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guilt. And when we had difficulty with the concept of guilt we had to rename our penitentiaries, for only where there is subject-role can there be penitence, we call them houses of correction now. We try to solve the crime problem while we view people in the object-role, and then we wonder why it is that we cannot build prisons fast enough or big enough.

Our assumption in the face of poverty is that where people live below an artificially established level, something or someone out there is the cause. Such people are said to be "underprivileged," a slanted term if there ever was one. Someone else needs a talking to, never those persons themselves. This is far from denying that there is such a thing as object-role and that a given person, or persons, can suffer privation because of what is being done to them. But in our endless analyses of the causes of poverty, we need sometime to be reminded that although Man is often found standing in an object-role he is capable of subject-role. To talk constantly—that is, exclusively—of object-role is to fall into heresy, if we understand heresy not as a matter of

making choices but of failing to recognize alternatives, of stressing one truth at the expense of its companion truth. Truth has a way of being elliptical, and heresy is the attempt to circularize that which in its very nature is elliptical. The two foci may not be reduced to one.

The Reformed heritage has in it several items which must be very carefully handled in times such as ours, items which can very easily be made to feed the modern mind and contribute to the cancelling out of subject-role. One of these is the doctrine of the "covenant," which when spoken of as "monopleuric" or made over into a "testament" becomes a case of circularizing the ellipse. The associated concept of "pedobaptism" must likewise be carefully watched in times such as ours, and for the same reason. The very concept of the "decrees," especially when it is dissociated from its companion doctrine, can be employed to feed the "spirit of the age." The gospel message itself that "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself" must, especially in the climate of our bewildered times, be followed by "Be ye reconciled to God."

"Mrs. _____ Becomes the Victim of Suicide" is heresy—because it gives voice to the circularization of an existing ellipse. It assumes that there is no such thing as subject-role in the life (and the death by suicide) of the creature "made in his image."

In a wiser time, the headline would read "Mrs. _____ Committed Suicide" ■

From Broederbond to Brotherhood— a tribute to C. F. Beyers Naudé

J. Hennie P. Serfontein

Sixty-nine-year-old C. F. Beyers Naude has played a special role in the church affairs of South Africa for the past twenty-five years. His involvement has put him at the center of South African Christianity's most controversial issues: ecumenical relations, the debate inside and outside the major church denominations on political and social issues, and the escalating church-state conflict over the government's policies of apartheid. Now it has culminated in his taking office on February 1 as interim general secretary of the South African

Council of Churches (SACC) for a period of two years to replace Desmond Tutu, newly appointed Anglican bishop of Johannesburg.

For Naude to occupy this post, serving a multi-racial council representing nearly fifteen million Christians in some twenty-five churches and organizations, is a far cry from the days when he was a rising star in the pro-apartheid white Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) and a member of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond, for decades the most powerful and influential body in the country. Naude's conversion from a leading figure in the pro-apartheid establishment to one of the most outspoken voices against apartheid has been compared with the transformation of Saul of Tarsus

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Today that crisis period in his life is largely forgotten.

When Naude launched the Christian Institute in 1963, he embarked on a road which made him the most controversial church leader for fifteen years, until he paid the price for his theological condemnation of apartheid by being banned in October 1977 for a period of five years. The ban was then extended until he was unexpectedly unbanned in September of last year.

Naude's earlier career and staunch Calvinistic background gave no indication that he would later rebel against many of the sacred values and political views of the vast majority of the Afrikaner volk. His credentials as an Afrikaner Nationalist were impeccable. His father was the famous Reverend Joshua Naude, himself a minister of the NGK. During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), he interrupted his theological studies at the University of Stellenbosch and joined the Boer forces, serving as a kind of unofficial chaplain under the famous General Christiaan Frederik Beyers. And at the bitter peace talks at Vereeniging in May 1902, he was one of only six Boer delegates out of a total of sixty who refused to agree to unconditional surrender and to approve the peace treaty—a *bittereinder*, as those who stuck it out to the end were called.

Beyers Naude was born on May 10, 1915, in the NGK parsonage in Roodepoort, the fourth of eight children—six daughters and two sons. His birth came shortly after the end of the abortive rebellion of 1914, when several former Boer generals launched a campaign of armed resistance against the decision of their former colleagues, Generals Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, to support England in the war against Germany and to occupy South West Africa (now Namibia). One of the rebel leaders was General Beyers, who had resigned as head of the Defence Force. Beyers had drowned in an escape attempt across the flooded Vaal River, and the Naude parents named their new son after their hero, Christiaan Frederik Beyers Naude.

Naude's father subsequently played an active role in Afrikaner political, cultural, and community life, a role similar to that played by black ministers seventy years later in uplifting their impoverished communities. Thus it was in Naude's house that a meeting of fourteen men was held on May 24, 1918, to plan the launching of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond, the organization was formally established shortly afterwards on June 6, 1918. Regarded as the spiritual father of the Broederbond, Naude was elected its first president.

Given his staunch Afrikaner Nationalist background, it was natural in 1932 for young Naude to study theology at the University of Stellenbosch. Located in a village near Cape Town, this university has been the cradle of Afrikaner Nationalism for nearly 150 years, six of South Africa's eight prime ministers have been graduates of Stellenbosch. In this exclusive Afri-

kaner atmosphere, Naude attended the sociology classes of Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, the intellectual giant who later shaped both the dogmatic and practical details of apartheid, first as Minister of Native Affairs and then as Prime Minister.

Naude emerged as a student leader, chairing the students' representative council and other student organizations. He also took part in the symbolic ox-wagon trek of 1938, which commemorated the Great Trek into the interior a century before. This reenactment played a crucial role in galvanizing a sense of Afrikaner Nationalism, thus preparing the way for the National Party's surprise general election victory of 1948.

After qualifying at Stellenbosch in 1939, Naude was ordained in his first charge in Wellington in 1940. He subsequently served several congregations in the Cape and the Transvaal.

The year 1940 was important for two other reasons. In that year Naude married Ilse Weder, who had completed her degree at Stellenbosch two years earlier. She came from a German missionary family working on the Moravian mission station of Genadendal, 200 kilome-

Naude attended the sociology classes of H. F. Verwoerd, who later gave apartheid its dogmatic and practical contents.

ters from Cape Town. And in a secret ritual Naude became a member of the local cell of the Broederbond in 1940, swearing an oath with his hand on the Bible that he would remain true to the aspirations of the organization and the Afrikaner people.

At least half the ministers of the NGK belonged to the Broederbond. Together with teachers they constituted more than 40 percent of the membership of the elite Afrikaner Nationalist organization. Although its members at that time numbered only 2,000 organized in small cells across the country, the Broederbond included politicians, businessmen, and professional men as well as the ministers and teachers who indoctrinated their parishioners and pupils with the principles of Christian Nationalism. The activities of the Broederbond laid the foundation for the Afrikaner Nationalist takeover in 1948. The cells met once a month, but the existence of the Broederbond and its membership remained an absolute secret, a member was forbidden by oath ever to admit his membership, even to his family.

Dr. Naude served congregations in Wellington, Loxton, Olifantsfontein, Pretoria East (where he was a

For the first time, apartheid was condemned on theological grounds from within the NGK itself.

very popular leader who packed the Sunday evening services), Potchefstroom, and finally, in 1959, Aasvoelkop, the prestigious elite congregation in Northcliff Johannesburg. In 1958 he was elected to the moderature (executive committee) of the Southern Transvaal Synod in the position of Assessor and was clearly destined for even higher positions in the NGK.

He belonged to the influential Emmarentia cell of the Broederbond. Among his fellow members was Dr. Piet Meyer, head of the Broederbond and chief of the government-controlled SABC radio services. Meyer, who had studied Nazi propaganda methods in Germany before the war with Dr. Nico Diederichs, later Minister of Finance, was a close confidante and personal friend of Hendrik Verwoerd. He was also an elder on Naudé's Aasvoelkop church council.

Until the late fifties, then, Beyers Naudé was a committed Afrikaner Nationalist, an enthusiastic supporter of the broad principles of separate development—as enlightened Afrikaners refer to apartheid—with its policy of creating separate states for Africans leading them to freedom and full nationhood, exactly as the Afrikaner had experienced.

By the late fifties, however, Naudé was beginning to question certain details of the government's policy, though not its basic principles. With some younger NGK ministers, he became involved in private discussions across the color line with blacks in the NGK "daughter" churches and began to learn and understand for the first time the realities of black experience under apartheid.

Early in 1960, Naudé and several others initiated an informal, loosely organized Bible study group on the Witwatersrand, involving some 150 members of the three Afrikaans Dutch Reformed churches. The group held regular meetings—privately to avoid publicity—and boasted an honorary secretary and a mailing list. It was to provide the nucleus of what later became the controversial Christian Institute of Southern Africa.

On March 21, 1960, sixty-nine blacks were killed and hundreds more were wounded at Sharpeville, sixty kilometers north of Johannesburg, as they peacefully protested the pass laws governing the movement of blacks in white areas. In the ensuing state of emer-

gency, the government banned the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, tightened security laws, and stifled black voices. The important consequence was the historic Cottesloe consultation of December 1960 summoned by Joost de Blanck, Anglican archbishop of Johannesburg. De Blanck called on the World Council of Churches to arrange a meeting of its members to consider the worsening racial situation in South Africa. In addition to the multiracial English-language churches, the Cape NGK and the Transvaal NGK—which were still WCC members—also attended. And Beyers Naudé was one of the NGK delegates.

The outcome of the conference was a traumatic experience for the two NGK churches and was decisive for the life of Beyers Naudé. By today's standards the resolutions passed at Cottesloe were not radical. The consultation called for the repeal of laws governing mixed marriages, groups areas, and influx control. Other resolutions stressed the right of ownership for all and declared that all racial groups had to share in responsibilities and privileges. But however mildly phrased, the resolutions clearly went to the heart of apartheid policy. Although some NGK delegates believed that the resolutions could be reconciled with the broad policy of separate development, the Afrikaner Nationalist establishment realized the "dangerous implications." For the first time, apartheid was condemned on theological grounds from within the NGK itself, the very NGK which had laid the theological foundations of apartheid with its missionary policy of racially separated NGK churches.

In his New Year's message two weeks later, Hendrik Verwoerd publicly condemned the Cottesloe decisions and the NGK delegates who had voted for them. Shortly thereafter Piet Meyer ordered that a special Broederbond circular be sent to all cells, assuring them that the executive was watching the situation closely. No one needed to be alarmed, since the synods of the NGK member churches would make a final decision—a clear hint that the Broederbond-dominated synods would reject these "liberal" decisions and remain loyal to the apartheid policy of Afrikaner nationalism.

Not surprisingly, Meyer proved a remarkably accurate prophet. The subsequent NGK synods all rejected the Cottesloe decisions, and both the Cape and Transvaal NGK churches resigned from the WCC. With a single exception, all the NGK Cottesloe delegates defected and withdrew from the debate in silence.

The one exception was Beyers Naudé.

In the face of increasing criticism from inside the Afrikaner establishment, Naudé went ahead nevertheless, determined to promote a wide ecumenical fellowship transcending racial and church barriers by means

of private study groups. In May 1962 he launched the monthly magazine *Pro Veritate*, all the while continuing as the popular minister of Aasvoelkop. The journal's editorial board included several respected Afrikaans theologians. Among them were Professor Albert Geyser and Professor A. van Selms, both of the Nederduits Hervormde Kerk (NHK), and Dr J. A. Schutte of the Gereformeerde Kerk (GK). From its inception *Pro Veritate* published provocative articles on race, ecumenism, and religious-political matters which deviated radically from the official NGK position.

Still, Naude continued to enjoy considerable support and respect from large sections of the NGK. Notwithstanding a concentrated, officially organized campaign against him, he was elected moderator with a substantial majority at the first meeting of the newly constituted Southern Transvaal Synod in April 1963. Many of the younger Broederbond delegates obviously supported their fellow Broeder, defying the establishment.

The synod did, however, discuss the controversial *Pro Veritate*. It called upon their newly elected moderator to resign as editor and to dissociate himself from the journal. But Naude was not to be moved and informed the assembly that he would not resign, since he did not consider this position to be in conflict with his understanding of the role and confession of the church.

The inaction of his own NGK and the failure of several NGK synods in 1962 and 1963 to speak out boldly on national issues—in particular on the racial issue—prompted Naude to further action. Discussing the crisis first with NGK dissidents and then with those in other churches, he took the initiative in establishing a formal ecumenical structure to demonstrate the unity of Christ's church across the boundaries of race and denomination. Thus on August 13, 1963, the Christian Institute was launched, and Naude was asked to become its full-time director.

The NGK refused him permission to accept the post while retaining his official status as a minister. And so that September of 1963 Beyers Naude reached his Rubicon. His choice was to stay inside the NGK and try to reform it from within, as his former Cottesloe colleagues and younger supporters were trying to do, or to break away from the narrow fold of the Afrikaner volk to form a free, independent body which could proclaim unfettered the Word of God as he saw it as a Calvinist.

On September 22 he announced his decision to a packed church. He was still a popular preacher, well liked by his congregation, and there were tremendous pressures on him not to leave the church—even from Broederbond members who did not agree with him.

The hushed congregation listened as he began reading from Acts 5. He gave his text as verse 29: "We must obey God rather than man." He recapitulated the series of decisions by various synods and church councils that forbade statements not in accordance with church policy and the views of the past. This amounted "to the restriction and curtailment of the God-given right and freedom to witness prophetically and reformatively for the truth of the Word of God."

Speaking slowly and deliberately, emphasizing each phrase, he explained: "The choice I am facing is not one between either congregational work or other religious work. Nor is it between the NGK and *Pro Veritate* or between the NGK and the Christian Institute. No, the choice goes much deeper. It is a choice between obedience in faith (*geloofsgebondenheid*) or subjection to ecclesiastical authority. And to obey the latter unconditionally, I could save my face, but lose my soul."

Making it clear that he rejected the NGK's decisions concerning himself, the Christian Institute, and *Pro Veritate*, he said: "For me therefore is only one way

"The choice is between obedience in faith or subjection to ecclesiastical authority. To obey the latter unconditionally, I could save my face but lose my soul."

to be obedient to God! It is God's word and God's way for me. Therefore I must go."

Challenging his congregation, he stressed that his decision went beyond the immediate details of his own conclusions or the church's views of *Pro Veritate* and the Institute. "In its essence it concerns Christ. It involves the question, Is his Word for you also the highest authority, the final word? If so, are you obedient to his Word? Do you live from his Word? God will not leave you alone until you have chosen!"

He concluded in a tone of prophetic warning addressed to his own beloved NGK. Twenty-two years later, it remains as relevant as it was that sunny morning when an audience including the elite of the Afrikaner Nationalist establishment listened in shock. Dr Naude said: "If the NGK will not better understand and exercise this obedience which God demands, then we are going to suffer endless damage and endure sorrow. Our church is trying to estrange irrevocably the heart of our daughter churches from it and to close the road for its witness to the churches of Africa. If our

No change would come from within the church until the Broederbond influence was broken.

church continues this deliberate and fear-ridden process of isolation, with its tragic withdrawal from the holy catholic church in South Africa and Africa, then we will spiritually pine away and die

"Oh my church, I call you this morning with all the earnestness of my soul. Awake before it is too late. Stand up and extend the hand of Christian brotherhood to all who are stretching it out to you in sincerity."

Naude ended his sermon with the biblical call "If God is with us, who can then be against us?"

A visibly moved Daniel du Plessis, the leader of the church council, rose to thank his pastor. Du Plessis occupied a special position in the Afrikaner Nationalist establishment. A former manager of the railways, he was a senior member of the Broederbond. It was in his house in Johannesburg that in 1918 the Broederbond was launched and Dr. Naude's father elected as its first president. Deeply upset and visibly moved, du Plessis could hardly contain his emotions. "We had prayed and hoped that the decision would be different. There was so much that Dr. Naude, with his talents, could still have done for his volk. However, God willed it differently," he sighed.

Three months later Beyers Naude started his new career as director of the Christian Institute.

Later in 1963 Naude broke with the Broederbond, becoming one of the few people until that time who had dared to do so. He recognized the ideological stranglehold the Broederbond had on the NGK. No change was possible within the church until the influence of the Broederbond was broken. Moreover, as a Christian and a church minister Naude was by now convinced that his conscience could not be bound by a secret oath. His highest allegiance was to God.

After months of agonizing introspection, Naude decided to break his vow of secrecy by approaching Professor Albert Geyser, a close friend. He conveyed to Geyser his deep concern "over the menace the Broederbond constituted, particularly in respect to the Christian church in South Africa." He also turned over to Geyser a number of secret documents, some of which revealed the extent to which the church was bound by the Broederbond. Without Naude's knowledge Geyser photocopied the documents and gave a set to Charles Bloomberg, the political reporter on *The Sunday Times*.

The paper soon published a series of sensational exposes which showed South Africans for the first time

how the tentacle of the Broederbond reached throughout the ecclesiastical, political, economic, and academic leadership of Afrikanerdom and in effect controlled South African society, including especially the church.

The government was in an uproar. Within days an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper stated categorically that there had been a burglary at the Broederbond head office. And it reported ominously that General Hendrik van den Bergh, head of the security police, was personally investigating the matter. Within two weeks Bloomberg fled the country, and in November the security police raided *The Sunday Times* offices, confiscating the Broederbond documents.

The 1963 exposure of the Broederbond had struck a crippling blow to the organization, however, because its strength was its secrecy. More details of the Broederbond's operation were revealed in the late sixties and again in the early seventies. The mythical dimensions of the Broederbond were redrawn within mortal bounds. Because of this exposure and the later split within the National Party, the Broederbond has lost much of its influence and is no longer the dominant factor it was in public life for more than forty years.

For resigning from the Broederbond and being prepared to fight it in public, Beyers Naude and his family paid the price of complete isolation, enduring a venomous smear campaign initiated by the Broederbond. He was denounced as a traitor and received death threats. At a massive "volkskongres" on "Christendom against Communism," Naude and the Christian Institute were branded as "liberal" and treated as the equivalent of the advance forces of communism.

The NGK waged a bitter campaign against Naude as well. He lost his status as a minister, and synodical authorities rescinded a church council decision in his new Parkhurst congregation to elect him an elder. The Christian Institute, in its articles of faith and dogmatic teachings, was effectively declared a heretical sect.

Naude's career as the controversial director of the Christian Institute from 1963 to 1977, when both Naude and the Institute were banned, is much better known than Naude's earlier life. He changed in his role as director over those fourteen years, however, as his theological insights and thinking continued to broaden. At its beginning, the Christian Institute consisted largely of a small number of earnest, ecumenically minded Christians, mostly Afrikaners "with a kind of innocence," as one observer described them. Their views were very similar to those of *verligte* (moderate) Nationalists today. But as Naude became ever more deeply involved with the problems and perspectives of black Christians, the Institute also changed to become by the middle seventies the most outspoken anti-apartheid

body in the country Its major achievements included the following

- Launching the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) which offered a Christian alternative to apartheid in economics, education, social affairs, and politics
- Involving its members with the Black Consciousness Movement, the Unity Christian Movement, black theology, the Black Community Programme of SPROCAS, and other black Christian initiatives Naude and the Institute recognized long before the established churches the importance of these developments among black Christian South Africans the impact it would have on all the multiracial churches in the country
- Fostering debate within the multiracial churches on political and social issues by insisting that the gospel be implemented in every sphere of life
- Continuously exposing in *Pro Veritate* and in speeches the false theological arguments used by

the NGK to justify apartheid Indirectly, the Institute served as a stimulus in the formation of the Broederkring in 1974 This organization consists of black and white members of the three nonwhite NGK churches, it opposes apartheid and strives for one united, multiracial NGK

On October 19, 1977, the voice of Beyers Naude along with that of many other individuals and organizations was silenced by banning When the original banning period of five years expired in 1982, it was extended for three more years, but was unexpectedly lifted at the end of September 1984

Clearly, however, the seven years of banning did not diminish Naude's standing and influence in the church and elsewhere Throughout the years of banning a constant stream of visitors—important and ordinary people alike—came to consult with him And so it is no surprise that the South African Council of Churches has now turned to him as interim general secretary until a permanent appointment is made ■

Beyond Dung—

a theology of manure

Eugene P. Heideman

Few theologians have dealt with the fact that there was manure in the Garden of Eden Yet manure is one of the consequences of the fact of God's having decided to create a *biological* as well as a physical and chemical world The interminable discussions about the relation between the "spiritual" and the "material" aspects of the universe have sanitized issues of death, evil, and ecology So long as the material universe is considered primarily in terms of chemistry and physics, death, disease, and ecological concerns can be ignored I think it would be valuable to turn the focus back on biological existence in order to take up such concerns in their rightful place

MANURE AS "GOOD"

The Old Testament places biological life at the center of God's creative activity God brought life of all kinds—plants and trees, birds, fish, reptiles, animals of all kinds, and lastly human beings—into his creation The forms of life referred to in Genesis have continuity with life as it is known today The animals were created

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male and female and needed plants for food the first human beings were allowed to eat of every fruit in the garden except one

Biological life that has to eat and drink also has to die The building up and breaking down of cells, the digestion of food, and the elimination of waste products from the body are all essential to biological existence If Adam and Eve could understand what God meant when he said that they would die in the day that they ate of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, then they must have been aware of death already in the days of their innocence

The impact of Bishop Ussher's chronology is still with us in spite of the rise of biblical historical criticism Editions of the Bible that use his chronology to date creation at 4004 B C and the fall at 4004 or 4002 B C encourage readers to avoid thinking about the consequences of biological existence Those who assume that there was practically no time between the creation and the fall will find it easier to imagine an Eden in which there was no death, disease, or pollution of any sort, in which all the animals were vegetarians and no creature felt pain They will find it easier to assume that the "law of the jungle" and death are consequences of human sin rather than an aspect of created reality



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