Treurnicht’s ideology was described as “based on a racialist interpretation of the Bible and a deep attachment to the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner- nationalism” (ibid).

This situation was influenced by a close link that existed between the DRC and apartheid as well as the role this church played in coining this term (apartheid) and blessing what it stood for. Saayman (2007:70) concurs because after having implicated all White groups and churches in apartheid practices, he continued to stress that

...it is necessary to recognize that the Afrikaner academics, the NP and the DRC did play the most important role in *perfecting* the system. As far as the NP and the DRC specifically are concerned, the origins of the term ‘apartheid’ remain a bit of a chicken-and-egg situation: it is very difficult to come to a decisive conclusion as to who should be regarded as the originator.

Saayman (ibid) however, indicated that the first appearance of this term was in a paper read by a DRC dominee, Rev J.C. du Plessis at the mission congress of this

church held in Kroonstad, Free State in 1929. He also indicated that by the end of the 1920s, the mission secretary of the Free State DRC, Rev. Valie Strydom characterized apartheid “as the DRC’s mission policy” (ibid:71). Such a close relationship between party political ideology and the DRC cultivates fertile grounds for the manipulation of the Christian faith for political means. For instance, when the DRC missionary, Rev J.P. Roux had a misunderstanding with Chief Mabie of Mabieskraal, Pilanesberg area in the 1880s, he approached a local commandant, Malan “who laid down the law for Mabie” (ibid:65).

The relationship between the church and state and the former’s blessings for the unjust practices of the latter, could be located from the time of Constantine. During the Middle Ages, the marriage was even stronger between the pope and those who ruled the Holy Roman Empire. This relationship was so strong that even if the head of the church and the Roman Empire were at odds, they cooperated within the framework of what Bosch (1991:274) refers to as “*corpus Christianum*.” Another *corpus Christianum* in Africa which lasted for more than sixteen years was Ethiopia. There was no separation between church and state in such a way that the priest can become an emperor and vice-versa. The *corpus Christianum* practice in Ethiopia ended in 1974 with the dethronement of Haile Selassi (Kritzinger 2009:98). In Europe, this type of relationship which continued even after the Reformation period made it easy for the church to oppress other people in the name of Christianization. The result of this type of relationship was outlined by Bosch (1991:275) as follows:

It was difficult to differentiate between political, cultural, and religious elements and activities since they all merged into one. This made it natural for the first European colonizing powers, Portugal and Spain, to assume that they, as Christian monarchs, had the divine right to subdue pagan peoples and that therefore colonization and Christianization went hand in hand but were two side sides of the same coin.

Beyers Naudé’s ministry also coincided with the political reforms in South Africa. The strong resistance to apartheid forced the government to embark on reform programmes since the mid-1970s. This process came to be called “a new constitutional dispensation” (Dubow 2000:87). This reform dispensation started after

Prime Minister P.W. Botha took over as president. Referring to apartheid he stated that it had to “adapt or die” (ibid:88). Some of the reforms included the beginning of the process of the ‘Coloured’ and Indians in the political process of the country, a move that was greatly opposed by the United Democratic Front (UDF). This was because most of the reforms were deemed cosmetic. The reform programmes of Botha did not succeed and were deemed a failure as could be seen from Maguire (1991:29):

Botha’s reform programme failed because it was too little and too late. The electoral turn-out for the Coloured and Indian elections was very low, thus casting doubt on their legitimacy and the issue for the political representation for Blacks was ignored. The Black reaction to Botha’s new constitution was extremely hostile and led to widespread anti-government violence in the townships. Caught between a growing challenge from the right from the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and from growing Black unrest on the left, Botha attempted to appease the right and repress the left but ended up failing to achieve either objective.

Apart from the tri-cameral parliament politics, reforms were attempted in other areas of peoples’ lives. For instance, official recognition of Black trade unions, increased resources for Black education, provision of greater security and improved amenities for Africans with urban ‘insider’ rights, introduced changes in government administration, and helped to forge closer ties between big business and the state were some of the reforms (Dubow 2000:88).

**b. Victims of oppression’s strategic response to government action**

- *Sanctions*

Sanctions of all kind against South Africa dominated the context of this period. As early as 1964, a call for economic sanctions against South Africa was made at the Mindolo Consultation in Kitwe, Zambia. The conference was also attended by Beyers Naudé (Ryan 2005:98-99). During the presidency of Mr P.W. Botha in the mid-



1980s “an international arms embargo deprived SA of external supplies of weapons and the international isolation of the republic was growing” (Maquire 1991:27).

Calls for the boycott of South Africa at all fronts including sports and economy were made. Apart from these calls, the violent nature of South Africa at the time scared investors to the point that some of them voluntarily pulled out of the country. According to Beyers Naudé (Pro Veritate, 15 November 1966:1) the image of South Africa abroad was negative. This picture carried negative and unfavourable conditions for investors. Increasing the isolation of South Africa from the outside world as well as the increasing economic pressures made an impact in the lives of South African Whites according to Beyers Naudé (2005:92-93).

- *Townships as battlefields*

The strategists of the guerilla army had always conceived of the liberation of South Africa taking place as a result of urban insurrection in which, under the influence of the ANC-Communist Party-SACTU alliance, with its armed and trade union wings, the oppressed people of South Africa would finally cease collaboration with the government and big businesses totally, and would be prepared to turn to violence *en masse* (Ellis & Sechaba 1992:145).

The ministry of Beyers Naudé was played out in a reactionary movement that saw townships as strategic places to fight for freedom. Comparison between rural and urban areas on matters of best strategic battlefields for freedom indicates that the latter were convenient sites. Because Blacks were limited to townships in urban settlements, these areas became sites for the war for freedom. The majority of the youth who fled the country in the mid-1970s came from the townships. This was confirmed by Kane-Berman (1993:11) who stated that “when several thousand youngsters fled Soweto and other townships in the second half of 1976 the South African organization best equipped to receive them outside the country was the ANC.” The battles in townships were not limited to those that were against the state but also between rival Black political groups (Ellis & Sechaba 1992:86).

In recognizing the role played by townships in preparing freedom fighters for resistance against apartheid Dublow (2000:82) acknowledged this when he stated that “hardened by urban warfare and inspired by revolutionary enthusiasm, they fled South Africa.” Although all townships where in one way or another involved in action against apartheid, two townships namely Soweto and Alexandra are of particular significance. The uprisings of 1976 started in Soweto before spreading to other parts of the country (Dubow 2000:81; cf Kane-Berman 1993:11). Ellis and Sechaba (1992:143) indicated that “in September 1984, the Vaal townships exploded into unrest. Crowds went out into the streets demonstrating and throwing stones and were met by the police with their usual brutality.” Many freedom fighters were associated with townships in terms of residence and family or friendships links. The significance of Alexandra is because Beyers Naudé became an assistant minister of a Black church congregation in this township during the last part of this period (1963-1994) . Having this in mind, his wish was that his ashes be spread on the streets of Alexandra (Botha 2009).

It was not only the ANC that saw townships as strategic battle grounds against apartheid but other organizations like the PAC also saw the value of townships in this regard. Ellis and Sechaba (1992:156) referring to the importance of townships as battlefields confirms that, “they saw the townships as an opportunity to re-assert its claim for radical leadership and to activate its long-dominant support.”

- *Emergence of new political organizations*

Among the political dynamism that characterized the ministry of Beyers Naudé was the formation of new political organizations. To mark some of the political organizations that emerged during this period was the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983. It was one of the post-1976 organizations. According to Dubow (2000:87), the reason for the creation of the UDF “was the need to fight government proposal for a new constitutional dispensation as well as tough new legislation designed to regulate the freedoms of African city-dwellers.” The constitutional reforms co-opted ‘Coloureds’ and Indians into the political process and excluded Africans.

With the political gap in Black freedom leadership, new political formations emerged. The birth of the Black Consciousness movement came in the early 1970s. A medical student then at the University of Natal, Steve Biko was the mastermind behind the birth of this movement (Maguire1991:118). The focus of this movement was on the mind of the victims of apartheid who have been dehumanized and made to feel inferior by the apartheid philosophy. Dubow (2000:80) correctly puts it when he stated that this movement “defined liberation as a state of mind rather than in narrow political terms....[I]t focused on the need to counter internalized feelings of black inferiority with a determined sense of pride and self-assertion.” Ellis and Sechaba (1992) also correctly reasoned that the aim of the BC was “to restore to Blacks, the sense of self-esteem and self-confidence which had been severely dented by apartheid.”

Steve Biko’s call “Black man you are on your own” was demonstrated by Sono (1993:106) who argued that the strategy of BC as epitomised in Steve Biko “was to marginalize the liberal role in the Black ranks.” Naudé during his ministry to the victims of apartheid played a prominent role in the life of this movement as he did with other liberation organs.

- *Students’ action: “Freedom now, education later”*

The fight for freedom appeared to have been an adult affair. This was apparent when judged by the age of the Mandelas, Sisulus and others then and by looking at the pictures of participants in mass protest actions. The ‘adults only’ outlook changed with the students uprising in 1976 when they protested against the government’s use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in African schools. This laid the foundation for “the popular cry for liberation before education” (Dubow 2000:92).

The protest started in Soweto on 16 June 1976 and spread to many parts of the country and resulted in death and injuries. According to Dubow (2000:81), the first student killed in this government propelled violence was Hector Peterson whose picture was paraded round the world. He further indicated that more than 600 students lost their lives. The ministry of Beyers Naudé coincided with this period of students’ action.

- *Black on Black violence*

Although most of the deaths in the disturbances in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976 and 1977 were at the hands of the police, in the later 1980s and 1990s conflict between different groups of black people has been a major cause of fatalities (Kane-Berman 1993:29).

The so called Black on Black violence characterized the period of Beyers Naudé's ministry. Those who did not cooperate with the 'comrades' were attacked or even killed. The so-called sell-outs (impimpis/collaborators) suspects were identified, attacked or burned down. Dubow (2000:92) wrote as follows about the nature of the killings:

The most gruesome form of killing was 'necklacing', placing a burning tyre filled with petrol round the neck of a supposed enemy of the struggle. This practice was notoriously supported by Winnie Mandela, the then wife of Nelson (sic), who told a mass rally in 1986 that the oppressed masses would liberate the country 'with necklaces and our little boxes of matches.'

Kane-Berman (1993:36) indicated how "hundreds of Black people have been necklaced to death on suspicion of being 'collaborators', 'sell-outs', 'informers', and the like, sometimes by frenzied mobs, sometimes on the sentence of self-styled 'peoples' courts'."

From 1985 the violence took another level of ethnic lines between Inkatha of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Kwazulu (former homeland) fighting with COSATU in Natal (currently Kwazulu-Natal). This violence spread to the Witwatersrand and turned into friction between Inkatha and the ANC. In the process, a third force element was also suspected as a source of the violence that spread throughout the country with special concentration in the Witwatersrand<sup>8</sup>. Ellis and Sechaba (1992:173) indicated how equipped and effective the security forces were in torture which was used trying to prevent anti-government agitation or violence. They also indicated how the

---

<sup>8</sup> This is the area covering most industrial parts of what is today called Gauteng province.

government had means of "...setting Black communities against one another by encouraging the formation of vigilantes" (ibid).

A person who suspected a 'third force' element was Mr Nelson Mandela (in Kane-Berman 1993:16) who referred to "a strategy of state terrorism in which the IFP had 'permitted itself to become an extension of the Pretoria regime, its instrument and surrogate.'" In December 1992 Mandela referred to the "fact that the state security services, using certain Black organizations, have been responsible for the death of no less than 15 000 people since 1984" (ibid). Despite this assertion, no evidence of this allegation has been found (ibid:17).

- *Massive exile recruitment drive*

The period of Beyers Naudé's ministry coincided with the massive exile recruitment drive. Since the imprisonment of the Black political leadership and the formation of MK in the early 1960s, a recruitment drive of men and women to join the latter became strong. This was in response to a call for volunteers earlier made by the MK High Command, Mr Nelson Mandela (Ellis & Sechaba 1992:33). Another pulling drive for the recruits was in the role of commissars who "were also looking for promising candidates for recruitment to the Party" (Ellis & Sechaba 1992:88). Men and women 'illegally' left the country for different parts of the world to acquire military training.

One notable exodus into exile was seen after the 1976 students uprising. Dubow (2000:82) stated that, "...[A]s many as four to five thousand students, hardened by urban warfare and inspired by revolutionary enthusiasm, fled South Africa." The biggest recruitment into the ANC was recorded as early as 1984. For instance Ellis and Sechaba (1992:177) highlighted the point that

...after the start of 1984 township uprising, there was an influx of young fighters into the ANC on a scale not seen since 1976, especially from the militant Eastern Cape townships of Mdantsane in East London and Kwazakhele in Port Elizabeth. In the neighboring countries of Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho and Zambia, many of these exiles were greeted by ANC

operatives who directed them to MK training camps in Tanzania, Angola and elsewhere.

- *Armed struggle intensified*

This period of Beyers Naudé's ministry also saw the intensification of the armed struggle. "As many people predicted, repression bred violent reaction" (Kane-Berman (1993:11). With the incarceration of the Black political leadership in the early 1960s, exodus to join the newly formed military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and other military formations increased. This marked the beginning of violence as a means of combating apartheid. Kane-Berman (1993:11) confirms the outcome of banning both the ANC and PAC that "a sabotage campaign was launched, Mr Nelson Mandela was jailed, and an 'armed struggle' was planned from the bases in neighbouring states set up by the two banned movements." The direction of the line of action to follow was summarized by Ellis and Sechaba (1992:33) in the policy of MK as follows:

Umkhonto we Sizwe policy was to target buildings and strategic targets for sabotage and to avoid casualties as far as possible....Umkhonto we Sizwe especially avoided attacking whites at a time when the PAC was encouraging attacks on white by Poqo, a populist insurrectionary and anti-white movement which spread in the Eastern Cape.

In the beginning, the situation was not favourable for those military formations to make advances and strikes within South Africa. Dubow (2000:74-75) reasoned that "flat terrain, well-defended borders, a declining independent peasantry, and a vigilant white farming population did not favour the sort of guerilla war that was so important a feature of liberation struggles in Mozambique or Zimbabwe."

The armed struggle against South Africa was also echoed during the Mindolo Consultation in Kitwe, Zambia in 1964, also attended by Beyers Naudé (Ryan 2005:98-99). The role played by Beyers Naudé in the liberation armed forces will be discussed later in this study.

- *Boycotts and stay-aways*

The ministry of Beyers Naudé during this period (1963-1994) also saw boycotts for consumer, rent and schools as well as stay-aways from work (Kane-Berman 1993:33). Boycotts of White business or towns identified to be racist were common during this period. The boycotts also embraced businesses of Black people who were suspected to be collaborating with the government. Apart from this category, businesses of Black people who were connected to the government in terms of work like those working as town councilors in Black Local Authorities were also boycotted or even burnt down. At some stage, the boycotts took another dimension as people were forced into taking part in the boycott action. The worst was when students were taken out of classes as reported by Kane-Berman (1993:33):

Within a month of the outbreak of violence in September 1984, reports began to come in of school children being ordered out of class by members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), of gangs of youths building barricades in the townships to stop people from going to work, and of activists throwing petrol bombs at the police.

This dimension of violence carried with it an element of fear in the minds of people because it is characterized by intimidation. Kane-Berman (1993:33) reported that “people were being dragged screaming into the struggle.”

- *The Peoples’ War*

The ministry of Beyers Naudé also coincided with the so-called Peoples’ War. In June 1985, a call was made by the ANC in Zambia to render South Africa ungovernable thus turning the whole action into a ‘People’s war’ (Kane-Berman 1993:41). Some powerful statements were made to accelerate the process towards the ‘People’s War.’

There was a call to overthrow the apartheid government and everything that was related to it like Black town councilors. This meant meeting the reactionary violence of the government with revolutionary violence, homelands to be overthrown with a view to transforming them into bases for the advancement of the people's war. Mr O.R. Tambo, speaking in Britain in 1985 said: "We are reaching a level of conflict where the innocent are hit. It is unavoidable. Now there is going to be more bloodshed than ever before" (Kane-Berman 1993:41).

## **2.6. FAITH BASED ORGANISATIONS' RESPONSE TO APARTHEID**

### **2.6.1. Background**

Since 1948, the synods, conferences, and assemblies of the churches have protested against every piece of legislation they have considered unjust....The churches have spoken against race classification; the forced removal of population groups due to the Group Areas Act; the Immorality Act and Mixed Marriages Act, designed to preserve racial purity; the various education acts which have created separate kinds of education along ethnic lines; job reservations.... (De Gruchy 1986:88).

The above pillars of apartheid (2.5.1.2) triggered different reactions from various sections of South African society including the religious communities (appendix J). De Gruchy (1986:58) referring to Christian communities wrote that "some regard racial separation as scriptural, some as blatantly unscriptural, and others as pragmatically necessary but not ideal."

Reaction did not only come from the victims of apartheid but also from some members of the communities that benefited from the system meaning both Black and White. The example from the latter group is Beyers Naudé who forms the nucleus of this study. Another figure in the same category is Willem Saayman, an Afrikaner whose Afrikaans accent according to Kgatla (in Karecki 2002:46) "testifies to this fact because his 'r' sounds are prominently pronounced" and who according to Nico Botha (in Saayman 2007:vii) was so trusted that he was elected ANC chairperson of the Pretoria branch at some stage. There are many examples of people who while



they were from the privileged communities that introduced and benefited from the system, ended up being champions in the fight against the injustice meted out by apartheid.

The reactions were also marked by divides between the victims with regard to the approaches to fight this system. The divisions also reflected themselves in churches as they did not see things the same way. The churches were divided between those who embraced apartheid, those who rejected it and those who assumed a neutral position or 'quiet diplomacy'. The following pointers clearly outlined the situation:

### **2.6.2. Apartheid is embraced by churches**

Indeed the analysis of the NGK...shows that all its conferences from 1950 to the present (i.e. 1989) have more than proven that apartheid was conceived in the womb of the NGK in 1857. Thus, the election of the NP to political power in 1948 meant that the NGK would monitor the implementation of a policy that it had long advocated and practiced within its own structure. Consequently, apartheid was not only defended by NP ideologues such as Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster, Botha and others, but also by prominent NGK leaders and theologians (Ngcokovane 1989:180).

Apartheid triggered different reactions from churches and some of them adopted and supported it. The DRC stands prominent in this regard. Although other Afrikaans speaking churches did not adopt an official position in support of apartheid as did the DRC, individually their members supported the system. This could be judged by the continuous large voter support for the NP by predominantly Afrikaner electorates, the majority of whom were Christians. The majority of Afrikaners formed part of what Bredekamp and Ross (1995:1) called "the approximately three- quarters of the SA Christians" who form the dominant part of the entire South African population. This point becomes clear in the reasons offered by the Federal Mission Council (FMC) of this church as to why the DRC followed the policy of apartheid (Strassberger 2001:190):

It is the conviction of the majority of Afrikaans speaking South Africans and the majority of the members of the DRC that the only way of ensuring the continued survival of the nation is by preserving the principles of racial separation. Racial integration on an extended scale, on the other hand, must result in the lowering of standards, culturally, morally and spiritually.

It would be unfair to state that all members or ministers of the DRC supported apartheid. Already during the Federal Council in 1953 at the peak of apartheid, figures such as Prof B.B. Keet (in De Gruchy 1986: 58), a teacher at the Dutch Reformed Seminary at Stellenbosch demonstrated to holding an opposing view to apartheid when he was conducting the opening address of the council. He contended:

Personally, I believe that our brethren who want to maintain apartheid on biblical grounds are labouring under this misunderstanding. They confuse apartheid, which is an attitude of life, with a diversity which includes unity. Christian unity, I know, will include diversity but it must never be seen as separation; and apartheid is separation.

Other voices opposing apartheid within the DRC, in addition to Prof Keet and others, were those of thinkers like Prof Ben Marais (ibid: 59). The problem was that those opposing voices were in the minority within the sea of apartheid supporters.

The link between the DRC and apartheid is very close in such a way that Saayman (2007:70) found it difficult to trace the origin of *apartheid* between the Nationalist Party and the DRC. He compared it with the case of a chicken and egg. This makes it difficult to reach a decisive conclusion with regards to the originator of apartheid. The fact that the term 'apartheid' was coined by a DRC minister and theologian Prof Jeff Cronje, further cemented the marriage between this church and the Nationalist government which implemented it in the political arena in South Africa (Smith1989:39).

Members of the DRC because of their large membership and access to political power, were influential in every sphere of life in South Africa. De Gruchy (1986:69)

observed that the DRC members dominated every aspect of life such as in Parliament, provincial and local government councils. He further noted that members of this church also dominated the public servants force such as the police and the military.

### **2.6.3. Apartheid is rejected by churches**

While there were churches that supported apartheid, others adopted a prophetic position against this policy. The predominantly English speaking churches are a point in case in this approach. For instance, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa in September 1948 “criticised proposed legislations aimed at depriving Africans of their limited Parliamentary representation as a retrograde step contrary to the claims of the Christian responsibility” (De Gruchy 1986:54). On the same position, the General Assembly’s prayer was “that white South Africans may be saved from the contempt in the eyes of the world which such actions is bound to produce” (ibid).

During the same period as above (September 1948), the Methodist Church of Southern Africa also had a conference which released a statement that declared its position regarding the question of racism in South Africa,

...no person of any race should be deprived of constitutional rights or privileges merely on the grounds of race and morally binding contracts protecting such rights or privileges should be regarded on a high level of a pledged word (De Gruchy 1986:54).

The Methodist Church during this conference also advocated for the development of political and social rights especially for underprivileged groups. They contended that the rights of the underprivileged should not be reduced but rather expanded to the level of greater usefulness (ibid). Another church that added her voice against apartheid was the Congregational Assembly which wrote, “It is our sincere conviction that the Government’s policy of apartheid has no sanction in the New Testament Scriptures....” (De Gruchy 1986:54).

The most formidable response against apartheid came from the Anglican Church of South Africa. The Episcopal Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa issued a statement as early as 1948 in which they indicated that they identified themselves with the Lambeth Conference that declared that “discrimination between men on the grounds of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of the Christian religion” (De Gruchy 1986:55). The bishops also emphasized that human rights is rooted in Christian doctrine and apartheid should therefore be condemned at all costs.

This church action against apartheid could also be seen in the activities of the Anglican missionary, Father Trevor Huddleston who worked in Sophiatown in Johannesburg. Father Huddleston published a book in 1956 in which he told the story about the painful experience of his Black parishioners as meted out by apartheid. Many Anglican missionaries were deported by the government because of their strong opposition to apartheid, (De Gruchy 1986:60). The critical role played by Father Huddleston against racial discrimination in South Africa could be seen in the way Smith (in De Saintonge 1989:41) referred to him as, “that turbulent priest from the Community of the Resurrection, who has been a thorn in the flesh of the present regime for the last forty years or more.”

#### **2.6.4. Churches adopt a neutral stance (quiet diplomacy) on Apartheid**

Apart from the position taken by other religious communities as discussed above, there were other churches that adopted a neutral position on the apartheid question in South Africa. Neutrality qualified those churches that were characterized by a soft approach towards apartheid, adopting an ignorant position and accepted the political status-quo without questioning it.

Churches that belonged to this category were those from Pentecostal or Evangelical movements. Barret (in Knitter 1985:77) lists three types of Evangelicals:

- Fundamentalists, who still carry on the founding spirit of the *Fundamentals* and insist on the seven fundamental doctrines of authentic Christianity; inerrant verbal inspiration of the Bible, virgin birth, miracles of Christ, physical

resurrection, total depravity of the human being, substitutionary atonement and ,pre-millennial second coming.

- Conservative Evangelicals who want to carry on the intent of Fundamentalism but in a more open, critical style; most of them belong to the World Council of Churches.
- The Ecumenical or New Evangelicals.

The first two categories above represent the overriding characteristics of the Evangelicals. These characteristics could be seen from the criticism leveled against them by the New Evangelicals as summarized by Knitter (1985:77) that: “they (New Evangelicals) claim that Evangelicals in the past have been socially and politically naïve and have aligned themselves with the oppressive status quo.”

This is still true today as could be seen from the critics leveled by the New Evangelicals to mainline churches. The Evangelicals believed that mainline Christianity eroded the heart of the Christian faith (ibid: 76) and stated that the:

New belief in evolution that questioned the veracity of the biblical accounts of creation; the recently born study of comparative religion and psychology that seems to place Christianity on par with other religions and the emergence of the “Social Gospel” within the Protestant churches that seemed to imply that God’s kingdom could be brought about by social action rather than by spiritual transformation.

The Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) of South Africa stands as an example of the Evangelical or Pentecostal Movement. Members of churches with Pentecostal characteristics regard themselves as passers-by in this world. They do not get involved in ‘things of this world’, commonly referred to as ‘worldly things’. Their concern is mission, to get as many converts (with personal commitment to Jesus Christ) as possible before the return of Christ. In contrast to the DRC that adopted the government racial policy, the AFM did not officially adopt it nor questioned it, but

“accepted the general racial pattern customary in South Africa” (Strassberger 2001:85). Different races were served in different congregations based on racial lines.

Another church that initially adopted a ‘quite diplomacy’ approach to apartheid was the Roman Catholic Church. De Gruchy (1986:97) puts it thus:

Neither the Roman Catholic Church nor...have been in the forefront of the struggle against racism in South Africa until fairly recently. At least it may be more accurate to say that they have not been as visible in this regard as the English-speaking churches.

The reason for this was the dominant Reformed Protestants in South Africa as represented by the DRC which had anti-Roman Catholic elements. The oppression of the Roman Catholic Church by the DRC could be seen in a Church Leaders’ Conference held by the DRC in 1953 to which ‘non-Roman Catholic’ bodies were invited (Ngcokovane 1989:46). As a result of this anti-Catholic approach by the government, the Catholics suffered a strict control from a predominantly Protestant South African government (De Gruchy 1986:97). During the Cottesloe consultation, the Roman Catholic Church was not a member of the World Council of Churches (WCC) (Randall 1982:18). This was an indication that they adopted a ‘quiet diplomacy’ approach on apartheid.

The Roman Catholic Church issued two statements on race relations in South African in 1952 and 1957 respectively. In both statements, one sees a soft approach if not a contradiction on the condemnation of apartheid. While they seemed to condemn apartheid in principle, in the same breath they strongly recommended that apartheid should not be abolished once but through a process, evolution or gradual change. An extract from the 1957 statement reads thus:

The condemnation of the principle of apartheid as something intrinsically evil does not imply that perfect equality can be established in South Africa by a stroke of the pen. There is nothing more obvious than the existence of profound differences between sections of our population which make

immediate total integration impossible. People cannot share fully in the same political and economic institutions until culturally they have a great deal in common. All social change must be gradual if it is not to be gradual....It would be unreasonable, therefore, to condemn indiscriminately all South Africa's differential legislations (Hofmeyr, Millard & Froneman 1991::211).

The Lutheran Church on the other side may be grouped to this category because during the 1970s, she was predominantly involved in internal struggles to unite the Black and White sections of the church. The Black synods that went their way in the 1970s tried to speak against racism but their energy was devoted to the struggle for unity which was complicated by what De Gruchy (1986:100) called, "the conservative position adopted by most German-speaking Lutheran congregations."

Another silence on the condemnation of apartheid could be noted in the so-called daughter churches of the DRC. The DRC dominated these churches in different spheres including finance. De Gruchy (1986:69) referring to this point adds that, "it has also considerable influence over the nearly one million members of its black 'daughter churches'." Ngcokovane (1989:46; cf Adonis 2005:120-121) indicates that the 'daughter' churches depended on 'mother' church for money and personnel. Already, in 1982 the DRC spent R12 million annually on the 'daughter' churches as a means of assistance (Cronje 1982:7). The DRC was usually referred to as 'mother' church or "Big Mama" (Buti 1982:63) in her relation to these churches. For this reason they were unable to speak out against the system adopted by their 'mother'. Under these circumstances, what Cronje (1982:5) referred to as a regular statement by leaders of the 'daughter' churches becomes questionable. The statement reads: "Autonomous in all respects we are; as to our origin, we have been born out of the DRC mission."

Taking one of the 'daughter' churches, the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRCA) as an example, although it was established as autonomous, after many years of existence, Buti (1982:63) wrote concerning the continued domination of DRCA by ministers who were missionaries of the DRC:

The large number of whites serving as missionaries in this church naturally leads to a strongly domination role of such persons in controlling positions and decisions of the younger churches in the moderations, synods, crucial synodical commissions, theological lectures in theological seminaries of the DRCA and theological faculties of the state controlled Black universities.

This situation limits any opportunity for these churches to make their voices heard against their 'masters' who were controlling important areas of their lives. It was easy for DRC ministers to become members and in particular ministers in the DRCA and the other way round was not allowed (Masuku 1998:76). Ministers of the DRCA were always looked at with suspicion by fellow Black ministers from other churches because of their association with the church that was seen to be aligned with the DRC (ibid: 76). Although there were small voices such as the 'Black Ministers' Caucus' (Buti 1982: 87; cf Masuku 1998:76) in the DRCA, they did not represent the official stand-point of this church on race relations. They were a small minority and like the Lutherans, they were mainly focused on an internal struggle to bring unity within the racially divided DRC family.

The African Initiated Churches (AICs) also belong to this category. For those who may not be familiar with this type of churches called the African 'Initiated' Churches (AICs), a brief explanation is necessary. The most acceptable definition of these churches is by Hendriks (in Hofmeyr et al 1991:26) who wrote:

An African Independent or Indigenous Church is a purely black-controlled denomination with no links in membership or administrative control to any non-African church. In contrast to the black congregations that have been given self-supporting status by their missionary parents, the AICs have completely broken the umbilical cord with the Western missionary enterprise.

An additional definition is given by Masuku (1996:442-443) who shed some light on the confusion caused by the 'I' used for example as in 'Independent'. He warns that some of the AICs prefer each of these terms; '*Independent*', '*Initiated*' or '*Instituted*.' He further indicated how they have been divided into three main groups namely; the Ethiopians, Zionists and Messianic. Masuku contends that the first group places



more emphasis on independence but with the retention of pre-existing church patterns. The second group places more emphasis on the activities of the Holy Spirit in relation to African cultural practices. The last group represents those who built themselves around one leader, who claim special powers and who seems to ‘eclipse’ or replace Christ in the mind of followers.

During the period under review, these churches’ voice against apartheid was not heard. The fact that they failed to attract Black intellectuals within their ranks provides an answer on this matter. Masuku (ibid: 445) indicates that “the ‘educated’ looked down upon them as ‘uneducated’ and the ‘sophisticated’ viewed them as ‘primitive’.” Masuku (1998:403) further indicates that “the general perception about these Christians (AICs) in South Africa is that they represent the constituency of the uneducated.” They are referred to as ‘red people’ to indicate that they are fresh from tribal areas with almost no schooling (ibid).

Although these churches did not openly attack apartheid, they assisted the victims of apartheid during migration to urban areas when they did not have food, accommodation and other needs. Hendriks (in Hofmeyr et al 1991:26) captured the situation when he wrote that

...the process of urbanization was highly disruptive, because of the political and economic system forced on them. However, the African ethos of the extended family, of the tribal unity and care, was reincarnated to a certain extent in the African Independent Churches.

#### **2.6.5. Ecumenical Bodies**

Apart from individual responses from churches, there were also responses from the ecumenical front. For instance, the first ecumenical conference soon after the official introduction of apartheid was the Rosettenville Consultation that met in 1948. Rosettenville represented an official attack by the English speaking churches on the apartheid policy. (De Gruchy 1986: 56).

The second ecumenical body of note that convened during this period (1940s-1960) was the Cottesloe consultation. This body met in Cottesloe, Johannesburg from 7 to 14 December 1960 (Ngcokovane 1989:157). It was a meeting of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and her South African member churches to address, “the worsening racial situation in the country” (Randall 1982:18). The DRC delegates participated actively during the consultation and even accepted and signed the consultation statement against apartheid. This behavior angered Prime Minister Verwoerd and the conservatives in the DRC. As a result of pressure from the Prime Minister and the DRC, the DRC delegation except Beyers Naudé recanted their stance and signatures against apartheid (Ryan 2005:64ff).

The third ecumenical move to address apartheid was through the formation of the Christian Institute (CI) of Southern Africa (Randall 1982:28). This body was formed by members from various races and denominations who met in the Central Methodist Hall in Johannesburg. The meeting took place on 13 August 1963 with an aim to; “meet together to try to work out the implications of the Kingdom of God for the people of the country” (Randall 1982:28; cf 2.4.2; see Heaney 2004:82). This purpose is further outlined by Kistner (1995:41) thus: “To draw attention to the injustice and disruption caused by the apartheid system in South African society and in the churches. It was founded to strengthen the resistance of Christians against that system.”

#### **2.6.6. Main minority religions**

There are many minority religions in South Africa but Islam, African Traditional Religions (ATR) and Hinduism stand supreme in terms of their numbers compared to other minorities. Kruger (1996:30) is correct in including some of these religions when he refers to “Africa’s triple heritage.” This heritage comprised Christianity, African Religion (meaning ATR) and Islam but he unfortunately excluded Hinduism. In my analysis of responses by Faith Based Organizations against apartheid, attention will be on Islam and ATR due to their bigger number of adherents in South Africa, compared to other minority religions.

Muslims played an active role against apartheid through their organized religious structures. For instance, the Muslim Judicial Council (founded in 1945), was not only meant to promote Muslim unity, but also to “form a united front against oppressive laws of the day” (Kruger 1996:228). The Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa also made a mark against apartheid. Although this body initially encouraged self-and-group study of the Quran, “eventually, this group also became active in the political arena in the struggle against apartheid” (ibid).

As far as African Traditional Religion was concerned, during this period (1940s-1960), it was difficult to see any contributions they were making in the fight against social injustice. It was not easy for adherents of this religion to come out proudly like members of other faiths because of the stigma that was attached to them and their religion by missionary Christianity and the ‘Christian’ aligned apartheid state. The foundation of the stigma was laid during the early encounters between Western missionaries and indigenous communities in Africa. For instance, the latter’s religion was referred to as “heathen cultures,” “religion of the lower races” or “uncivilized” people and statements such as “the heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone” were common on the lips of missionaries (Setiloane 1976:104). They were deemed “archaic, barbaric and backwards” (Masuku 1998:21).

Another point of note is from Kruger (1996:34) who contended that African Religion forms an integral part of social life. The fact that religion and other social activities merge, makes the visibility of this religion low. This low visibility is due to the fact that most of the rites are performed in private. He continues to point out that even where the religious element is present in public, it is difficult for outsiders to identify it as such.

Adherents of ATRs have an open mind to other religions due to the absence of an intellectual statement of religious belief in dogmas (ibid: 36). This leaves adherents open to syncretism. It leaves the possibility that they, like in the case of the Hindus, might not have fought apartheid through their religious structures, but through organized social actions.

## 2.7. CONCLUSION

This chapter looked at Beyers Naudé from birth to his ‘conversion’ the political landscape of South Africa and the response of Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) to apartheid. The scope of this chapter was divided into two i.e. the period of his ministry in the DRC (1940-1963) and another one of his ministry to the victims of apartheid (1963-1994). The difference between these two periods was outlined. This chapter provided enough background with regards to a better understanding of Beyers Naudé, his world and how other organizations responded to apartheid challenges.

The chapter that follows will usher us into his active ministry to the people of South Africa, particularly the victims of apartheid. It will provide reasons as to why Beyers Naudé came to be such a respected and well- known figure even in the dusty streets of South African townships. The period starts from 1963 and ends in 1994. The chapter in question attempts to ask the dominant question in this study as to what *muthi* Beyers Naudé used to win the love and trust of the victims of oppression.

## CHAPTER 3: THE NATURE AND IMPACT OF THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ TO THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID, 1963 TO 1994

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

It was because the Black community, I noticed this later on, were not sure whether to trust this White man, Beyers Naudé or not. Later on I realised that they were very careful and first wanted to see whether they could trust this White man? He was the Moderator of the DRC, he was chairperson of the KJV, he was a leading figure in the Afrikaner community, yes it was also known that he was a member of the Broederbond. Later on they said to me: We told ourselves that it is good to be true. For three, four years they surveyed the situation carefully. And what is interesting is this: it was after the Dutch Reformed Church strongly attacked the Christian Institute and the government increasingly attacked us that they said; Now we can move ahead together (my translation, Naudé 1995:94).

The previous chapter provided background information about Beyers Naudé's formation and context. This chapter attempts to answer the question as to "what 'muthi' did Beyers Naudé use to win such great love, acceptance and admiration across the colour line from victims of oppression as meted out by his people and church?" It joins Villa-Vicencio (1995:19) in asking a similar question when he wrote: "How did Naudé emerge from the ghetto of a narrow and exclusive brand of Afrikanerdom to become an Afrikaner with a broad ecumenical vision and an inclusive understanding of human existence?"

It is important to understand (from the onset) that the Christian Institute (CI) to which Beyers Naudé was a director was also strategically used as a vehicle to execute his ministry. It is therefore difficult to separate him from the views and character of the CI. The views of the CI are to a greater extent the views of Beyers Naudé. (Villa-Vicencio 1995:27) correctly puts this point when he wrote that "...[T]he life and person of Naudé was inextricably bound up with the fortunes and tragedies which constituted that organization. The story of the Institute is in many ways the story of Naudé's remarkable propensity for change."

The ministry of Beyers Naudé has also been analysed along centripetal and centrifugal lines of mission approach. Both approaches are evident in Bevans and Schroeder (2006:35-37) where they discuss what they call six constants on mission which are influenced by three types of theology as follows:

- Type A Theology focuses on mission as saving souls and extending the church.
- Type B Theology focuses on mission as discovery of the truth.
- Type C Theology focuses on mission as a commitment to liberation and transformation.

An analysis of these three types of theology could possibly be divided between centripetal and centrifugal lines. For instance, type A Theology could practically be interpreted along centrifugal lines in the sense that it represents projects, i.e. going out, preaching, evangelical tents and other related activities that could not be practiced from an arm-chair. Another example of centrifugal pattern of mission from these theologies is type C. This theology is also characterized by projects. Its point of departure is based on the question as to 'what is wrong in society?' It looks at people's lives in the quest of correcting the injustices within their contexts. Lastly, type B Theology represents the centripetal mission pattern because it does not have those out-reach projects like the other two types. It has a strong intellectual element which consequently draws and engages people in debates.

## **3.2. MISSION STRATEGY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ**

### **3.2.1. Beyers Naudé and Liberation Theology**

The function of theology as a critical reflection on praxis has gradually become more clearly defined in recent years, but it has its roots in the first centuries of the Church's life. The Augustinian theology of history which we find in *The City of God*, for example, is based on a true analysis of the signs

of the times and the demands with which they challenge the Christian community (Gutierrez 1988:5).

Beyers Naudé's ministry demonstrated tremendous influence from Liberation theology, a theology that is informed by the context of the people, in this case, the victims of oppression. Boff (1989:38) understood this type of theology as a new trend of thinking about God. Disclosing the claim of this theology, he reasoned that "...as a current within Christianity is to be a new way of thinking about God and everything connected to God." De Gruchy (2005:88) identified this type of theology as having been part of the three influences in the life of Beyers Naudé. The other two influences were Martin Luther King Jr and Dietrich Bonhoeffer. This theology is what Bevans and Schroeder (2006:61) categorized as type C Theology, which looks at mission "as commitment to Liberation and Transformation." According to Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger (from 2005 Pope Benedict XVI), Liberation theology is a phenomenon with an extraordinary number of layers. Among them are the following three:

- The whole spectrum from a radical Marxist position.
- The efforts which are being made within the framework of a correct and ecclesial theology.
- A theology which stresses the responsibility which Christians necessarily have for the poor and oppressed, such as we see in the documents of the Latin American Bishops' Conference (CELAM) from Medellin to Puebla (Ratzinger Report 2004).

This subject touched on the question of social justice. According to Bosch (1991:400) and within the framework of Liberation theology (on the third layer from the outline above), mission has been seen as the quest for justice in both the Old and the New testaments. Social justice was at the heart of the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament. For instance, prophets like Amos and Jeremiah challenged unjust authorities in the name of Yahweh. The New Testament is also a strong tool against social injustice. However, during the early church, the amicable relationship that existed between church and state because of the status of Christianity as *religio*

*illicita* during the reign of Constantine in the Roman Empire overlooked this aspect. During the time of Constantine the church's prophetic role against the state was therefore absent.

Prophetic ministry was at the heart of Beyers Naudé's ministry. This became apparent in his quest to understand how one can confess faith in South Africa today when he asked:

Which face of the Christian faith are we looking at? Is it the face of the pietistic evangelical approach of individual salvation, is it the face of the charismatic groups, is it the face of the fearful seeking refuge in churches and worship gatherings like those of the Rhema Bible Church, or is it the face of those who believe God is a God of justice and peace, a God who is on the side of the oppressed, a God who seeks liberation for all who are in bondage? (Naudé 2005:127).

He further indicated that an authentic confession of faith should be shaped by the situation in which Christians find themselves, be it political, social or economic (ibid). Bevans and Schroeder (2006:348) refer to this approach as "Mission as Prophetic Dialogue". They view this as a combination of three strains which were pillars of mission theology in the final quarter of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The three strains are as follows:

- Mission as participation in the life and mission of the Trinity,
- Mission as continuation of the mission of Jesus Christ to preach, serve and witness to the justice of God's 'already' but 'not yet' reign, and,
- Mission as the proclamation of Christ as the world's only savior.

A careful analysis of these three strains with regards to the ministry of Beyers Naudé on the subject of liberation theology indicates that he pursued all of them but put more emphasis on the second strain. According to Meyer (2009), Beyers Naudé correctly stated: "It is of no use to have an ivory tower type of knowledge of Christianity and that this faith should be applied in all areas of human life....It is of no



use to have the theoretical concept of the Christian faith which is not hitting the target.” This type of uncontextual theology was dominant during the apartheid rule and was characteristic of apartheid theology. Referring to this vertical focused type of ministry which ignored the horizontal dimension, Beyers Naudé (2006:82) argued:

I do not wish to suggest that this form of ministry is not valid, but what image of the gospel of Christ and of His Kingdom is being conveyed to the world by such a ministry if no other dimension is added? Such a form of priestly service could be seen to be so timeless, so generalized and so unspecific as to be largely meaningless.

This approach, including the scriptural justification of apartheid, drove victims of oppression to lose credibility in the Christian faith. Meiring (2009) correctly noted this point when he confessed that “yes, victims of oppression lost hope in the Christian faith. I can understand why they lost faith.” He continued to show that his people in the DRC confessed that “they believed in Jesus Christ and were part of the communion of Saints but they did not practice that” (ibid).

Liberation theology is a response to this type of theology which is irrelevant to the context and conditions of the victims of oppression. It is the Latin American version of what is called Black theology in South Africa. This theology developed from a situation of suffering in which the sufferers wanted to see God addressing their situation.

In South Africa, traces of the origin of this version of this theology could be located within the Black Consciousness (BC) movement of the 1970s. Beyers Naudé was closely associated with Steve Biko, the father of BC movement even though this movement did not have room for liberal Whites in their leadership positions (Naudé 1995:10; cf Maguire 1991:118). This movement had tremendous influence on the proponents of this theology which also came to be known as Black theology in South Africa. The lesson from Biko (1989:212) on this type of theology is clear. According to him, this theology relates God and Christ back to Black people and their daily problems. It brings God back to Black people and to the truth and reality of their

situations. He further calls upon Black priests to save Christianity by adopting the approach of Black theology as a means of uniting Black people with their God (ibid).

Beyers Naudé, judged by his ministerial approach, appeared to have listened carefully to this lesson as could be judged by his ministry, particularly the influence it had on the Christian Institute to which he was a director (Randall 1982:43; cf Heaney 2004:188). The influence of BC in the ministry of Beyers Naudé could not be underestimated. His association with BC became apparent from the observation of Kritzinger (2009) who dedicated his doctoral thesis to Black Theology. Kritzinger (2009) in motivating this point stated as follows about Beyers Naudé:

He encouraged me to think clearly and to analyse what is happening in society. Black people did not regard him as a liberal because he lived what he said. For instance, when Black organizations were banned in 1977, the CI was also banned. He listened to Steve Biko and knew that BC was not against Whites but racism.

It is therefore important to understand this type of theology with reference to the influence it had on Beyers Naudé's ministry. Three theological names emerge when one addresses this type of theology namely; Liberation theology, Black theology and Contextual theology. All these three terminologies refer to one type of theology with one focus on the conditions of the disadvantaged and how God looks and reacts to their conditions. One notable proponent of this type of theology, Dr Allan Boesak (1988:61) also joined the debate in asserting that "Black theology also calls itself a 'contextual theology': it functions, and wants to be understood, within a particular situation." They all point to one direction namely a holistic liberation of people.

Liberation theology moves from the premise that salvation is not only related to a purely spiritual life or soul alone but also to the conditions that threatens one's faith. It argues that the soul does not exist in a vacuum but in contemporary human existence with all the problems that are associated with it. It was also motivated by the mistake made by Western Christianity. Western Christianity interpreted the Christian faith in the light of their situation of wealth and dominance and universalized their understanding of faith. It ignored the other side of life that resulted

from the temptations of sin that is associated with the accumulation of wealth. This included among others, exploitation, greed, hate and oppression of the weak or poor. This justified the contention of Boesak (1988:60) that

...white Western Christian theology lived under the illusion that it was a universal theology, speaking for all those who call themselves Christian. Christian theology had been cast into a white Western mold, reflecting the beliefs of the rich and the powerful as prescribed by their position of wealth, comfort and power. It did not reflect the cries and the faith of the poor and the oppressed.

Biko (1989:205) echoed a similar view when he contended that the colour issue in South Africa was brought in for economic purposes. According to him, White leaders created a divide between Blacks and Whites and had the courage to build moral justification of this “exploitation that pricked even the hardest of white consciences” (ibid).

This point has also been stressed by Khoapa (1989:203) who argued: “It is not necessary to argue the either/or question of whether racism is basically economic or basically ideological. What is certain is that racial problems can only be solved in a climate of economic equality.” Having listened to these thinkers, it became apparent that an economic element is at the centre of exploitation.

It is within this understanding that Beyers Naudé’s ministry was characterized by support to social and political issues. He demonstrated the need for the gospel to be implemented in every area of human life. One example of this was his support and involvement in the Study Project about Christianity in an Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) programme. SPROCAS brought people of diverse views together, who came with the description of the basic institutions and processes of society (Randall 1982:47). According to Beyers Naude (1995: 89), it was formed in 1966. Naudé (2006:45) discouraged against a Christianity that focuses on personal piety that entertains a faith that is divorced from the realities of life.

Beyers Naudé's ministry therefore, wrestled with the victims of oppression in trying to understand and provide answers as to

...what does it mean to be Black in South Africa? What does it mean in the world controlled by white racists? What if one believes in Jesus Christ as Lord and these other people also call themselves Christians? What if they say they believe in the same Bible, even deriving from it the arguments they use for the destruction of your humanity? (Boesak 1988:61).

### **3.2.2. The character of Beyers Naude**

#### **3.2.2.1. Positive character**

- *Beyers Naudé: A politician or a Servant of God?*

When we refer to Beyers Naudé's political witness, the meaning is not to suggest he entered the political arena. He applied the implications of the message of the Kingdom of God in every sphere of society, including political life (my translation, Heaney 2004:204).

Different interpretations are attached to the ministry of Beyers Naudé. Some see a politician while others see a servant of God in him. Some in the DRC took it to the extreme and saw him as a representative of Communism. Anthonissen (2005:143) indicates that he was also called a "communist devil." Vosloo (2006:129) takes it further by stating that he was labeled a "dangerous communist." Others took it to the level of party politics by looking at him as a representative of the African National Congress (ANC).

Beyers Naude regarded himself as a servant of God guided by the Holy Spirit in his actions. While Beyers Naudé was serving the congregation of Potchefstroom, his doubts and inner struggle about the scriptural justification of apartheid were at their highest. He immediately turned to the scriptures in a search for answers. He allowed himself to be guided by the Holy Spirit as he struggled to declare his standpoint openly:

It was as I later realized, the quiet, pleading voice of the Holy Spirit which said to me: ‘Beyers Naudé, why are you trying to resist the call? Is it because of fear for possible outcomes of what this may have on your life, family and career? Is it because of fear that you can lose your popularity as a prominent minister in the Dutch Reformed Church?’ (my translation, Naudé 1995:42).

Beyers Naudé made God his regular interlocutor whenever he was to make an important decision in his life. The theme of his last sermon at his last DRC congregation of Aasvoëlkop in 1963 charts the way for the understanding that he was accountable to God alone rather than to human beings. His text verse was taken from Act 5:29 which reads as follows, “We must be obedient to God than to man” (Naudé 1995:68, 99).

Beyers Naude’s position in relation with God is also seen when he gave guidelines on the role of Christians and church in social matters. He contended that the church’s message is salvation. He believed that it had to be proclaimed in absolute obedience to God in whom all honour is due. He held that Christ sent Christians in this world which also includes politics. He warned that Christians must first seek God’s will in all aspects of their lives including politics. All these should be practiced in the light of the Word of God which goes with justice, fellowship, truth and love in the world (1995:79). In addition to all these, Beyers Naudé demonstrated to be a person who depended on prayer whenever he needed spiritual empowerment (ibid:112).

The fact that Beyers Naudé was the servant of God who was involved in God’s mission was seen by some ordinary people like Liz Clarke (Tribune, 12 September 2004) who when referring to the sad news of his passing on wrote:

Some might say that this was a defining moment in the history of the Afrikaner in one of their darkest hours, the prescribed rationale of racial division had been challenged, not only by one of their own, but by a man of God, a righteous man, a son of the Broederbond, a forceful apostle of white-dominated politics.

People who closely knew Beyers Naudé affirmed his deep spirituality in his ministry to the people of South Africa. They also agreed that he has been God's servant and did not have an ambition of becoming a politician. For instance, Botha (2009; cf Meiring 2009) defines him as a person who displayed remarkable spirituality. He adds that Beyers Naudé never wanted to be a politician. He bore the symbol of the cross in whatever he did for the oppressed in South Africa. Meyer (ibid) further states that the spirituality of the cross was seen in Beyers Naudé's leadership style and this was embodied everywhere in his ministry. Meyer (ibid) also adds that Beyers Naudé made a choice that Christ will come first in his ministry to the people of South Africa. He indicates that when Beyers Naudé was challenged by his church, he chose to follow Christ. This could be seen in the choice of theme he made for his last sermon at Aasvoëlkop DRC congregation in 1963. Beyers Naudé demonstrated that Christ must be followed despite politics or Broederbond. Meyer (ibid) shows that Beyers Naudé was a well informed person in quite a number of things happening around in the world. He adds that Beyers Naudé read newspapers, politics, economics but this did not make him a politician. He analysed politics, economics and every dynamic of the world in the light of the gospel. He asked the question, what is God saying about every challenge of this world. He states that Beyers Naudé applied theology practically.

Bartlett (2009)<sup>9</sup> indicate that Beyers Naudé helped him to understand mission in a holistic way, that mission is more than the spread of the gospel but also about the peace of the Kingdom of God becoming the peace of the world in different situations of peoples' lives. Tshelane (2009)<sup>10</sup> confirms that Beyers Naudé was to his understanding not a politician. He contended that he did not even belong to a political party during the period of his association with him. Mokgoebo (2009)<sup>11</sup> also confirms that there was no evidence that he belonged to any political party and that he did not even recruit him to join any political party.

---

<sup>9</sup> Dr Andre Bartlett is currently a *dominee* of the DRC congregation of Aasvoëlkop, the last congregation of Beyers Naude.

<sup>10</sup> Rev Siphon Tshelane is currently a leader of the African Initiated Churches (AICs) who worked with Beyers Naude within the context of these churches.

<sup>11</sup> Rev Zack Mokgoebo was the General Secretary of the Belydendekring/Broederkring. He worked with Beyers Naude within the context of this organization and the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRCA) which later formed part of the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa.

Beyers Naudé was a servant of God whose ministry was shaped by the dynamic political context of his time. It is understood that people can participate in *Missio Dei* from different platforms of their calling in life. Some can do that as lawyers, politicians or academics of different specializations. Beyers Naudé participated in *Missio Dei* from the platform of his calling as a Minister of Religion who needed God's answers in the challenging context to which he ministered. His approach was dictated by Liberation theology in which there is no separation between for instance, a politician and a servant of God in their service. He was one of the "channels or instruments which God uses to communicate His messages to people" (Bosch 1994:41). De Gruchy (2005:89) looked at him as a person who was "a pastor at heart" in his ministry to the people of South Africa and referred to his ministry as "public theology." Rumscheidt (2005:101) referred to him as a "teacher, mentor, companion, saint and fellow Christian." Beyers Naudé was therefore a servant of God who wanted to be nothing more than a *dominee*, but a person who entered public and political life for the sake of the gospel and justice.

- *Understanding the needs of the victims of oppression*

Beyers Naudé placed the needs of the victims of oppression at heart. He made it one of his priorities to understand their situation. He did this by arranging meetings, organizing projects and assisted Black people in a number of ways as a vehicle to learn more about them. The reason for this was to fully equip himself in order to be in a better position to assist them correctly. Beyers Naudé (1995: 106) puts it as follows: "Through these projects and publications and gatherings and contacts, we were in a position to grasp what is at the heart of the Black community" (my translation).

Beyers Naude also understood the poverty situation of the victims of apartheid. He advised Black ministers who wanted to buy cars to go for second-hand ones to avoid unnecessary debts:

But dear brethren, why do you put yourselves in debt by trying to buy a new car? That debt hangs like a weight around your legs for the rest of your life.

Rather buy a good but guaranteed second-hand car then you will have very little financial worry (my translation, Naudé 1995:110).

In order to further understand the world of the Black people better, Beyers Naudé's dream has been to study Liberation theology, social justice, the calling and the task of the church. The knowledge of a Black language has also been high on his list especially Zulu or Xhosa. But the government did not allow him because they reasoned that since he is 'dangerous' to them without a Black language, what more if he knew one! (Naudé 1995:115).

- *A 'politically' neutral Servant of God*

....[I]t is important to recognize that the Christian faith should never be identified with any specific political policy, social structure or economic system...Christ as Lord stands above all systems and structures and therefore the Christian should always adopt a positive critical attitude towards them....The minister as a man of God should at all times proclaim the biblical demands of justice and freedom to all, regardless of station or power. Applying the criteria of the gospel, his proclamation of God's salvation and judgement should, without favour or prejudice, apply equally to the policies and practices of Idi Amin, Samora Machel, John Vorster or Kaiser Matanzima (Naudé 2006:87).

Beyers Naudé avoided partisan politics by maintaining a neutral line and allowed himself to be a servant of God who become obedient to Him. This was epitomized by declining a nomination as Progressive Party candidate during the general elections of 1974 (Randall1982:37). Beyers Naudé (1995:79) reminds the church of her message as that of salvation to all in absolute obedience to God. But if she pursues party political agenda, she runs the risk of propagating the programme of one party and lose her meaning before God.

The point taken by Beyers Naudé is ethically suitable for ministers of religions. By virtue of being leaders of flocks which consist of people from different political



parties, the clergy should be above party politics. This makes it easy for them to be equally accessible to all members of their flock.

The fact that the ministry of Beyers Naudé was not dictated by party politics was also confirmed by those who worked with him closely. For instance, Meyer (2009) indicates how Beyers Naudé offered assistance to all people who came to him regardless of the political party they belonged to. When people approached him for assistance he did not even ask their political affiliations. He was sympathetic to everybody. Bartlett (2009) agrees that Beyers Naudé had an openness for all people and that all who came to him represented different political affiliations. Tshelane (2009) concurs by saying that Beyers Naudé never belonged to a political party during his ministry outside the DRC.

- *A humble person*

Beyers Naudé was a humble person. The decision he took of being obedient to God consciously led him to a life far below that of a person befitting the status of a moderator of the regional synod of the DRC. He was a person of unmatched leadership skills that could have placed him at the highest class of lifestyle.

Botha (2009) was impressed by the humility of Beyers Naudé. He contended that Beyers Naudé used a simple language, humble but with a remarkable power of prophetic vision. Botha (2009) states that

...he embodied the spirituality of the cross, he has borne the stigmata of the cross in terms of his leadership style and prophetic witness. He embodied the spirituality of the cross that is characterized by humility and courage. The late Prof David Bosch spoke of mission in both humility and love. Beyers Naudé was both humble and bold. That put him apart from the rest.

In addition, Beyers Naude's humility was also confirmed by Meyer (2009) who indicates how during his spare time he worked in the garden, would wear overalls, and that he did not buy a new car in his life. Meyer (ibid) referring to Beyers Naudé also indicated that "at old age his children bought him a Mercedes but he always told

people that it was not out of his own expense but was bought for him by his children.” Kritzinger (2009) saw Beyers Naudé in the same light as Meyer, but adds by categorizing him as a simple person. He echoes it as follows: “He was a typical Afrikaner *Oom* (uncle). He wore a green safari all the time. He was radical. He bought old cars, Peugeots and fixed them himself. He was simple.” Meiring (2009) identifies his humility from the fact that “he was a human being. After he leaked the Broederbond documents, he apologized.” Mokgoebo (2009) also echoes the same sentiments when after having praised Beyers Naudé states: “However, he was a human being and I loved him as such. Sometimes he cracked jokes about apartheid.” Tshelane (2009) looks at Beyers Naude as “a soft person, a good listener.” He also noted Beyers Naude’s humility from his choice to work with the AICs, who were looked down upon by ‘mission churches.’

- *Identification with the poor*

Beyers Naudé identified himself with the struggle of the poor. He took the side of the poor. In choosing the preferential option of the poor, Beyers Naudé identified himself with the approach followed by Luke as outlined by Bosch (1991:98) with regards to the poor. Bosch (ibid) indicated how Luke demonstrated “a particular interest in the poor and other marginalized groups. Already in the Magnificat (Lk 1:53) we read: ‘God has filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he has sent away.’” Beyers Naudé in identifying himself with the poor, decided to leave the highly paid work as a *dominee* in the DRC. Already in 1948 he was paid 500 pounds per annum in the congregation of Olifantsfontein and 620 pounds in the congregation of Wellington (Randall 1982). As a result of his decision (in 1963) to be on the side of the poor, he could not afford to buy a house in the area of the rich in Johannesburg. His residence in Greenside was an affordable house because he could not afford a house in the affluent suburb of Aasvoëlkop (Naudé 1995:69).

Botha (2009) states that Beyers Naudé took the position of the poor and the downtrodden. Bartlett (2009) sees him as somebody who was able to relate with all people. Meyer (2009) also confirms the same point that Beyers Naudé took the side of the poor in his ministry.

- *Faithful servant of God*

Beyers Naudé has proven himself to be a servant of the Lord who chose to listen to and serve the Lord faithfully. Since his ‘conversion’ (2.4), he never turned back but served the Lord through his ministry to the victims of apartheid. His last sermon at the DRC congregation of Aasvoëlkop in 1963 fully addressed his choice and its title says it all “Gehoorzaam aan God<sup>12</sup>” (Naudé 1995: 68, 99). Meyer (2009) also stresses the same view that Beyers Naudé made the choice that Christ will come first in his life. He states that Beyers Naude demonstrated this by choosing to follow Christ when he was forced by the DRC to make a decision. Bartlett (2009; cf Botha 2009) understood Beyers Naudé as “a strong prophetic figure.”

Beyers Naudé was sustained by his servant-hood to God in his frustrations and pains by the apartheid regime as Randall (1982:42) puts it:

Naudé must be sustained in his banning by his conviction that it is the result of his obedience to Christ’s will and there are no signs that he regrets the course that his life has taken. Even in his present situation he must believe that he is giving witness to God’s word.

Apparently, Beyers Naudé regarded himself as not having been faithful to God when he preached apartheid theology in the DRC. He seemed not to have been able to follow Christ faithfully while in the DRC, up until when he was no longer a minister of this church. The Sharpeville massacre played an important part in his ‘conversion’ towards being a faithful servant of God. Randall (1982:71) summarized the approach of Beyers Naudé after Sharpeville when he wrote: “From now on there was only one way to follow: Christ.” He was described as “a prophet and an Afrikaner who took a stand for justice in the face of injustice” (The Star, 13 September 2004).

---

<sup>12</sup> Obedience to God.

- *Person of profound faith*

Even during the times the Afrikaner establishments hated him most, his religious devotion was not doubted. He helped break the dogma that God wanted white and black in South Africa to live apart. It was in part due to his influence that so many Afrikaner Christians and theologians led the way in pressurizing the National Party government into re-examining the very foundations of its apartheid policies (The Star, 9 September 2004).

Beyers Naudé was a person of profound faith. Although Bosch (1994:9) admits that the definition of spiritual life or devotional life (as he calls it) is a big challenge, it is not difficult to discern the life of Beyers Naudé in this regard. He was a person who invited God into everything good or bad in his life. For instance, when the banning order was served to him, he communicated with God through prayer in which he mentioned the following: “Thank you Father, for your kindness to allow me to be in your service thus far for almost forty years. And, Father, forgive them because they do not know what they are doing” (my translation, Naudé 1995:112). This prayer suggests a very deep faith on the side of Beyers Naudé to the extent that even if it appears as if life has turned against him, he still sees positive light in God. He still regards God as kind (goedheid) and he still had the guts to thank Him for having given him time to serve Him for almost forty years.

Prayer dominated the house of Beyers Naudé whenever he was visited by his supporters during the years of his ban. During the time of the visit by Archbishop Dennis Hurley of the Roman Catholic Church, they prayed together (Naudé 1995:121). One of the most unforgettable spiritual moments in the life of Beyers Naudé was the pronouncement of the benediction by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in his (Naudé) garden (Naudé 1995:121). His children even confirmed his deep faith that “he loved the Bible and believed in its truth” (Tribune, 12 September 2004).

Beyers Naudé invited God as a source of his strength in times of pains and frustrations. For instance, when he spent a night at the Central Prison in Pretoria he read the book of Amos before he slept (Naudé 1995:100). Botha (2009) sees Beyers

Naudé as somebody who displayed remarkable spirituality in whom the spirituality of the cross was clearly seen. He regarded him as a person of deep spirituality. The spiritual element of Beyers Naudé's ministry was also noted by Meyer (2009). He indicates how for Beyers Naudé, Christianity should not be practised in isolation from the context. Meyer (2006) writes that Beyers Naudé testified that Jesus Christ was his Saviour, forgiving his sins and providing ultimate meaning to his life. He states that for Beyers Naudé, the gospel of Jesus was sufficient as long as it was also applied towards renewal in South Africa. Meiring (2009) on the other hand recalls Beyers Naudé's deep connection to Christ. He states that there is no one who can live with Beyers Naudé without having been touched. Meiring further states that "he touched us in many ways, by his integrity, his deep commitment to Christ, to live the gospel in a difficult situation in South Africa." Meiring also advises of the river of pietism that flew through DRC and that Beyers Naudé was also part of it. At Beyers Naudé's death-bed, his daughter Liesel and her mother sang him the song that he enjoyed and explained the scenario as follows: "As he was going, my mother and I sang his favourite psalms about God being our shepherd. We know he would have liked that. He said that when he is gone, he didn't want people to cry, but to be hopeful" (Tribune, 12 September 2004).

When some people especially critics of Beyers Naudé argued that the CI and its publication the Pro Veritate are being used "more liberally", he responded by depicting a more religious picture on the activities of these two institutions. He wrote:

Pro Veritate since its inception has been founded on the Word of God and that its only intention is to encourage a discussion in dialogue form...in the light of the Word of God. God's Word is and remains the supreme and final authority as far as we are concerned (Pro Veritate 15 September 1965:5).

- *A loving person*

Beyers Naudé was a person of love. His love extended beyond his own Afrikaner people to all people in South Africa. The victims of apartheid to whom he dedicated his ministry were a good example of Beyers Naudé's boundless love for all people of South Africa. Despite the fact that Beyers Naudé dedicated his life to the cause of

justice for the victims of oppression, he did not forget his Afrikaner identity nor did he hate them.

Meiring (2009) remembers Beyers Naudé as a gracious person to the DRC. He loved this church but was forced to criticize her only on the point of her biblical justification of apartheid. He understood the position of those DRC ministers who found it difficult to fight against their church's justification of apartheid. He was never vengeful. He never gave up his own people but was prepared to speak out if they did wrong before God. Meiring (ibid) discloses that Beyers Naudé had a high regard for the community of Saints, the body of Christ, where brothers and sisters live together, take care and love one another. It goes beyond human boundaries.

Beyers Naudé was like a father figure to many of the people who met him. Bartlett (2009) describes him as a mentor, father and advisor. Beyers Naudé's love is judged by the sacrifices he made in his life mostly with regards to the victims of oppression. Botha (2009) describes him as somebody who took upon himself the pain and sacrifice of the cross. Botha (2009) advises that if one wants to live up to the gospel message, one needs to be prepared to take along the pain of the cross. This was what Beyers Naudé did for those he dedicated his ministry and life to fight for their struggle. Meyer (2009) indicates how Beyers Naudé visited the men's hostel where he was exposed to the difficult living conditions of the victims of oppression. This situation angered him so much that on his return he accused White *dominees* for not doing anything about the situation. Beyers Naude was open to every issue that came before him and wanted to assist as much as possible. He was unable to set himself clear priorities because he wanted to be a 'jack of all trades'. His openness to all people sometimes was a frustration to his colleagues in the Christian Institute. Randall (1982:45) reports:

If it was a fault, then it was fault of an over-generous spirit, of an over-developed sense of service which made it very difficult for Beyers Naudé ever to say 'no' to demands of his time and energy....Others simply accepted it as part of the man's style, even if it was irritating when he would break off discussion of a serious problem to rush to the assistance of a black clergyman experiencing transport difficulties.

- *Champion of perseverance and courage*

Beyers Naudé demonstrated to be a champion of perseverance and courage. Despite the fact that he was from a small minority of fellow White and Afrikaner people who criticized the status quo, he persevered all the hardships that were associated with it. When Steve Biko told him that Black Consciousness was not yet ready to accept Whites within its ranks of leadership, that did not dampen his spirit in the pursuit for justice for all (Naudé 1995:107).

Bartlett (2009) describes him as a courageous person when judged by the sacrifices he made and the challenges he has gone through since the early 1960s. Botha (2009) sees in him an embodiment of prophetic ministry, courage and hope. Botha (ibid) remembers how he always strengthened them by telling them that freedom will come and that a new day will dawn. Meyer (2009) also sees courage in Beyers Naudé for the challenge he posed to the DRC against her scriptural justification of apartheid. He saw his courageous stance again during the Cottesloe consultation where he stood alone in support for the consultation statement despite pressure from the DRC and Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. Meiring (2009) also acknowledges the courage Beyers Naudé had and the fact that he was a prophetic witness despite the fact that he had hard times. He did not only see courage in Beyers Naudé, but also a symbol of hope. He states that Beyers Naudé challenged all DRC ministers especially the younger generation to follow him in his example of commitment to Christ.

Heaney (2004:5) touched on Beyers Naudé's perseverance and courageous nature when he wrote:

His message of hope, under dire circumstances, like his banning, inspired many in the struggle against apartheid and created space for the proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ. He was a prophet in his own land and believed in the transforming power of the gospel of Jesus Christ. His courageous witness against the ideological claims of racism, and his efforts to mobilize the churches against those claims, still inspires.

In the light of the courage that he had, it is important to ask where it came from. The obvious answer is that it came from his faith in Jesus Christ. But other areas of the source for his courage could be traced next to Paul's missionary motivation as identified by Bosch (1991:133-138). He sees his (Paul) motivation as pillared around three points; firstly a sense of concern for the low morality of the Gentiles in terms of the idolatry that was dominant in the Greco-Roman world. Secondly a sense of responsibility driven by his concern to minister to the Gentiles and thirdly, a sense of gratitude for the love of God for him through Christ. Beyers Naudé was also driven by these concepts. Firstly, he too demonstrated to have had a sense of concern about the victims of oppression who were excluded from human rights while his Bible teaches that they have been created in the image of God and that like all human beings, slightly less than angels (Psalm 8:5). Secondly, he had a sense of responsibility in that he regarded it as his responsibility to minister to the victims of oppression in order to bring change into their lives. In applying this sense of responsibility, Beyers Naudé seems to have done that within the understanding that "the God who gave us the gift of freedom asks us to honour and enhance the freedom of others. God, the ultimate Other, asks us to reach out to the human other" (Sacks 2005:3). Thirdly, he had a sense of gratitude, to thank God and take up his part in God's mission.

- *Bearer of balanced view on the use of violence*

Beyers Naudé had a balanced view with regards to the use of violence. In principle he was against it. He however believed that under certain circumstances, in the light of his interpretation of John Calvin it is justifiable. He approached this matter from the question: "Should a Christian support violence?" and at the same time he responded:

You must be obedient to the authorities except when the authorities through law demand of you that which is against the instruction of God. If you followed every peaceful means to find out solution at your disposal and there are no other options, then you have the right to take up arms (my translation, Naudé 1995:92).



In the light of the above quotation, Beyers Naudé drank from the well of Calvin who believed that people should be obedient to government as long as she rules according to the Will of God. If the government goes out of line with regards to the Will of God and use violence, Christians should explore all peaceful means. If the government does not listen despite all the peaceful means, then violence is justified. He recalled the fact that the Boer had to take up arms against the British after having followed all the necessary steps as proposed by Calvin (ibid).

- *The core message of Beyers Naudé's sermons*

Beyers Naudé's central message was derived from his own obedience to Jesus Christ and His message. This was seen as the basis or central force in his whole life and actions. This conviction guided him throughout his ministry to the people of South Africa since his last sermon entitled "Obedience to God" at the DRC congregation of Aasvoëlkop. In this regard Beyers Naudé (in Ryan 2005:41) wrote:

I would ask myself, 'what is the primary truth to which I must adhere in order to be loyal and committed to the gospel as I proclaim it?' That was the guiding light, which forced me from one position to another one, sometimes against my will, sometimes with trepidation and fear in my own heart.

In one of his sermons, Beyers Naudé spelt out what he believed in and this provided a better understanding of the core of his sermons' message. He believed that the Bible is the only true Word of God. Every believer is expected to obey the authority of the Bible which is above human authority. It is unbiblical to exclude people from the church of Christ on the grounds of their race or colour. He held that all people are called upon to love one another. This should result in other people having the same rights and opportunities as one's group demands (Ryan 2005:70).

Beyers Naudé contended that he does not regard these issues as political because he spoke them from his deep Christian convictions which grew in him over the years as a result of his serious study of the Word of God. He contends: "There is only one motive, one goal in me, to proclaim nothing other than Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ who was crucified" (Ryan 2005:70).

- *A peoples' person with incredible accessibility*

Beyers Naudé's ministry qualified him as a 'peoples' person' who accommodated every person. All categories of people in terms of race, age or economic class among others, were all equal to him. Bishop N. Phaswana (The Star, 9 September 2004) of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa correctly puts it that Beyers Naudé "was a man of all people....To the young he was young at heart, to the older ones he was their colleague, and to the children he was their grandfather." His children also observed this attitude. For instance his son Johann Naudé (2009) confirms that, "he always had a good relationship with all his neighbors. He enjoyed the friendship of the young, the old, the people's (sic) of the multi-cultural rainbow nation of our diversified country."

### **3.2.2.2. Negative character**

Beyers Naudé had weaknesses like any human being. The weakness of Beyers Naudé could be judged by the position from which one looks at him. For instance, victims of oppression looked at him as a hero while beneficiaries of oppression saw him as a traitor. There is also a group that is formed by the beneficiaries of oppression who 'converted' and became disciples of Beyers Naudé. The majority of them joined and supported the Christian Institute (CI). Bartlett (2009) in trying to interpret the reaction of those who benefited from oppression to the ministry of Beyers Naudé states: "Mixed kind of reactions. Many people rejected him. There were people who did not understand him and who didn't even agree with him. Some reacted with hostility. Very few people were ready to fully support him. He was a stronger leader outside the (DRC) ministry than he was inside."

When trying to identify the negative character of Beyers Naude the following areas stand out:

- *Radicalism*

Beyers Naudé's relationship within the Black Consciousness movement and when trying to accommodate their views in the CI was seen by some White members of the CI as an indication that he went too far (Kritzinger 2009). Ironically, this radicalism was a heroic act to the victims of oppression. That is why Botha (2009) states that "he broke in a radical way with a theology that justified an apartheid system. It was quite remarkable for a DRC *Dominee* to break with apartheid in the 1950s and 1960s....That is why millions of South Africans, especially Blacks, looked up to him with respect."

- *Overly accommodating*

Beyers Naudé was viewed by some as unnecessarily too reconciliatory. The fact that he accepted an invitation to return to the DRC tainted his credibility among victims of oppression especially members of the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa (URCSA) which accommodated him after he was forced to resign from the DRC (Kritzinger 2009; cf Mokgoebo 2009).

Beyers Naudé also tried to please all people especially victims of oppression who came to him for assistance. Meyer (2009; cf Tshelane 2009) correctly puts it when he states:

He supported all views. When people came to him for financial support, he assisted without asking questions. He did not take a stand. He could accommodate different directions in himself. He was sensitive not to disappoint other people. I did not like this. Beyers Naudé was always a figure in-between. There were those who had a problem with this attitude in the CI but this did not bother me

Randall (1982:45) calls this attitude "fault of an over-generous spirit, an over-developed sense of service which made it very difficult for Beyers Naude ever to say 'no' to demands of his time and energy..."

### 3.2.3. Centripetal<sup>13</sup> mission pattern of Beyers Naudé

Beyers Naudé's ministry made him a 'magnet' that pulled people to him. Bartlett (2009; cf Meyer 2009) confirms that Beyers Naudé was like a 'pulling force'. Because of this 'attraction', his house or office was inundated with people who needed advice or counseling. They followed him wherever he went especially during the years of his banning order. Randall (1982:42) wrote about Beyers Naudé that "even in his present situation he must believe that he is giving a witness to God's word." He attracted people from far or near who came to him for his ministry service.

Most of the people who came to him were victims of apartheid. One such a person was Rev T.S. Farisani, former MEC for transport and speaker of the Limpopo Legislature. He came to Beyers Naudé at his house after his release from prison in Howick and Pietermaritzburg. The aim of the visit was to share with Beyers Naudé about the nature of torture that he suffered in the hands of the security forces. He presented his case to Beyers Naudé until late at night while he listened (Naudé 1995:111). A point of note is that after that encounter, an atmosphere of forgiveness on his (Farisani) torturers existed. He even pitied his torturers that they were the ones who were prisoners of ignorance and oppression by apartheid in a different way. He even told his torturers that he does not hate them (ibid). Rev Farisani left the house of Beyers Naudé as a relieved person because he had somebody who could listen to him. They both empowered each other.

Beyers Naudé did not only attract the locals to him but also the international community. Countries from which people paid him visits included, the Netherlands, Germany, Britain, USA, Canada and other African countries (Naudé 1995:121). This situation is described by Randall (1982:42) that

---

<sup>13</sup> This is the practice of mission whereby instead of agents of mission going out to people, it attracts people to them. Broadly speaking, the Old Testament has many examples of this mission practice. An exemplary definition of this mission practice is from Okoye (2006:12) who reasons that it is seen in a situation where "the nations stream on a pilgrimage to Zion, there to be instructed in God's torah and God's ways."

...a steady stream of visitors find their way to his modest suburban house in Johannesburg- ambassadors, foreign church dignitaries, journalists, and even the American writer James Michener, who claims that Naudé was the prime inspiration for his novel on South Africa, *The Covenant*.

The study room of Beyers Naudé was inundated with people who came to him for counseling mostly as individuals. My interviewees with regards to Beyers Naudé all agreed that his advice was sought after by many people. They followed him wherever he went for this purpose (Meyer 2009; cf Botha 2009; see Tshelane 2009 and Bartlett 2009).

Adding on this, Randall (1982:43) commented that

Naudé's days even as a banned man are very full. He does a great deal of pastoral counseling of individuals in his study, the one aspect of his ministry that is apparently not affected by the restrictions on him. Meeting visitors singly is time consuming and tiring; there is a voluminous correspondence, and as much reading as time allows.

The location of the offices of Beyers Naudé's Christian Institute (CI) in Braamfontein was of strategic importance in sending out a message of a non-racial society in a racist South Africa. He strategically chose his ministry centers in cities or urban areas (2.3.2; 3.2.4). Bosch (1991:129-131) also described Paul's choice of mission centers as strategic in the sense that it was also urban in terms of what he (Bosch) calls 'metropolises'. Bosch indicated that Paul "concentrates on the district or provincial capitals, each of which stands for the whole region: Philippi for Macedonia (Phil 4:15), Thessalonica for Macedonia and Achaia (1 Thes 1:7f), Corinth for Achaia (1 Cor 16:15; 2 Cor 1:1) and Ephesus for Asia (Rom 16:5; 1 Cor 16:19). These 'metropolises' are the main centers as far as communication, culture, commerce, politics and religion are concerned."

Another aspect of the character of the ministry of Beyers Naudé was reflected in the way in which he shaped his staff at the CI. Beyers Naudé turned the staff of the CI into a model of a 'true' community. It was converted into a community of equals in a

number of respects, where members were respected by the way in which they were as human beings. It was a community whose respect for one another ran across gender, age, economic class and racial lines. It was not necessarily a homogenous community in all respects but also a “collection of radicals, agnostics and demure servants of the gospel” (Randall 1982:45). At some stage, Beyers Naudé even suggested that all members of staff at the CI from the messenger to himself as director should earn the same basic income (ibid).

Having this approach in mind, the CI personified Beyers Naudé and his character as an opponent of racism. Knowing the nature of his ministry, many people of all races predominantly victims of oppression, flocked to the CI to enjoy his services.

The non-racial approach of Beyers Naudé’s CI with its location in the racist context of an influential South African ‘metropole’ was met with resistance from people in the neighborhood. Randall (1982:36) reported about the CI that

...in 1972 it was given notice to vacate its offices since ‘non-white’ staff and visitors had been using ‘white’ toilet facilities, and this had caused complaints from other tenants in the building. The CI then set about raising funds for the purchase of a building which could house non-racial and ecumenical bodies.

The media knew about the ministry of Beyers Naudé and were also attracted to him. They came to him for interviews and reporting about him. For this reason “he continues to feature prominently in the media” (Randall 1982:42). The English and Afrikaans media differed in their reporting about Beyers Naudé. For instance,

...to the English press he was a courageous, popular figure, a man who has been martyred and maligned by the Afrikaans community. The Afrikaans press portrayed him as a troublesome, controversial man with many new and suspect ‘communist’ or liberalistic’ views....The English press depicted him as the target of unfair victimization while the Afrikaans press, through several hostile reports and letters, conveyed the impression that he was probably getting what he deserved (Ryan 2005:99).

Beyers Naudé was inundated with visits from DRC missionaries who were working in Black 'daughter' churches of DRC. The aim of their visits was to ask for advice on how to minister to the Black congregations that were made out of the three 'daughter' churches of the DRC namely the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa<sup>14</sup>, the Dutch Reformed Mission Church<sup>15</sup> and the Reformed Church in Africa<sup>16</sup> (RCA) (Adonis 2005:120-121). Additional problems that were brought to Beyers Naudé were the challenges of poverty among ministers of those churches and the congregants. Some of those DRC missionaries knew him during his ministry period at the Pretoria East DRC congregation while he was a student chaplain at the University of Pretoria. During that time those ministers who paid him visits were still student ministers at the University of Pretoria (Naudé 1995:44; cf WCC 1986:6).

The 'conversion' of Beyers Naudé attracted many people to him for interviewing purpose. Some reflected on his ministry in the form of writing books. Among those who paid him visits for this reason was the unnamed person described by Randall (1982:32) as his American biographer and Alan Paton. The American biographer "compares his awakening with the transformation of Saul of Tarsus" (Ibid). On the other hand, Alan Paton (in Ibid) wrote: "One is forced to conclude, because one does not reach such a conclusion lightly, that this is the work of the Holy Spirit and that Beyers Naudé was struck down on some Damascus road."

Beyers Naude also gave a lesson on his theology of religions. He did not have a conservative approach to other religions. His flexibility was seen in his attitude towards adherents of other faiths and how he shaped the community of the CI in this regard. The CI team under Beyers Naudé was defined in terms of being "heterogeneous" (Randall 1982:45) not only on matters of race and gender but also because of their multi-religious mix. Randall (ibid) continued to indicate that in the CI "the contributions of non-Christians were readily accepted if they brought new and valuable insights." The composition of the SPROCAS commission represented the working together of people from different faith groups under the eye of Beyers

---

<sup>14</sup> The Afrikaans name of this is N.G. Kerk in Afrika. This church was racially meant for Africans in the DRC family.

<sup>15</sup> Also called N.G. Sendingkerk was racially classified for 'Coloureds' within the DRC family.

<sup>16</sup> The Reformed Church in Africa was an Indian section of the DRC family.

Naudé. Meyer (2009) narrates the case of a Jewish employee of the CI who ultimately became a Christian as a result of the witness from the life of Beyers Naudé.

In the light of the above scenario, Beyers Naudé embraced the Enlightenment approach with regards to the question of theology of religions. Before this period, the attitude from the Catholics was that of “outside the *church* no salvation”, and from the Protestants “outside the *word*, no salvation” (Knitter 1985:135; cf Bosch 1991:475). Adherents of other faiths were seen as archenemy to Christianity. But the situation changed during the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment paradigm embraced a relativistic attitude with regards to other faiths which were not Christian. People valued facts for their survival rather than the world of values as prescribed by religion. Religion was pushed to the periphery and Marx rejected religion and called it the “opiate of the people” and visualized a world without religion (Bosch 1991:475).

Beyers Naudé subscribed to the Enlightenment relativistic attitude with regards to theology of religions. But having said that, he cannot, judged by the level of his spirituality, subscribe to the Marxist attitude to religion especially the fact that he “propagated the world in which it would have no place” (Bosch 1991:475).

#### **3.2.4. Centrifugal<sup>17</sup> mission pattern of Beyers Naudé**

Beyers Naudé was not only a ‘magnet’ that drew people to him in search for his spiritual and moral support services but also went out to meet people as a result of the invitations he received. One highlight of these invitations was one from Europe to preach in Westminster Abbey and he was the first South African to be invited for that opportunity (Randall 1982:36). During his years of banning order, he continued to witness to the people of South Africa mostly as per invitation despite the frustrations and difficulty associated with the order. The ambivalence and frustrations associated

---

<sup>17</sup> The definition of this mission practice is the reverse of centripetal mission. In this case, agents of mission are going out to people. Broadly speaking, the New Testament represents most areas of this practice of mission. According to Okoye (2006:12) “active effort is made to reach outsiders and through conversion included them in the covenant ‘proselytes’.”



with the right to witness the gospel message is outlined by Randall (1982:41) with regards to Beyers Naudé as follows:

The legal position regarding preaching is unclear and Beyers Naudé has accepted several invitations to preach since his banning. These have come particularly from the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches. When he preaches he leaves the church immediately after the service, since it would be illegal for him to greet the congregation as they leave, any form of gathering at which social intercourse takes place is prohibited. Banning is in fact a direct violation of the gospel's call to witness and to minister, and this must particularly be grievous for one whose whole life has been dedicated to these.

This situation exposes the frustrations brought about by the difficult context under which Beyers Naudé ministered to the people of South Africa. Beyers Naudé's ministry was also frustrated by his own people. This became clear as there were some DRC congregations that invited him to preach and to address their members on a number of issues. The example of this is his invitation to the congregation of Belgravia, Johannesburg in 1965. This visit turned violent when some of the members blocked the gates to the church building. Having been barred from that congregation, he was ultimately accommodated in a private house where he addressed willing members of that congregation (Naudé 1995:79).

Beyers Naudé was also invited to the DRC 'daughter' churches. The invitation came from DRC ministers who were ministering as missionaries in those 'daughter' churches. Beyers Naudé had an opportunity to meet their congregations, church councils, individual members of the congregations and their families (WCC 1986:6-7).

There were however, other visits by Beyers Naudé which had positive characteristics. The example of these is the invitation by the African Initiated Churches (AICs) that was brought to him by Rev Z.J. Malukazi from Ciskei. This saw him paying visits to both Transkei and Ciskei to look at the situation of AICs (Naudé 1995:83). The visits enabled him to meet different leaderships of these churches and to understand them better.

Beyers Naudé's ministry also included prison visits to Black political leaders. This was epitomized by his visit to Steve Biko, the father of the Black Consciousness movement three months before his death. The visit took place in June 1976 in King William's Town. During his prison visit, they touched on a number of topics in their discussion which were about the position of Inkatha and that of Whites with regards to the Black Consciousness movement (Naudé 1995:107).

Beyers Naudé's ministry could be described as ministry by presence. This reminds one of the incarnational lifestyle of Jesus Christ which is best described by Hirsch (2006:133) with regards to the manner in which we should practice the ministry of presence and of inserting ourselves in the communities we serve. He argued that incarnation qualifies the actions of both God and His followers in the world. God reached the world by incarnating Himself in Jesus. Judged by this act, God's followers in the world should be incarnational based on His example. This means that identification and affinity with the people who are served or those who are to be reached are equally important.

In the same breath Hirsch (ibid) emphasizes the importance of presence with regard to mission. In his understanding, presence underlines the importance of relationships in mission. He stressed the importance of being directly present with the people. In doing this he warned that the lives of Christians are their messages. He reminded that Jesus hung out with people that some Christians cannot feel comfortable to hang out with. The Christian presence among them conveys the message that God loves them too (ibid: 134).

It is also interesting that Hirsch (ibid) reminds that Jesus mixed with all levels of people, good or bad i.e. Pharisees, tax collectors and prostitutes. This means Christians should do likewise to the people they aimed at reaching. He exposed himself in many places, some of which could be viewed as unexpected for a White person to attend, judged by the context of the events. The example of this was his attendance at the memorial service of the late Black Consciousness movement's father, Steve Biko who was brutally killed by the security forces in prison (Naudé 1995:107). The irony of his presence at that event was that the Black Consciousness

philosophy is unwelcoming for Whites as echoed by Biko (in Naudé 1995:107) to Beyers Naudé thus: “Beyers, in the near future there is no place for Whites. We Blacks must learn to restore our humanity and human rights on our own. But the time will come when this relationship will change....(my translation).” The manifesto limited Whites to a supportive role only.

Beyers Naudé’s ministry by presence was seen in a number of situations in which the victims of oppression found themselves. Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu correctly captured this when he stated that,

...when the negotiations came to bring an end to the injustice and oppression of apartheid, he was among the African National Congress delegation. He was chosen as a midwife to bring the dispensation of democracy to birth, this one who has been so long ostracized....When Madiba (former President Nelson Mandela) was celebrating his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday and his marriage in 1998, we sat at the main table with Beyers, and it was an extraordinary moment. There we were, sitting side by side with some of the most extraordinary stalwarts of our struggle (Ryan 2005:vi).

Beyers Naudé was also very much involved in ecumenism (Pro Veritate 15 May 1966:5; cf Pro Veritate 15 May 1965:5). Bartlett (2009) describes him as “a strong ecumenical person.” He adds that his funeral was an ecumenical event with the attendance of senior church leaders from various denominations and faiths. Meyer (2009; cf Tshelane 2009) also confirms that Beyers Naudé was an ecumenical figure who also went further by including African Initiated Churches (AICs) into the ecumenical structure. Heaney (2004) dedicated a doctoral thesis on Beyers Naudé’s ecumenical contributions in South Africa. This was another milestone indicating the ecumenical nature of Beyers Naudé.

The Christian Institute (CI) to which he was Director represented his approach to this matter. This institution was the first body that brought together Christians of different backgrounds into a single body of a witnessing community of clergy and laymen. Clarke (Tribune, 12 September 2004) referring to Beyers Naudé’s departure from the DRC wrote:

In many ways though, it was the whispers of a new beginning in religious tolerance. Within weeks of leaving his old spiritual home, Naudé had put his energies into the formation of the Christian Institute, bringing together different denominations and cultures.

Beyers Naudé even extended the element of ecumenism by including the AICs which were placed at the periphery of the main stream of Christianity (Naudé 1995:83; cf Ryan 2005:102). The CI played an important role in the creation of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) (Randall 1982:46; cf Pro Veritate 15 September 1966:50).

Beyers Naudé supported Black clergy in his ministry. The main focus in this regard were Black clergy from churches that came out of the mission work of the DRC usually called 'daughter' churches of the DRC. He assisted these churches in articulating their grievances against the subservient position in which they have been placed by the DRC. One other outcome of his efforts was the assistance in the creation of the 'Broederkring' which posed a major challenge towards the DRC (Randall 1982:46).

The ministry of Beyers Naudé included support to movements that were fighting for liberation. But he had a condition attached to that support and that is, only "insofar as these were not inconsistent with the criteria of the gospel" (Randall 1982:44). What then should be the role of a Christian in a situation where another political organization adopted violence as a means of a fight for freedom? How was one to approach this matter in the light of the condition as mentioned above? Beyers Naudé (1995:92) advised from the light of John Calvin who encouraged obedience to the authorities as long as they were obedient to the command of God. If she rules against God's authority, he advised the exploration of all peaceful means. If this attempt also fails, he advised that arms could be taken against such a state.

While one is advised to support political organizations, Beyers Naudé warned of the necessity of strict adherence on neutrality or non-partisanship. He sees the role of the church as that of freedom of the oppressed in obedience to God's Will. He warned that, "...when the church participates in party politics she consciously or

unconsciously involves herself in party squables and runs the risk of compromising her allegiance to God in favour of people” (my translation, 1995:79).

It is in the light of Beyers Naudé’s guidance above, that he himself supported the World Council of Churches (WCC)’s programme called ‘Programme to Combat Racism.’ This programme gave financial and humanitarian support to liberation movements. Political movements that financially benefited were the ANC and Pan African Congress (PAC) (Naudé 1995:92). The Mayor of eThekweni, Obed Mlaba (The Mercury, 17 September 2004) stated: “Naudé was a brilliant backyard mechanic and knowledgeable about second-hand cars. He used this as a cover to obtain cars for use by people going into exile or for internal missions.” Beyers Naudé also supported political organizations in different ways like ‘skipping’ the country to go into exile. He acknowledges the role he personally played in this regard:

I acknowledge that I assisted young people to skip the country. I assisted with the distribution of ANC literature to enable people to understand what the ANC is all about, especially the Freedom manifesto of the ANC (my translation, Naudé 1995:93).

It is interesting that his assistance to political organizations did not exclude far left wing groups such as the Black Consciousness movement (BC). The BC’s position on liberal Whites was that they can only play a supporting role and that fundamental change in the country can only be brought about by Blacks themselves (Naudé 1995:107; cf Maguire 1991:118).

The CI played a considerable role in the life of the BC in such a way that they were able to accommodate their (BC) ‘radical’ political views (Randall 1982:43; cf Heaney 2004:188). In the light of the above, Randall (1982:61) is correct in saying that “from 1973 until it was banned in October 1977, the Christian Institute formulated a strategy designed to encourage Black Consciousness and to prepare whites for a future in which Blacks would exercise predominant political power.” Beyers Naudé was motivated by his belief that Christianity is not a faith that could be practised in ivory towers but should be involved in other areas of life. Meyer (2009) sees Beyers Naudé as a custodian of practical Christianity.

Beyers Naudé also dedicated his ministry efforts in the development of Black leadership. This was apparent in his relationship with the leadership of some liberation movements and Black church leaders. During 1973 Beyers Naudé was driving the CI into a period of closer contact with Black liberation movements with a view to prepare for the situation where Blacks will ultimately take leadership positions (Randall 1982:60).

Beyers Naudé's Black leadership development mission was seen in his assistance to the leadership of the AICs with their theological education (Randall 1982:56). Tshelane (2009; cf Ryan 2005:102) acknowledges his role in this and how he was like a father to these churches in the midst of the criticism they suffered from the mainline churches and other Western mission-born churches. Botha (2009) also indicates how Beyers Naudé has been of assistance in his theological development.

Beyers Naude went out to expose the DRC's justification of apartheid. His ministry bore an element of fairness, bravery and objectivity as epitomized by his exposure of the injustice no matter where it came from. This has been demonstrated by his unwavering exposure to the injustices as meted out by his own church and people without bias or fear. In his own words he declared:

I appeal to the white clergy of our Afrikaans churches, who in some way or another have privately expressed their deep concern about the turn for the worse which human relations are taking in our country, to come into the open and to speak, as men of God, with a prophetic voice to inform and enlighten our Afrikaans people about what really is at stake (Naudé 2005:98).

Randall (1982:46) indicated that Beyers Naudé's ministry to the people of South Africa from the 1960s to the 1970s was dominated by the exposure of the "false theological argument used by the NGK to justify apartheid" (ibid; cf Pro Veritate 15 October 1966:2; cf Pro Veritate 15 March 1967:1; see Pro Veritate 15 August 1966). At some stage, Beyers Naudé put in focus, the integrity of the DRC as a church in the light of her biblical justification of apartheid (Pro Veritate 15 December 1966:2). He also lamented the fact that the stance of this church on apartheid makes it

difficult for its ministers to be trusted in their Christian witness (Pro Veritate 15 July 1966). Beyers Naudé (2005:111) therefore had churches such as the DRC in mind when he stated that

....I say this with regret, that in a number of instances the Christian church actively sided with the ecclesiastical, political, social or economic *status quo*, and even went further by actively opposing and rejecting the efforts of those who were deeply concerned to achieve social justice and full human rights for oppressed individuals and communities.

The ministry strategy of Beyers Naudé included the support of Black initiatives in many respects. Most of the people I interviewed confirmed his support for Black initiatives in different ways. They indicate how he assisted them and others with their studies. Botha (2009) and Tshelane (2009) came out clear on this point. Beyers Naudé (in Randall 1982:47) “came to see that Black initiative was the key to true liberation and development in South Africa.”

The support for Black initiatives came with its own challenges and pains from the government. This was because when Black political organizations were banned such as Black Community Programmes, the Black People’s Convention and the South African Students Organisation, Beyers Naudé’s CI was also banned (Randall 1982:47).

Beyers Naudé maintained a special relationship with the South African Council of Churches (SACC). He was involved in the formation of the SACC in the mid-1960s when he and Prof Fred van Wyk were involved in negotiations which aimed at the restructuring of the Christian Council (which represented the ‘English’ churches in South Africa). The negotiations “resulted in the Council being renamed the South African Council of Churches” (Randall 1982:35; cf Pro Veritate 15 September 1966:5). As a head of the CI, he encouraged his staff to co-operate with the SACC. Because he developed the CI into a multi-racial community, he wanted to co-operate with such like bodies in order to further develop his multi-racial ministry to the people of South Africa. The CI “worked with the SACC for improved co-operation among the multi-racial churches, and Naudé maintained a special interest in the Black DRCs....”

(Randall 1982:56). In the light of this, the multi-racial character of the CI determined and directed the relationship with the SACC because it also had the same social and racial agenda.

Beyers Naudé was also the General Secretary of the SACC after Archbishop Desmond Tutu from 1985 to 1988 (Ackermann 2005:67). According to Meyer (2009; cf Heaney 2004:200) this afforded him an opportunity to meet with critical Black youth in different SACC regions who questioned the credibility of the Christian faith in the light of their plight and the misuse of this faith by the state to oppress them. As the General Secretary of the SACC, Beyers Naudé

...continued to speak, teach and preach about the need for confession, reconciliation and unity among the churches. He pleaded ceaselessly for the DRC to become one united church. Ecumenism, economic justice, love and the value of the human person were his abiding themes. He led the protest marches and visited sites of struggle, suffering and conflict. I have an abiding memory of him at the funerals of young black activists, often the only white face (Ackermann 2005:67-68).

Beyers Naudé did not only support, but played an important role in the formulation of what came to be called 'the message to the people of South Africa' in September 1968 (Randall 1982:35). He acknowledged the partnership between the CI and the SACC in the creation of the message when he stated that "...the cooperation with the South African Council of Churches led to the decision of issuing the 'Message to the people of South Africa' in 1968" (my translation, Naudé 1995:86). Beyers Naudé's CI and the SACC convened a conference on 'Pseudo-gospels' in church and society during May 1968. The conference set up an interdenominational theological commission by the SACC. The commission issued this message and 7 000 copies were spread to stakeholders all over South Africa. The content of the message was a call "...on Christians to discriminate between what was demanded of them as citizens of South Africa and what was demanded of them as disciples of Jesus Christ" (Randall 1982:35). The message resulted in the setting up of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) (Ibid). Beyers Naudé's



support and active participation in projects such as these made him more appealing to the victims of apartheid.

Beyers Naudé in his ministry went out in support of the concept of military conscientiousness objection and blessed the military offensive by victims of apartheid as a 'just-war' in self defense against state violence (in Randall 1982:62). He started with the process of debates concerning this subject long before it was officially adopted by the SACC. In 1974 a conference was held in Hammanskraal and this subject was part of the conference resolution. The CI since 1973 started with the violence versus non-violence debate. When it came to the SACC Hammanskraal conference, Beyers Naudé supported the conscientious objection in such a way that he even seconded the conference resolution that was dominated by it (Randall 1982:37, 61; cf Naudé 2005:91). In simple terms, the Hammanskraal resolution "called upon Christians to consider becoming conscientious objectors. Quite simply, to accept military service in defense of injustice was not permissible" (Randall 1982:61).

Beyers Naudé's ministry embraced the preparation of Whites for future Black political power. One of the formidable steps taken by Beyers Naudé and the CI in this regard was the formulation of a "strategy designed to encourage Black Consciousness and to prepare whites for a future in which blacks would exercise predominant political power. This strategy included conscientious objection..." (Randall 1982:61). This move led to working together with leading personalities and organizations in the Black Consciousness movement. Although this strategy bore positive spin-offs on the side of the victims of apartheid, it boosted their love and trust in him, on the other hand, it ignited confrontation from the state in the mid-1970s (Randall 1982:63).

Beyers Naudé acknowledged his identity as an Afrikaner as evidenced by his utterances below:

I must feel the agony of this, especially because the people who are in control and in power doing this, these are my people. I cannot deny that I am an Afrikaner. I don't want to deny it. How can I? I am nothing else but an Afrikaner, and yet in that sense I don't see myself to be there, then the agony

of that separation. What are the basic roots, what are the deepest roots of such an injustice, of such inhumanity? How do we continue to justify it...? (WCC 1986:10).

It psychologically happens that people hide their identity when buying acceptance from other people especially when their race is known to have done something that is generally unacceptable. For instance, people such as Kritzinger (2009) who later became a disciple of Beyers Naudé, at some stage wanted to deny his Afrikaner identity until advised by Beyers Naudé against it. Beyers Naudé in his ministry did not shy away from his identity and love of his own people. For instance, in the CI, Randall (1982:45) reports that

...more than one member of staff was conscious of the apparent incongruity of the safari-suited Afrikaner who had once been a moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church earnestly discussing such matters with a rather motley collection of radicals, agnostics and demure servants of the gospel.

Beyers Naudé was instrumental in the creation of the *Broederkring/Belydende-kring* which was a body composing of some Black clergy from the three so called daughter churches of the DRC. The *Broederkring* became a formidable challenge to the DRC on its racist policy (Randall 1982:46; cf 1995:94; see Naudé 2005:128-130). It called among other things for the unity of the DRC family. Rev Zack Mokgoebo (2009) was the General Secretary of this body and he spoke well about Beyers Naudé's contributions. He states that Beyers Naudé did not occupy a position in the *Broederkring* for security reasons. Mokgoebo (ibid) adds that Beyers Naude was contributing from behind the scene because for fear of harassment by the security forces. The *Broederkring* was changed to *Belydendekring* in order to be gender inclusive. Mokgoebo (ibid) further reasons that the roots of the Belhar confession were cultivated within the *Broederkring* with contributions from people like Beyers Naudé.

It was as a result of the *Belydende-kring* that

...the black church began to call for a forthright, non-racial witness to Christian unity, for example, common witness with mixing of congregations, as well as shared decision-making; it was time to drop the condescending terms 'mother church' (White) and 'daughter churches' (African, Coloured and Indian) (Randall 1982:65).

In the light of this, it became clear that Beyers Naudé armed the Black churches that came out of the mission of the DRC to stand for justice despite the fact that they were financially dependent on the DRC. The financial dependence on DRC made it difficult for these churches to speak out against their financial source.

Beyers Naude also contributed to the debate on investment versus disinvestment and sanctions ranging in South Africa then. He had a soft spot for investment and attached conditions for foreign investors. He “argued in favour of foreign investment in South Africa, on condition that it assisted in improving the condition of Blacks” (Randall 1982:36).

The position taken by Beyers Naudé in this regard was difficult to realize. In an apartheid South Africa, it was part of apartheid protocol that Blacks were at the periphery of the economic lather. This meant that foreign investment was going to first fall on the hands of the apartheid government which had to satisfy itself before it can give the remnants to other racial groups. It was therefore unlikely under those circumstances that Blacks could ever expect to benefit from foreign investment. No foreign investment could ever be for the improvement of the position of Blacks under an apartheid environment.

In March 1980, Beyers Naudé joined the congregation in Alexandra of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRCA)<sup>18</sup>. In 1987 he was licensed as a Minister in this church. Beyers Naude chose Alexandra because the suburb of Greenside fell under the boundaries of the congregation in Alexandra (Naudé 1995:119). Randall

---

<sup>18</sup> The DRCA was a section of the DRC family meant for Africans in terms of her race classification.

(1982:42; cf Naudé 1995:119) explains Beyers Naudé's position in joining the Black church thus:

Naudé has joined Ds Sam Buti's congregation of the black N.G. Kerk in Afrika, together with a handful of other whites. Ds Buti welcomed them with the words, 'these people have left because they understand we are all God's children, I am delighted.'

This step has been viewed by some scholars (Randall 1982:42; cf Heaney 2004:193) who commented that "In February 1980, Naudé's witness took a dramatic turn when he and several other white members of the NGK formerly resigned from the NGK in order to join the black NGK."

The ministry of Beyers Naudé also embraced the 'despised' African Initiated Churches (AICs) (Pro Veritate 15 July 1965:5; cf 2.6.4). Beyers Naudé assisted these churches with theological education as well as the establishment of their organization called the African Independent (Initiated) Churches Association (AICA) which was launched in Queenstown in June 1965. He and the CI found themselves having to deal with forty of these churches (Meyer 2009; cf Hayes 2006:59; see Tshelane 2009). The association of Beyers Naudé with these churches led him to a study of them which also included visits to Transkei and Ciskei as a result of invitations received (Naudé 1995:83; cf Ryan 2005:102).

Tshelane (2009), an AIC leader, knew Beyers Naudé very well within the context of the AICs. He appreciates the fact that Beyers Naudé attended their conferences and his initial contact with him was along those lines. He remembers Beyers Naudé as a good listener, a soft person who assisted the AICs in a number of ways. Highlights of his assistance were on finance and theological training. In 1965, Beyers Naudé organised a seminar for mainline churches where he led a discussion on the means of assisting the AICs in theological education. A year later, an AICA seminary was formed. They asked the University of Fort Hare to host that seminary and lecturers from this university were used on condition that they simplify their lectures. Theological Education by Extension (TEE) is the result of this initiative. Beyers

Naudé's interest in uplifting the educational standard of the AICs won him love, admiration and support from them.

The ministry of Beyers Naudé was characterized by his love for his 'enemies'. Ryan (2005:112; cf Meiring 2009) indicated that he "was cordial and good-mannered even with his fiercest enemies, including the security police." One of the many incidents in which this attitude was demonstrated was during one occasion when he was summoned to appear at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg before a senior policeman. It is reported that "Beyers Naudé walked into his office and shook his hand. He saw a photograph of his son and began asking him about the boy and the rest of his family. I saw this policeman who had been ready to have a real confrontation with Beyers, suddenly dissolve" (Ryan 2005:112). Beyers Naudé's limitless love was also seen when he met his greatest opponents such as the two who were identified by Ryan (ibid) as Koot Vorsters or Kosie Gericke. He shook their hands and talked to them as if they were his best friends.

### **3.3. OUTCOMES OF BEYERS NAUDÉ'S MINISTRY TO THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION**

#### **3.3.1. Negative response**

- *Harassment by the security forces*

The ministry of Beyers Naudé also attracted negative responses. One area that injected pain was the harassment by the security forces. The security forces regularly searched his house and the offices of the CI (Randall 1982:34; cf Pro Veritate 15 June 1965:5).

The searches of the offices of the CI and his home in Greenside started as early as 1965. The reason given for the search was that they were looking for documents that were related to communism and the ANC. Beyers Naudé (1995:86) commented as follows about the search: "I had to empty my pockets and a policeman personally searched me. They left with few copies of Pro Veritate and a report of the British Council of Churches" (my translation, 1995:86). In another search Beyers Naudé

(1995:110) explained the painful way in which it was conducted: “The security police waited for us at the entrance, myself, my wife and other staff members were separated and they accompanied me to my office on the fourth floor, Ilse and other staff members were kept in the small hall....” (my translation). Randall (1982:39) puts the number of security officers who participated in the search at 40 and the date at November 1965.

- *Allegations of violence and subversion*

Some of the results of the ministry of Beyers Naudé included the suffering he endured as a result of allegations that he supported violence and subversion. The Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika (NHK) rejected the CI and warned her members not to subscribe. She threatened that those who ignored this call will face disciplinary action from the church.

It was out of this context of hate towards the CI and its director that false allegations of violence and subversion were made. These allegations were made by the NHK minister, Prof A.D. Pont. This went with the discomfort that was caused by the security forces with the interruption of their work and comfort by regularly searching his offices and home. After a court battle that ensued, it was found that the allegations were incorrect and Beyers Naudé and Prof Albert Geyser (chair of CI Board of Management then) were awarded damages of R10 000 each (Randall 1982:35; cf Naudé 1995:77).

- *The Schlebusch Commission*

The findings of the Schlebusch Commission also represented some of the negative responses to the ministry of Beyers Naudé (1995:97; cf Nash 2005:37). The commission established by Prime Minister John Vorster on 7 February 1972 was made up of seven parliamentarians, four from the National Party and three from the United Party. Mr Alwyn Schlebusch was at some stage a chairperson of this commission after Mr Jimmy Kruger who was the first chairperson immediately after the establishment of the commission (Naudé 1995:97).

The commission investigated certain organizations including the CI during 1973. Members of the CI who were subpoenaed to appear as witnesses refused to testify. They were therefore tried under Communism Act, found guilty and consequently their passports were withdrawn. Directors of the newly formed Ravan Press who included Beyers Naudé “were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act for allegedly having published statements by a banned person” (Randall 1982:36-37). The CI was placed under a strict spotlight and barred from receiving funds from abroad from 1975.

- *A night in custody*

Beyers Naudé’s ministry resulted in him spending a night in custody at the maximum security division of the Pretoria Central Prison on 28 October 1976 (Naudé 1995:100). This came after he refused to pay a fine of R50.00 for the charges leveled against him, that he refused to testify in 1973 before the Commission of Enquiry into certain organisations. Beyers Naudé was released after the Parkhurst DRC congregation minister anonymously paid the fine for him (Randall 1982:38).

Beyers Naudé’s case had a rippling negative effect on other members of the CI. For instance, “Theo Kotze, the Cape director of the CI, was sentenced to four months imprisonment, suspended for three years, and Peter Randall, director of Ravan Press and former director of SPROCAS, was sentenced to two months, also suspended for three years” (Randall 1982:39).

- *The June 1976 Riots*

The ministry of Beyers Naudé also led to the state’s constant interference and limits placed on his ministry as epitomized by the youth action of 1976. During the 1976 uprisings, the state suspected that he might have a hand or that he might have had influence in it. It was on those grounds that the chief magistrate of Johannesburg served him and the general secretary of SACC, Mr John Rees with notices “warning them to dissociate themselves ‘totally from interfering with the present situation of

unrest in the Witwatersrand area'. The minister of justice stated later on that the warning would stand 'indefinitely'" (Randall 1982:38).

- *Christian Institute declared unlawful*

The ministry of Beyers Naudé also resulted in the banning of the CI in 1977. The ban also included the CI's newsletter, *Pro Veritate* and two Black newspapers. In addition, seven Whites were banned for five year and they included Beyers Naudé (Randall 1982:39). The results of this were that

...the security police took away all the records and property of the CI. The Minister of Justice announced that an executor would be appointed to wind up the affairs of the banned organizations and their assets would be given to appropriate bodies (Randall 19982:40).

- *The effect of the Banning Order*

Another painful result of the ministry of Beyers Naudé was the banning order he received, dated 11 October 1977 and signed by Minister Jimmy Kruger. The ban was for five years until 1982 but was renewed and ended up extending to seven years (Naudé 1995:112). The ban meant a lot of readjustment in Beyers Naudé's life. The implication of this was to start a new chapter of life at the age of sixty-two where he was

...restricted to the Johannesburg magisterial district, unable to attend meetings of any kind, whether social, political or religious, unable to be quoted, unable to speak in public, or to write for publications, unable to enter black townships, factory or any educational institution, compelled to report like a common criminal to his local police station every week.... (Randall 1982:40; cf Naudé 1995:112-113; see Heaney 2004:194).



- *Rejection by the 'volk'*

It is sad that for many years his own Afrikaner people were deaf and blind to this reality. They persecuted him and defrocked him, and when his prophetic voice continued to ring out against racist oppression tried to silence him with two banning orders (sic). For the sake of justice he became an outcast. Yet throughout all of this Beyers Naudé never tried to deny his Afrikaner roots (Mandela 1995:7).

Beyers Naude also suffered rejection by his Afrikaner people. The ministry approach he had taken had created more enemies for him from the ranks of his church, the Broederbond and the 'volk' in general. Ngcokovane (1989:158) puts it well in saying that "by his stand, he struck at the heart of the Afrikaner civil religion." He further stated that this was the beginning of his hard road as he was rejected by the DRC and his 'volk' and called names (ibid; cf Pro Veritate 15 August 1966:7).

In the view of Kistner (1995:42) Beyers Naudé's choice of the route of obedience to God and resistance to injustice meant loneliness and isolation from people of his own Afrikaner family and cultural background. Most of those who were close to him came to regard him as a traitor to his people and church.

- *The reaction of the DRC*

Beyers Naudé was a dangerous person, but not a traitor. He was dangerous because he had the courage to challenge the system. Many of us only realize later the devastating effects of our actions on other people. We preferred to isolate ourselves but people like Beyers Naudé had the courage to challenge the injustice. It must be said that we were wrong and that in the process we harmed people like Beyers Naudé. We had to apologise to Beyers, and through the grace of God, he forgave us (The Star, 13 September 2004).

The DRC was the first entity to ‘punish’ Beyers Naudé. He indicated the manner in which he was isolated by the DRC through the Christian Institute (CI). Many DRC church councils and presbyteries predominantly in the Transvaal took decisions against the CI. This marked the beginning of friction between him and the DRC for many years to follow (Naudé 1995:76).

In another instance, some DRC congregations practically barred Beyers Naudé from addressing them. The example of this was the congregation of Belgravia, Johannesburg in March 1965 (Naudé 1995:79). In their general synod of 1966 the DRC resolved that “officials and members of the church should withdraw from the CI” (Randall 1982:34-35; cf Naudé 1995:80) and that disciplinary action should be taken against those who do not comply (Pro Veritate, 15 April 1967:2).

The reaction of the DRC to Beyers Naudé’s position and how this will affect him is summarized by Randall (1982:29) as follows: “It will mean not only loss of his status as a minister of the church, but also the automatic loss of his position as moderator of the Southern Transvaal synod, and the end of any further prospects in the church.”

- *Rejection by family members*

The negative output of the ministry of Beyers Naudé was the rejection by members of his family. Firstly, his mother had a negative reaction when she heard of his involvement with the CI. Beyers Naudé tried to explain but it did not help until he took her to some of the CI meetings which positively changed her heart to realize that the CI was not a communist organization as she thought (Naudé 1995:75).

Secondly, Beyers Naudé’s brothers and sisters decided to cut contact with him. Prominent among his sisters on this matter was Hymne who with her husband Prof Detlev Weis told him right away that they do not want any contact with him. Since then they had met twice at different family funerals. First was at the funeral of his mother and later of his sister Lierieka (Naudé 1995:75). However, they later reconciled.

Prof Lammert Leertouwer (in WCC 1986:2) interviewed Beyers Naudé and Prof Dorothee Solle, a German Theologian in a Dutch ecumenical broadcasting company on 20 June 1985. In his comparison between these two servants of God he confirmed the same view when he wrote that

...for many people all over the world their very existence is a sign of hope, but for others, among them old friends and relatives, they are dangerous people, misguided in their hopes, confused in their way of life, even traitors to the best tradition of the Christian church: heretics, to say the least.

The same view of rejection by relatives was also identified by Meiring (2009) in his many years of personal contact with Beyers Naudé.

- *Rejection by friends*

Beyers Nauder was also rejected by his friends. He (Naudé 1995:75) laments that “In our own friendship circles we noted that we have lost most of our old friends from our Aasvoëlkop congregation. People became wary of us” (my translation). Some of his friends adopted a very careful approach in their contacts with him. Many negative stories were spread about him for instance that he followed Bram Fischer as an underground leader of the South African Communist Party (Naudé 1995:75).

- *Harassment of his family*

Additional negative effects of the ministry of Beyers Naudé were seen by his family. Randall (1982:41) advised that Beyers Naudé cannot deny the negative impact of the banning order, not only on himself but also to his wife and family. He points out that the banning order “must have sometimes resulted intense frustration and deep despondency...”

This situation could further be interpreted to mean that family holidays and picnics outside the magisterial area are affected. His house was constantly raided by the security police (Randall 1982:41; cf Naudé 1995:113-114).

The Children of Beyers Naudé also had a taste of some kind of harassment by their peers. Beyers Naudé's daughter, Liesel (Tribune 12 September 2004) recalled the pain and frustrations that came with the status of being a child of Beyers Naudé:

At school when they ask you what your father did and you said he was a minister, you were immediately thought of as too odd,....So that helped a bit. But certainly when my father made his then very radical views public, the changes came very quickly. Before we were regarded as respectable, upright family. Now we were outcasts. It was a shock.

This situation as explained suggests that the hardship that was directed at Beyers Naudé ended up affecting every one who was seen to be close to him, his wife, children and even grandchildren.

- *Beyers Naudé and the 'Volkskongress' 1964*

The *Volkskongres* which was held in 1964 in Pretoria also represented negative results of the ministry of Beyers Naude. The congress charged bodies like the CI as "playing the communist game" (Randall 1982:34). This charge resulted in some of the Afrikaner members resigning from this body before the end of that year (Randall 1982:34).

- *Physical violence against Beyers Naudé*

The ministry of Beyers Naudé resulted into smear campaigns and even violence directed at him and properties associated with him. Smear letters against Beyers Naudé were circulated. The offices of CI in Cape Town were set alight twice, petrol bombs and shots were fired at the home of the director of the CI in the Western Cape, Rev Theo Kotze (Randall 1982:36).

At some stage he was invited by Rev Roelf Meyer to address his Belgravia DRC congregation members at 19h00, on 9 March 1965 during which an ugly incident

happened. Some members led by the Church Councilors of this congregation did not approve of his visit to this congregation. On his arrival they blocked the gate and prevented him from entering. Arguments ensued which resulted into violence. There was also shouting at Beyers Naudé. In the midst of those shouts when Beyers Naudé walked into the yard of the church, the resistance became so serious that “two men then grabbed Beyers by the arm and marched him outside the church gate” (Ryan 2005:105). Police were called to calm the situation but they failed. Beyers Naudé was ultimately escorted to another venue, a private house where he addressed the youth (ibid).

- *Critique from the URCSA members*

The end of the ministry of Beyers Naudé ended on an unpleasant note for some members of the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa (URCSA). This is a church that is made up of the unity between two of the ‘daughter’ churches of the DRC. One of these ‘daughter’ churches (the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa) is the one of which Beyers Naudé became a member and later a minister in the early 1980s in the congregation at Alexandra near Sandton. According to Rev Zackie Mokgoebo (2009), a Minister of this church serving the congregation of Orlando, Soweto, Beyers Naudé had disappointed this church. Mokgoebo was supported by Kritzinger (2009) and other ministers of this church who had been interviewed.

Their argument against the ministry of Beyers Naudé is that despite the fact that he did good work for the victims of apartheid, he returned to the DRC and was buried by that church, left a bitter taste in their mouths and the URCSA which according to them contributed considerably to his life after he was dismissed by the DRC. They argued that the URCSA accepted and restored his status as a minister and became his spiritual home. In their understanding, this was an indication of a lack of commitment and hypocrisy.

Many unanswered questions are still disturbing their minds such as; why did he return to the church (DRC) that brought him so much pain? Why was he alone at the DRC synod when he was welcomed back while there were other former DRC ministers who were frustrated by the same church?

### 3.3.2. Positive response

- *Beyers Naudé's ministry: A confirmation that not all Whites are bad!*

Many younger generations of liberation fighters who joined us in prison after 1976 mentioned the example of Beyers Naudé as one of the reasons why they accepted the non-racial character of our struggle....Together with people like Bram Fischer and Joe Slovo, his name is mentioned in the streets of our townships as the personification of the non-racial character of the struggle against apartheid (Mandela 1995:7).

The ministry of Beyers Naudé produced some positive results for instance it ruled out the perception that all Whites are bad and can therefore not be trusted to fully commit themselves to the struggle for the oppressed in South Africa. Beyers Naudé's ministry contributed to non-racialism. Black political organizations such as the Pan African Congress and Black Consciousness movement aligned groups, subscribed to this view to a greater extent. For instance, one of the icons of the Black Consciousness movement, the late Mr Steve Biko confirmed that the time has not come for Whites to be included in the leadership structures of the organization except only in a supportive role. The assertion is that fundamental change can only be brought about by Blacks themselves (Naudé 1995:107). Banda (2009:111) in analyzing the role of some Whites he termed "solidarity with victims", concluded that Biko's adage "Black man you are on your own" (if it meant exclusion of all Whites from participation in the Black political struggle) was seriously challenged. Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu (Ryan 2005:v) reasoned that God picked up Beyers Naudé as a champion of non-racialism when He

was looking for a champion for non-racial justice and democracy, for caring and compassion. He was looking for someone who would stand up against vicious racist oppression, the evil policy of apartheid, someone who would stand up for the fundamental rights of all God's children.

The ministry of Beyers Naudé empowered those organizations which believed that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Blacks and Whites equally as acclaimed by

the freedom charter of the Congress of the People in Kliptown, Soweto in 1955. His contribution through his life conveyed the message that not all Whites are bad. This was also summed up by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu (Business Day, 8 September 2004; cf Ryan 2005:v) who stated that, “Beyers Naudé helped black people not to hate white people by showing them that not all white people are bad.” This point is also stressed by du Preez (The Star, 9 September 2004) who stated that Beyers Naudé’s presence in South Africa “meant that not all Afrikaners and whites were intractable racists and oppressors, with some pressure and persuasion the rest could one day follow.”

- *Restored Christian Credibility*

They are saying: ‘Sorry, we don’t understand your Christian life and Christian faith as you portray it. To us it has no relevance, no meaning. We want to see a concrete, living example of justice, of righteousness, of love, of truth, of liberation.’ The moment they see something of that in a minister or a priest, or a person who calls himself or herself a Christian, then there is a response (WCC 1986:18).

The misuse of Christianity as a political tool for the justification of oppression placed the victims of oppression at the doubtful position where they questioned the credibility of this faith. Some rejected this faith. During the earlier period of the ministry of Beyers Naudé to the people of South Africa this became clear during the mid-1960s after the incarceration of legitimate Black political leaders. During this period, the ‘Christian’ apartheid government appeared more prosperous and the economy of this country grew tremendously. The indication was that the ‘Christian’ God was supporting and accepting the prayers of the apartheid government to oppress other people. It is understood that liberation theologies such as Black theology came to the fore in order to address this situation. Beyers Naudé played an important role from his position to convince the disillusioned victims of apartheid to re-embrace and have trust in the Christian faith.

Meyer (2009) who spent more than thirty five years with Beyers Naudé remembers the many instances where Beyers Naudé successfully addressed the Black youth on

this matter. Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu (in Ryan 2005:v) echoed the same view about Beyers Naudé through what he referred to as God's sense of humour. He argued:

That is what human beings thought. But they had not reckoned with God's sense of humour. God was looking for a champion, someone who would help give Christian *credibility*, especially among blacks....God laid His hand on an unlikely candidate, from the self-same Afrikaner community that had embraced apartheid as a creed and a way of life. Out of this Saul figure he (sic) gave us a remarkable Paul, our own Oom Bey.

- *A source of courage to the victims of apartheid*

I have never met anybody...who in the most adverse circumstances, in the most appalling times of darkness, was always full of hope and courage. You could be in a conversation in which things were so bad in terms of your prognosis of what was going on around you that you didn't know where to turn, and Beyers would come into the meeting and all of a sudden he would begin to open up possibilities. He would once again be an abler by beginning to project a vision and to instill courage in the people who were there (De Gruchy 2005:89).

Beyers Naudé's ministry demonstrated courage which became attractive to victims of apartheid. The courage he demonstrated despite the challenges he came across in his ministry became a source of courage for the victims of apartheid. This point was also acknowledged by Mandela (1995:7) who stated that, "for the majority of people in SA who have been oppressed and exploited by apartheid, Beyers Naudé has become a fellow liberation fighter, a powerful symbol of human courage and humanity." Beyers Naudé (2005:98) appealed to the Black people of South Africa to prepare themselves, act responsibly, inspired and fearlessly to be able to lead South Africa to a new future when the day of their freedom which is at hand comes. Akper (2006:69) indicated how the name of Beyers Naudé was associated with resistance and hope for the poor and oppressed and a promise that a bright future is awaiting them for a free South Africa. At the peak of his ministry, in 1977, addressing the



graduates of the Federal Theological Seminary, he encouraged them by saying that they are going to participate by ministering in a democratic and free South Africa. He stated that South Africa will be free from racial oppression despite denials from apartheid authorities. He compared the denials of apartheid authorities to "...a patient desperately clinging to life and will fight to stave off the dying day, but it is of no avail: he will not survive...[H]e is destined to disappear...." (Naudé 2006:81).

Former South African President, Thabo Mbeki ([www.iol.co.za](http://www.iol.co.za) 2004.09.18) referring to Beyers Naudé stated that "our country has a great need for people with a vision, conviction and courage of a Beyers Naudé who must reach out together for the real power of brotherhood, sisterhood and a whole community." The then President of South African Council of Churches, Prof H.R. Botman (2004) confirmed that Beyers Naudé was a courageous person to stand up to his enemies, whenever it was necessary, to his own people and to resist public pressure and private greed.

- *Praised by post-apartheid South African Presidents*

The ministry of Beyers Naudé greatly touched and impressed the victims of apartheid some of whom assumed senior government positions in the post apartheid South Africa today. The impression did not exclude those who occupied the highest office in the land like the president of the post-apartheid South Africa. Mandela (The Star, 9 September 2004) knew Beyers Naudé as the anti-apartheid cleric who achieved much in his life and whose work has been a source of inspiration for South Africa. After learning that Beyers Naudé passed on, Mandela cut short his visit in Mozambique and returned to South Africa without delay, to comfort the Naudé family.

Mbeki ([www.iol.co.za](http://www.iol.co.za) 2004.09.18) stated that had it not been for Beyers Naudé, history books would have told a different story of hatred, fear and loathing for South Africa. He added that Beyers Naudé had called on all South Africans to understand that the reconciliation needed for peace and progress of South Africa required that all her people work together.

- *Beyers Naudé, a strong spiritual and moral symbol*

The ministry of Beyers Naudé has been a source of spiritual support and enrichment to many in South Africa and abroad. This element has also been acknowledged by a DRC moderator (leader) of the Northern Transvaal synod and the General Secretary of the General Synod, Dr J. Gerber. Comparing Beyers Naudé to Moses he stated that his church was sorry it realized too late that Naudé was the Moses sent to take them out of bondage (The Mercury 17 September 2004). He continued to indicate that when there were problems in life, God always provides a Moses who would not only preach about the good things but who would also fight for the good. He showed how the road across the desert could have been long and bloody for all South Africans had it not been this Moses. He added that, Beyers Naudé, like Moses, died after making sure that all had reached the promised land and that we owe him a thank you.

The President of the South African Council of Churches, Prof Botman (2004) saw a good man who is full of the Holy Spirit in Beyers Naudé. He indicated that,

his whole life was unto us a daily reading from the sacred scriptures. It was a constant reminder to us as churches, as people from different faith communities and as a nation: 'remember your unity', 'work together for the just common good', 'pray without end for peace and reconciliation' and 'live in love and hope....His sermons were always expressions of hope. The courage to hope and to give account of ones' hope were the cornerstones for his ministry.

- *Beyers Naudé, a champion of a new paradigm shift in mission*

Beyers Naudé has been hailed as an eye-opener to the understanding of mission in a broader sense. Bartlett (2009) states that Beyers Naudé went beyond the traditional understanding of mission, i.e. going out to convert people. He indicated that Beyers Naudé assisted people to understand mission in a more holistic sense. Bartlett (2009) went further to reason that Beyers Naudé's ministry helped in

understanding that the peace of God's Kingdom should be translated into the peace of the world in different situations. The experience of the children of Beyers Naudé (Tribune 12 September 2004) assists us to understand the nature of the practical and broader ministry of their father:

Liesel, like her brothers, remembers her father speaking of the terrible hardship in the mines and the poverty that existed in the townships. Most of all, it was the events of Sharpeville, the killing of 69 school children (sic) involved in a peaceful protest, that finally turned the tide.

The point raised by Bartlett above confirmed that the ministry of Beyers Naudé centered on the transformation of the world, in this context, the conditions of the poor with whom he identified himself. Botha (2009) describes this move as a confirmation that he took the position of the poor, the down-trodden. Meyer (2009) hails Beyers Naudé as somebody who taught the world that Christianity need to be practical, that it could not be practiced in an ivory tower. He added that Beyers Naudé taught the world that Christ is not a theoretical concept.

- *Beyers Naudé's ministry, a lesson against ignorance*

The ministry of Beyers Naudé is commended for having highlighted the importance for agents of the Word to be well informed on things that are happening around them. Meyer (2009; cf Meiring 2009; see Heaney 2004:196) indicates that Beyers Naudé during his ministry to the people of South Africa, kept himself well informed about things that were happening. He read newspapers and other publications that kept him informed about the world around him. He read about politics, economics and other subjects that had a bearing on peoples' lives and analysed them in the light of the gospel demands.

A clear picture of Beyers Naudé's knowledge of developments around him became apparent in the devotions he conducted during the Cape Town consultation on the occasion of the visit by the World Council of Churches (WCC) General Secretary, Dr Emilio Castro in 1991. In his message it was clear that he was abreast with the context of the time because he mentioned the "endless violence, the growing

poverty, the massive unemployment, the lack of housing for millions of homeless people” (Naudé (1991:91).

Saayman (2007:96) refers to the need to cross the inner boundaries (created by colonialism and apartheid), as a tool to avoid ignorance. The inner boundaries refer to two separate worlds i.e. the super rich and privileged world for Whites on one side, and the poor and disenfranchised Black world on the other side. He adds that Blacks touched both worlds because they had been crossing boundaries into the other world on a daily basis for reasons of work. The Whites did not see reasons to cross the inner boundaries towards the Black world and experience it. This scenario placed Blacks at a better position to know both worlds. Saayman (ibid) further indicated that the Tomlinson report to a greater extent enlightened Whites about the other world which they have not yet touched.

A German theologian, Dr Dorothee Solle (WCC 1986:8) reflected on her meeting with two White South African students in the United States who were unable to answer questions about the situation in the townships. She wrote:

We got to talk a little bit and I asked them about the situation in South Africa, and about the situation of black people, and specifically about whether they knew Soweto, whether they had been there, whether they knew if the people had water or not in their huts or barracks, if they had electricity or oil or not, very specific questions. And they did not know a thing (ibid).

This has been a general perception with regards to South African Whites. Beyers Naudé (WCC 1986:17) also confirmed this view though in this case his focus was on White youth: “...as far as the young white people are concerned, the majority of the young white people in South Africa live to a large degree in ignorance of what is happening, or even if they are aware they are not concerned.”

I noted the cause of this problem from the observation of Beyers Naudé (Pro Veritate 15 January 1967:1ff) that most Whites who reside in Africa have double citizenship. In this way they don't get fully rooted in Africa. I therefore concur with Beyers Naudé who reasoned that if Africa was predominantly White this was not to be a problem

(ibid). Another cause for this is seen from the influence of government propaganda on which most Whites depended (Naudé 2006:65).

This scenario highlighted the level of ignorance prevalent among South Africans which Beyers Naudé also fought against. Beyers Naudé succeeded to cross this inner boundary. He therefore became a champion against ignorance.

- *A champion of ecumenism*

Beyers Naudé has proven himself to be a champion of ecumenism (3.2.4; cf Heaney 2004). He was hailed as “a strong ecumenical person” (Bartlett 2009). Bartlett (ibid) knew that the CI was an ecumenical community, shaped by Beyers Naudé as her director. He however adds that he was also impressed by the ecumenical element that was demonstrated during Beyers Naude’s funeral in September 2004. He remembered how he was impressed to see the most senior religious leaders representing different denominations and religions in attendance. Tshelane (2009) commends Beyers Naudé for his ecumenical capabilities as were shown in his relationship with the African Initiated Churches (AICs). Beyers Naudé’s ministry was thus practiced along ecumenical lines making him one among leaders on ecumenical matters.

- *“There is a saying in our church that if there is a White man they will meet in heaven that is Beyers Naudé”*

Tshelane (2009), (an AIC leader), gives many praises about him. The AICs looking at the apartheid machinery that was seen to be driven by Whites against the oppressed, concluded that there is no White person to be allowed in heaven. Looking at the unconditional love that Beyers Naudé had for them, Tshelane stated: “There is a saying in our church that if there is a White man they will meet in heaven that is Beyers Naudé.” His association with the AICs was so close that they also gave him a name that was popular within their (AICs) circles, *Intaba mayikhonjwa* (loosely translated as, ‘a mountain is not pointed out with a finger’). This is from African traditional belief systems where some mountains were regarded as sacred,

so holy that it was a taboo to point them out with a finger. In their (AICs) understanding, the Christian witness as demonstrated by the life of Beyers Naudé with regards to their relation, earned him this qualification that was conveyed through his new name.

- *In honour of Beyers Naudé*

The ministry of Beyers Naudé resulted in him receiving awards and honours in South Africa and abroad. The academic honours included nine honorary doctoral degrees (between 1972 and 2000) from the following universities (Pauw 2005:21):

- The University of Amsterdam (1972),
- The University of the Witwatersrand (1974),
- The University of Cape Town (1983),
- Notre Dame University (1985),
- Limburg University in the Netherlands (1989),
- The University of Natal (1991),
- The University of Durban Westville (1983),
- The University of the Western Cape (1997) and
- The University of Stellenbosch (2000).

Apart from the above honours, Beyers Naudé was also awarded the Reinhold Niebuhr Award for 'steadfast and self-sacrificing services in South Africa for justice and peace.' He was also awarded the prize for reconciliation and development from the Swedish Free Church and an award from the Bruno Kreisky Foundation in recognition of his 'uniting work in race relation' ([www.anc.org.za](http://www.anc.org.za). 8 September 2008).

The Afrikaans Taal en Kultuur en Vereeniging (ATKV)<sup>19</sup> awarded him their highest award for nation-building, for not only questioning the apartheid system but also standing by his convictions to contribute to the new South Africa in 2004. Beyers Naudé also received the freedom of the city of Johannesburg in 2001 (Ibid).

---

<sup>19</sup> Afrikaans Language and Cultural Organisation.

The ministry of Beyers Naudé also resulted in the victims of apartheid naming institutions and other structures after him as a symbol of honour and gratitude. For instance, one of the main streets in Johannesburg, D.F. Malan was re-named after him as Beyers Naudé Drive (The Star 9 September 2004). Apart from this there is a Beyers Naudé Square in Johannesburg that was also named after him. The University of Stellenbosch called their Centre for Public Theology after him (Pauw 2005:21).

The ministry of Beyers Naudé also resulted in authors writing works in dedication and honour of him. In 1982, Peter Randall produced a book entitled *Not Without Honour. Tribute to Beyers Naudé*. This work was about essays in honour of Beyers Naudé. Four years later, in 1986, the World Council of Churches (WCC) published a book entitled *Hope for Faith. A Conversation*. This book was about the interview conducted between Beyers Naudé and Dorothee Solle, a German theologian who taught at Union Theological Seminary in New York. This publication is also available in a video format. Almost ten years later, in 1995, a Festschrift was published entitled *Many Cultures, One Nation. A Festschrift of Beyers Naudé*. This work was edited by Prof Charles Villa-Vincecio and Mr Carl Niehaus. In 2004 another work about Beyers Naudé was produced by a doctoral student of the University of Pretoria, Dr M. Heaney. This thesis was entitled *Beyers Naudé, Ekumeniese Baanbreker in Suid Afrika: 1960-1994 (Beyers Naudé, Ecumenical Pioneer in South Africa: 1960-1994)*. A year later, in 2005, C Ryan produced *Beyers Naudé. Pilgrim of Faith*. This was about the life of Beyers Naudé.

### 3.4. CONCLUSION

The question I asked in the beginning of this chapter was as follows: “What ‘muthi’ did Beyers Naudé use to win the love and hearts of the victims of oppression?” The ministry of Beyers Naudé as explained in this chapter, provided enough answers as to why he succeeded to win the love and trust of the victims of oppression. Above all of this was the credibility that he brought back to the Christian faith among the oppressed who were disillusioned and discouraged by the way in which this religion was misused for political gains. Another element that popularized him could be found from Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu (in Ryan 2005:vi) who contended that “the

more the system tried to discredit him the more his stature grew amongst the oppressed and throughout the world.”

Because Christian mission means the continuation of the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth in this world, in a way that it brings meaning into peoples’ lives, then Beyers Naudé to a great extent succeeded in following His (Jesus) footprints. The discipleship of Jesus means a mixture of pain and joy. Pain in being misunderstood and confused with politicians as it happened with Jesus’ friction with the Roman authorities. It means joy when seeing peoples’ lives being transformed for the better and peace, love and justice being brought back to the world by the agents of God’s mission. This task is assigned to all Christians as they are all expected to pursue and continue the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth in different situations.

It became apparent that Beyers Naudé’s mission in South Africa could be characterized in line with what Saayman (1991:11) called “God’s liberating mission.” This is the same as prophetic witness. Both these concepts clearly define Beyers Naudé’s mission in South Africa. Beyers Naudé gave practical expression to some of the “elements of an emerging ecumenical missionary paradigm” (Bosch 1991:368). They include; Mission as *Missio Dei*, Mission as the quest for justice, Mission as the church with others, Mission as contextualization, Mission as common witness, Mission as a witness to people of a living faith, Mission as liberation and Mission as action in hope (Bosch 1991:368-498).

Having observed the ministry of Beyers Naudé in this chapter, I am attracted to the biblical example that was employed by Saayman (ibid) by which he indicated the interrelationship between politics and mission. Saayman demonstrated that in the book of Exodus the Israelites after having been released from Egypt did not say, ‘We worship the God who has liberated our souls’, but instead they said: ‘We worship the God who has liberated us from bondage in Egypt’. Saayman further motivated this point by reasoning that the meaning of this is that God has liberated them for a new social, political and economic existence in the world. They have been freed from slavery. Beyers Naudé’s mission in South Africa fitted well into this category which basically meant transformation of peoples’ lives in the light of God’s mandate.



The ministry of Beyers Naudé as outlined in this chapter is of significance in the development of a way-forward with regards to Christian mission to the victims of political oppression. In other words, this chapter laid a strong foundation for me to develop a comprehensive mission strategy to the victims of oppression in the next chapter, based on his approach.

## CHAPTER 4: TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE MISSION STRATEGY TO VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION

### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter looked at the ministry of Beyers Naudé to the victims of oppression. That chapter answered the main question posed at the beginning of it as to “what *muthi* did Beyers Naudé use to win the hearts of the victims of oppression, thus restoring credibility to the Christian faith!” This chapter focuses on the development of a comprehensive mission (communication) strategy to the victims of oppression based on the *lesson learned* from the ministry of Beyers Naudé.

My thesis is that the world will always have victims of oppression by another form of ‘apartheid’. The new form of victims of oppression is made out of post-1994 South Africans who feel left out by government economic development and service delivery programmes. These people feel dissatisfied and oppressed by government programmes that fail to strike a balance between the rich and the poor (1.3.4.c). The question within the limits of this study is ‘how to minister to this new form of victims of oppression who are angry and fighting back?’ At the time of writing this study, there are high levels of dissatisfaction (by the new form of victims of oppression) with service delivery and protests that reminded one of the scenes in the township streets during the ministry of Beyers Naudé in the 1970s and 1980s. These are victims of oppression of our time and this trend will be there even in the future. Their characteristics are always the same demonstrated by anger, mass action i.e. protest marches followed by violence, destruction of property, littering on streets, police action and injuries. The question is, ‘how to minister to these people in the same successful way Beyers Naudé did?’ This comprehensive mission strategy to the victims of oppression seeks to provide answers to this question. It is equipping ministers of religion and other interested individuals of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and beyond with a tool that will enable them to face the challenges of our times (and future) with regards to participating in God’s mission.

## 4.2. DEVELOPING A COMPREHENSIVE MISSION STRATEGY

My approach in developing this strategy will follow the structure of the analytical tool which is pillared on *methods* and *motives* (1.3.3). I will develop this communication tool by looking at Beyers Naudé's ministry methods and motives which will in turn inform the development of the strategy. In developing this tool for the victims of oppression, I will unpack how Beyers Naudé approached these issues (methods and motives). This will in turn give direction as to how people can employ them in communicating the Good News in a meaningful way in the lives of the victims of oppression. Basically, chapter three will act as a springboard from which this mission strategy will be developed. There shall therefore be a regular dialogue between this chapter and the previous one as a building process for the mission strategy for the victims of oppression.

### 4.2.1. Methods

#### 4.2.1.1. Agents of mission

Agents of mission are defined in terms of their participation in *Missio Dei*. The two main questions addressed in this section are; Firstly, what are the qualifications of agents of mission and secondly, how to use agents of mission? While I investigate Beyers Naudé's approach on this matter, one should keep in mind that according to Bosch (1991:131-132), Paul used as assistants what he (Bosch) calls Paul's colleagues or associates as agents of mission. His assistants were from the ranks of his converts some of whom gained positions in the churches that he established.

Judged by the ministry of Beyers Naudé in South Africa, it became apparent that every Christian is expected to be an agent of God's mission. Beyers Naudé armed victims of oppression to be agents of mission to their oppressors. This became practical in the theology of Meyer (2009) who after having been 'converted' by Beyers Naudé states: "I started to believe this and started to challenge the DRC theology before I left her to become study secretary and editor of *Pro Veritate* in the CI." The route that was followed by Mokgoebo's 'conversion' also indicated this trend. Referring to additional factors that led to his 'conversion' at the time of his

close association with Beyers Naudé in the Belydende-kring he states: “During that period, there were freedoms in Mozambique and later Zimbabwe and there was Black Consciousness movement and all these sharpened my resolve to fight against apartheid.” This means that these factors added to the influence of the ministry of Beyers Naudé on Mokgoebo’s ‘conversion’ as an agent of mission.

Looking at his association and support for the Black Consciousness movement which in turn influenced Black Theology, Beyers Naudé like other Black theologians, believed that all ‘converted’ people are agents of mission to the ‘unconverted’. Boesak (1988:60) wrote that Black theology “believes that God has taken the sides in the South African situation, and calls (emphasis by author) upon blacks to join in the struggle against inhumanity and injustice.”

This was also enacted in the ministry of Beyers Naudé. According to Meyer (2009), Beyers Naudé toured the mining compounds on the East Rand. During the visit he was touched by the poor conditions of Blacks. On his return he accused ministers of the DRC of not addressing those conditions as part of their ministry.

It is apparent from this that Beyers Naudé also wanted to bring on board his Afrikaner community as agents of mission. Tshelane (2009) adds that

Beyers Naudé dealt with the Afrikaner community to realize that they also had witness in Africa. They cannot jump over other people’s heads. For instance, I was present when he (Beyers Naudé) acknowledged Willie Jonker’s apology against apartheid. He did a lot of work in terms of humanizing the DRC Christian community....His witness had to bear all people who were too scared to endorse his witness.

The ‘converted’ in this case were those who were prepared to face what Botha (2009) calls “the stigmata of the cross” and consequently abandoned oppressive activities. They took the preferential option of the poor and adopted a contextual hermeneutic which takes into account the situation of the oppressed. Boesak (1984a:79) defined this as follows: “The God of the Bible is the God of Jesus Christ who took upon himself the condition of oppression and poverty. Jesus sided with the

poor and the weak. He speaks of himself as a ‘servant’.” Addressing the question of the missiology of Black Theology, Kritzing (1988:155) concurs with this view when he wrote: “The first thing to note about black missiology is therefore that it deals with Black people as the subjects or agents of Christian mission.” It could be concluded that the ‘unconverted’ are the oppressors who misuse the Bible for their own ends.

The role played by Beyers Naudé in the life of the Belydende-kring indicated an example of how he ‘converted’ (turned) victims of oppression into agents of mission to the DRC. He was therefore instrumental in the establishment of the Belydende-kring (3.2.4; cf Mokgoebo 2009), a body that became vocal against the DRC’s racial division of her ‘daughter’ churches and her unwillingness to form unity with them (Randall 1982:46; cf 1995:94). The DRC missionaries in these churches also came to him for advice (3.2.3). The influence of Beyers Naudé in encouraging agents of mission to stand up against injustice could also be seen within the ranks of the DRC. In this case, he influenced some Afrikaner Christians and theologians to pressurize the Nationalist Party government to re-examine the very foundation of its apartheid policies (The Star, 9 September 2004).

Despite this inclusive approach on agents of mission, Beyers Naudé puts more responsibility on Ministers of Religion. Because Beyers Naudé’s theology of mission puts emphasis on the concept of mission praxis, which is a combination of theory and practice in the same basket, he expected agents of mission to practice mission the same way. That is why after his visit to the hostels where he experienced bad living conditions for residents, he returned and accused DRC ministers of not doing anything about changing peoples’ lives and urged them to act and minister accordingly. Beyers Naudé emphasised the role of Ministers of Religion that they should be aware of their role as participants in God’s mission.

#### 4.2.1.2. Word (preaching)

As a protestant, like all members of denominations that subscribe to what Knitter (1985) refers to as “kerugmatic model”, preaching of the Word was central in Beyers Naudé’s ministry. The Protestant mentality with regards to the Word was clear; “outside the *word* (sic), no salvation” (Knitter 1985:135; cf Bosch 1991:475).

However, this conservative approach, changed during the Enlightenment. Though the centrality of the Word is still emphasized, the exclusive element with regards to salvation was abandoned.

Tshelane (2009) referring to Beyers Naudé's preaching states:

His gift of scriptural reflection, especially his reflection on Pharaoh's dream by Joseph. He impressed me on this. The problem of Pharaoh's dream was what it implied, 'I see seven lean cows and seven fat ones.' Beyers Naudé took that and explained. He called his ban that was seven years as seven lean years. This type of explaining scriptures made me love and respected him.

The basis of Beyers Naudé's use of the Bible is well summarized by Meyer (2009): "He analysed the political situations in the light of the Christian faith. He asked: 'What can Christ do in this situation?' Beyers Naudé was a sincere Christian. He gave his witness from the Bible, from the Christian point of view...He applied theology practically in life."

In the light of the above, preaching was to be contextual i.e. taking into account the conditions of the 'objects' of his ministry. This is characteristic of Liberation theology that was defined by Maimela (1987:75) as a

...theology that consciously insist on reflecting on the concrete situation of suffering and oppression, so that it can at least answer the questions which the poor majority are asking in their quest for liberation through the creation of social conditions in which they might have room to breathe.

Theoretical and abstract sermons that were not accompanied by actions were not acceptable to Beyers Naudé. This was demonstrated by his ministry that was *mission praxis* driven. Boesak (1988:61) further defined this situation through his explanation of Black Theology when he indicated that it deals with the realities encountered by Blacks in the light of and under the critique of the Word of God. He also warned that Black Theology is not excluded from the judgement of the Word of God. Boesak outlined the focus of Black Theology as a ministry that addresses

suffering and hope, with love and peace, with oppression and liberation from the yoke of oppression.

Beyers Naudé had a balanced preaching approach that was acceptable to most denominations. For that reason, during the period of his active ministry to the people of South Africa, he received invitations from different denominations nationally and internationally. For instance, he was the first South African to be invited to preach in Westminster Abbey (Randall 1982:36). Nationally most of the invitations came from the Anglican and Presbyterian churches (Ibid: 41).

#### 4.2.1.3. Interaction with authorities

What lessons can we learn from the ministry of Beyers Naudé with regards to the way in which interaction with authorities is to be handled? There are two stages in Beyers Naudé's interaction with authorities. At first he was supportive of the authorities' unjust laws. After his 'conversion' he adopted a critical and prophetic approach (2.4; cf Bosch 1991:274-277). From his birth to the first twenty years of his ministry in the DRC, he supported apartheid. After his 'conversion' in the early 1960s, his interaction with the authorities became unfriendly because of the racist policies which he regarded as unbiblical. Beyers Naudé's prophetic ministry caused him harassment and suffering from the apartheid government.

Some of the early unfriendly interactions with the state was the friction he had with Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd as a result of the Cottesloe statement and the position of the DRC (Ryan 2005:64). Every state torture for the victims of apartheid was not met with kid-gloves from Beyers Naudé and they all ignited his prophetic reaction. He was deeply moved by the events at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960. Sometimes Beyers Naudé also interacted with the state through the structures or organizations that he assisted to establish such as the Belydende-kring. It was due to his influence that "the black church began to call for a forthright, non-racial witness to Christian unity, for example, common witness with mixing of congregations, as well as shared decision-making...." (Randall 1982:65).

Beyers Naudé adopted a strong prophetic voice against the apartheid government. It became clear in this study that prophetic ministry against the authorities was applied when they deviated from what he understood to be the ruling against the will of God. It could therefore be concluded that Beyers Naudé judged the actions of the authorities against the light of the will of God.

#### 4.2.1.4. Context

Black theology also calls itself a 'contextual' theology; it functions, and wants to be understood, within a particular situation. In South Africa, the context of Black theology is the life experience of Blacks in South Africa- an experience shaped by the realities of a system called apartheid. Therefore, it deals with apartheid, pass laws, racial discrimination, poverty, oppressive 'security' laws, economic exploitation, and all the other bitter realities of being Black in South Africa (Boesak 1988:61).

Contextual analysis has been notable in the ministry of Beyers Naudé (3.2.1). He preached a theology that "consciously insists on reflecting on the concrete situation of the suffering and oppression, so that it can at last answer the questions which the poor majority are asking...." (Maimela 1987:75). He made it one of his priorities to understand the situation of the environment in which he was ministering. While advising Federal Theological Seminary (FEDSEM) clergy graduates in 1977 on this matter he stated: "Let your message be so authentic, so relevant, so meaningful in its portrayal of the living Christ that people will know: this man has struggled to make the Christ of the New Testament the living Christ of today for those of us living in Umlazi, in Sibasa, in Langa, yes, even in the remotest corner of a rural homeland" (Naudé 2006:86). Meyer (2009; cf Meiring 2009; see Heaney 2004:196) witnesses the fact that Beyers Naudé understood his context. They all agreed that he read newspapers and other publications that kept him informed about the world around him. They confirmed that he read about any subject that equipped him like politics, economics, history and other subjects. He thereafter analysed these subjects in the light of the gospel.



The messages from Beyers Naudé indicated a clear contextual component. For instance, when he conducted devotions on the occasion of the visit of the WCC General Secretary to Cape Town in 1991, the effect of contextual consideration was clear in his message because he mentioned the problems that were affecting people (Naudé (1991:91).

Successful ministry in the light of the ministry of Beyers Naudé requires one to go into other peoples' worlds, the situation that is referred to by Saayman (2007:96) as the crossing of the inner boundaries that was created by colonialism and apartheid.

#### 4.2.1.5. Development

Around 1965 to 1966 he brought together a seminar for all committed mainline Christians to discuss the education for AICs. During that time, all clergy whether mainline or AICs, very few had matric qualifications. Beyers Naudé got into it and attracted the AICs because people wanted education. A year later they set up a seminary called African Independent Church Association (AICA) seminary. They also asked Fort Hare University to host the seminary. This happened in 1967 and it was the initiative of Beyers Naudé. His name became a house-hold name. For generations to come, he grew with that legacy (Tshelane 2009).

What should be the most viable ministry approach with regards to development of the victims of oppression? Beyers Naudé's ministry included development of the victims of oppression in a number of ways (3.2.4). Through his financial contacts and donations he got from abroad, he financed the education of many victims of oppression and offered them free advice (Botha 2009). He also facilitated ways for those who wanted to go in exile out of the country.

Beyers Naudé also offered financial management lessons to victims of oppression. He also developed their leadership qualities as was the case with the African Initiated Churches and the ministers from the former 'daughter' churches of the DRC. Through the Belydende-kring, they became vocal against the ministry of the DRC (Tshelane 2009; cf Mokgoebo 2009).

#### 4.2.1.6. Interlocutors

Being part of a collective that is made out of a team of interlocutors from various backgrounds is an important ingredient in the success of mission as was seen in the ministry of Beyers Naudé (3.2.3; cf 3.2.4). An assortment of interlocutors from various backgrounds, coupled with a listening ability and reading ambition is a strong tool for a successful ministry.

Beyers Naudé was not alone in his journey but was part of a collective (team). He made links with powerful people across race, religion and socio-political lines who broadened his understanding of his ministry context. He created himself room to understand his ministry environment and that of other people. He had many interlocutors and they included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Steve Biko, Mr Nelson Mandela, DRC, leaders from 'daughter' churches of DRC, leadership of other churches especially English-speaking churches, Government officials and victims of apartheid. He did what Kritzinger (2009) commended him for when he states that "he listened to Steve Biko and knew that Black Consciousness (BC) was not against Whites but racism."

#### 4.2.1.7. Teaching

##### a. Teaching means of Beyers Naudé

Promotion of education and training as a means of developing the disadvantaged is an important element in ministering to the victims of oppression. Beyers Naudé provided teaching through his witness, the example of his life as a role model and the erection of institutions that helped to promote his teachings and views. Apart from institutions as a vehicle for his teachings, Beyers Naudé's teachings were also communicated through his lifestyle, for example, his support to victims of oppression, his character and how he responded to questions of ethics in his ministry.

A similar practice of extending one's teaching through the creation of means was also employed by Paul in his mission work according to Bosch (1991:131; cf 4.2.1.1). Bosch (ibid) indicates that Paul used a variety of what he (Bosch) calls Paul's

colleagues or associates that he (Paul) set up in the churches that he established. They became his extension even to places that he personally did not reach.

Beyers Naudé's teaching methods may further be grouped into the following four categories: Firstly, *institutions* such as the Christian Institute, the SACC and others became his vehicles to spread his views or teachings. The second means of communicating his views was through what I term *Support Related Teachings*. This means that his support for certain aspects of the victims of oppression became teaching aids to be emulated. The way in which he enacted his support became a teaching method for many. The third communication means was what I called *Character Related Teachings*. By this I meant that his character became a lesson to many. The fourth tool for carrying out his views was through the direction from his teachings on matters of *ethics*. These four instruments are fully discussed below:

i. The Christian Institute

The Christian Institute (CI) was a tool for Beyers Naudé's teaching and communication. It was among the organizations that represented the teaching and mind of Beyers Naudé (2.4). Adonis (2005:126) was having this view in mind when he stated that "Beyers Naudé practiced what he believed and confessed it in his service as minister, as director of the Christian Institute...." Meyer (2009) refers to the CI as an organization that cemented his closeness and friendship with Beyers Naudé, a closeness that led to many projects together. The initial contact of Botha with Beyers Naudé was within the context of the CI (Botha 2009). Mokgoebo (2009) commends the CI as a platform that enabled him to meet Beyers Naudé. He knew Beyers Naudé through Ministers of Religion who were by then members of the CI. He explained that since he had met Beyers Naudé through this channel, discussions and meetings never stopped. Tshelane (2009) reasons that "many people came to know the African Independent Churches (AICs) within the context of the CI and the example of those was Prof Charles Villa-Vicencio."

The CI was in many ways synonymous to Beyers Naudé. Villa-Vicencio (1995:27) puts it well that "the story of the Institute is in many ways the story of Naudé's remarkable propensity for change." Beyers Naudé was also the first Director of this

organization. The contributions of Beyers Naudé in the existence of this organization could be seen from the fact that was articulated by Clarke (Tribute, 12 September 2004) that "...Naudé had put his energies into the formation of the Christian Institute, bringing together different denominations and cultures." The CI represented the dream of Beyers Naudé that was made a reality, that of being a witnessing community of people of all races and gender, a mixture of laymen and women as well as clergies. All of these indicate the position of influence that Beyers Naudé had within the CI and how he could easily use it as a vehicle of his views.

ii. The Belydende-kring

The Belydende-kring (BK) played an important role in the way Beyers Naudé communicated and challenged perceptions. He contributed to the formation of the BK which also became a platform for witnessing his views (3.2.4). Kritzinger (2009) when he met Beyers Naudé, it was within the context of the BK. It was for this reason that led him to state that "BK changed my life." Botha (2009) concurs that

...all BK members looked up at Beyers Naudé as quite a remarkable leader, a theologian in terms of sacrifices he made for participating in the struggle against apartheid. He paid the price. People loved him and respected him for that.

Mokgoebo (2009) knew Beyers Naudé through ministers who were members of the BK. The respect shown to Beyers Naudé by members of BK as seen above, suggests that they were able accept his views and spread them.

iii. The Pro Veritate

Pro Veritate was another voice for Beyers Naudé. It was a publication of the CI. This publication also became an instrument for the teachings of Beyers Naudé. Beyers Naudé was the first Editor of this publication and served for many years in that position. Meiring (2009) indicates how Pro Veritate became a platform from which Beyers Naudé spoke to different people including members of other faiths groups. Meiring (ibid) referring to Beyers Naudé states that "when he started Pro Veritate, he

came into contact with other religions. Some of the Muslim and Jewish communities had great regard for him. Within the CI, he was willing to talk to people of other faiths.” Mokgoebo (2009) understands the message of Beyers Naudé through Pro Veritate as that of liberation theology when he stated that “the CI and the Pro Veritate conveyed this text message that the rich cannot enter the Kingdom of God unless the camel can get through the needle hole.” Judged by these statements about his influence on this publication, it could therefore be concluded that this publication extended his ministry.

#### iv. African Independent Churches Association

The African Initiated Churches (AICs) were another instrument for Beyers Naudé. He had an influential association with the AICs (2.6.4; cf 3.2.4). He contributed to the formation of the African Independent<sup>20</sup> Churches Association of South Africa (Meyer 2009; cf Kritzinger 2009). Tshelane (2009) knew Beyers Naudé within the context of his association and contribution to the development of the AICs. He does not hesitate to say that “the AICs are there because of the old man’s wisdom.” He assisted the AICs with the development of their training in theological education and also by including them in the CI (Ryan 2005:102; cf Randall 1982:56). In the words of Tshelane (2009),

...in Maphumulo, the Lutherans also approached the AICs but not in the same way as Beyers Naudé did. Beyers Naudé was one who opened the gates for all the researchers who later approached the AICs. He established a seminary for the AICs. He used lecturers from FEDSEM on condition that they would simplify their lectures.

---

<sup>20</sup> While it is understood that in academic circles the term that is preferred is Initiated, the group of AICs that were instrumental in the formation of this association with Beyers Naude preferred Independent over against Initiated as seen in my interview with an AIC leader, Rev Siphon Tshelane in this study (Appendix G; cf 3.3.6.5; see Masuku 1996: 442-443).

v. SPROCAS

Another body that partly came into being as a result of the mind of Beyers Naudé which also became a vehicle of his views was the Study Project about Christianity in an Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) commission (3.2.4; see De Gruchy 2005:86 & Naudé 2005:91). According to Meyer (2009), Beyers Naudé was responsible for the formation of SPROCAS. It was through SPROCAS that Beyers Naudé attacked capitalism through the 1973 report that was entitled *A Taste of Power*. This approach was influenced by the relationship that existed between the CI and SPROCAS (Randall 1982:65). SPROCAS was formed in 1966 as a study platform to address the question of Christianity in an apartheid society (Naudé 1995:89). It came with a description of basic institutions and processes of society (Randall 1982:47). Through the SPROCAS, Beyers Naudé demonstrated the need for the gospel to be implemented in every area of human life. His influence in this organization cannot be underestimated.

vi. The South African Council of Churches (SACC)

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) was another platform for Beyers Naudé. He was instrumental in the development of this body to which he played an influential role (3.2.4; cf Adonis 2005:126). The SACC became a formidable vehicle for Beyers Naudé that carried out his teachings. One example of this as identified by Meyer (2009) was when he divided the SACC into regions and used them to address Black youths who were believed to have lost credibility in the Christian faith due to the manner in which it was misused by apartheid. Beyers Naudé assisted victims of oppression with finance. This was excelled during his tenure as General Secretary of the SACC. Tshelane (2009) refers to an economic wing of the SACC that was formed. He indicated that this was about economic literacy and ended up setting up a trust. This trust was headed by the General Secretary of SACC. It was also through Beyers Naudé's efforts that the SACC adopted a resolution on conscientious objection (De Gruchy 2005:88).

vii. Liberation movements

Beyers Naudé supported Black liberation organizations such as the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Black Consciousness (BC) movement and United Democratic Front (UDF) in which he had influence (3.2.4). Tshelane (2009) confirms his support for political movements by citing the example of the contribution he made to the UDF when he stated that, “organizations like United Democratic Front (UDF) could not have gone anywhere if they did not use the wisdom of the old man as a shield, as a patron.” However, his support for the Black Consciousness movement was viewed by some of his White colleagues in the CI as radical and they stated that “he went too far” (Kritzinger 2009). Most of the assistance was material, emotional and spiritual. Material assistance was mostly in the form of money (Naudé 1995:92; cf Tshelane 2009; see Kritzinger 2009). It appears that Beyers Naudé was trusted within political circles as a result of what Meyer (2009) refers to as “practical Christianity” that he rendered for them.

**b. Support related teachings**

i. Support to victims’ initiatives

Support of initiatives for victims of oppression is important for any successful ministry. Initiatives in the area of education provide strategic investment and development for victims of oppression. Beyers Naudé taught by example as an enactor of this type of support. He supported initiatives for victims of oppression in the area of education. Some of the people I interviewed confirmed his support for Black initiatives of education from which some of them benefited. Botha (2009) and Tshelane (2009) confirm this point from the perspective that they also benefited from the funds and encouragement from Beyers Naudé. Beyers Naudé (in Randall 1982:47) “came to see that black initiative was the key to true liberation and development in South Africa.”

ii. Support to ecumenical initiatives

Support of ecumenical initiatives featured in the ministry of Beyers Naudé for the victims of oppression (3.2.4). Ecumenism was one of the activities in his ministry to the people of South Africa (Pro Veritate 15 May 1966:5; cf Pro Veritate 15 May 1965:5; see Heaney 2004). In the light of this, it is important for Ministers of Religion to support ecumenical programmes in areas of their mission. Ecumenical initiatives should not only be limited to denominations that follow a particular tradition to the exclusion of others. They need to be accommodating following the example of Beyers Naudé in embracing even the African Initiated Churches (AICS) which according to Masuku (1996:441-455; cf 3.2.4) are looked down upon.

iii. Support by ministry of presence

Ministry by presence that is, being where the people are is an important successful ministerial tool. This means being physically with people wherever they are, in joys and sorrows. The ministry of Beyers Naudé included this type of ministry. He made an appearance in many places of pain and joy for the victims of apartheid. Ministry by presence is one of the formidable tools in the success of ministry as evidenced by Beyers Naudé (3.2.4). It is therefore necessary for Ministers of Religion to apply ministry by presence in their ministry. This can start from what (in church circles) is known as 'house-visits' and be broadened to include attending community meetings, funerals, celebrations, sports and many other such events.

iv. Support by counseling

Practicing counseling ministry services to victims of oppression is important. The ministry of Beyers Naudé was characterized by people who came to him for counseling (3.2.3). In the light of the example of Beyers Naudé, I would stress the importance of counseling in ministry. This should go beyond denominational and religious lines and even to include members of the community who may not belong to any church or religion.



**c. Character related teachings**

**i. Being a faithful servant of God**

Successful ministry is the result of one's character as being a faithful servant of God. Beyers Naudé was one typical example of this virtue. He has proven himself to be His servant, who chose to listen to God and serve Him in a faithful manner. Since his 'conversion' as explained in the previous chapters (3.5), he served the Lord through his ministry to the victims of apartheid (2.4).

The example of Beyers Naudé in this regard, dictates that Ministers of Religion should ensure that they are faithful servants of God. They should listen to God and do His will in ministering to His people. Challenges of our time put some Ministers of Religion on the wrong side of morality. Consequently, some Ministers of Religion are caught up in corrupt activities such as sex scandals and physical fights.

**ii. Deep faith**

For one to have a successful ministry, one needs to have a deep and unshakable faith. This virtue was epitomized by Beyers Naudé (3.2.2). Beyers Naudé believed that Christianity should be practiced in every sphere of human life. Meyer (2006) wrote that Beyers Naudé testified about Jesus Christ as his Saviour, who forgave his sins and provided ultimate meaning to his life. He indicated how for Beyers Naudé, the gospel of Jesus was sufficient as long as it was also applied towards renewal in South Africa. Meiring (2009) testifies to Beyers Naudé's deep connection to Christ. He states that there is no one who can live with Beyers Naudé without having been touched. Meiring (ibid) referring to Beyers Naudé stated that "he touched us in many ways, by his integrity, his deep commitment to Christ, to live the gospel in a difficult situation in South Africa."

iii. Maintaining a neutral stance

It is advisable for servants of God to maintain a neutral position on political matters in their ministry. Beyers Naudé did not openly support party politics but instead tried to be as inclusive as possible (3.2.2). For instance Meyer (2009) indicates how Beyers Naudé offered assistance to all people who came to him regardless of their political parties. Bartlett (2009) concurs that Beyers Naudé was open to all people and that all who came to him represented different political organisations. This approach is a good example of what Ministers of Religion need adopt in their ministry.

iv. Humility

Humility is one of the needed values for a successful ministry. Beyers Naudé succeeded in this. The level of humility demonstrated by Beyers Naudé is one of the most valuable tools for ministry (3.2.2). Jesus Christ led a humble life and Beyers Naudé understood this virtue and applied it in his ministry. In following the example of Beyers Naudé, Ministers of Religion need to adopt this virtue.

v. Identification with the weak, the have-nots

Identification with the weak or the oppressed is also an important characteristic for mission success. The ministry of Beyers Naudé was an epitome of this virtue (3.2.2; cf Bosch 1991:98). Meyer (2009) indicates that Beyers Naudé “felt that we had to go outside of the DRC and identify with the victims of oppression and have integrity with them so that they can understand us and we can learn from them.” Meyer added that Beyers Naudé “was sensitive to the needs of the poor.” Botha (2009) indicates that he “stood for justice even if people stood away from him. He had a deep solidarity with the poor.” In following the example of Jesus Christ and Beyers Naudé, Ministers of Religion need to affirm the weak and the poor such as orphans, elders and people with disabilities, women and children.

vi. Accessibility

Accessibility is among the most important armaments for a successful ministry to the victims of oppression. The ministry approach of Beyers Naudé, was an epitome of this virtue (3.2.2). His ministry qualified him as a ‘peoples’ person’ who accommodated every person. Botha (2009) was intrigued by his simplicity as could be seen when he discloses that “he was simple, analytical on apartheid. I was inspired by him....He was simple, but with a strong prophetic power.” Tshelane (2009), speaking for the AICs also commended Beyers Naudé for the manner in which he was accessible to the AICs. An interesting aspect of his accessibility was well outlined by Bartlett (2009) who stated that

...he was a strong prophetic figure who put up his case in a strong way but at the same time he was this deeply pastoral person who will sit down with you, talk down some serious issues and can listen to you and give you strong pastoral support. He was a remarkable person.

His son Johann (2009) confirmed that “he always had a good relationship with all his neighbors. He enjoyed the friendship of the young, the old, the people’s (sic) of the multi-cultural rainbow nation of our diversified country.” The world today is infested with challenges such as class, status, racism, gender insensitivity and economic status which make some people inaccessible. The example of Beyers Naudé in this regard is important for Ministers of Religion for an effective ministry.

vii. Courage and perseverance

The ministry of Beyers Naudé was propelled by courage and perseverance amidst pain and frustration caused by his church and the security forces (3.2.2). According to Bartlett (2009), he is a courageous person when judged by the sacrifices he made and the challenges he has gone through since the early 1960s. Kritzinger (2009) adds that “he was innovative, not scared to start a new thing. His church building did have a cross and windows painted with all symbols. He was brave to start something.” He added that Beyers Naudé did something uncommon for the

Afrikaners because “for the Afrikaners it was a radical thing to oppose apartheid, not only questioning it.”

On the other hand, Botha (2009) sees an embodiment of prophetic ministry, courage and hope in him. According to Meyer (2009), there was courage in Beyers Naudé especially for the challenge he posed to the DRC against her scriptural justification of apartheid. Referring to Beyers Naudé, Meiring (2009) adds that he continued to show courage despite the fact that

...most of his family turned their backs against him. *Oom* Frans also turned his back against Beyers Naudé. But a few years later, the relationship was rebuilt. But over the years he was ostracized not only by the church but by his colleagues and family.

#### viii. Theology of religions

One of the most important instruments in ministry is to treat other religions with respect. Beyers Naudé succeeded in doing this by supporting inter-religious dialogue and cooperation (3.2.4). Meyer (2009) discloses the case of a Jewish employee for the CI who converted to Christianity as a result of Beyers Naudé’s witness. Kritzing (2009) refers to Fareen Isaac whom he called a well-known Muslim activist against apartheid who was moved by the witness of Beyers Naudé especially a prayer he prayed after the TV interview between Beyers Naudé and Dorothy Zille, a German theologian. He commented that Beyers Naudé made Christianity more attractive. According to Meiring (2009), “some of the Muslim and Jewish communities had great regard for him.” The example of Beyers Naudé is a call to Ministers of Religion to work with members of other religions with respect.

#### ix. Being a role model

Successful ministry needs to be led by a person who could be emulated and can directly make an impact on the victims of oppression. Beyers Naudé fitted well into this category. For instance, Bartlett (2009) states that Beyers Naudé became a father, mentor and role model to him. He was somebody he could go to for advice,

direction and discuss issues. Meyer (2009) argues that Beyers Naudé supported and confirmed him in his faith as a Christian. He further stated that he influenced his politics and society. Meyer added: “He argued that the gospel must be the light of the world and salt of the earth, not only about one’s relationship with Christ on personal matters, but for the impact in society as well.” He acknowledged that his meeting with Beyers Naudé taught him that his faith should have impact in all areas of society.

Kritzinger (2009) commends Beyers Naudé for having inspired him to change his mind about being ashamed of being an Afrikaner as a result of their role in apartheid. Kritzinger (ibid) also added that he strengthened his understanding of the Christian faith. From Beyers Naudé’s example, he learnt that the Christian faith is about freedom, dignity and justice. Kritzinger (ibid) indicated how a popular Muslim anti-apartheid activist commended Beyers Naudé for having made Christianity attractive. Botha (2009) concurs that Beyers Naudé inspired him. Meiring (2009) adds that Beyers Naudé addressed them while he was a minister and when the news came that he was banned, that touched them. For Mokgoebo (2009) Beyers Naudé provided the example of a truly dedicated person who was prepared to pay the highest price. He states that Beyers Naudé taught him activism, that Christianity is not just a matter of prayer and divine principles, but these are borne in the struggle of the people whom God wants to liberate, the poor and the oppressed. Tshelane (2009) reasons that Beyers Naudé “helped people to understand Christianity better and that this faith was manipulated for politics.”

#### **d. Ethics related teachings**

##### **i. On the use of violence**

Should a Christian use violence? What teaching do we have from Beyers Naudé on the use of violence? Beyers Naudé had a balanced view on this matter. He appears to be against violence in principle. He then brings John Calvin into the picture. In this instance, his view was that under certain circumstances violence may be permissible especially in the light of John Calvin’s interpretation of violence. Beyers Naudé

approached this matter from the question he posed, “Should a Christian support violence?” (Naudé 1995:92).

Beyers Naudé took guidance from Calvin who argued that people should be obedient to government only when she rules in accordance with the will of God. If the government uses violence, Christians should first react by exploring all peaceful means. He concluded by advising that violence is justified if all peaceful means have been explored and violated against by the government (ibid).

ii. On scriptural justification of oppression

Is it acceptable to justify the oppression of other people scripturally? Meiring (2009) states that “it was painful also in my own congregation that there people who did not see that apartheid was wrong. They regarded it as proper solution to the race issues in South Africa.” What lesson do we learn from Beyers Naudé’s ministry? Randall (1982:46) indicated that Beyers Naudé’s ministry to the people of South Africa from the 1960s to the 1970s was dominated by the struggle of what he referred to as the “false theological argument used by the NGK to justify apartheid” (ibid; cf Pro Veritate 15 October 1966:2; see Pro Veritate 15 March 1967:1; see Pro Veritate 15 August 1966). The ministry of Beyers Naudé was a great struggle against the scriptural justification of apartheid (3.2.4).

iii. On military conscientious objection

How could one handle a situation of military conscientious objection against a defence force in defence for the sovereignty of an oppressive state that claims to be Christian? (Boesak 1988). What lesson do we get from Beyers Naudé’s ministry, or how did he handle this situation? Beyers Naudé supported the concept of military conscientiousness objection (3.2.4). Over against this, he supported the military offensive by victims of apartheid as a ‘just-war’ in self defence against state violence (in Randall 1982:62). This indicated Beyers Naudé’s eagerness in support for military conscientious objections of the military that was believed to defend an unjust government.

iv. On social issues

Should believers support social issues? Or are social issues, worldly things that have nothing to do with God's mission? What teachings do we glean from Beyers Naudé's ministry approach on this matter? The characteristic of his ministry was that of support for social and political issues. Beyers Naudé's ministry indicated support for the two mandates of mission as identified by Bosch (1991:403). Bosch (ibid) argues that there are two different mission mandates for the church namely; spiritual and the social. The first refers to the instruction to spread the Good News of salvation and the second one calls for Christian participation in social issues that includes social justice and wellness of humanity. In his view, the gospel was to be implemented in every area of human life. According to Meyer (2009), Beyers Naudé "argued that the gospel must be the light of the world and salt of the earth, not only about one's relationship with Christ on personal matters but for the impact in society as well." Meyer (ibid) added that Beyers Naudé analysed the political situation in the light of the Christian faith. Beyers Naudé gave witness from a Christian point of view. Meiring (2009) indicates how Beyers Naudé challenged them to think of the implications of the gospel in their daily lives. This demonstrated the extent of his support for social issues as part of a holistic ministry.

v. On support of liberation movements

What is the ethics around the support for liberation movements? Should believers be involved in those activities or are they regarded as 'sinful'? What guidelines do we learn from the ministry of Beyers Naudé? It became apparent that Beyers Naudé's ministry included support for liberation movements but with a condition attached which was only "insofar as these were not inconsistent with the criteria of the gospel" (Randall 1982:44). What then should be the role of a Christian in a situation where another political organization adopted violence as a means for freedom? How was one to approach this matter in the light of the condition as mentioned above?

The ministry of Beyers Naudé was holistic in the sense that it included liberation movements (3.2.4). It has also been noted how Beyers Naudé adopted a neutral position in his ministry towards political movements (3.2.2).

vi. On love to enemies

Should one love one's enemies? Enemies, in the context of victims of oppression, are what they believed to have been an unjust government with all her supporting structures such as the security forces that tortured them. The scriptures add more salt on the wound by advising believers to love their enemies. Within the context of apartheid enmity, is it possible to apply love to one's torturers? Beyers Naudé's ministry was characterized by his love for his 'enemies' in this context, his torturers (3.2.4). The fact that he returned to the DRC when invited, despite the pain that he suffered from this church, is an indication of his love which is cemented in his reconciliatory character.

vii. On radicalism

Under the situation of political struggle, is it allowed to adopt a radical stance? Can one continue to adopt a soft approach even when the oppressive system tightens against one? Beyers Naudé's ministry accommodated an element of radicalism as he went deeper in years in his service to the people of South Africa. Kritzing (2009) adds that

...some of my colleagues like Charl Le Roux, Chris Greyling and other people who belonged to the CI in the early sixties and in the mid-sixties said Beyers Naudé went too far. This had to do with the BC movement, it had to do with radical changes with black thinkers which he said are necessary and inevitable.

Since the birth of the CI in the early 1960s, Beyers Naudé hoped to attract most of his former colleagues from the DRC into the fold of the institute. However, in the process, his association with the BC movement and the 'radical' decisions that were taken drove many Whites especially those from the DRC away from him and the CI. The critical culture adopted by the CI and Beyers Naudé became clear in Randall (1982:65; cf Naudé 1995:107) who indicated that they were increasingly critical of capitalism and this was reflected in the 1973 final SPROCAS report. The critical approach became frequent during the mid-1970s with the interaction between the CI



and the BC in their quest to “...counter government propaganda which persistently played upon the white community’s ignorance of black politics.”

viii. On investment

How to handle the question of investment in support of an oppressive government? Which side to choose on the investment versus disinvestment debate in this regard? What lesson does one glean from the ministry of Beyers Naudé? Beyers Naudé’s position on this question appears to be ambivalent (3.2.4). His approach on this debate has an attachment of a condition. For instance, “he argued in favour of foreign investment in South Africa, on condition that it assisted in improving the condition of blacks” (Randall 1982:36). How possible is this in a situation of unfairness and unjust? If the investment economic outputs are to be administered by the oppressors to their victims, what assurance can one have that it will be fairly distributed? These could be some of the questions that led Beyers Naudé to come up with this conditional approval.

ix. On acknowledging one’s identity

Is it advisable to acknowledge one’s identity in the mission field? Can one acknowledge one’s identity in a situation where one’s group is blamed for the conditions of the oppressed? Or is it advisable to hide one’s identity for fear of being rejected? What do we learn from Beyers Naudé’s ministry when he found himself in this position? From the lesson learned from the ministry of Beyers Naudé, it came to light that he never concealed his identity or rejected his people (3.2.4).

In the ministry within the context of the struggle for freedom, there were other White ministers who wanted to deny their Afrikaner identity but who later recanted after advice from Beyers Naudé. One of them was Kritzinger (2009) who states:

...I was once tempted to be like that. I was ashamed of being an Afrikaner for what they were doing. He helped me not to be ashamed of being an Afrikaner. Denying your identity makes you a liberal as if you buy yourself away from the crown that you are better off than them.

Beyers Naudé in his ministry did not shy away from his identity and love for his own people. Meiring (2009) confirms that he loved his Afrikaner people and the DRC but was forced to criticize their unethical decisions when need be. Despite this, he continued to love them, their culture, the DRC and language.

x. On armed struggle

Can a believer support an armed struggle? This boils down to the argument of the relationship between the Bible (as a peaceful document) and a gun. Can an armed struggle ever be justified? What should be the position of a believer or that of a person ministering to the victims of oppression who reached a point where the state consistently used violence against them? What lesson does one learn from the ministry of Beyers Naudé?

The role of Beyers Naudé on this matter is complex but illuminated by two aspects. The first one is his Calvinist position on violence in which he believed that the state needs to be respected as long as she rules according to God's will. But if the state ignores all peaceful means and continues to use violence against her opponents, then violence is justified. Secondly, Beyers Naudé was present during the Mindolo Consultation in Kitwe, Zambia in 1964 where an armed struggle intensification was echoed (Ryan 2005:98-99; cf 2.5.2.4). The fact that he interrupted his other appointments abroad to attend the consultation, and that he did not oppose the position on armed struggle, indicated that he was not against it on the basis of a 'just war' principle. Beyers Naudé's action in this regard, falls within one of three Christian approaches to war as identified by Geisler (1980:158) namely:

- Activism: A Christian ought to go to all wars in obedience to his government because government is ordained by God.
- Pacifism: A Christian should not participate in wars to the point of taking the lives of others, since God has commanded people not to take other people's lives.
- Selectivism: A Christian should only participate in just wars.

The approach of Beyers Naudé falls within selectivism which declares that Christians should be selective in their participation in wars. The yardstick of just wars are those wars that defend the will of God or protect the will of God if it is in danger.

xi. On location of place of residence

Where should a person ministering to the victims of oppression reside? Is it advisable to reside among the victims to which one is ministering or can one reside away from them and only visit them at convenient times? What is it that Beyers Naudé is teaching us on this matter?

Beyers Naudé never resided among the victims of oppression among whom he dedicated his ministry after his departure from the DRC in 1963. Having in mind that there was a Group Areas Act in force then (appendix I), he resided at Greenside because it fell within the boundaries of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa congregation of Alexandra. Another reason was that he was banned and not allowed to be in the townships. His close connection with Alexandra could also be seen from “his wish that his ashes should be thrown in Alexandra township” (Botha 2009).

#### **4.2.2. Motives**

##### **4.2.2.1. Use of Bible**

Contextual or situational analysis and being obedient to God in the usage of the Bible is an important instrument in ministry. This approach was notable in the usage of the Bible by Beyers Naudé. In Beyers Naudé’s use of the Bible, characteristics of Liberation Theology were noticeable. Liberation Theology is defined by Maimela (1987:75) as follows:

Since to do liberation theology involves a re-reading of the Bible from the vantage point of the poor in order to answer the questions that the oppressed people put to theology, it follows that in liberation theology we are dealing with a radical departure from traditional theology, which reads the Bible from the vantage point of the dominant classes in order to serve the interests of the

rich and powerful, while it ignores the structures of oppression that keep the majority in misery. Because in both of these theologies the claim is that theology is being done in the light of the word of God accepted in faith and in the light of the presence of Christians in the world, the bone of contention between them is not whether a theologian uses the Bible or not, but how one goes about doing theology? That is, the issue here is one of methodology.

Beyers Naudé did not use the Bible as a propaganda document by which to convey or brainwash victims of apartheid to embrace specific ideological views. He criticized the DRC about the way apartheid was biblically justified. He believed that the Bible is the only true Word of God. He contended that every believer is expected to obey the authority of the Bible which is above human authority. He discards the segregation of people in churches on the grounds of race. He believed that all people are called to love one another and that all laws hindering love and justice between people is against the will of God. In his view, he does not regard all these as political because he did them from his deep Christian convictions (Ryan 2005:70).

The starting point of Beyers Naudé was the adoption of obedience to God approach. This he did in 1963 at the start of his ministry to the victims of oppression, as epitomized by his last sermon as a minister in the DRC at the congregation of Aasvoëlkop. He themed his message as *Obedience to God*. Although by this obedience he was at that time responding to the dilemma placed upon him by the DRC, he was also sending out the message that he was not prepared to obey a church that according to his understanding, was disobeying God.

#### 4.2.2.2. Scope of salvation

The scope of salvation in the light of the approach to ministry as demonstrated by Beyers Naudé follows the line of Black theologians or proponents of Liberation Theology who see salvation “not as the salvation of the souls but as the transformation of the entire cosmos” (Kritzinger 1988:157). In this understanding, salvation means participation in the process of changing people’s lives, the liberation of human beings from all forms of oppression. Boesak (1988:37) puts it as follows:

What is the gospel of Jesus Christ that the churches have been called to preach? Surely it is the message of salvation of God that has come to all peoples in Jesus Christ. It is the proclamation of the kingdom of God and the Lordship of Jesus Christ. But this salvation is the liberation, the making whole of the *whole person*. It is not something meant for the 'inner life', the soul, only. It is meant for the whole human existence. This Jesus who is proclaimed by the church was certainly not a spiritual being with spiritual qualities estranged from the realities of our human existence. No, he was the Word become flesh, who took on complete human form, and his message of liberation is meant for people in their *full humanity*.

In the light of this definition, the scope of salvation also entails a comprehensive restoration of creation. God's saving work is in progress, reclaiming His lost creation and putting it back the way it was meant to be. All of human life and all of nonhuman creation are the objects of his restorative work (Goheen & Bartholomew 2008:51).

#### 4.2.2.3. Culture

Sensitivity and respect of other peoples' cultures, avoiding imposing one's culture on others has been a tool in the success of the ministry of Beyers Naudé. There is no indication in his ministry where he imposed his culture on other people, least of all the victims of apartheid. Instead he wanted to understand their culture. For this reason, it was his wish to learn African languages especially Zulu or Xhosa. This idea was however frustrated by the apartheid government. The apartheid government reasoned that if he was dangerous without those languages, what more if he- knew them? (Naudé 1995:110).

#### 4.2.2.4. Reconciliation

The household of God is a new order in which broken relationships have been reconciled, transformed and healed. This relates to the Old Testament concept of *shalom*, a vision of peace and justice between individuals, in the wider society, between human beings and God, and between human beings and nature....In South Africa, the inclusive concept of *shalom* means the

reconciliation and healing of broken relationships, whether of class, race or gender (van Schalkwyk 1999:168).

This reconciliatory element of mission, stood at the centre of the ministry of Beyers Naudé. It indicates that reconciliation is an important component for ministry as epitomized in his ministry. The implication of reconciliation for Beyers Naudé (2005:139) is that a new relationship between God and human beings has been made in which human beings discover a new attitude and acceptance based on the forgiveness that God bestowed through Christ's preaching and action. He also warned that true reconciliation should be preceded by forgiveness. The ministry of Beyers Naudé was both horizontal and vertical in a sense that it reconciled people with God and human beings with their neighbours. The return of Beyers Naudé to the DRC (despite the hardship he experienced from this church) indicated a strong act of reconciliation and forgiveness on his side. A reconciliatory note in the ministry of Beyers Naudé was also disclosed by Meiring (2009) who indicated that he was gracious to his church, the DRC and that he never unnecessarily criticized it except for its support of apartheid. He also noted that Beyers Naudé "... was understanding towards people who found it difficult to stand up against apartheid. Beyers Naudé was forced to leave the DRC that he loved."

Meiring (ibid) adds that Beyers Naudé was not vengeful but always proud of being an Afrikaner. He never gave up his Afrikaner people but was prepared to criticize them when they did wrong. Meiring (ibid) recalled an act by Beyers Naudé that shamed them as ministers of the DRC. He narrated it as follows: "Beyers Naudé and others, drafted a statement to the truth commission and circulated it for signatures to confess about their support for apartheid. Then we said: 'If Beyers Naudé can confess, who are we!'"

Beyers Naudé demonstrated this reconciliatory approach by accepting an invitation from the DRC general synod in 1994 and rejoining this church. Meiring (ibid) states that it was after being 32 years outside the DRC, "...when he came in they welcomed him. Prof Johan Heyns led the synod in a standing ovation as he came into the hall....Prof Heyns led the applause."

It is a pity that Prof Heyns was assassinated a week after this action. Meiring (ibid) went further to acknowledge the reconciliatory role of Beyers Naudé with regards to his role in the unity of the DRC family churches. He never stopped engaging the DRC in unity talks. Botha (2009) also echoes the same view that “there was a moment of reconciliation where he was invited back by the same congregation. Being a person of reconciliation, he accepted the invitation. This is not clear whether the DRC understood his message or not”.

The return of Beyers Naudé to the DRC was however received with dismay from some members of the ‘daughter’ churches of the DRC predominantly former members of the Belydende-kring. They felt betrayed by Beyers Naudé after so many things that they did for him including the restoration of his status as a minister of the Word. Mokgoebo (2009) puts it as follows:

What I hated about Beyers Naudé was that at the close of his life, that here was a man who dedicated his life to the support of the Black community. On the last day he was supposed to be buried in Alexandra, he was buried in the DRC, the very same church that brought him down in his ministry. The congregation of Alexandra that enabled him to restore his status as a minister of my church, did not have a say as part of his funeral or the so called state funeral that was given to him. This was very painful.

Tshelane (2009) notes the reconciliatory element of Beyers Naudé in the area of mediation. He recalled an incident where he was requested to assist as mediator between the British and the Irish. Unfortunately, because of age, this could not happen. He commended Beyers Naudé for having contributed in the Christian value of negotiation. He indicated that when the ANC was meeting the National-Party to pave the way for a negotiated settlement, he accompanied them. The reconciliatory journey undertaken by Beyers Naudé demonstrated his understanding that:

The church is called by God to witness to the gospel of forgiveness and reconciliation even in the face of suffering and martyrdom. It is imperative that the Church’s response to violence is formulated in the light of Jesus’ response to his cruel and barbaric crucifixion, designed by the Roman authorities as a

deterrent for all to see and be warned. In the midst of this awful experience and extreme situation Jesus demonstrates love for his enemies. He offers forgiveness to those responsible for his execution (Howell 2009:13).

#### 4.3. CONCLUSION

This comprehensive mission strategy is a Christian communication tool for the victims of oppression. The violent political context that characterized the period of Beyers Naudé still continues today although for different political reasons. The indication is that the dissatisfaction of the disadvantaged is a phenomenon that will be with us until the end of time (1.3.4.c); cf 4.1). This mission tool is developed at a time when the country is infested with *toyi toyis* by angry masses in demand for service delivery and good working conditions. Like in the period of the ministry of Beyers Naudé, the legitimate protests of our time are marked by violence where streets are littered, dust-bins emptied on the streets, innocent peoples' rights are affected by protesters who force their way into other people's space and rights. This is still a period where citizens challenge the government although for different reasons.

This mission strategy will hopefully produce other Beyers Naudés who will lead a relevant ministry for the demands and challenges of our times. We live in times where the relevance of the church is questioned. The church<sup>21</sup> that was prophetic during apartheid seems to have lost its prophetic taste. Some of the vocal prophets against apartheid are today sleeping on the same bed with the government, thus finding it difficult to exercise their role as Beyers Naudé did.

---

<sup>21</sup> This reference is to the broader church movement that became prominent during the apartheid years which excluded the DRC and her associated churches such as the NHK.



## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

### 5.1. CONCLUSIVE OVERVIEW

This study has argued that Beyers Naudé's ministry during apartheid South Africa carried a missionary element to the victims of apartheid. These were people who were disillusioned by the Christian faith as a result of the way in which it was misused as a tool for oppression. This element uniquely communicated the Christian message to these victims in such a way that while they doubted and rejected this religion, they ultimately came to embrace it. His ministry changed their negative perception towards the Christian faith and consequently brought back the credibility of this faith.

In order to understand the missional ministry of Beyers Naudé which succeeded in incarnating the love of Jesus to the victims of oppression, I asked, what 'muthi' did he use to enjoy all these successes? It was even noted how Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu (1.1) referred to this 'miracle' as God's sense of humour. By this he was referring to the contradiction or 'surprise' of the SACC when they contradicted their previous decision of no longer electing a White person as their General Secretary due to the growing majority of Black congregations in the SACC (ibid).

This study focused on the ministry of Beyers Naudé to the victims of oppression from the early 1960s to the dawn of democracy in 1994. From the example of his ministry, a comprehensive mission strategy was developed which is presented as a tool for future people who will elect to minister to the victims of oppression.

Victims of oppression did not disappear with the demise of apartheid in 1994 and the end of the ministry of Beyers Naudé. There is a post-1994 new form of victims of oppression arisen from those people who feel left out by the government's economic development and service delivery programmes (1.3.4.c; cf 4.1). One of the main characteristics of these victims of oppression is poverty as a result of the uneven distribution of resources. This means that an economic element will always be at the centre of exploitation, resulting in the oppression of certain sections of society. Steve Biko (1989:205) stated that "there is no doubt that the colour question in South

African politics was originally introduced for economic reasons.” The widening gap between the rich and the poor breeds resentment and frustration among the poor who regard themselves as products of the apartheid economic policy. Their frustrations result in anger which develops into violent activities thus making the title of a book by Yancey (1991) relevant to their situation and minds when he asked: “Where is God when it hurts?”

The study has also revealed interesting and painful scenarios. Among the interesting scenarios was one that confronted Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu which could be described in terms of a contradiction, i.e. an unqualified love for a former oppressor by his victims. Among the painful scenarios is what Botha (2009; cf 3.3.1) refers to as the “stigmata of the cross” which characterized the ministry of Beyers Naudé.

This research project also brought a new meaning and understanding of the question of new identity and new possibilities. These developments showed themselves in the ministry of Beyers Naudé and his interlocutors who were victims of oppression. Volf (2006:78-80) shed a new light on the issue of new identity when he addressed it through the character of David Kelsey. He argued that the wronged normally get their identities from the wrongs they have suffered. For instance, when building an example of this from the South African context, within the confines of this study, the apartheid wronged are called victims of apartheid/oppression as their identity. In the same new identity approach, Beyers Naudé’s identity was that of a victim of apartheid. This identity which Volf (ibid:79) referred to as “distorted” does not heal memories. He argued that Jesus Christ offers a new identity which drives memories to the periphery. The identity of Christians is derived from how they related to God and not from their human relations. He continued to indicate that God’s presence in believers gives them a new identity. This God-driven (divinely bestowed) type of identity is the one that Beyers Naudé possessed, which paved his way to forgiving those who wronged him.

Volf (ibid:81-82) through Kelsey continued to argue that the new identity opens new possibilities which are not determined by people’s past pain or future, but by the promise of God. God in whom Beyers Naudé believed promised Christians new

possibilities for the future, although they sometimes doubt them like Sarah and Abraham did when they were promised a son. Their new possibilities were not determined by the past memory of barrenness, but by something that was outside their painful past. For Christians this means that life is defined by the promise of new possibilities of the Kingdom of God in which love reigns supreme and hate is outside the picture. With regards to Beyers Naudé, his venture into the CI and departure from the DRC into the unknown world of the victims of oppression were part of his new possibilities.

Looking back at this study, one is forced to ask whether the ministry of Beyers Naudé was successful or not. Deductions from this study suggest that Beyers Naudé was successful when judged from the mission strategy especially the fact that it calls for his example to be followed. One question leads to another. If one wants to determine the success of the ministry of Beyers Naudé, what measurement tool to apply, what are the indicators? The following indicators are important in this regard:

- *Popularity.* Beyers Naudé succeeded in making himself known among the victims of oppression whether intentionally or not. It was clear in this study how he was aluded for being known even in the dusty streets of the South African Black townships. Being a Chaplain in the South African Department of Defence, before I embarked on this study, I paraded names of several figures in South African history to soldiers during and outside Chaplains' periods to be advised on whom among them to write about. The overwhelming response was that Beyers Naudé got the most votes. I became intrigued at the way in which he is known all over the department especially among the senior members who might have had a direct contact with him.
- *Trust.* Beyers Naudé also succeeded in building trust between him and the victims of oppression. This study has demonstrated how Beyers Naudé was accepted in confidential internal circles of the victims of oppression. He was also appointed to sensitive strategic positions which were no longer meant for Whites such as the postion of General Secretary of South African Council of Churches (SACC). It has also been indicated in this study that he was included in the delegation of the victims of oppression (led by the African National Congress) in their first

negotiations with the apartheid government. The so-called radical Black political organisations such as the Black Consciousness movement accepted Beyers Naudé and to a greater extent he became a mentor and friend to Black Consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko.

- *Credibility of the Christian faith.* The study also revealed how Beyers Naudé succeeded to bring back the credibility of the Christian faith. Prominent players in South African history such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu demonstrated this trend. His ministry to the victims of oppression through ministry of presence, i.e. by even attending funerals of the victims of oppression, participation in the struggle of the oppressed from his position as a Minister of Religion put the Christian faith in a positive light more especially when done by someone from the race and church that championed oppression and a distortion of the Christian faith.
- *Acceptance of Whites.* Beyers Naudé also succeeded to indicate that not all Whites were bad and hypocrites. In a situation where victims of oppression were increasingly looking at Whites especially Afrikaners with suspicion and mistrust Beyers Naudé proved that Whites can still be genuine in their fight against racism, He succeeded to indicate through his ministry that Whites can still be trusted in South Africa.
- *Credibility of the DRC.* The study also revealed how the credibility of the DRC was at stake as a result of her justification of apartheid. The ministry of Beyers Naudé to the victims of oppression corrected this perception. This was facilitated by the fact that Beyers Naudé was proud of the DRC except for her apartheid attachment. He did not shy away that he was a former Minister of this church before he was forced out of it. All in all Beyers Naudé did not hide his identity as an Afrikaner, former member of the Afrikaner Broederbond, Minister of the DRC and former Moderator of one regional synod of this church. The Christian Institute staff also knew his identity.
- *Won freedom for the victims of oppression.* Beyers Naudé could be counted as part of the collective that greatly assisted to bring about freedom for the victims of

oppression in 1994. This study revealed his ministry which was focussed on the plight of the victims of oppression.

- *Appreciation by the victims of oppression.* The way in which the victims of oppression appreciated the ministry of Beyers Naudé constitutes another indicator in his ministry success. They reciprocated by naming institutions and streets after him, writing works including festschrifts about him, conferring honorary doctoral degrees on him and honoured him with an official funeral as the first minister of the DRC in the post-1994 democratic South Africa to be honoured as such. The African Initiated Churches honoured him by qualifying him as the only White person who will be acceptable in heaven.

Employing an abductive approach, this study reached specific conclusions. Abductive approach means that both deductive and inductive elements were tools used in the analysis of data. Deductive in a sense that I was prepared to be informed by data collected. I tried to be objective in my approach although it is a controversial matter to make that claim. Having made deductions from data, I also applied an inductive approach. This means that as a participant observer, I opened myself to be influenced by data. Therefore, a reciprocal movement in terms of deductions and inductions was applied which collectively led to the abductive approach. This resulted in applicable conclusions from the ministry of Beyers Naudé.

## **5.2. LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE MINISTRY OF BEYERS NAUDÉ**

Certain areas from the ministry of Beyers Naudé were identified in order to make conclusive deductions, inductions and abductions:

### **5.2.1. The influence of strong Afrikaner cultural upbringing**

Some of the points that came out of this study were the strong Afrikaner cultural upbringing of Beyers Naudé and the resultant influence thereof. Beyers Naudé in his ministry did not shy away from his identity and love for his own people.

Meiring (2009) confirmed that he loved his Afrikaner people and the DRC but was forced to criticize their unethical decisions when need be. Despite this, he continued to love them, their culture, the DRC and language.

The foundation of this was that his father was among the founder members of the Broederbond, its first President and a champion of protection for the Afrikaans language and a *dominee* in the DRC. He was raised in what was called “the heart of Afrikanerdom” (2.2.1), fought in the Anglo-Boer war, also comforting the Boer soldiers as a chaplain. His father was further described as “of conservative Voortrekker and Dutch stock” (2.2.1).

What were the results of this strong Afrikaner cultural upbringing? The influence of this was seen in Beyers Naudé’s love for his *volk*, culture and language (3.2.4). Hayes (2006:62) indicated how Beyer Naudé’s love for the Afrikaans language also attracted him to love this language. He wrote: “Whether in speaking or in writing, he made Afrikaans seem like a beautiful language. Even when he was prosaic, he was poetic. Whenever I was with him, I wished I could speak Afrikaans as he did.”

He loved his people despite the fact that they did what he did not stand for in his life. He did not shy away from associating with them in terms of public identity. Anthonissen (2006:146) concurred that the lives of the Beyers Naudé family “remind us that we need not be ashamed of our own roots....” This is a lesson that people who have been brought up to love their language, people and culture will continue to love their heritage under all circumstances. This indicates that Beyers Naudé succeeded to apply what Hirsch (2006:133) called the importance of an incarnational lifestyle when he addressed presence.

Beyers Naudé also incarnated the gospel to his own people. This had a positive impact on them and the DRC in particular, who named their centre for public theology in Stellenbosch University after him in 2001. They even invited him to the DRC synod and apologised to him. He was also welcomed back to his last DRC congregation of Aasvoëlkop. Another acknowledgement of incarnational lifestyle among his own people was that the Afrikaans Language and Culture Association commonly called the Afrikaans Taal en Kultuur en Vereeniging (ATKV) awarded him

their highest award for nation-building. This award was not only for questioning the apartheid system but also standing by his convictions to contribute to the new South Africa in 2004 (3.3.2).

### **5.2.2. Diminishing prophetic voice of the church in post-Beyers Naudé period**

The era of the ministry of Beyers Naudé since the early 1960s, represented a strong prophetic voice from churches and other faith groups. Although the prophetic ministry differed from church to church, the general picture was that of also addressing injustices in state and society. In this study, I categorized Faith Groups that responded to apartheid into five namely; those that embraced apartheid, e.g. the DRC, those that rejected apartheid e.g. the Anglicans and the Methodists, those that adopted a neutral stance on apartheid, ecumenical bodies e.g. Cottesloe Consultation, main minority religions e.g. African Traditional Religions and Islam (2.6).

In comparing the degree of the church's prophetic voice during the time of Beyers Naudé and post-apartheid era, the difference became apparent.

While during the ministry of Beyers Naudé the church was vocal against apartheid but today she is silent. For instance, while during the ministry of Beyers Naudé, mass protests were led by religious leaders, today their absence is apparent. While during the times of Beyers Naudé the SACC and other Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) used to give a clear direction of events in the country, today one wonders if it still exists because of its stark silence. The example from the ministry of Beyers Naudé is important. The mission strategy that is based on the lesson learned from his ministry is equally important and justifiable.

Another point that silenced the church from effectively ministering to the victims of oppression is the close relationship that exists between individual religious leaders and the post-1994 democratic government. Religious leaders who used to exercise their prophetic ministry during the apartheid government are today in the employ of the democratic government, occupying senior positions. This trend silenced them and they became recipients of petitions from victims of oppression during protest

marches. They stand against the victims of oppression, taking the side of the state. Beyers Naudé as has been seen in this study declined lucrative political offers for the sake of maintaining a relevant ministry for the victims of oppression.

The church is expected to be prophetic at all times. Unfortunately, in the post-Beyers Naudé era, the church's prophetic voice has been silent. For instance, during the 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa, the voice of the church was not heard in the way it used to speak during such incidents in times of Beyers Naudé. During post-Beyers Naudé's ministry period, apart from the above example of xenophobia, many incidents have continued to happen, which have challenged the prophetic role of the church. Examples of these are the general decline in morals, manifesting itself in high levels of rape, torturous criminal activities and corruption predominantly in government. The church should therefore be in a position to minister to all sectors of society including the state.

### **5.2.3. Stigmata of the cross**

Another point that has strongly arisen out of this study was the question of the suffering associated with the ministry of Beyers Naudé. This is a situation that has been referred to as the "stigmata of the cross" (Botha 2009). I referred to it as a negative outcome of his mission to the victims of oppression (3.3.2). This was reflected in his harassment by the security forces, a night in custody, the banning order, rejection by his *volk*, family, DRC, and friends. It could therefore be concluded on this basis that suffering forms part of the package of ministry to the victims of oppression.

In line with this question of suffering, Volf (2006:111) addresses the issue of memory of the Exodus and the Passion. He sees a link between the memory of the Passion and the memory of the Exodus. The link is on historical and theological lines. Volf (ibid:112) argues that the Last Supper was a Passover Seder and the Holy Communion which originated from the Last Supper is a celebration of the new Exodus of God's people. This is viewed as a new kind of deliverance.



The relationship of Exodus and Passion with the future is important as a solace for the victims of oppression in terms of enacted promise. For instance, with regards to Exodus, Volf (ibid:112) reasons that God who delivered Israel of the past will also redeem Israel of the future. As far as Passion is concerned, Volf (ibid) believes that what happened to Christ happened to the entire humankind. Therefore Passion reminds one of the redeemed humanity in future. It is believed that part of the future promised world has already entered this sinful world of death. Küng (1981:59-70) referred to this as “a futurist-presentist eschatology.” He is addressing the question of the future eschaton that interrupts into the present world. This expresses the fact that people are living in what he called time “between the already and the not yet” (ibid:59), i.e. time between times. They are living in time between the already ascended Christ and the anticipation of His return. While they are waiting for His return, the foretaste of the Kingdom of God is experienced.

Beyers Naudé supported and was influenced by Black theology which is compatible to the view of Volf with regards to Passion and Exodus (De Gruchy 2005:88; see 3.2.1). The Good Friday story has been an encouragement for the victims of oppression. The Passion of Jesus has been a source of courage in a sense that it was an indication that He understood their plight because he has gone through the same. The same message of identification goes to the Exodus story. Their belief is that God who liberated the old Israelite will also liberate them from their oppression (Boesak 1988:7-9). Boesak (1988:8) puts it as follows:

God’s liberation is not an isolated deed, a blinding flash in history that we see today but of which no trace will be found tomorrow. God’s liberation, rather, is a movement. It moves through history. Over and over again God is manifested as the warrior who fights for justice. God deals grimly, justly, with the pharaoh (sic) who oppresses Israel; but God deals no less grimly, justly with the wealthy Israelites who offer no justice to their poor fellow Israelites...God’s justice or righteousness, therefore, is the liberation, the healing and salvation, that God wills to realise and actualise among us.

#### 5.2.4. The transforming DRC

This period of the ministry of Beyers Naudé saw the transformation of the DRC from a racist, apartheid supporting church into a church that opened her doors to people of other races. However, this is something that is still in the process of completion at the moment. Already during the DRC General Synod of October 1986, cracks were beginning to be felt in this church's support for apartheid with the adoption of an open membership position. The cracks resulted in a division within the church which brought to birth the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk led by what König (1987:1) referred to as *Die Beswaardes*<sup>22</sup>. During the DRC General Synod of 1990, cracks became even wider as could be seen by the following declarations made (Kerk en Samelewing 1990:14-21; cf Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk 1990):

- The Holy Scriptures regard the human race as one.<sup>23</sup>
- Race and colour play no role in the Biblical judgement of humankind.<sup>24</sup>
- Racism is a serious sin which no person or church should defend or practice.<sup>25</sup>
- The Christian neighbourly love is the ethical norm for fellow human relations.<sup>26</sup>
- The exercise of righteousness and justice is an important Biblical instruction.<sup>27</sup>

To sum up the above rejections of apartheid, the very 1990 General Synod also made a unanimous declaration on the official position of the DRC on apartheid:

The Dutch Reformed Church states that the handling of apartheid as a political and social system of injustice for most people and empowers one group above others, cannot be acceptable on the basis of Christian ethics because it is in conflict with the principle of neighbourly love and endangers the humanity of all involved (my translation, NGK ACTA General Synod 1990, Par 306).

---

<sup>22</sup> The disgruntled.

- <sup>23</sup> Die Heilige Skrif beskou die menslike geslag as 'n eenheid.
- <sup>24</sup> Ras-en kleurverskille speel geen rol in die Bybel se beoordeling van mense nie
- <sup>25</sup> Rassisme is 'n ernstige sonde wat geen mens of kerk mag verdedig of beoefen nie
- <sup>26</sup> Die Christelike naasteliefde is die etiese norm vir mede-menslike optrede
- <sup>27</sup> Die beoefening van geregtigheid en reg is 'n belangrike Bybelse voorskrif

Since the above synods, additional developmental processes were made with regards to the demise of what König (1987:1) referred to as “the Supper Apartheid in the church” (my translation)<sup>28</sup> The process also saw the DRC being re-admitted into the religious bodies nationally (e.g. SACC) and internationally (e.g. World Alliance of Reformed Churches). The fact that Beyers Naudé saw it fit to accept the apology from and an invitation to return to the DRC, suggests that this church made acceptable strides in the process of transformation. Beyers Naudé (in Clements 2006:171) admitted that

...there has been in many respects a tremendous change. First of all, the Dutch Reformed Church apologized to me and to others who opposed apartheid for mistakes they made. And we gladly accepted that. Secondly, I have said to the leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church: ‘All of us must move forward to this establishing of the Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa where *all of us*, regardless of our ethnic background, our language, our race, must be *one* in the Reformed family in order to build the Kingdom of God.’ But we must not remain only in the Reformed family. We must become part of the wider Body of Christ in South Africa where all of us contribute and make available this tremendous witness to the world.

The level of this change could also be measured against the fact that at the time of writing this study, the Western Transvaal synod of the DRC has two Black African male ministers<sup>29</sup> who have been called from the ranks of her so called daughter churches.

It could therefore be concluded that positive changes within the DRC cannot be underestimated. Despite this hopeful progress, the DRC is still unable to structurally unite with other churches of the DRC family.

---

<sup>28</sup> Die Super-Apartheid in die Kerk.

<sup>29</sup> Ds V.A. Magagula is attached to the congregation of Potchefstroom as a chaplain for non-Afrikaans speaking students (Jaarboek van die NG Kerke 2010:217) and Ds J. B. Moncho who is attached to the congregation of Mafikeng with special focus to the Chaplaincy of the South African National Defence Force as a Chaplain (Jaarboek van die NG Kerke 2010:299).

### **5.2.5. Contextual ministry as today's relevant mission approach**

The study highlighted the importance of contextual theology in South Africa. The fact that Beyers Naude's ministry addressed the conditions of people, in this case the victims of oppression, made it meaningful in their lives. It has been clearly stated by those who knew him closely, as somebody who wanted his sermons to hit the target, who indicated how the Christian faith could not be practiced from an ivory tower.

Bevans and Schroeder (2006:35; cf 3.1) addressed the question of context when they introduced the subject of six constants (of mission) in context which always reflected within three types of theology. The six constants are; Christology, Ecclesiology, Eschatology, Salvation, Anthropology and Culture. They designed the three types of theology as:

- Type A: Mission as Saving Souls and Extending the Church.
- Type B: Mission as Discovery of the Truth.
- Type C: Mission as Commitment to Liberation and Transformation.

The six constants of mission constantly show themselves in all the three types of theology with different emphasis characteristics for the type of theology in which they appear. Bevans and Schroeder (ibid) attempts to make the Word of God relevant in its encounter with the changing world. Type C theology represented Beyers Naudé's ministry approach because of its focus on mission as a commitment to liberation and transformation of society. The success of Beyers Naudé in this approach indicates that contextual ministry is the solution for today's ministry.

### **5.2.6. Ministry by presence**

One of the outstanding aspects of the ministry of Beyers Naudé was his ministry by presence. It became apparent in this study that he applied this principle in all aspects and occasions in the lives of the victims of oppression. This exposed and familiarised him with the victims of oppression. He did not practise his ministry from an arm-chair but was physically with the people in joys and sorrows by making appearances in funerals, community meetings, celebrations and sports (3.2.4; cf 4.2.1.7 (b) (iii)).

Being with the people popularises one and builds trust. The lesson learned from this ministry aspect is that it is one of the most important tools for success in ministry. This indicates that Beyers Naudé succeeded in applying what I referred to earlier on (3.2.4) which came from Hirsch when he addressed the importance of incarnational ministry. He stressed the need for Christians to be incarnational in following the example of God who was incarnated in Jesus Christ as His way of reaching the world (Hirsch 2006:133).

In the light of this view, Beyers Naudé brought Christ into the dynamics of peoples' lives. This was done through his lifestyle and presence among the victims of oppression in times of need. Apart from this, he also incarnated the gospel to his own people as could be seen in the fact that they acknowledged his positive influence on them in the rejection of apartheid.

#### **5.2.7. Salvation as liberation to full humanity**

Another prominent feature in the ministry of Beyers Naudé was the manner in which he understood the scope of salvation (4.2.2.2). As in Liberation theology, salvation does not end with purely spiritual matters but also touches on the conditions of the person. Contextual or situational analysis which involves the re-reading of the Bible from the vantage point of the poor in order to answer their questions is emphasised (Maimela 1987:75). In the light of this, liberation theology sees salvation “not as the salvation of the souls but as the transformation of the entire cosmos” (Kritzinger 1988:157). The same emphasis was echoed by Boesak (1988:37) who in analyzing what the gospel of Jesus Christ is, which the church should preach, stated that

...it is not something meant for the ‘inner life’, the soul, only. It meant for the whole human existence. This Jesus who is proclaimed by the church was certainly not a spiritual being with spiritual qualities estranged from the realities of our human existence. No, he was the Word become flesh, who took on complete human form, and his message of liberation is meant for people in their *full humanity*.

These explanations move from the premise that the soul is in the body and the needs of the body (housing the soul) are to be taken care of. It was on those grounds that he was also concerned with the conditions for the victims of oppression. The lesson learned from this is the importance that should be attached equally to both body and soul in ministry.

#### **5.2.8. Beyers Naudé's hermeneutics**

The way in which Beyers Naudé used scripture stands out as a very important tool that will always be needed in ministry (4.2.2.1; cf 4.2.1.2). Preaching was central to his ministry. His scriptural reflection impressed victims of oppression, the example being Tshelane (4.2.1.2) who was impressed by the way Beyers Naudé reflected on the dream of Pharaoh. A similar point was clear in Meyer (2009) who noted that Beyers Naudé analysed the context in the light of the Christian faith. This was because he applied a scriptural approach that consciously insisted on the concrete situation of the poor and the oppressed. He did not use the Bible as propaganda to force victims of oppression to embrace a particular ideology (4.2.2.1).

This use of scripture stands out as a useful approach that the world needs today and in future. Contextual analysis of scripture is an important requirement for today's ministry. The world continues to have social problems of all kind such as poverty, crime and wars. A relevant ministry is the one that will be shaped in such a way that it reflects on these challenges.

#### **5.2.9. Beyers Naudé's personal devotion**

Another noticeable factor in the ministry of Beyers Naudé was his high level of spirituality that was displayed under all circumstances. The study indicated how he was a devoted Bible reader and a person of prayer. Hansen (2006:25) indicated how Beyers Naudé's critique of apartheid could not be separated from his faith in God as a Christian and minister. He further demonstrated how Beyers Naudé also criticised the DRC from his faith base by using the Bible.

Beyers Naudé's spirituality could not be doubted in the light of the information shed in this study. "Despite his life as a political activist and spokesperson for the oppressed, Naudé also remained a pastor at heart" (ibid:30). It became apparent in this study that the source of power for Beyers Naudé (in Clements 2006:169) could be deduced from his utterances:

I got it first of all from the Word of God. I got it from the example of Christ: his utterances, his life, his witness; I got it from the apostles, especially St Paul, but also the others; I got it from constant reflection on what God's intention was with his people and especially the suffering people in South Africa....

The strong spiritual element of Beyers Naudé has been confirmed by many people, from the family circles to the broader public. This gave credibility to his ministry to the broader public of South Africa. It could therefore be concluded that a firm spiritual element is very important in ministry. This is indispensable in the situation where ministers of religion get confused with politicians.

#### **5.2.10. Reconciliation**

Reconciliation stood high in the ministry of Beyers Naudé (4.2.2.4). Beyers Naudé challenged people to apply action on matters of reconciliation by emphasizing "the importance of going beyond words" (in Hansen 2006:28). He demonstrated reconciliation in very extreme circumstances when he reconciled with his church. His ministry has been centred on reconciling the victims and their torturers but at the end of his ministry he demonstrated it himself by returning to the DRC and also being buried from this church. This was a painful experience for some within the ranks of the leadership of the former so called daughter churches of the DRC (3.2.4).

The reconciliatory road followed by Beyers Naudé is reminiscent of one described by Volf (2006:170-181) when he addressed the question of redemption within the context of "harmonizing and driving out." He touched on the Last Judgment after which he contended that mutual love will reign as a result of God's grace that will embrace the wrongdoers and the wronged. Volf (ibid:181) described this as follows:

So even after the question of 'right and wrong' has been settled by the judgment of grace, it is necessary to come through the door of mutual embrace to enter the world of perfect love. And through that door the inhabitants of the world to come will move enabled by the indwelling Christ, who spread out his arms on the cross to embrace all wrongdoers. When former enemies have, and embraced as belonging to the same community of love in the fellowship of the Triune God, then *only* then will they have stepped into a world in which each enjoys all and therefore all take part in the dance of love.

Volf's reasoning in this regard indicates that through God's grace, after the Last Judgment which involves disclosure of the wrongs done and thereafter the wronged and the wrongdoers will belong together in the world of perfect love. Beyers Naudé supported the same approach to reconciliation. This could be seen in his emphasis on the role of the government of national unity in this regard. For instance, when interviewed by Clements (2006:168) in 1996, he indicated that in this government (led by the then President Nelson Mandela),

...even the most bitter enemies of the past have found a way and a method of working together; and we have the gift of God, as I see this, of a president who, with his wisdom, his insight, his vision and his commitment towards reconciliation, is assisting all of us in building up a new nation in South Africa.

Volf's concept of the Last Judgment in which the wrongdoers and the wronged will live together is shared by Beyers Naudé (ibid:169) who speaks of God's eternal wisdom where he "loves all of us, including those children who are disobedient or tend to support evil and injustice, and that is a lesson that I must still learn."

There is a great lesson to be learned from Beyers Naudé's ministry of reconciliation. In the words of Pauw (2005:21), "Naudé's name had come to stand for the process of reconciliation in a formerly divided country." It became apparent that reconciliation cannot be organised or arranged, but it is a fragile and wonderful gift from God (Meiring 1999:242).



### **5.2.11. Ecumenism**

Ecumenism is among the elements that stood supreme in the ministry of Beyers Naudé (3.2.4). Beyers Naudé brought different churches together. Cooperation among churches is equally important as was the case during his time. The success of ministry during times of political protest is measured by cooperation among churches. If churches are not united, they cannot speak with one voice in their prophetic ministry. Ecumenism is therefore important especially when ministering among victims of oppression who are from various denominations and even religions.

### **5.2.12. Interaction with authorities**

Beyers Naudé contributed to a particular understanding of the interaction between church and authorities and the way this relationship should be conducted (4.2.1.3). According to Beyers Naudé (in Clements 2006:170) the church's prophetic ministry to the state should not only be limited to an apartheid oppressive one but to all governments whether democratic or not. When interviewed about this, two years into democracy in 1996 he contended:

We have the task to assist the government where possible. To do whatever is good and just in the restructuring and rebuilding of the country. But we also have the task, as never before, to be the watchdogs. Where the government is disobedient to the demands of the Kingdom, there it is our responsibility to address ourselves to the government and to say, No....

It emerged that a prophetic ministry to the state is very important and especially if she rules against the will of God. Prophetic ministry is therefore an aspect of ministry which should not be undermined. All Ministers of Religion should therefore adopt a prophetic ministry towards an unjust state.

### 5.3. FINAL CONCLUSION

In the quest to understand and unearth the missionary character of Beyers Naudé, the question that has often been asked especially in the first chapter of this study was around the *muthi* (or secret) of his success in winning the love and hearts of people, mostly the victims of oppression. Throughout this research, the answer became evident and a helpful description of this came from Anthonissen (2006:146) who summed it well thus:

Everyone who knows Oom Bey and Tannie Ilse knows that although they were both blessed with various talents of leadership and social skills, in a sense they were just an ordinary traditional Afrikaner couple---people with a deep love of and concern for their own community. They understood the fears and ambitions of the Afrikaner and wanted, above all, to assist them in understanding their real calling in this beautiful country. For this they constantly drew on the heritage of their religion and faith and especially on what they understood as the more authentic version of Reformed theology. For them this meant a deep respect for the Bible as the authentic Word of God. It also led them to understand in an almost childlike way, that the basic message of the Bible is one of grace, compassion and justice for all people and that this message has to be faithfully and uncompromisingly proclaimed and practiced in unjust society. It was exactly this understanding of the Bible and the life-changing choices it brought about that made them warriors for justice and the respected people they are today.

Despite the fact that there are victims of oppression of our time that were created by the new form of oppression which is corruption and an economic system that has led to the divide between the rich and the poor, apartheid left a legacy of its own victims (1.3.4.c; cf 5.1). The methods used to combat apartheid in the form of protests are still seen today. This means that the legacy of protest action as seen today is a continuation of that which started in the fight against apartheid. That legacy is therefore passed on from generation to generation. It is therefore necessary to have a mission strategy that will assist people to effectively minister to the victims of this

new form of oppression who are characterised by anger and violence (like in the case of the times of Beyers Naudé), in the fight for their rights.

The ministry example of Beyers Naudé will therefore stand out as a yardstick for a successful ministry to the victims of oppression. His ministry approach is not only relevant to the victims of oppression but also to other areas with different dynamics of the ever-changing ministry context of our time.

A suitable closing statement to this research about Beyers Naudé was taken from Mokgoebo (2009) who states that:

Beyers Naudé was a prophet of his time. As the saying goes, 'the prophet is never respected at his own home'. His witness will remain long after we have gone, as a white man who was grasped by the powerful message of the Kingdom of God, of justice and reconciliation.

## **5.4. WAY-FORWARD**

### **5.4.1. Areas for further study**

This study concentrated on the contribution of Beyers Naudé for the victims of oppression, an effort that resulted into the development of a mission strategy to them. Therefore, it triggered areas for further research such as the following:

- a. The DRC's scriptural justification of apartheid must have damaged her future mission efforts and past mission gains. Lubbe (2009:131; cf 1.1) had the DRC in mind when he wrote:

The close association which existed between the apartheid regime and the Christian church, albeit by and large with one particular denomination, brought the credibility of the Gospel of Jesus Christ into question. The loser in this case proved to be not the state but the church, whose message of love, peace and justice became tarnished by an inhumane and sinful ideology.

It is therefore important to further research the degree of damage caused to the image of this church with regards to her future mission efforts. Some sort of damage-control may also be addressed in this.

- b. The theology of the DRC did not only dent her mission efforts as indicated above, but was also suicidal in terms of her own existence especially in post-1994 South Africa. One could ask, 'what the future of this church is with regard to the new upcoming critical young generation that grows in a racially mixed environment?' This question is asked in the light of Anthonissen 2006:146-147) who referring to the youth in this church contended that

...in fact, one of the surprising and even unexpected things that happened after 1994 is that many amongst the latter (youth) in the Dutch Reformed Church turned their backs on the church. Recent research shows that up to 28% of students leave the Dutch Reformed Church once they arrive on campus. Given the way the Dutch Reformed Church has erred and misled its own members over the years, teaching them that apartheid was a biblical notion, perhaps this trend or development could have been anticipated.

Further research therefore is required to look at the future of this church in the light of this problem.

- c. Another area for further study is still around the DRC. Because there has been an indication that she has transformed, the extent of this change should be investigated (5.2.4). One should research the degree of change undergone by the DRC. Could the return of Beyers Naudé to this church suggest that transformation was completed and if not how far does she still has to go!

- d. Because during the time of Beyers Naudé, ministers of religion played a very important role in the South African society and influenced political events, further research could still be developed around this point. It is important to write about the impact of the age of the reverends in South African politics. Or to compare the wrangle of reverends from both left and right politics of the times, maybe pairing two in the debate, for instance Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu with the late Dr (Rev) Andries Treurnicht<sup>30</sup>.

Benchmarking by Beyers Naudé, one could look at the impact of the reverends in today's politics. Today most of those who were vocal against the apartheid government are sleeping in the same bed with the current democratic government. They are occupying senior political positions and are no longer prophetic.

---

<sup>30</sup> Dr Andries Treurnicht was a former minister in the DRC who became the leader of the (right-wing) Conservative Party during the 1980s in the apartheid government.

## 6. LIST OF REFERENCES CITED

Adonis, J C 2005. Dr Beyers Naudé and Church Unification in the Family of Dutch Reformed Church, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé* Beyers. Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 117-126.

Ackermann, D M 2005. Beyers Naudé: Public Theologian, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 63-76.

Akper, G I 2006. Oom Bey for the Future: Beyond Resistance and Hope, in Hansen, L & Vosloo, R (eds), *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the witness of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 2. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 69-79.

African National Congress, *Beyers Naudé*. [www.anc.org.za](http://www.anc.org.za), 8 September 2008

Anthonissen, C A 2005. Beyers Naudé's Relevance for the DRC Today, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 143-150.

Banda, Z J 1996. From Open Resistance to Cautious Involvement: The Emergence of Mission in the Hervormde Kerk van Afrika. M.Th dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Banda, Z J 2009. "Solidarity with Victims": An appraisal of J N J (Klippiess) Kritzinger's contribution to the praxis of Liberation Theology. *Missionalia* 37 (3), 111-124.

Berg, B L 1989. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon.

Bevans, S B & Schroeder, R P 2006. *Constants in Context. A Theology of Mission for Today*. American Society of Missiology Series, No. 30. Maryknoll: Orbis.

Biko, S 1989. Black Consciousness and the Quest for True Humanity, in Daneel, M L & Kritzinger, J N J (eds). *Mission as Liberation: Third World Theologies. Reader for MSB301-F*. UNISA, 205-216.

Boff, L 1989. The Originality of the Theology of Liberation, in Ellis, M H & Maduro, O (eds), *Essays in Honour of Gustavo Gutierrez*. New York: Orbis, 38-48.

Bosch, D J 1991. *Transforming Mission. Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*. New York: Orbis.

Bosch, D J 1994. *The Spirituality of the Road*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. IMER. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Boesak, A 1988. *Black and Reformed. Apartheid, Liberation and the Calvinist Tradition*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Braamfontein: Skotaville.

Botman, H R 2004. Tribute to Beyers Naudé. Unpublished paper delivered at the Memorial Service of Beyers Naudé. Stellenbosch.

Bredenkamp, H & Ross, R 1995. *Missions and Christianity in South African History*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Burger, C 2001. *Ons weet aan wie ons behoort. Nuut gedink oor ons gereformeerde tradisie*. Wellington: Lux Verbi. BM.

Buti, S P E 1982. Black Experience and the Struggle for Liberation in the Relationship between the White Dutch Reformed Church and the Black Dutch Reformed Church. M.Th Dissertation. Princeton Theological Seminary.

Clements, K W 2006. An interview with Beyers Naudé, in Hansen, L & Vosloo, R (eds), *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the witness of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 2. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 167-172.

Cochrane, J W, De Gruchy, J & Petersen, R (eds) 1991. *In word and deed: Towards a practical theology of social transformation: A framework for reflection and training*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster.

Creswell, J 2007. *Qualitative Inquiry and research design*. California: Sage.

Cronje, J M 1982. *Born to Witness. A Concise History of the Churches born out of the mission work of the Dutch reformed Church*. Pretoria: NG Kerkboekhandel.

De Gruchy, J 1986. *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Claremont: David Phillip.

De Gruchy, J 2005. Beyers Naudé and Public Theology, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé* Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 81-90.

De Saintonge, R 1989. *Outside the Gate: The Story of Nico Smith*. London: Holder and Stoughton.

D' Oliveira, J 1977. *Vorster The Man*. Johannesburg: Ernest Stanton.

Department of Defence (SA) Religious Policy. Updated July 2009. Pretoria.

Dubow, S 2000. *The African National Congress*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Ellis, S & Sechaba, T 1992. *Comrades against Apartheid. The ANC and the South African Communist Party in Exile*. London: James Currey.

Flick, U 2007. *Doing Conversation, Discourse and Documents Analysis: The sage qualitative research kit*. London: SAGE.

Frost, M & Hirsch, A 2003. *The Shaping of things to come. Innovation and mission for the 21<sup>st</sup> century church*. Massachusetts: Hendrickson.



Gastrow, S 1992. *Who is who in South African Politics*. Number 4. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Geisler, N L 1980. *Ethics: Alternatives and issues*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. .

Goheen, M W & Bartholomew, C G 2008. *Living at the crossroads. An introduction to Christian Worldview*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.

Guder, D L 2000. *The Continuing Conversion of the Church*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans

Gutierrez, G 1988. *A Theology of Liberation. History, Politics and Salvation*. Revised Edition. New York: Orbis.

Hansen L 2006. Oom Bey and the youth: Three Challenges for the future, in Hansen, L & Vosloo, R (eds), *Oom Bey for the future: Engaging the witness of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 2. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 21-43.

Hayes, T W 2006. Oom Bey for the Future: A Retrospect, in Hansen, L & Vosloo, R (eds) *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the witness of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 2. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 47-63.

Heaney, M J 2004. Beyers Naudé, Ekumeniese Baanbreker in Suid-Afrika: 1960-1994. PhD thesis, University of Pretoria.

Heyns, J A 1980. *The Church*. Pretoria: N G Kerkboehandel, Transvaal.

Hildebrandt, J 1981. *History of the Church in Africa. A Survey*. Achimota (Ghana): Africa Christian Press.

Hirsch, A 2006. *The forgotten ways. Reaching the missional church*. Michigan: Brazos.

Hofmeyr, J W, Millard, J A & Froneman, C J J (eds) 1991. *History of the Church in South Africa*. A document and source book. Pretoria: UNISA.

Hollway, W & Jefferson, T 2000. *Doing qualitative research differently. Free association, narrative and the interview method*. London: SAGE Publication.

Hornby, A S 1983. *Oxford Student's Dictionary of Current English*. Revised and updated. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Howell, R 2009. Christian suffering and martyrdom: An opportunity for forgiveness and reconciliation. *International Journal for Religious Freedom*. 2 (2), 13-27.

International Consultation Report, 2007. *What is the significance of Calvin's legacy for Christians today?* Downloaded from [http://www.calvin09.org/media/pdf/Materialpool/070726\\_P0\\_report\\_e.pdf](http://www.calvin09.org/media/pdf/Materialpool/070726_P0_report_e.pdf) (accessed 12 July 2009).

International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1988. *Nelson Mandela, His life in the Struggle*. A Pictorial History. Orpington Kent (Britain): A.G. Bishop & Sons.

Jaarboek van die NG Kerke 2010. Wellington: Tydskriftemaatskappy.

Jorgensen, D L 1989. *Participant Observation. A methodology for Human Studies. Applied Social Research Methods Series Volume 15*. London: SAGE Publications.

Kane-Berman, J 1993. *Political violence in South Africa*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.

Karecki, M (ed) 2002. *The Making of An African Person: Essays in Honour of Willem A. Saayman*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Pretoria: Daan Roux.

Kerk en samelewing 1990. 'n Getuienis van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk: Soos aanvaar deur die Algemene Sinode van die Ned Geref Kerk, Oktober 1990.

Kirk, J A 2000. *What is Mission?: Theological Explorations*. Augsburg: Fortress.

Kistner, W 1995. Beyers Naudé's Witness: A Pauline Interpretation, in Villa-Vicencio, C & Niehaus, C (eds), *Many Cultures, One nation*. Johannesburg: Human and Rousseau.

Kgatla, S T 2002. Willem Saayman, A True African Afrikaner Missiologist, in Karecki, M (ed), *The Making of an African Person: Essays in honour of Willem A Saayman*. Menlo Park: SAMS, 46-55.

Khoapa, B A 1989. Black Consciousness, in Daneel, M L & Kritzinger, J N J (eds). *Mission as Liberation: Third World Theologies. Reader for MSB301-F*. UNISA, 198-204.

Knitter, P E 1985. *No Other Name. A Critical Survey of Christian Attitudes Toward the World Religions*. London: SCM Press.

König, A 1987. *Super-Apartheid in die kerk. Die oortuigings van die beswaardes volgens 'Geloof en Protes'*. Pretoria: NG Kerkboekhandel, Transvaal.

Kritzinger, J J, Meiring P G J & Saayman, W A 1984. *You will be my witness. An introduction to methods of mission*. Pretoria: NG Kerkboekhandel Transvaal.

Kritzinger, J J, Meiring, P G J, & Saayman, W A 1994. *On Being Witness. What is the goal and content of mission? Who is responsible for mission? The context of mission. The methods of mission*. Johannesburg: Perskor

Kritzinger, J J 2009. Christianity in Northern Ethiopia: Missiological Observations. *Missionalia* 37 (3), 90-110.

Kritzinger, J N J 1988. Black Theology-Challenge to Mission. DTh thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Kritzinger, J N J 1995. Religious communities as agents of change: An agenda for missiology. *Missionalia* 23:3 (Nov): 366-396.

Kruger, J S, Lubbe, G J A & Steyn, H C 1996. *The Human Search for Meaning. A Multi-religious Introduction of the Religions of Humankind*. Goodwood: National Book Printers.

Küng, H 1981. *The Church*. Great Britain: Biddles.

Landman, C 1994. *The Piety of Afrikaans women. Diaries of guilt*. Pretoria: UNISA.

Lubbe, G 2009. Observations on the spirituality of Martin Luther King Jr, Desmond Mpilo Tutu and Barack Hussein Obama. *Missionalia*. Vol 37 (3), 125-137.

Macdonald, A M (ed) 1950. *Chambers Etymological English Dictionary*. New edition. Edinburgh: W & R Chambers.

Luthuli, A 1989. *Let my people go. The autobiography of the great South African leader*. Glasgow: William Collins & Sons.

Maguire, K 1991. *South Africa. From Vorster to De Klerk*. Edinburgh: Chambers.

Maimela, S 1987. *Proclaim Freedom to my people. Essays on religion and politics*. Braamfontein: Skotaville.

Maluleke, T S 1998. Christianity in a Distressed Africa: A time to own and own up. *Missionalia* 26 (3), 324-340.

Mandela, N R 1990. *Nelson Mandela. The Struggle is my Life: His speeches and writings brought together with historical documents and accounts of Mandela in prison by fellow-prisoners*. New York: Pathfinder.

Mandela, R N 1995. Foreword, in Villa-Vicencio, C (ed), *Many Cultures, One nation*. Johannesburg: Human and Rousseau.

Mandela, N R 1998. *Long Walk to Freedom. The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. Abridged Edition. London: Macmillan.

Masuku, M T 1996. African Initiated Churches: Christian Partners or Antagonists. *Missionalia* 24 (3), 441-455.

Masuku, M T 1998. Listening to the forgotten voice: Some views of AIC leaders on theological education. *Missionalia* 26 (3), 392-411.

Masuku, M T 1998. Rev J L R Rammala: A Case Study of an African Missionary. MTh dissertation. University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Mbeki, T. Mbeki hails Naudé at his funeral, in [www.iol.co.za](http://www.iol.co.za). (accessed 18 September 2004).

Meiring, P 1999. Reconciliation: dream or reality? *Missionalia*. 27 (2), 241-244.

Meyers, R J 2006. Beyers Naudé as an icon: Reflections on his role towards a new South African Society. *Practical Theology of South Africa*. 21 (3), 122-138.

Mpako, D 1999. Anti-racism work and reconciliation. *Missionalia* 27 (2), 235-240.

Müller, C F J (ed) 1993. *500 Years. A History of South Africa*. Third Revised and Illustrated Edition. Goodwood: Academica.

Nash, M 2005. Beyers Naudé and the Christian Institute, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé* Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 31-40.

Naudé, C F B 1991. Meditation by Rev. Beyers Naudé to the Cape Town Consultation. In *From Cottesloe to Cape Town. Challenges for the Church in a Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Geneva: WCC.

Naudé, C F B 1995. *My land van hoop. Die lewe van Beyers Naudé*. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau.

Naudé, C F B 2005. The Afrikaner and race relations, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 55-62.

Naudé, C F B 2005. The Need for Political Reform, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 91-99.

Naudé, C F B 2005. Christian Involvement in the Struggle for Human Rights and Justice, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 111-115.

Naudé, C F B 2005. Confessing the Faith in South Africa Today, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 127-130.

Naudé, C F B 2005. Reconciliation, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 139-142.

Naudé, C F B 2006. The Land of Promise, in Hansen, L & Vosloo, R (eds), *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the witness of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 2. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 17-19.

Naudé, C F B 2006. The Churches Answer Young People's Questions, in Hansen, L & Vosloo, R (eds), *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the witness of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 2. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 45.

Naudé, C F B 2006. South Africa Tomorrow, in Hansen, L & Vosloo, R (eds), *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the witness of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 2. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 65-67.

Naudé, C F B 2006. Christian Ministry in a time of crisis, in Hansen, L & Vosloo, R (eds), *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the witness of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 2. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 81-89.

Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Sinode van Noord-Transvaal, 1975. *Kerkorde en Bepalings*.

Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk. Algemene sinodesitting, Oktober 1990. ACTA van die Agemene Sinodesitting 1990. Argief van die Nerderduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Stellenbosch.

Neill, S 1977. *The History of Christian Missions*. New York: Penguin books.

Niemandt, C J P 2007. *Nuwe drome vir nuwe werklikhede: geloofsgemeenskappe in pas met 'n postmoderne wereld*. 1<sup>ste</sup> uitgawe. Wellington: Lux Verbi. BM.

Ngcokovane, C 1989. *The Demons of Apartheid. A moral and ethical Analysis of the N.G.K, N.P. and Broederbond's justification of Apartheid*. Braamfontein: Skotaville.

Ntshumayelo, M P 2005. Towards a comprehensive Ministry Among the Poor. Developing a comprehensive strategy for mission in informal settlement communities with special reference to the Orange Farm Community. PhD thesis, University of Pretoria.

Odendal, F F 1994. Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (HAT). Midrand: Perskor.

Okoye, J C 2006. *Israel and the Nations: A Mission Theology of the Old Testament*. New York: Orbis.

Pauw, J C 2005. The Life and Legacy of Beyers Naudé. In *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Center Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 7-24.

Pieterse, H J C 1995. *Desmond Tutu's message. A qualitative analysis*. Kampen: Kok Pharos.

Plaatjies-Van Huffel, M 2006. Women in the theological anthropology of Beyers Naudé, in Hansen, L & Vosloo, R (eds), *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the witness of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 2. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 109-119.

Posel, D, Swilling M, Humphries, R & Shubane, K 1991. Curbing African Urbanization in the 1950s and 1960s, in *Apartheid City in Transition*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press SA.

Randall, P (ed) 1982. *Not Without Honour: Tribute to Beyers Naudé*. Johannesburg: Raval Press.

Ratzinger Report, 2004. An Interview with Cardinal Ratzinger and Vittorio Messori. Version 9<sup>th</sup> December 2004: Ignatius Press.

Ryan, C 2005. *Beyers Naudé. Pilgrimage of faith*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Claremont: David Philip Publishers.

Rumscheidt, M 2005. The Political Worship of God: The Example of Beyers Naudé, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 101-110.

Saayman, W 1991. *Christian Mission in South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA.

Saayman, W (ed) 1992. *Study Guide for MSA100-3*. Introduction to Missiology. Pretoria: UNISA.



Saayman, W 2007. *Being Missionary, Being Human. An Overview of Dutch Reformed Mission*. Piertermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

Saayman, W 2009. Personal Reflections: Klippies Kritzinger as I know Him. *Missionalia* 37:3 (Nov), 12-23.

Saayman, W 2009. *Die Beroerder Israels. 'n Biografiese waardering van NICO SMITH*. Publiself.

Sacks, J 2005. *To Heal a Fractured World. The Ethics of Responsibility*. USA: Schocken Book.

Serfontein, J H P 1970. *Die Verkrampde Aanslag*. Kaapstad & Pretoria: Human & Rousseau.

Serfontein, J H P 1979. *Brotherhood of Power. An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond*. London: Rex Collins Ltd

Setiloane, G M 1976. *The Image of God Among the Sotho-Tswana*. Rotterdam: Balkema.

Strassberger, E 2001. *Ecumenism in South Africa 1936-1960* (with special reference to the church). Doctoral Thesis. University of Stellenbosch. Johannesburg: Zenith.

Strydom, H & Wilkins, I 1978. *The Super Afrikaners. Inside the Afrikaner Broederbond*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Swilling, M, Humphries, R & Shubane, K 1991. *Apartheid city in transition*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Durban.

Sono, T 1993. *Reflections on the Origins of Black Consciousness in South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC.

Tutu, D M 2005. Beyers Naudé': Unlikely Champion of Justice, in *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Center Series on Public Theology Volume 1. Stellenbosch: Sun Press.

Van Schalkwyk, A 1999. A gendered truth: Women's testimonies at the TRC and reconciliation. *Missionalia* 27 (2), 165-188.

Verkuyl, J 1978. *Contemporary Missiology. An Introduction*. Michigan: Grand Rapids.

Villa-Vicencio, C 1995. An Afrikaner of the Afrikaners, in Villa-Vicencio, C & Niehaus, C (eds), *Many Cultures, One nation*. Johannesburg: Human and Rousseau.

Volf, M 2006. *The End of Memory. Remembering Rightly in a Violent World*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Vosloo, R D 2006. Hospitality and Truth-telling: Revisiting the Witness of Beyers Naudé, in Hansen, L & Vosloo, R (eds), *Oom Bey for the Future: Engaging the witness of Beyers Naudé*. Beyers Naudé Centre Series on Public Theology Volume 2. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 129-136.

Vroom, H M 2008. On being 'Reformed'. *Reformed World* 58 (4): 189-206.

World Council of Churches, 1986. C.F.Beyers Naudé, Dorothee Solle. *Hope For Faith. A Conversation*. Geneva: WCC Publications.

World Council of Churches. *Programme to Combat Racism 1991. From Cottesloe to Cape Town*. Challenges for the Church in Post-Apartheid SA: 1991/No.30.

Yancey, P 1991. *Where is God when it hurts? A comforting, healing guide for coping with hard times*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

## INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

Bartlett, A L 2009. Interview with author, Northcliff, Johannesburg (10 February 2009).

Botha, N A. 2009. Interview with author, Pretoria (16 February 2009).

Kritzinger, J N J 2009. Interview with author, Pretoria (12 May 2009).

Meyer, R A 2009. Interview with author, La Montagne, Pretoria (16 March 2009).

Meiring, P G J 2009. Interview with author, Glenwood Village, Pretoria (1 June 2009).

Mokgoebo, Z.I. 2009. Interview with author, Pretoria (19 June 2009).

Naudé, J 2009. Interview with author, Johannesburg, (24 February 2009).

Tshelane, S S 2009. Interview with author, Pretoria, (14 April 2009).

## PRINT MEDIA PUBLICATIONS

“Oom Bey, Afrikaner extraordinaire.” The Star. 09 September 2004.

“A peek at the private life of Beyers Naudé.” Tribune. 12 September 2004.

“Reluctant rebel loved people.” Business Day. 8 September 2004.

“SA pays tribute to Oom Bey.” SAPA. 08 September 2004.

“Oom Bey inspired us all, says Mandela.” The Star. 09 September 2004.

“Naudé could rightly claim to be an African.” The Star. 12 September 2004.

“Beyers Naudé: man’s law second.” Business Day. 08 September 2004.

“Mbeki hails Naudé at his funeral.” Independent Online (IOL). 18 September 2004.

“‘Backyard mechanic’ Naudé worked with MK.” The Mercury. 17 September 2004.

“Political giants prepare for Naudé’s funeral.” The Star. 17 September 2004.

“Stellenbosch University remembers Oom Bey, Cape Times.” 16 September 2004, p5

“ANC is a broad *church* for people with diverse views.” City Press, 13 July 2008, p.21.

“ANC summit deals with spike in service strikes.” City Press, 5 December 2010, p2.

## **PRO VERITATE**

Pro Veritate, 15 May 1965 vol iv, no.1).

Pro Veritate, 15 June 1965 (vol. iv, no 2).

Pro Veritate, 15 July 1965 (vol iv, no. 3).

Pro Veritate, 15 September 1965 (vol iv, no. 5).

Pro Veritate, 15 April 1966 (vol. v, no. 12).

Pro Veritate, 15 May 1966 (vol. v, no. 1).

Pro Veritate, 15 July 1966 (vol. v, no. 3).

Pro Veritate, 15 August 1966 (vol v, no. 4).

Pro Veritate, 15 September 1966 (vol v, n.5).

Pro Veritate, 15 October 1966 (vol v, no. 6).

Pro Veritate, 15 November 1966 (vol v, no.7).

Pro Veritate, 15 December 1966 (vol v, no.8).

Pro Veritate, 15 March 1967 (vol v, no.11).

Pro Veritate, 15 January 1967 (vol v, No 9).

Pro Veritate, 15 April 1967 (vol v, no 12).

## 7. APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

**DR A.L. (ANDRE) BARTLETT, AASVOËLKOP CONGREGATION CHURCH BUILDING, NORTHCLIFF, JOHANNESBURG 10 FEBRUARY 2009**

#### **Question 1: Who was Beyers Naudé to you?**

**Response.** There are a lot of aspects that changed my life. The first is that he was the minister of this church (DRC congregation of Aasvoëlkop) where I served for almost 10 years. He was a minister from 1959 to 1963. He thereafter became the Director of the Christian Institute (CI) which was an ecumenical body founded to lead the critique against the apartheid system. He was one of the people who worked in the church (Aasvoëlkop congregation) before me. He became a member of the congregation when he came back and was also buried from this church building.

I knew him for the last ten years of his life. He became like a father to me, a mentor, and role model. Somebody I could go to with issues and ask for advice or direction and discuss things.

#### **Question 2: What made Beyers Naudé different from other ministers?**

**Response.** He had the courage of his convictions which were in conflict with church policy. He had courage to stand up and refuse to go with this church policy. It was in the 1960s and everyone looked at him like a young energetic minister who was going to play a major role in the church. He sacrificed a lot because he knew that the direction the church was following was wrong for the political and ideological justification that the church was giving to apartheid, and he was willing to stand up and speak against it and that caused him a lot of hardship.

He was a strong prophetic figure who puts up his case in a strong way but at the same time he was this deeply pastoral person who will sit down with you, talk down

some serious issues and can listen to you and give you strong pastoral support. He can relate with all types of people. He was a remarkable person.

**Question 3: What was his attitude on gender issues?**

**Response.** My experience was that he treated all equally. You must understand that he was from the old generation, from the patriarchal age and something like that might have cropped into his life, but it was not the case. I know of women who worked well with him and were treated as equals with respect.

**Question 4: What was his attitude to ministers of other churches?**

**Response.** He led an ecumenical life. This was seen at his funeral which was represented by senior people from different churches. When you mentioned his name to other ministers, they all knew him. The CI was founded to work on a more ecumenical base. He was one of the founder members of the SACC in 1968 to get the churches working together.

**Question 5: What was the reaction of the congregation to his ministry in 1963 when he was expelled from the church?**

**Response.** Mixed reactions. Many people respected him. There were people who did not understand him and who didn't even agree with him. Some reacted with hostility. Very few people were ready to fully support him. He was a strong leader outside the ministry, more than inside.

**Question 6: What was the reaction of the congregation during his last service and sermon on 22 September 1963? I know you might not have been there but other members of your congregation who were there might have briefed you.**

**Response.** Very emotional and it was a kind of a relief that the alienation has been overcome. There was a positive reaction where everybody felt it was good, I was part of this. But when he returned to the congregation there was a positive and

emotional welcome. Most of them apologized that they were wrong in driving him out of the church.

## **APPENDIX B**

### **INTERVIEW WITH PROF N. A. (NICO) BOTHA ON 16 FEBRUARY 2009 AT HIS UNISA OFFICE**

#### **Question 1: Who was Beyers Naudé to you?**

**Response.** A contributor to the struggle against apartheid. I was not a close friend but we knew each other very well.

#### **Question 2: How did you meet him?**

**Response.** I met him in terms of his role against apartheid and the Christian Institute (CI) that he started by himself. My first contact was towards the end of 1983. This was through the grant from the Christian Fellowship Cluster (CFC). In South Africa, Beyers Naudé and his wife were responsible for the CFC. They assisted me to undertake a study tour with my wife Dons in 1983 and we toured England, Netherland, Germany and Switzerland. I was looking at issues related to ecumenism. My wife was looking at those related to education.

Before we left we went via his house where we met on a one-on-one basis while he was banned. That was a moving experience. I was humbled. He was so prophetic, courageous, hopeful for the future of the country that things will develop for the better. He was simple, analytical about apartheid, I was inspired by him. When I met him towards the end of 1983, I was a minister for four years. He was simple, but with a strong prophetic power.

**Question 3: What is it that made him so famous that he event received a state funeral?**

**Response.** A number of reasons. One can even classify them. For instance, theological reasons. He broke in a radical way with a theology that justified an apartheid system. It was quite remarkable for a DRC *dominee* to break with apartheid theology in the 1950s, 1960s. That is why the system was hostile to him, thrown with banning order. That is why millions of South Africans, especially Blacks, looked up to him with respect.

**Question 4: How can one define Beyers Naudé's spirituality?**

**Response.** Sometimes I look at my own involvement in the struggle. There is danger of emulating politicians. We are supposed to speak of the gospel, to speak theologically from the Word, to reflect theologically on apartheid.

Beyers Naudé throughout his life displayed remarkable spirituality, which showed in his heart of hearts. He was a minister, not a politician. He never wanted to be one. What puts him aside is that he has borne the marks of the cross, he has borne the stigmata of the cross. He had a deep spirituality of the cross in his leadership style, prophetic witness. He embodied the spirituality of the cross that is characterized by humility and courage. The late Prof David Bosch spoke of mission in both humility and love. Beyers Naudé was both humble and bold. That puts him apart from the rest.

**Question 5: What made him different from others?**

**Response.** All Belydende-kring (BK) members looked at Beyers Naudé as quite a remarkable leader, theologian in terms of remarkable sacrifices he made for participating in the struggle against apartheid. He paid a dear price. People loved and respected him for that. Many people I know were very much favourably disposed to the person of Beyers Naudé.



**Question 6: Did he enjoy support from his wife?**

**Response.** His wife stood by him, supported him during difficult times.

**Question 7: What was the DRC's understanding of Beyers Naudé's ministry?**

**Response.** When he turned against apartheid, he was ostracized, pushed from the DRC. It was a particular historical moment when he said, "here I stand, help me God." We know that the apartheid system and Dr Hendrik Verwoerd were crossed. When he started the CI he was branded a communist, ostracized by his own people.

There was also a moment of reconciliation where he was invited back by the same congregation. Being a person of reconciliation, he accepted the invite. This is not clear whether the DRC understood his message clearly. Remember, the kind of statement he made, his wish that his ashes should be thrown in Alexandra township. We don't know whether the DRC will understand his message.

**Question 8: Is there any mission lesson we can learn from Beyers Naudé's life?**

**Response.** His legacy to church and society is that if you want to live up to the gospel message you are bound to make sacrifices. If one wants to be prophetic, one should be prepared to pay the price. If one wants to be a true Christian, there is no way to avoid that stigmata of the cross, something which goes with the cross. Of course also resurrection, the hope for a bright future, the new tomorrow.

For me the last legacy of Beyers Naudé was that when he saw the light that apartheid was against God, he broke away with the DRC, the church he loved. He stood for justice even if people stood away from him. He had a deep solidarity with the poor. This is part of his legacy. It is difficult to live with this legacy.

---

## **APPENDIX C**

### **INTERVIEW WITH PROF J.N.J (KLIPPIES) KRITZINGER ON 12 MAY 2009 AT HIS OFFICE UNISA**

#### **Question 1: How do you know Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** I met him when I was 11 years old. My brother married a member of the Aasvoëlkop DRC congregation. I then attended the church service at Aasvoëlkop congregation. I went there by bicycle. I used to enjoy his sermons. I was not politically minded then and I was only 13 years old. I was there when he preached his last sermon. But I saw him as a warm, genuine, caring and kind. One of his sermons I also remember was from Galatians 6 that was about carrying each other's burden. What I learnt was that the gospel is about responsibility.

We missed each other from then and I met him again as an adult within the context of Belydende-kring (BK). We met in his garden.

#### **Question 2: What was the reaction of the DRC congregation of Aasvoëlkop during his last sermon on 22 Sep 1963?**

**Response.** The church was packed. People loved him. They did not see him as a politician. In Afrikaner communities, politics and church were closed. People loved him. He was innovative, not scared to start a new thing. His church building did have a cross and windows painted with all symbols. He was brave to start something new. When I met him, I was impressed about his knowledge. He was well informed. He understood the situation. He read newspapers and the Bible. He was not condemning and judgmental of other people. He loved the Afrikaners and being an Afrikaner. The prophetic mind was clear in him. He was a typical Afrikaner *Oom (uncle)*. He wore a green safari all the time. He was radical. He was typical Afrikaner. He lived a simple life. He bought old cars, Peugeots and fixed himself. He was simple.

He encouraged me a lot, to think clearly and to analyse what is happening in society. Black people did not regard him as liberal because he lived what he said. For Instance, when Black organizations were banned in 1977, the Christian Institute (CI) was also banned. He listened to Steve Biko and knew that Black Consciousness (BC) was not against Whites but racism. He supported Black development like African Initiated Churches (AICs). He trusted everybody. He did not keep money for himself but gave it for good causes.

He did not hate to be an Afrikaner. I was once tempted to be like that. I was ashamed of being an Afrikaner for what they were doing. He helped me not to be ashamed of being an Afrikaner. Denying your identity makes you a liberal as if you buy yourself away from the crowd and think you are better off than them.

He did join the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRCA) later than us. His wife did not join the Black church. He was conservative, liberal and radical about some other things.

**Question 3: How long did you know him?**

**Response.** When I was a minister at Charisma, a Reformed Church in Africa congregation, we visited him with my members to sympathize with him. We had a talk and prayed for him. He appreciated that very much and we sat in his garden. It was after he became a secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) that we did not meet very frequently like Rudolf Meyer and others.

**Question 4: What was your attitude to Christian faith during apartheid?**

**Response.** I was very much in the same wing with him, but for the Afrikaners it is a very radical thing to oppose apartheid, not only questioning it. He strengthened my understanding of the Christian faith. The Christian faith is about freedom, dignity, justice and being the image of God and that doesn't imply one race regarding itself more superior than others even dominating them.

**Question 5: What was unique about his ministry which others did not have?**

**Response.** Listener, real pastoral figure, spoke clearly, he could hold together a whole lot of stuff, could integrate, he could analyse what is wrong, he could create a vision of what to do and where to go. In his ministry, he communicated well, a good speaker. He had credibility because he lived for the people, he helped them. They also loved and accepted him.

**Question 6: How did he differ from other ministers?**

**Response.** He was an Afrikaner. There is a similarity between Afrikaner and some African people. Afrikaners are recognizable. It is difficult for Dutch and some English to understand. The similarity is that both Africans and Afrikaners are associated with farming. They took him as one. He was appreciated for that.

**Question 7: What is it that you loved or hated about Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** Some of my colleagues like Charl Le Roux, Chris Greyling and other people who belonged to the CI in the early sixties and in the mid sixties said Beyers Naudé went too far. This had to do with the Black Consciousness movement, it had to do with radical changes with Black thinkers which he said are necessary and inevitable. When Beyers Naudé said this they said he went too far. This also shocked Dr Jacko van Rooyen at Parkhurst congregation who protected him. He was a good theologian and protected him while a member of his church. He told the DRC that there is no charge against Beyers Naudé. He did not discipline Beyers Naudé despite the request of the DRC General Synod to discipline members of CI. He lost most Afrikaners in the late sixties. I did not see anything wrong with him. I love him?

**Question 8: Who were other ministers who did the same thing as Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** All in the BK e.g. Prof Gerrie Lubbe, Rev Zackie Mokgoebo, etc. BK changed my life. I went the same journey as *Oom Bey* (Beyers Naudé). I opened

myself to and listened to the Black colleagues. I don't have to in order to be acceptable. You don't have to do all sorts of things to be acceptable to Black people. You just live commonly as an Afrikaner, not controlled by race but without denying who you are. The Black colleagues changed my life.

**Question 9: What was his theology of religions (attitude to faith)?**

**Response.** Yes, Fareen Isaac, a well-known Muslim activist against apartheid, told me of a video tape, or broadcast in the Netherlands in which there was a discussion between Dorothy Zille, German theologian and Beyers Naudé. At the end Beyers Naudé requested to pray. She said it was moving. He had a soft heart. This took her away from her Muslim tradition. He said that Beyers Naudé made Christianity more attractive. Judged by this, he might have had influence the same way for other people. He contributed in a huge way to the credibility of the Christian faith. Not only among Blacks who were on the point of losing the Christian faith because apartheid is a 'Christian' policy, becoming atheist, Muslims or agnostics. He certainly helped people to see Christianity like that, not oppressive but liberating, humanizing force in history.

It is disappointing that he ended up returning to the NGK and buried there not in Alexandra. It is said that his relation with Rev Sam Buti (Alexandra URCSA minister) ended sour. His wife seldom went to Alexandra. It was worse for them when they went to a retirement village.

His wife never shared his political views. She supported him unconditionally as a wife. The way she hugged and embraced Mbeki at the funeral was touching.

Beyers Naudé was a prophetic figure. Way before his time, before many Afrikaners can realise, he said apartheid cannot work, because it is wrong.

---

## **APPENDIX D**

### **PROF P.G.J. (PIET) MEIRING 01 JUNE 2009 AT HIS HOUSE, GLENWOOD VILLAGE**

#### **Question 1: Who was Beyers Naudé to you?**

**Response.** While a minister, he was a moderator of the DRC and a friend of my father. When I was a student, I remembered Cottesloe consultation where he took a bold decision. My father was the leader of the Transvaal delegation of the DRC and Beyers Naudé was second in command.

When I was a student at the University of Pretoria (UP), I lived at Sonop hostel. Beyers Naudé's son Johann was also a student at UP with me. I also knew Beyers Naudé in the context of when he came to see his son at the UP. When I was a minister, he spoke to us time and again. I also paid him visits. When he was banned, we knew about it and were touched by that.

#### **Question 2: How long did you know him?**

**Response.** I knew him since the 1950s, more than half a century, the whole lifetime.

#### **Question 3: What impact did his ministry have on your faith?**

**Response.** He had a deep connection to Christ? No one can live with Beyers Naudé without having been touched. He touched us in many ways, his integrity, deep commitment to Christ, to live the gospel in a difficult situation in South Africa. Beyers Naudé had courage and prophetic witness. He challenged all of us to follow him in terms of his faith and commitment to Christ. He was gracious. He believed that apartheid was wrong and it was irreconcilable to people. It cannot be justified and if something was wrong, he was prepared to say that. He was gracious to the DRC. He never criticized it except for apartheid. He loved his church. He was

understanding towards people who found it difficult to stand up against apartheid. Beyers Naudé was forced to leave the DRC that he loved.

Most of his family turned their backs against him. *Oom* Frans also turned his back against Beyers Naudé. But a few years later, the relationship was rebuilt. But over the years he was ostracized not only by the church but by his colleagues and family.

**Question 4: What did the DRC gain from the state (for the support of apartheid) as a gesture of gratitude?**

**Response.** The DRC denied that it was a state church but in practical terms it was. It was based on the close relationship that existed between the Afrikaners, the Nationalist Party and the DRC. They shared the same ideals. At some stage, the moderator of the national synod was a brother to Prime Minister John Vorster.

**Question 5: What was your attitude to the Christian faith during apartheid?**

**Response.** I grew up in Heidelberg and it was then a Stellenbosch of the highveld. The high school of Heidelberg was a famous *Volkskool*, full of patriotism. In matric I was a child of my age. When I went to university, at the second year, it was when the Cottesloe event happened. After my graduation for degree, I went to Holland for studies. I then realized that apartheid was wrong and it separated people. I did my PhD in Holland and on my return I was ordained.

There were always people in the DRC who said that apartheid was wrong. It became a group which met from time to time. In 1981 the group was so strong that the UP and the Stellenbosch groups jointly wrote a declaration. It was called *Hervormdedag Getuienis*, asking for the church to rethink its stance about church and society. A few years later, *Oom* Frans Geldenhuys, myself and Prof Nico Smith wrote a book called *Storm-compass*, the compass of the storm, very critical of apartheid. A year later 123 ministers wrote a letter to the church that apartheid was wrong. By 1986 the voice of dissent was so strong that the DRC had to rethink.

By 1990 the church was able to say that “we are wrong with apartheid, we had to apologise to the people of SA that we had an apartheid theology”.

**Question 6: Were you not in any way challenged to lose credibility in the Christian faith as a result of the way it was misused?**

**Response.** Yes, victims of oppression lost hope in the Christian faith. I can understand why they lost faith. Many people in the DRC, the Afrikaners church, said that they believe in Jesus Christ and were part of the communion of Saints but they did not practice that. My personal faith was not at stake. What was at stake was my experience of the DRC. Beyers Naudé said “let’s leave the church” others said, “let’s change it from inside.”

It was painful also in my own congregation that there were people who did not see that apartheid was wrong. They regarded it as proper solution to the race issues in South Africa.

**Question 7: Did the ministry of Beyers Naudé bring you new understanding of the Christian faith?**

**Response.** Beyers Naudé challenged all of us. The Christian faith is a prophetic one. The gospel asks that one must stand for the truth. The love of God and fellow human beings is to be kept in a balance. Beyers Naudé challenged us.

Beyers Naudé had a high regard for the communion of saints, of what the church is really meant to be, the body of Christ, where brothers and sisters live, take care of and love one another. It goes beyond human boundaries.

Beyers Naudé was courageous, a symbol of hope. What is happening in the world is not in the hands of politicians but God is in command. He challenged us to think of the implication of the gospel in our daily lives.



**Question 8: How can you describe the spirituality of Beyers Naudé? Was he a politician or a Minister of Religion?**

**Response.** The irony is that opponents of Beyers Naudé in church were speaking politics because it was from them, suiting them. Beyers Naudé was never a politician and he never wanted to be one. He was a human being. After he leaked the Broederbond documents, he apologized.

Beyers Naudé and others, drafted a statement to the Truth Commission and circulated it for signatures to confess about what they did in support of apartheid. Then we said, “if Beyers Naudé can confess, who are we?”

Beyers Naudé never got vengeful. He always said he is proud of being an Afrikaner. He never gave up his own Afrikaner people but said that if they do wrong being Afrikaner, I had to testify against my own people.

**Question 9: What *muti* did he use to win the hearts of the victims of oppression?**

**Response.** He was a wonderful combination. He was an able preacher, intelligent person, sharp mind, analytic mind. He was invited all over the place to preach and address people. He could persuade people. Before Cottesloe while still in the DRC, he attracted so many people in the church, but after Cottesloe, he became a Pastor of so many who struggled against apartheid. Carl Niehaus was one of them. He gave him courage. He was not only fearless, opponent of apartheid but a father figure, a pastor to so many in the struggle. He never lost hope even though he had a hard time, was banned.

He left the DRC in 1963 and his church became the entire South Africa and the world. Beyers Naudé is comparable with Dietrich Bonhoeffer who witnessed against the Nazi German in the 1930s and early 1940s. The way Beyers Naudé wrote Pro Veritate is excellent. Beyers Naudé was also influenced by the German church struggle. He saw it as being the same for the church in South Africa in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

Beyers Naudé was not somebody to play with. He handled the money for the freedom fighters very well. He listened to all in the struggle. Even non-Christians had a great regard for him.

**Question 10: What is it that you loved and hated about Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** There is nothing that I hated about him. All is what I loved about him. His preaching, ministry, fearlessness, way in which he was able to visualize the implications of the gospel. He was willing to suffer the brunt. There is nothing that I didn't like in his ministry.

**Question 11: Other ministers who stood up against apartheid?**

**Response.** In the DRC, there was always a voice on descent. There were two professors, one in Stellenbosch and another one at UP. Prof Ben Marais was in UP and Prof Keet in Stellenbosch. They said "no to apartheid" and they suffered a lot but they decided to stay in church. During the Cottesloe Consultation, there were quite a number of young ministers who wrote a book with Beyers Naudé called *Vertragte Aksie* (the late action). It is a series of essays written by those who aligned themselves with Beyers Naudé. So Prof Nico Smith was one of them. Prof Willie Jonker was in Stellenbosch and remained in the church and questioned apartheid. In Rustenburg he apologized for the DRC. Prof Johan Heyns was an able theologian who initially supported apartheid. He was a strong voice between 1986 to 1990. He came to see that apartheid was wrong and was assassinated soon thereafter.

Drs Eddie Bruwer, Willem Nicol, Willie Cilliers and others, we often met to follow in the footsteps of Beyers Naudé. Beyers Naudé was the only one in the DRC who was willing to suffer for that.

**Question 12: What impact did Beyers Naudé have on other religions?**

**Response.** Beyers Naudé was an evangelical who always said that Jesus Christ was the saviour of the world. John 14 "I am the truth..." He married an evangelical

Moravian. When he started Pro Veritate, he came into contact with other religions. Some of the Muslim and Jewish communities had great regard for him. Within the CI he was willing to talk to people of other faiths.

**Question 13: What was his spirituality?**

**Response.** There was a river of pietism that flew throughout the DRC. Beyers Naudé was one of those. In the DRC there was always involvement in the community though it meant the Afrikaner community, *the volk* especially after the Anglo Boer War, to uplift the life of the poor Afrikaner. That was also part of Beyers Naudé's make-up, that as Christians, we should be the salt of the earth, must be involved in community life. After Cottesloe, he realized that concern should not only be with the Afrikaner, but to include other people. Beyers Naudé was a mixture of the evangelical faith but also believed that the gospel has implications for every sphere of life and that one had to be a prophet wherever one is.

**Question 14: Anything to highlight about Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** Prof Johan Heyns was similar to Beyers Naudé but he focused on Afrikaners, a strong proponent of Afrikaners. He persuaded people biblically that apartheid was good, spoke of the covenant of God. Beyers Naudé on the other hand said that this was wrong and it cannot be done. At the end of his life, he realized it was wrong. When Beyers Naudé was dethroned, Prof Johan Heyns was the chairperson of a subcommittee that dethroned Beyers Naudé. In 1962, Prof Johan Heyns was a young scholar from Holland and his involvement in that committee stressed him for the rest of his life.

Beyers Naudé was back in the General Synod of the DRC in 1994, that was after 32 years. Beyers Naudé was invited to the synod and when he came, they welcomed him. Prof Johan Heyns led synod in standing ovation as he came into the hall. A week after this, he was assassinated. Johan Heyns led the applause. This was because his guilty conscience about Beyers Naudé stressed him for more than 30 years.

Beyers Naudé tried to unite the DRC family. From 1652 to 1857 the DRC was one church but due to the weakness of some, it was divided. Beyers Naudé continued to encourage the DRC family to be united. Beyers Naudé never completely gave up on the DRC.

---

## **APPENDIX E**

### **INTERVIEW WITH DR R. A. (RUDOLF) MEYER ON 16 MARCH 2009 AT HIS HOUSE AT LAMONTAGNE, PRETORIA**

#### **Question 1: How did you know Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** I met him while I was a student in the early 1960s after having been invited to a meeting that was chaired by him. The meeting was about the conditions of Blacks in South Africa. From then we became friends and worked together in many projects and institutions like the Christian Institute (CI) and Pro Veritate. I knew him for 35 years.

#### **Question 2: Did he make an impact in your life with regards to your faith?**

**Response.** He supported and confirmed me in my faith as a Christian. He influenced my politics and society. He argued that the gospel must be the light of the world and salt of the earth, not only about one's relationship with Christ on personal matters but for the impact in society as well. He was the only one DRC minister in the DRC delegation during Cottesloe who stood for the truth. He was a dedicated person and confirmed my faith for Jesus Christ as provider.

#### **Question 3: What was your attitude to the Christian faith during apartheid?**

**Response.** I was brought up in the DRC that was marked by the pietistic faith, a personal faith. This changed during my study at the University of Pretoria (UP) in the 1950s. My meeting with Beyers Naudé taught me that my faith should have impact in all areas of society. The fact that He suffered for us must apply to all races. Christ

brought us in unity with all other people including Blacks who suffered under apartheid. At UP I started to believe this and started to challenge the DRC in this regard. In my first congregation I started criticizing the DRC theology before I left her to become Study Secretary and Editor of the Pro Veritate in the CI.

The Black youth started questioning the integrity of the Christian faith in the light of the DRC' support to it. They challenged us that, "it is your Christian faith that is causing our suffering." Beyers Naudé took a stand and challenged them that it is not the Christian faith that caused the suffering but the apartheid ideology. We challenged this ideology. Christians should be able to distinguish between the ideology of apartheid and the Christian faith, i.e. to love neighbour as yourself. In apartheid one couldn't love neighbour as thyself. Beyers Naudé proved this with the identification with the struggle of the oppressed and became influential. As South African Council of Churches (SACC) General Secretary, he divided this body into regions and went about to all the regions to address the Black youth in order to convince them that one can follow Christ and be a Christian despite apartheid. Of course there were others such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Rev Frank Chikane and others who preached that same message that one can follow Christ and still reject apartheid.

**Question 4: Did Beyers Naudé bring you a new understanding of the Christian faith?**

**Response.** He told me that it is of no use to have an ivory tower type of knowledge of Christianity and that this faith should be applied in all areas of human life. He said it is of no use to have the theoretical concept of the Christian faith which is not hitting the target. That was a great challenge for me. Beyers Naudé followed this by starting the association of the AICs. He initiated the teaching of theology and training of these churches. He started SPROCAS. There was SPROCAS 1 and 2. Beyers Naudé followed this concept that the gospel must be practical and he organized meetings within the SACC to spread this type of perspective.

### **Question 5: Difference between Dr Beyers Naudé and Prof David Bosch?**

**Response.** The difference was on strategy. Bosch stayed within the church to effect change from within. He was both theoretical and to a certain extent practical. He instituted practical approach to mission and expanded mission to other fields like humanization, liberation, political witness and mission as evangelism. He started projects such as South African Christian Leadership Association (SACLA), Missionalia, etc. Although he was fighting within the DRC, all these were done outside the DRC.

Beyers Naudé on the other hand, felt that we had to go outside the DRC and identify with the victims of oppression and have integrity with them so that they can understand us and we learn from them. This will better enhance the humanity of the victims of oppression that was destroyed by apartheid.

This was not the same with Bosch who stayed within the DRC. Beyers Naudé said he loved victims of oppression and he is with them. Bosch argued that it is no use fighting outside because the government when she hits back she can crash all of them.

### **Question 6: Difference between Beyers Naudé and other ministers?**

**Response.** Beyers Naudé made a choice that Christ will come first in his life. This became apparent when challenged by his church. He chose to follow Christ as was seen from the text he chose during his last sermon at Aasvoëlkop DRC congregation. He taught through his life that Christ must be followed despite his upbringing and that he belonged to the BB the organization from which one is not allowed to resign. Beyers Naudé did not only resign from the BB but also gave BB documents out which were later published. We had great respect for his integrity, willingness to suffer, take a stand to proclaim Christ as the saviour and the unity that His message was to unite people of all races and backgrounds and churches together. Beyers Naudé rejected apartheid in word and deeds.

**Question 7: Was Beyers Naudé a politician or minister of religion?**

**Response.** He was not a politician. He strongly read eg papers and summarized all trends, politics, economic, etc but all these did not make him a politician. He analysed the political situations in the light of the Christian faith. He asked; “what can Christ do in this situation”? Beyers Naudé was a sincere Christian. He gave his witness from the Bible, Christian point of view. He was not a theologian on the level of a professor of theology but applied theology practically in life.

**Question 8: What is it that you loved or hated about Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** Loved: The way he made radical change. He was a normal DRC minister. I attended a synod with him where he was a moderator. He was efficient, meticulous and sensitive. He was also influenced by the conditions he saw at the mines during his tour to the mining compounds of the East Rand where he was exposed to the poor living conditions of Blacks. On his return, he accused ministers of the DRC for not doing a thing about those conditions. He was sensitive to the needs of the poor.

Hated: He supported all views. When people came to him for financial support, he assisted without asking questions. He did not take a stand. He could accommodate different directions in himself. He was sensitive not to disappoint other people. I did not like this. Beyers Naudé was always a figure in-between. There were those who had a problem with this attitude in the CI but this did not bother me.

**Question 9: What was the impact of his ministry on members of other faiths?**

**Response.** He had friends among members of other faith and he supported them. In the CI there was a Jew who worked there. The CI in fact had a clause that people of other faith than Christians should work together. The Jew who worked in the CI ultimately became a Christian citing the Christian witness of Beyers Naudé as reason for his move.

**Question 10: Anything about Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** He was concerned about White youngsters who were misled by apartheid. Beyers Naudé was a normal human being. On weekends, Saturdays, he would work in his garden or wear his overalls to fix his cars. He never bought a new car. At old age his children bought him a Mercedes but he always told people that it was not out of his own expense but was bought for him by his children. Beyers Naudé achieved a lot in his life.

-----

**APPENDIX F**

**INTERVIEW WITH REV Z.I. (ZACKIE) MOKGOEBO: 19 JUNE 2009 AT SEDIBA HOUSE, GROOTTEKERK, CORNER VERMEULEN AND BOSMAN STREETS, PRETORIA**

**Question 1: How do you know Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** I came to know Beyers Naudé through those ministers who were members of the Belydendekring (BK) such as Revs Mabusela, Moatshe, Selepe and others. They were also members of the Christian Institute (CI). I came to know him in the early 1980s, 1982 and 1983. At that time I was working as the General Secretary of the General Organizing Committee of the BK. At that time the CI was organized nationally with a number of networks where I encountered him. From that time, discussions and meetings never stopped.

**Question 2: What was the difference between Belydende-kring and Broeder-kring?**

**Response.** Belydende-kring as a new name was adopted in 1988 at the Freetown conference of the Broeder-kring. Before that time it was called Broeder-kring because of the male membership from the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRCA) and Dutch Reformed Mission Church (DRMC) who were critical about apartheid in the DRC family. The criticisms also invited many women. They said we cannot



criticize racism and leave out sexism. In our Freetown conference of 1988, the name was changed from Broeder-kring to Belydende-kring (BK).

### **Question 3: What contributions did Beyers Naudé made to BK?**

**Response.** The Belhar confession is the product of the BK. The original beginnings of it form the basis of the beliefs of the BK. It was conceived in the BK. It was a clear rejection of apartheid. That is why the BK was rejected by the DRC and the conservatives within the leadership of the Black churches, DRCA and DRMC. We realized that our reformed confessing counterparts in Europe and the USA cannot understand us if we speak with a divided voice of a divided DRC family. Thus the BK came into being. In the BK we were the only united voice from the DRC family that voiced the concerns and represented one critical voice against the lack of unity in the family and apartheid.

It should also be remembered that the context of the time was the ascendancy, reawakening and the call for Liberation Theology. The whole bias of God, who was on the side of the poor, was the powerful message in the political theology of the West. That is why people like Rudolph Bultmann and other theologians were taken up by this challenge, from the Liberation Theology. The theology of a God who took sides, bias, who was on the side to the poor. The CI and the Pro Veritate conveyed this text message that the rich cannot enter the Kingdom of God unless the camel can get through the needle hole. This biasness of God on the side of the poor was a powerful statement that the CI made in terms of their operations and theology, and that opened the way for Beyers Naudé to be acceptable to the Black community at that point of time. This was the biasness of God towards the people who were oppressed, disfranchised and down-trodden.

### **Question 4: Any leadership role that Beyers Naudé played in the BK?**

**Response.** At that time people like Beyers Naudé we did not want to openly associate them with organizations like BK because we knew that security forces were behind them, people who were working behind the scenes, who were influential against the whole anti-apartheid movement. He was not an open member of the BK

but was working behind the scenes. In most of the time we invited him to come and address us and in our meetings, we will invite him to sit as a patron.

**Question 5: What contribution did he make with regards to your faith at that time?**

**Response.** I have always been skeptical about the participation of White people in the struggle, but if there is anyone who challenged my faith about White people participating in the struggle, that was Beyers Naudé. I couldn't believe that a White person especially from the DRC could be acceptable and be critical. There were other critical voices like Prof Johan Heyns and others. But there were other groups like the so called *verligte*, *konservatiewe* and *die ope verligte*. But they were unable to be trusted because they were not prepared to pay the price that Beyers Naudé paid. My mentor told me that you cannot trust a White person and that when one is working with him one can just go so far. It was difficult to trust a White person in the Black community but we were prepared to work with Beyers Naudé. It was a critical trust. In my life it was difficult to accept the so called liberal White people.

**Question 6: What was your attitude to the Christian faith then?**

**Response.** I personally never had peace in my faith because of my experience with apartheid as a member of the DRC family churches. Therefore the option to opposed apartheid was rooted in my own faith. The fact that I was expelled from the seminary in September 1977 meant a lot to me. The expulsion helped me in a number of things because I was employed by an organization called Reformed Ecumenical Movement based in Germiston. This situation exposed me to some of the things that were denied at the Seminary like Black Theology or Liberation Theology. In 1978 when I re-applied I was taken back in the Seminary. During that period, there were freedoms in Mozambique and later Zimbabwe and there was Black Consciousness (BC) and all these sharpened my resolve to fight against apartheid.

I must also say that personally, we made a choice to fight it within the churches, our own churches. That is why I was never politically active in essence even though

there were some of my colleagues in the church who said I was a political animal and I must not do this and that. I was focused and I had to live my life and fight within the churches.

**Question 7: Did the ministry of Beyers Naudé bring you a new understanding of the Christian faith?**

**Response.** Firstly Beyers Naudé taught me that most of our people talk but they don't write. He said when you go to the meetings or church meetings, there is an impact on what one says. People may like it and some not. But it is important to write.

Secondly he taught me activism. This meant that Christianity is not just a matter of praying and divine principles but these are borne in the struggle of the people whom God wants to liberate, the poor and the oppressed. This influence has been powerful in terms of his own personality and involvement in activism, Christian activism.

**Question 8: What was unique in the ministry of Beyers Naudé which made him different from other ministers?**

**Response.** He was not imposing his job, but was a careful listener. He listened to what people were saying and articulated it in his ministry. He also gave financial support to worthy cause in the struggle. In the BK when I had to work without funds after that Beyers Naudé, in many quarters where I went to with him, he raised the issue of the BK and gave financial support to this organisation.

**Question 9: What is it that you loved or hated about Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** What I hated about Beyers Naudé was that at the close of his life, that here was a man who dedicated his life to the support for the Black community. On the last day when he was supposed to be buried in Alexandra he was buried in the DRC, the very church that brought him down in his ministry. The congregation of Alexandra that (sent him for colloquim doctum at Turfloop) enabled him to restore his status as minister of my church, did not have a say as part of his funeral or in the so

called state funeral that he was given. This was very painful. If you are aware about his contribution in our church, one would have thought that on his last day, people who embraced him while he was in the cold by the White church, could have had a say on his last day. Take for instance, a person like Rev Conradie who also contributed his life in the struggle for the Black people, was buried in Alexandra, he dedicated his life to the support of the Black community.

The fact that the DRC only called him to apologise when there were other people who were victimized by this church like Profs Klippies Kritzinger, Gurrie Lubbe, Dr Rudolf Meyers and that he was just with his wife when he was invited by the DRC synod to apologise, is a painful story for me.

However, he was a human being and I loved him as such. Sometimes he cracked jokes about apartheid.

**Question 10: What was his attitude to people of other faiths?**

**Response.** I was seconded by him and participated in meetings with him within the context to World Conference on Religion and Peace (WRCP) where we met people from other faiths, Jewish communities, Islam, Bahai and other faiths. I had to report on what was taking place in the WRCP. We had meetings with the Chief Rabbai, the Imams, had an occasion in 1988 to go to US and Europe for a three month WRCP fundraising tour with the Rabbai Pen Isaacson. He was open to other faiths.

**Question 11: Anything that you want to highlight about Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** Beyers Naudé was a prophet of his time. As the saying goes, “the prophet is never respected at his own home”. His witness will remain long after we have gone, as a White man who was grasped by the powerful message of the Kingdom of God, of justice and reconciliation.

**Question 12: Define his spirituality?**

**Response.** He was very much influenced by the theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer. The importance of the cost of discipleship, that you had to pay a price. He was deeply rooted in that type of Christianity. He was rooted in the traditional reformed confessions and that measured his faith, a prophet who strove for justice and reconciliation.

**Question 13: Did he belong to any political party?**

**Response.** To my knowledge since I worked with him, that was not on the card. There was never a time when we discussed political affiliation.

-----

**APPENDIX G**

**REV S.S. (SIPHO) TSHELANE 14 APRIL 2009, LIBERTY LIFE BUILDING, VERMEULEN STREET, PRETORIA.**

**Question 1: How do you know Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** I know him as a supporter of the African Independent Churches (AICs). I know him through his connection with the AICs.

**Question 2: How long did you know him?**

**Response.** I knew him for the last 30 years or so. He was initially a protector of the AICs. I used to meet him during our conferences that he attended. He was a soft person, a good listener. Beyers Naudé was a cover like insurance for the AICs. He was a developer of the AICs in terms of finance and training. On the latter, he contributed a lot.

Around 1965 to 1966 he brought together a seminar for all committed mainline Christians to discuss the education for AICs. During that time, all clergy whether

mainline or AICs, very few had matric qualifications. Beyers Naudé got into it and attracted the AICs because people wanted education. A year later they set up a seminary called African Independent Churches Association seminary. They also asked Fort Hare University to host the seminary. This happened in 1967 and it was the initiative of Beyers Naudé. His name became a house-hold name. For generations to come, he grew with that legacy.

There was a name given to him called; *Intaba mayikhonjwa* (loosely translated, you cannot pin-point a mountain with a finger). This is related to the sacred mountain. His relationship with the AICs was enriched when he was banned because we went to his house.

### **Question 3: What did he do to win your love?**

**Response.** Beyers Naudé had a gift of reflection. He could interrogate the scriptures and could meditate our issues. He was gifted to read through malicious actions. People knew he was a person of high moral standing. Beyers Naudé was a deep patriot. For him, the European mind couldn't dominate his thinking. He would relate to the people easily. Many people came to know the AICs within the context of working in the CI and the example of these was Prof Charles Villa-Vicencio.

Beyers Naudé won the confidence of the AICs under Rev Gumede. He was running an AICs project. Beyers Naudé was able to come across racial and theological divide. He was very assertive, wrong was wrong and right was right for him.

### **Question 4: What impact did Beyers Naudé have on your faith?**

**Response.** We met man-to-man in 1988. I began questioning the Christian constituency I belonged to today. I told him I was gradually growing ashamed of what I am due to things happening, the turbulence of our people, lack of appreciation for anything.

I was very complacent and complaining about the lack of education. He said that anything good can come from where one is. I noticed that there was God's mission

with the AICs. The fact that he did not jump from his reformed tradition to another, encouraged one to stand fast on what one is doing.

**Question 5: What was your attitude to the Christian faith during apartheid?**

**Response.** I found it very ambivalent. The weakness is that we tend to identify with the forces that be. Christian faith has been complacency with apartheid. We did not use the prophetic part of our theology very much. I believed that God is there from a tender age. Beyers Naudé helped people to understand Christianity better and that this faith was manipulated for political ends.

**Question 6: Was there any new understanding of the Christian faith?**

**Response.** His gift of scriptural reflection, especially his reflection on Pharaoh's dream by Joseph. He impressed me with this. The problem of Pharaoh's dream was what it implied, "I see seven lean cows and seven fat ones". Beyers Naudé took that and explained. He called his ban that was seven years as seven lean years. This type of explaining scriptures made me to love and respect him.

**Question 7: What was unique in his ministry?**

**Response.** The fact that he chose to work with the AICs. Who else can do that? This was a major administrative task, the people most of whom cannot write. There was also conflict. One of our leaders in 1972 demanded R30 000. He bought four Peugeots each costing R27 000. A sense of humanity that is rare was found in Beyers Naudé. I found it difficult to think of another one who was close to Beyers Naudé.

In Maphumulo, the Lutherans also approached the AICs but not in the same way as Beyers Naudé did. Beyers Naudé was one who opened the gates for all researchers who later approached the AICs. He established a seminary for the AICs. He used lecturers from FEDSEM on condition that they would simplify their lectures. That's why he started TEE where they simplified the lectures. TEE is an American version of simplifying lectures. In this system, they try to maintain the same standard as in

other tertiary institutions but applying mechanisms that simplify the lectures. In this instance, one gets text books without references. This system assisted the AICs in such a way that some were even able to be admitted at FEDSEM.

**Question 8: What were the weak and strong points of Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** His Christian witness is grossly under-rated. The lady who did a biography of Beyers Naudé used only one source for the AICs. A source that was beneficial for Beyers Naudé. Someone decided to work in the garden and house of Beyers Naudé and grew through the ranks. Beyers Naudé helped that person to build an empire.

The African Independent Churches Association (AICA) was the association of AICs recognized by CI. Later on, there was an association called the Spiritual Churches, parallel to the one that was there before. Then someone went to the old man (Beyers Naudé), convinced him and got funds to set up another association. In terms of instructions, it was a duplication of the same thing. This is the part that I wouldn't like.

In the biography of Beyers Naudé, the lady used one source as if Beyers Naudé did not belong to others, or to the rest of us. That is where his Christian witness became tainted.

**Positive:** Beyers Naudé dealt with the Afrikaner community to make them realize that they also had witness in Africa. They can't jump over other people's heads. For instance, I was present when he acknowledged Dr Willie Jonker's apology against apartheid. He did a lot of work in terms of humanizing the DRC Christian community. He was pushed outside the DRC. His witness had to bear all people who were too scared to endorse his witness.

Beyers Naudé was not a politician and he died not being one and was not a member of a political party. He accompanied the ANC to the negotiations. How do you explain that? Beyers Naudé knew the kind of reception which could have been at Grooteschoor. What was the meaning of him doing that? He knew there will be



tension since they meet for the first time. Beyers Naudé was there to harness both forces together. That is why they signed the Grooteschuur minutes that paved the way for the negotiations. That is the witness of Beyers Naudé.

**Question 9: Other ministers who communicated the gospel like Beyers Naudé?**

**Response.** Not with their lives. Beyers Naudé had a family. He belonged to the DRC. Afrikaners hated traitors. Here is Beyers Naudé, driving a Peugeot, comes back and brings the World Christian Council to South Africa and they condemned apartheid. This is a scandal. Beyers Naudé was thrown out to survive on the wife's salary who was a teacher of mathematics. Beyers Naudé was kicked out of the BB and the DRC. We did not have reference.

**Question 10: His impact on people of other faith?**

**Response.** Beyers Naudé was respected by other faiths. I remember Fari De Sack, a Muslim theologian who trained in Pakistan, belonged to the radical wing of Islam. They respected him. There is a saying in our church that if there is a White man they will meet in heaven that is Beyers Naudé. Things were bad that even if there was charity, it cannot be taken from a White man. Beyers Naudé was generous to many. He ran a fund which was abused. Some got married drawing from the fund. The fund was not meant for that. I refer to politicians, people who are in power, governing this country today. This is how they abused the fund. Beyers Naudé was trusted. He was using his fund at his discretion. When you get the fund you sign a paper. Beyers Naudé had a pseudo name called 10%. People got money. A lot of projects were conceived which were not realized. The people were abusing the message of the old man.

**Question 11: Highlights of the Christian witness of Beyers Naudé**

**Response.** Through CI, Beyers Naudé yielded scores of very critical documents. He influenced theology to a certain direction. He was a great analyst. Many documents have been inspired by his witness e.g. the Kairos document, the Road to Damascus and the creation of the Institute for Contextual theology, all were

conceived from his house. In the past, this was presented as autonomous organization and this was not true. Beyers Naudé contributed to the Christian value of negotiations.

Mediation was also one of his qualities. He was just about to assist between the British and the Irish and this did not happen because of age. The body of knowledge that he contributed, brought about a piece of work like *Fighting Apartheid* authored by Prof Charles Villa-Vicencio and *Subject to Whose Authority* of Botha from Stellenbosch. These are pieces of work drawn from Beyers Naudé's wisdom.

The AICs are there because of the old man's wisdom. Organisations like United Democratic Front (UDF) could not have gone anywhere if they did not use the wisdom of the old man as a shield, as patron.

On negotiating skills when the ANC and Mandela were going to meet the Nationalist Party (NP), he accompanied them. He didn't want the old man to go alone. There were fictitious projects which were requested in the name of the old man but they didn't go anywhere. There were people who abused Beyers Naudé in that way. There are people in high places today. They wanted to set up a trust, whether they succeeded or not, in the name of the old man.

The SACC had an economic wing. It was about economic literacy. They ended up setting up a trust. I don't know what happened with the trust. The head of that trust became a General Secretary of the SACC. Where is that organization? People were able to form the economic empire.

**Question 12: Was Beyers Naudé a politician of a servant of God?**

**Response.** The Archbishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Tlhagale regarded him as a politician. It was in our meeting where Bishop Buti Tlhagale mentioned that people regarded him as a politician. Beyers Naudé was very hurt to hear that. He was not a politician. If he wanted that, he could have long been one. The way in which people abused his financial generosity, one can hardly do that with politicians. Beyers

Naudé was like people going in and out with all excuses. That Beyers Naudé was a politician didn't hold water.

Beyers Naudé had a sense of mission in a special way. There was nothing of a politician about him.

-----

## **APPENDIX H**

### **INTERVIEW WITH MR JOHANN NAUDÉ (SON) THROUGH INTERNET ON 24 FEBRUARY 2009, JOHANNESBURG.**

**Question 1: What type of a person was Beyers Naudé to you?**

**Response:** First and foremost he was a loving father to us, always prepared to listen to our problems, but he also was a friend in the true sense.

**Question 2: How different was he from other parents to you?**

**Response:** He was no different from other parents as far as discipline and our upbringing were concerned. He did however treat us with respect even if we were still children. He never imposed his will onto us but cleverly made us pose the problem and then asked us what we will do in such a situation?

**Question 3: What type of parental teachings did he give you as his children?**

**Response:** First and foremost he guided us that we have the choice to believe in God, further that we must believe in ourselves. He also indicated that we have rights even being children but that we can only demand these rights if we take responsibility for it. Later in life, I came across a document prepared by the Chief Rabbi of the Jewish Faith which basically encompasses what he taught us.

We do now discuss this with our grandchildren and believe it was incorporated into the schools programs.

**Question 4: Where there any teachings on race relations?**

**Response:** He never specifically taught us on race relations. He taught us to respect our fellow men irrespective of colour or creed. He taught us to respect our elders irrespective who they are. He also told us to respect the culture of different people's. We did discuss race relations especially the impact thereof, on the lives of the different population groups in our country and what we as a family could do to help improve conditions of the people affected.

**Question 5: How did his lifestyle/ministry affect you in relation to your friends (at school, sports, etc.) in your upbringing?**

**Response:** While at school we were not affected at all. We were however affected while at university and later in life. Doors were normally opened for us i.e. to study, but obtaining normal jobs were closed to us. We all did start our own successful businesses due to the parental teachings he gave us. Even our children suffered to be associated with Beyers Naudé. Some more than even us. Being younger they were adversely targeted during the 1980s.

**Question 6: Did he enjoy support from the whole family?**

**Response:** He did enjoy support from our family especially from his wife Ilse. Support from his own brothers and sisters was not always forthcoming.

**Question 7: What was the attitude of his neighbors to him and you as his family?**

**Response:** He always had a good relationship with all his neighbors. We as children at that time have left the house and were studying at different universities and had no contact with the neighbors.

**Question 8: What type of friends did he have over the years?**

**Response:** He enjoyed the friendship of the young, the old and people of the multi cultural rainbow nation of our diversified country.

**Question 9: What is it that made him loveable by people from all backgrounds?**

**Response:** Here I am going to let the following introduction which I used about him at the Black Management Forum where he was honored speak for itself.

*Ideals, principles and goals he stood for:*

*Beyers once said:*

“I see myself in the first place as part of the human family of Africa, realizing full well there is no real life and growth possible without recognizing the close bond that binds us to the human family and the whole world ...In the second place I see myself as an African ...I also see myself first and foremost as an Afrikaner.”

*His Ideals*

- To contribute to the advancement of fairness, justice and peace for all.
- To create an non-racial and just society for the African continent.
- To strive for Justice, Liberation and recognition of human dignity and self respect for the people of Africa.
- To strive to narrow the dividing gap between the rich and the poor.

He was determined to communicate the message to those of us who live well, that we too have an obligation to respond to the cries and the needs of the poor of our countries.

*What do we know and remember about him!*

Here we have a humble man, who was a deeply religious person, who in simple minded obedience to the Lord, obeyed his conscience rather than man, who heard the plight of the vulnerable and acted on it, who had empathy for people, who cared for his fellow men, you and me, who had confidence in the future, who inspired peoples, who led by example, a man of great principle.

*What kind of Legacy did he leave us?*

His biggest is the following:

We must be prepared to apologize for what we have done to our fellow men. To have respect for our fellow men, to respect the different cultures of the people's of Africa. He also pointed out to us that although we all have principles, dignity as well as a conscience that we will not be able to improve the plight of the people's of Africa until we have tested our principles against our conscience.

*How best can we use his ideals to have a prosperous continent?*

By following what he stood for:

To publicly state that we are sorry for what we have done to our fellow men and that we forgive them for whatever they have done to us. Then strive to create a non-racial and just society for the African continent. Strive for justice, liberation and recognition of human dignity and self respect for the people of Africa, strive to narrow the dividing gap between the rich and the poor and to respond to the cries and the needs of the poor of our countries.

*Conclusion*

My father always asked that he as a person should not be honored now but rather in years to come. That the people of each of the remote African villages will through one of their folklores would tell their grandchildren that there once was a wise old

man, who led the way by example and opened the eyes of the different nations, cultures and people of the continent of Africa, to be able to respect each other, with their different cultures and first and foremost to be able to work together, for the betterment of Africa to become a prosperous Continent.

**Question 10: How deep was his faith in God?**

**Response:** He had complete and irrevocable faith in God and based and planned his life accordingly.

**Question 11: How often did he read his Bible?**

**Response:** He and my Mother did read and studied the Bible early in the morning before starting with their daily tasks and at night before going to sleep. Further when preparing for the Sunday Sermons as well as other occasions ie Funerals, Weddings, Christenings, Sunday School events and Church Board meetings.

**Question 12: How often did he pray?**

**Response:** In addition to the Bible reading sessions as under 11, which were followed by a prayer, he also had his own prayer sessions (Stilte Tyd) to prepare himself spiritually. He also asked us to incorporate the following Prayer of St Francis of Assisi in our own prayers:

Lord make me an instrument of thy peace;  
Where there is hate that I may bring love,  
Where there is offence that I may bring pardon,  
Where there is discord that I may bring union,  
Where there is error that I may bring truth,  
Where there is doubt that I may bring faith,  
Where there is despair that I may bring hope,  
Where there is darkness that I may bring light,  
Where there is sadness that I may bring joy,  
O Master, make me not so much to be consoled  
as to console; not so much to be loved as to love;

not so much to be understood as to understand;  
for it is in giving that one receives; it is in  
self-forgetfulness that one finds; it is in pardon--ing  
that one is pardoned; it is in dying that one  
finds eternal life. ॐ

Prayer of St Francis of Assisi.

**Question 13: Did you have 'whole-family' prayer sessions?**

**Response:** Yes, every evening after dinner. We also did pray if the family together had to take important decisions

**Question 14: Can you explain your experience of his last sermon/service at Aasvoëlkop congregation on 22 September 1963?**

This sermon was to inform the congregation of Aasvoëlkop that he is accepting the Directorship of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. The message of the sermon was based on Acts 5: 17-24: "Ons moet aan God meer gehoorsaam wees as aan die mense." This means that it is more important to obey God than man.

We as a family did have a meeting before where he informed us of his decision to resign as Minister of the Aasvoëlkop congregation. We did not know what to expect but realized that it will have an impact on our future as a family and our personal lives. During the sermon we realized that our father notwithstanding being ostracized from his Church and the Afrikaner Nation did obtain peace in his mind and life. I did understand that he now could continue to implement his Christian beliefs, ideals, principals and goals. This sermon was followed by his last sermon at Aasvoëlkop congregation on 3 November 1963 Jerimiah 23: 9 - 32

---



## **APPENDIX I**

### **APARTHEID LEGISLATIONS 1949 TO 1970**

#### **Precursors**

- Natives' land Act of 1953
  - Urban Areas Act of 1923
- 
- Prohibition of mixed marriages Act of 1949
  - Immorality Act of 1950
  - Population Registration Act of 1950
  - Group Areas Act of 1950
  - Suppression of Communism Act of 1950
  - Bantu Building Works of 1950
  - Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951
  - Bantu Authorities Act of 1951
  - Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951
  - Native Laws of 1952
  - Pass Laws of 1952
  - Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes Act) of 1953
  - Bantu Education Act of 1953
  - Preservation of separate amenities Act of 1953
  - Native Resettlement Act of 1954
  - Group Areas Development Act of 1955
  - Mines and Work Act of 1956
  - Natives' (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act of 1956
  - Bantu Investment Cooperation Act of 1959

- Extension of University Amenities Act of 1959
  - Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act of 1959
  - Coloured Persons Communal Reserves of 1961
  - Preservation of Coloured Areas Act of 1961
  - Urban Bantu Councils Act of 1961
  - Terrorism Act of 1967
  - Bantu Homelands Citizen Act of 1970
- 

## **APPENDIX J**

### **SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCHES**

#### **1. THREE AFRIKAANS REFORMED CHURCHES**

- a. Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) or Dutch Reformed Church (DRC)
- b. Die Nederduits Hervormed Kerk van Suid Afrika (NHKSA)
- c. Die Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika (GKSA)

#### **2. CHURCHES OF THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH FAMILY**

- a. Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa (URCSA). A combination of two of the three of the 'daughter' churches of the DRC namely:
  - Dutch Reformed Mission Church
  - Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (part of it is not part of unity process, see 2. b. below).
- b. Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRCA)
- c. Reformed Church in Africa (RCA)

#### **3. ANGLO-SAXON ORIENTATED CHURCHES**

- a. The Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA)
- b. The Methodist Church of South Africa (MCSA)

- c. The Presbyterian Church of South Africa (PCSA)
- d. The United Congregational Church of South Africa (UCCSA)

4. GENERAL CHURCHES

- a. The Lutheran Church in South Africa (LCSA)
- b. The Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM)
- c. The Baptist Church (BC)
- d. The African Independent Churches AICs)