

## 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 Unpublished paper delivered at the Memorial Service of Beyers Naudé.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 *muthi* 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)