

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 Naudé¹ 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-

¹ 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 21st 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 Kritzing (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 Kritzinger 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 Kritzingers, 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*. Kritzingers et al (1984:1; cf Kritzingers 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 9² ('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

² 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.