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CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURE OF THOUGHT

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I INTRODUCTION

We will now try to provide answers to the questions posed in the Introduction pertaining to this chapter. We will also provide a theological interpretation of the empirical analyses. The task of practical theology is to do social analysis (which in this case is a specific method, namely empirical analysis of a qualitative nature) and theological analysis of religious praxis, and interpret it in a hermeneutical way. Although we distinguish between empirical and theological questions, this research is an empirical **theological** study. In this theological book we did it as an exercise in interdisciplinary co-operation. In section II we will consider the first empirical question of the relation between the general themes of liberation theology, on the one hand and the themes raised by Archbishop Tutu in his sermons and speeches, on the other. In this section we will also go into the second question of the frequency with which he has, in general, elaborated on these themes. In section III we will try to reveal the way in which Tutu has related these themes to each other in his speeches, referred to in the third question. We will then address the theological question in IV, namely which basic theological concepts Tutu used in his thinking on the theological rationale of liberation. In section V we will address the fourth (empirical) question on the variation over time of themes in the speeches. Section VI will deal with the fifth question of whether Tutu has emphasized different sets of themes in the presence of different audiences. The theological question on the influence of context on theological thinking and preaching will then be discussed in VII. In section VIII we will go into the sixth question of the variation of themes in violent versus non-violent situations. We will attempt to give a theological explanation of Tutu's stand on violence in IX.

II CRUCIAL THEMES IN ARCHBISHOP TUTU'S SERMONS AND SPEECHES

The procedure for distinguishing general themes and sub-themes, and attaching key words to them was described in Appendix 1. We started with two main themes, referred to in chapters 1 and 2, namely the political context of apartheid and the content of liberation theology. We do this not to treat his themes as separate issues, but to distinguish between them in order to analyse them. Next to these general themes, we kept in mind that these speeches were delivered in very specific situations to which Tutu actually refers in his speeches. These three topics were used as the first set of sensitizing concepts, i.e. political themes, religious or theological themes and situation specific matters. But this set of concepts proved to be too small, as appeared from the analysis. Within the domain of religious themes, Tutu brought up themes relating to liberation theology and also to more general theology which was then added to the set of sensitizing concepts.

This set of sensitizing concepts was substantiated by analysing the speeches. We attached key words to the segments distinguished and thought of codes to describe the content of the message of specific segments of the speeches. Appendix 1 gives a full record of general themes, sub-themes, key words and codes that we produced to analyse Tutu's sermons and speeches. In order to answer our first two questions, however, we reduced this material to Figure 8, presented in Appendix 1 and to Table 1 of this text.

Figure 8 gives an overview of the main sensitizing concepts, i.e. general themes with sub-themes and key words added to them. Now, knowing that we have applied this scheme by means of intersubjective procedures, i.e. coding and recoding by *different* persons, one may assume that this coding procedure leads to relatively reliable results.

Table 1 presents the (absolute and relative) frequencies with which Tutu brought up the general themes (theological, political and situation specific matters), the sub-themes (liberation theology, general theology, historical background, political reality etc.) and respective key words (for instance God on the side of the oppressed, government policy etc.).

From Table 1 we derive that Archbishop Tutu, in general, has given fairly equal attention to both religious (theological) themes (mentioned 292 times, i.e. 48%) and political themes (mentioned 303 times, i.e. 49%). The rest of the speeches (i.e. 3%) has been devoted to situation specific matters.

We will now set out to describe the substance of the messages related to religious versus political themes. We will list each of the relevant key words with both its absolute and relative frequency (i.e. its percentage based on the

total number of attached key words). The relative frequencies will be rounded off. Because of this rounding off, they may not add up to exactly 100%.

Religious themes.

Within the domain of theology, Tutu has given relatively more attention to themes related to liberation theology (187, i.e. 30%) than to general theology (105, i.e. 17%).

His message in terms of liberation theology

The first main theme addressed by Tutu is that *God is on the side of the oppressed* (mentioned 75 times, i.e. 12%). This is good news for the poor and the oppressed, who may have thought that God was neutral. God is not neutral, He cares about the oppressed. He is a God of justice Who will help the poor overcome their unjust lot, because He is an active God. This is a message of hope because God will help to change the circumstances in order to achieve victory.

The second main theme is related to the first. The message that God is on the side of the oppressed means that He will eventually establish *liberation and freedom* for them (mentioned 29 times, i.e. 5%). Just as He sent his Son Jesus to liberate people, He will now intervene to liberate both the oppressors and the oppressed. And God is also a God of *reconciliation* (mentioned 23 times, i.e. 4%), both for the oppressors and the oppressed. Especially the oppressors will be forgiven for their sins but they will have to confess their guilt. That is why all people have to *pray for the whites* (mentioned 3 times, i.e. 1%) in order to make them move toward liberation and freedom.

The third main theme refers to *humanity* (mentioned 17 times, i.e. 3%). The essential human condition is that we are all God's children, we are equal. We can show our equality by helping each other, both blacks and whites, which will help us achieve real personhood, real humanity.

In Tutu's sermons and speeches these themes on liberation theology are connected to practical political consequences. The view that God is on the side of the oppressed gives guidance to *the role of the church* (mentioned 10 times, i.e. 1%). The church should not be a wealthy church but should take the perspective of the poor and the oppressed, show its solidarity with them and help them to carry their lot. The view that God will establish liberation, freedom, and humanity leads to the view that the system of *apartheid should be dismantled* (mentioned 22 times, i.e. 4%). In God's society we are of equal worth, which means non-racialism and a society of black and white together. And the view that God is a God of reconciliation and forgiveness may have induced Tutu to

mention (8 times, i.e. 1%) *peaceful, non-violent changes* and settlements on the way to a new society.

His message in terms of general theology

Firstly, he refers (29 times, i.e. 5%) to *christian values* of which 'love thy neighbour' is crucial, because it was Jesus' device to help the naked and the thirsty, the poor, the hungry and the weak. Secondly, he refers (37 times, i.e. 6%) to *Biblical themes* in which stories are mentioned that underscore God's promise to lead the people to His Kingdom eventually: the promised land, just like Moses did for him. The story of Jesus' death is put in the perspective of a new beginning because His death was followed by His resurrection which implies hope for the future. And he refers to theology in general (9 times, i.e. 1%), emphasizing that there is *one* church within which, however, plural views are and should be possible.

His message on political themes

Within the domain of political themes Tutu has exposed the political reality of the system (179 times, i.e. 29%) and its consequences (42 times, i.e. 7%) more often than optional political changes (36 times, i.e. 6%) or the political future (25 times, i.e. 4%). The historical background of the system has been referred to even less (21 times, i.e. 3%).

Historical background

Tutu has not often brought the *historical background* of the system to the minds of his audiences. He refers to the history of South Africa that has been strongly dominated by the coming of the white christian civilisation which, in fact, has resulted in colonialism, i.e. white imperialism or white 'baasskap'.

The political reality

Regarding the contemporary political reality, Tutu has spoken of two associated themes. First, he has exposed the political reality of the system as such. Of course, he has given much attention to the system of *apartheid* (mentioned 71 times, i.e. 12%). He has stated that this system is based upon white racism, white supremacy and consequentially on the whites' emphasis that blacks are inferior. This has created long-lasting ethnic cleavages, mainly between the whites and the blacks. The whites have stuck together and have appeared to be quite indifferent to the lot of the blacks. In this system, human rights have been violated systematically. That is why the system of apartheid is comparable to the

Nazi system. As such, the system has lasted, based on discrimination and exploitation, that is in fact, dehumanization of the blacks.

But Tutu has also exposed more concretely *government policy* (64 times, i.e. 10%), in particular the policy of the Nationalist Party, that has been in power for such a long time. He has gone into the policies related to the state of emergency and the group areas act with which the white government has tried maintain the system of apartheid. By creating Bantustans and moving people to them by means of population removals, the government has disrupted black communities. This policy has brought about conflicts between the government and its (black) population. The government has tried to suppress these conflicts by means of harassment and police dogs, thereby showing its real face. And the government has undertaken other brutal policies, like detention without trial, bannings and slum clearances to maintain the system of apartheid.

The government has also shown its brutal face through its *foreign policy* (22 times, i.e. 4%). According to Tutu, the government has actively been engaged in the conflicts in Namibia and Angola, and has deliberately broken down the negotiations of the Namibia conference, supported by the Reagan administration that has shown itself willing to cooperate with repressive regimes like the one in South Africa. The government of the United States has thereby shown its desire to continue its imperialistic policy in favour of whites to the disadvantage of blacks.

Archbishop Tutu has been very sceptical about the *system adaptations* (mentioned 22 times, i.e. 4%) that have been proposed by the government, especially the ones proposed by former Prime Minister Botha. Tutu has exposed these policies as non-change based on a coexistence on white terms: only the urban blacks have been allowed to stay thereby disrupting black communities. Tutu has expressed a more optimistic view on the policies of former President de Klerk, who has tried to establish real changes in the system of apartheid, has released Nelson Mandela from prison, and has unbanned a number of political organizations.

Consequences of the political reality

Secondly, Archbishop Tutu has brought up *the consequences of this political system* (42 times, i.e. 7%). The main theme he has addressed is the black suffering (mentioned 28 times, i.e. 5%) as a consequence of the system. He has described the blacks as the victims of injustice: the unemployment and poverty of the blacks, especially in the squatter camps. This has brought about a permanent state of human suffering and loss of humanity through starvation and total despair (3 times, i.e. 1%). But Tutu has also referred to *the violence*

brought about by the system of apartheid (11 times, i.e. 1%). The fact that blacks' resistance has continuously been suppressed and they have sometimes been massacred has resulted in hatred and urban unrest as well as in numbers of blacks engaging in the armed struggle directly attributable to the system of apartheid.

Political change

This theme has been addressed by Archbishop Tutu less frequently (36 times, i.e. 6%) than actually exposing the reality of the system.

Tutu has more often put forward *demands* to the international community to continuously criticize the government of South Africa for its state violence. He has also asked for international monitoring in order to protect the population against state violence, to trace and arrest the people behind this violence. This he has also demanded from the government. But he has also requested that international political pressure be maintained on the government so that it should treat its population more justly.

Tutu has mentioned as *means* to keep up the international political pressure: economic boycotts and the Olympic boycott. In order to establish political change within South Africa, Tutu has emphasized time and again as the most important means: negotiations to reach the eventual aim of power sharing. All organisations that try to establish this eventual aim should be involved in these negotiations, i.e. the trade unions, and also the freedom fighters, so incorrectly portrayed as terrorists. He has more often addressed the black community to engage in peaceful protest, to stay calm and disciplined in order not to let violence escalate between all communities in the country.

Political future

Archbishop Tutu has addressed this theme less frequently (i.e. 25 times, i.e. 4%) than addressing the actual situation in South Africa. He develops an image of the future of South Africa after apartheid is abolished. Then South Africa will be a just society, a free country. It will be non-racist, non-sexist and democratic, where all people, black and white together, will hold hands, where people will matter because they are human beings made in the image of God.

The substance of Archbishop Tutu's sermons and speeches from the perspective of liberation theology

Having described the substance of Tutu's sermons and speeches in some detail, it becomes clear that Tutu has adopted most of the central themes derived from liberation theology. This is no wonder. We do not consider it informative to list

the themes that are prominent both in his speeches and in liberation theology. It seems more informative to detect aspects on which Tutu holds different views or emphasizes different aspects of liberation theology. There are a few differences worth mentioning.

The first is that in liberation theology, reconciliation is preconditioned by justice as by dismantling apartheid. This would imply chronologically: first justice in society by dismantling apartheid, then reconciliation between oppressors and oppressed. Conversely, Tutu has proposed a more unconditional reconciliation. He reaches out symbolically to the whites to confess their guilt and then they will be forgiven in order to build together with all other South Africans a new, just and more equal society to which all will have to contribute their share.

The second is that in liberation theology, negotiations are preconditioned by the unbanning of liberation movements, the release of all political prisoners and the repatriation of all the exiles. Conversely, Tutu has proposed more unconditional negotiations. It seems that he prefers parties to come to the negotiation table first to start the process instead of formulating preconditions that may hamper the start of the process as such.

Third, civil disobedience has been emphasized in liberation theology both as a strategy and as a principle to combat apartheid and bring about a liberated society. But conversely, Tutu has not strongly adopted nor encouraged this principle. Instead, he has appealed to the masses to stay calm, to stay disciplined, not to lose their temper, not to provoke the police authorities and so on. It seems that he has warned the masses of the risks of civil disobedience, i.e. the risk of an escalation of violence followed by risks of large-scale injuries or eventually killings.

III RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THEMES: ARGUMENTATION PATTERNS

For his overview of content analysis designs, Holsti (1969: 26) refers to Lasswell's well-known formula for the description of communication content "Who says What, How, to Whom, Why and with what Effect?" With this formula all kinds of communication aspects can be distinguished. So far we have analyzed the documents from a thematic viewpoint to answer the question, What kind of themes are present in the speeches and sermons? Thematic analysis is but one of many possible research problems for which content analysis is used. Holsti's thematic analysis focuses on the question "What is communicated?" For our purposes, the "how" aspect is relevant, too. The "how" question refers to the

description of the ways the communicator tries to deliver the message. Research problems referring to the how aspect of communication focus on subjects like style characteristics or the persuasion techniques the communicator uses. Persuasion is the subject of the old art of rethoric that is dedicated to the central question: How can I be more convincing for the listeners/readers, so that they will accept my message?

One of the characteristics of a speech or sermon is its rhetorical nature. It contains devices to persuade the audience to follow and accept the speaker's thinking and point of view. One of the rhetorical devices the speaker may use, for example, is to connect a difficult or problematic message to a shared point of view. This way the difficult message looks like a what-everybody-knows standpoint and becomes hard to reject.

We searched the documents for rhetorical devices in the sense of argumentation structure, especially for relationships between themes. Is there a pattern in Archbishop Tutu's sermons and speeches in the sense that some themes function as a device to deliver the message of another theme or that specific themes are constantly related?

To explore this kind of relationship among themes, each document was first summarized by reading the printed segments and accompanying codes. For instance, document 2, a speech at the funeral of Steve Biko (1977) is summarized as follows:

What is the purpose of Biko's death? Let us recall God cares. He sent His own son to be killed and in order to defeat the powers of darkness, of evil and injustice.

Steve Biko was God's servant. Through his Black Consciousness Movement he emphasized humanity and personhood, advocated peaceful change, reconciliation and justice, black and white together. But bulldozers, detentions and bannings were the answer. Through Steve Biko, God's magnificent gift, He lets us know He is on our side, the Liberator God that defeats the powers of injustice.

Next, the rough structure of reasoning is reconstructed in relation to our scheme of themes, subthemes and key words. This reconstruction is tested by rereading the entire document. The speech summarized above has the following argumentation structure:

1a A political theme, the background of Biko's death, is changed from negative (loss) to positive by relating it to a general theological theme, Jesus' death and resurrection and to themes from liberation theology: liberation and freedom.

- b A political theme, the Black Consciousness Movement, is made positive by connecting it with themes from liberation theology: peace and humanity.
- c A political theme, the System, is made negative by connecting it to a theological theme: the powers of Evil.
- d A political theme, the System, is changed from negative to neutral by equalizing it with a theological theme, the Evil, that has been defeated by the liberator God, a liberation-theological theme.

Subsequently an overview of all relational reconstructions of the documents was made to discover patterns in the ways the themes are connected. Below we present the relational reconstructions of the twelve documents.

- 1 Memorial Steve Biko (1977)
 - a A political theme, the background of Biko's death, is changed from negative (loss) to something positive by relating it to a theological theme, Jesus' death and resurrection.
 - b A political theme, System, is changed from negative to neutral by equating it to a theological theme, Evil, which has been defeated by the liberator God, a liberation-theological theme.
- 2 Funeral Steve Biko (1977), see above
- 3 Sebukwe's Funeral (1978)
 - a A situation specific theme, Sebukwe's personality, is related to a theological theme, christian values.
 - b A theological theme, love thy neighbour, is negatively connected to a political theme, the reaction of the system, oppression.
 - c A political theme, government policy, is negatively connected to a political practical theme from liberation theology, peaceful change.
- 4 Population removals and the Urban Church (1980)
 - a An aspect of government policy (population removals) is connected to another political theme, apartheid (white racism), to a political theme, black suffering, as a result.
 - b A political theme, government policy (Bantustans) is threatening a theological theme (unity of the Church).
 - c A theological theme, role of the Church, is connected to a political theme (government policy).
 - d A theological theme (Revelation) is connected to a political theme (liberation struggle).

- 5 The Role of the Church in SA (1981)
 - a A general theological theme, kinds of theologies, is elaborated through biblical themes and biblical citations, so that a liberation theology theme becomes clear: the Liberator God.
 - b A theological theme, the nature of African/Black theology, is connected to a political theme: the situation of black people in South Africa.
 - c A liberation-theological theme, the role of the Church, is clarified by a theme from liberation theology: solidarity with the poor.
 - d A theological theme, white christianity/Dutch Reformed Church, is connected to a negative political theme: the apartheid system.

- 6 S.A. some crystal gazing (1981)
 - a A political theme, government policy, is evaluated negatively by connecting it to a political-practical theme from liberation theology: dismantling apartheid, explaining another political theme: violence and unrest.
 - b A political theme, violence, is explained by connecting it to a political theme: not complying with the demand for power sharing.
 - c A political theme, international pressure, is presented as a means to reach the aim of change by negotiations, another political theme.

- 7 Black SA perspectives and Reagan (1982)
 - a A political theme, the importance of the Reagan administration for the situation of the blacks, is grounded with political arguments (the support of the apartheid regime and government policy).

- 8 Funeral Frikkie Conradie (1982)
 - a A liberation-theological theme (God's reconciliation with humankind) is illustrated by a social-political fact (Conradie as a white DRC minister working for blacks).
 - b A political theme, the new South Africa, is presented as a theological theme: God's work and the fulfilment of God's victory.

- 9 Barmen and Apartheid (1984)
 - a A general theological theme, God's aim, is connected to another theological theme, Biblical themes, showing history is not a straight line.
 - b A political theme, the apartheid system and its consequences, is oppositionally connected to a theological theme (christian values), so that a political theme, government policy, can be presented as in conflict with a general theological theme, God's aim.

- c A general theological theme, God's aim, which is associated with liberation-theological themes (God sides with oppressed and reconciliation), justifying a political theme, international pressure.
 - d A political theme (international pressure) as a means to reach a political aim (system adaptation).
- 10 Opening worship Rustenburg Conference (1990)
- a A political theme, political change, is related to a theological theme, active God.
 - b A theological theme, unity of the church, is connected to a general theological theme, love thy neighbour, and liberation theology themes, the perspective of the poor and the intervening God, on general theological grounds (the Holy Spirit of God).
- 11 Thanksgiving St. George's Cathedral (1990)
- a A liberation theology theme, God cares, is rhetorically merged with a political theme: the suffering of the black people, and so questioned.
 - b But a political theme, system adaptation, is connected to a liberation theology theme as a kind of proof: God does indeed care!
 - c A liberation theology theme, God cares, gives way to a general theological theme: praise the Lord.
 - d A liberation-theology theme, God cares, supports the people in the situation of a political theme: government policy.
- 12 Funeral Boipatong Massacre (1992)
- a A political theme, violence, is opposed to another political theme, the New South Africa, as a proof that it is not really there yet. This political situation is connected to a liberation theology theme: God cares.
 - b A theological theme (reconciliation) is connected to a political theme (violence).
 - c A political theme (demands) is connected to a political theme (violence). This situation is eased by a liberation theology theme, God cares.

An overview of the relational reconstructions shows that there are 36 statements containing relations between two or three thematic elements. These relationships show a general pattern. For instance, in the first statement a political theme (apartheid) with a negative value (P-) is connected to a religious theme (Jesus' death and resurrection, his victory over Evil) with a positive value (T+), with the result that a negative situation is changed into something that will be positive in the future. Briefly: a religious theme makes a political theme look less worse or even positive!

With the example of the relationship of a political theme to a religious theme in the first statement mentioned above in mind, the situation for the religious themes becomes interesting and especially the relationships between political and religious themes.

A closer look at the role of the political themes in the statements teaches us that 24 of the 38 political themes mentioned are presented as negative, 9 as positive and 4 as neutral. We know from the thematic analysis that most key words and codes have a negative load so there is a clear tendency of negative connotations with political themes. For the religious themes (general theology and liberation theology) the tendency is the other way round: 24 of the 37 themes mentioned are presented as positive. Especially the liberation theological themes are positively presented: 16 out of 19. Apart from 5 statements of the kind P1 (political element) is a means or cause of P2 (some other political element), occurring 12 of the 38 times one of the political themes is mentioned, 25 statements show a relationship between some political element and an element from the (liberation) theology themes. So there is a general tendency in the speeches and sermons to connect political themes to religious themes in the arguments.

The fact that political themes are connected to theological themes makes an important pattern, especially if one takes into account that this implies the connection of a negative reference to a positive reference. What does this mean for the message in the statement? Is it neutral, or is one of the themes in the statement dominant and does the message become positive or negative?

A thorough reading of the 25 statements with a relationship between political and religious themes from this viewpoint leads to the conclusion that the *Christian faith as interpreted in liberation theology is stronger than the politics of apartheid*.

There are several rhetoric devices through which this pattern in the relationships between religious (or theological) theme and political themes is produced:

- * There are 7 statements with a message of the kind T (some theological theme) makes P (some political theme) less worse (1a, 1b, 2a, 3a, 4d, 8b, 9c).
- * There are 7 statements with a message of the kind LT (some liberation theological theme) makes P (some political theme) less worse (2a, 2b, 2d, 9c, 11d, 12a, 12c).
- * There are 2 statements with a theological message (T) that make the political situation (P) look negative (2c, 3b).
- * There are 3 statements with a message of liberation theology (LT) that make the political situation (P) look negative (3c, 6a, 9b).
- * There are 3 statements with a message on a positive political theme (P+) as a proof for the reality of liberation theology (10a, 11a, 11b).

Only 4 statements refer to some influence of a political element on a theological element (4b, 5b, 5d, 12b), all referring to the political situation as a condition for the role of the church. But if we consider what is said in the speeches about the role of the church, it becomes clear that that role should be a force in changing the political situation, so, in fact, here the power of theological themes works too!

The rhetorical analysis, in the sense of argumentation structure, yielded several devices all leading to the central message that, however bad the situation may seem to be, there still is hope, for there are greater powers already at work to make a better world.

IV THE CENTRALITY OF JESUS' VICTORY ON THE CROSS IN TUTU'S THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT

The distinction of Tutu's texts into themes enables us to expose the argumentation structure of each text. The discussion above shows how he handled religiously the evil of apartheid which forms the background, the context of his liberation theology, in his speeches and sermons. The analyses of the texts and the reconstruction of the argumentation structure of each text indicated clearly how he treated the oppression and the suffering caused by apartheid in such a way that this evil is played down in the light of Jesus' victory over Evil on the cross through his death and resurrection. The analysis therefore enables us to trace Tutu's theological thought regarding his prophetic theology and preaching against apartheid and the proclamation of God's liberation from it.

In Tutu's thought salvation is the basic theological concept for his conviction that apartheid will bite the dust. Of course he works with concepts such as God's bias and solidarity with the poor and oppressed, His deeds of liberation in the Bible of which the Exodus is a central one, and His activity in history in the praxis of liberation (Matthew 25:31-46) – see for example his speech at the University of Pretoria (The role of the Church in South Africa). But in this same speech he made a profound statement, namely that liberation is not seen as an alternative to salvation. Salvation (the deed of salvation by Jesus' victory over Evil) is therefore the basic theological concept which functions in the texts we analysed. See for example the addresses at the memorial services for Steve Biko; on population removals; on the role of the church in South Africa; at the funeral of Frikkie Conradie; on Barmen and apartheid; at the Rustenburg Conference; the thanksgiving in St George's Cathedral and at the Boipatong funeral. On the basis that victory over all evil is already achieved, Tutu could proclaim that liberation will come because it is God's aim and that He cares for people in their pain and suffering – a care that will result in liberation.

By using the theological concept of salvation as central concept in his thinking and preaching on liberation, Tutu links up with a central concept in the Christian theological tradition. Dodd (1980) demonstrates that the primitive apostolic preaching centred on salvation through Christ. The Pauline kerygma is a proclamation of the fact of the death and resurrection of Christ as the means of God's salvation for humankind in an eschatological setting which gives significance to the facts (Dodd 1980:13; see also McDonald 1980; Bosch 1991:134). This concept is strongly taken up by Irenaeus (A.D. 140-200) in his argumentation against the heresies, especially Gnosticism (cf Cave 1931:149), and runs as a golden thread through the whole history of Christian theology.

In this century it was Karl Barth who based his whole theological thought on the central concept of Christ's victory as the means of God's salvation for humankind. The theological thought in all the volumes of his Church Dogmatics has its source in the victory of Jesus Christ over Evil. Hall (1989), in his critical theology with a transformation purpose, works with a theology of the cross. This theological concept functions also as central concept in all contemporary evangelical or Biblical theology.

V KEYWORD VARIATIONS OVER TIME IN THE SERMONS AND SPEECHES

In order to detect variations over time of emphasizing different aspects in Archbishop Tutu's sermons and speeches, we computed the relative frequency of the key words per year. By comparing these with the relative frequencies of the key words present in all the speeches (i.e. the row percentages), we can ascertain that certain key words have been used by Tutu relatively more frequently in some years than in others. Let us have a look at Table 2 for the results. Although we have a relatively large number of speeches (12), with 228 segments, with 616 key words attached to them, it appears that we have a large number of empty cells. This seriously hampers the possibility of detecting tendencies over time, unfortunately. Key words with a row percentage of merely 1% will not be discussed.

Let us start with the key words related to theological themes. Regarding the key word *God is on the side of the oppressed*, we ascertain that Tutu has used this more frequently both at the beginning of the eighties as well as at the beginning of the nineties. The key word(s) *liberation and freedom* have been used more frequently at the beginning of the eighties but are no longer present in his 1992 speech. *Reconciliation and humanity* appeared to have been emphasized at the end of the seventies and remain proportionately present in his speeches since then. The key word *dismantling apartheid* as a theological theme is also more frequently present in his speeches in the late seventies and the early

eighties, and in the beginning of the nineties than in the other periods. Regarding *biblical quotations and themes*, we ascertain that these are more frequently present around 1980 whereas they have been less strongly emphasized since then. Regarding *christian values*, we note that these have been very frequently mentioned in the 1992 speech.

Let us proceed with the key words related to the political themes. Regarding *government policy and apartheid* we ascertain that these key words strongly prevail in the speech given in 1977 but also in the speeches in the eighties, which also applies to the key word *black suffering*. The key word of *system adaptation* had been mentioned more frequently in 1977, which also holds for the key word *foreign policy*. On issues regarding political change, i.e. *demands and means*, we may state that Tutu has addressed these fairly constantly over time, which also goes for issues on *the political future* of South Africa.

Summarizing the variation of key words over time, we may conclude that Tutu's speeches may be characterized as being fairly balanced, paying attention to both religious or theological and political themes. However, we have ascertained, on the one hand, a slight tendency to accentuate theological themes around 1980 and around 1990 and, on the other hand, a slight tendency to emphasize political themes more strongly in the eighties.

VI KEY WORD VARIATIONS IN THE PRESENCE OF DIFFERENT AUDIENCES

To address the question posed in the Introduction to this book of whether Tutu has emphasized different (sets of) aspects in the presence of different audiences, we had to categorize the sermons and speeches according to the majority of the audience present on the occasion. Based on knowledge about the circumstances, we categorized the speeches into audiences being predominantly black, predominantly white and audiences being racially mixed, i.e. both blacks and whites. Just as in the previous section, we computed the relative frequency of the key words per type of audience in order to compare these with the relative frequencies in the row of the table. Let us have a look at Table 3 for the results of this analysis.

Regarding the key words related to liberation theology, we derive from Table 3 that Archbishop Tutu has used them fairly proportionately in the presence of each of the distinguished audiences. There are only two exceptions to this rule. The first exception is that Tutu has generally spoken less often about the issue that *God is on the side of the oppressed* in situations where blacks were in the majority, and more often on this issue in situations where whites were in the majority. The second exception is that Tutu has more often spoken about *libera-*

tion and freedom in the presence of a majority of whites than in the presence of a majority of blacks.

Regarding general theology, we derive from Table 3 that Tutu has used key words related to this sub-theme more often in the presence of whites: this holds for the key words of *biblical quotations, christian values and biblical themes*.

Turning to the key words related to political themes, we find quite a different pattern. From Table 3 we derive that Tutu has used keywords like *government policy, apartheid and foreign policy* more often in the presence of a majority of blacks. Regarding key words related to the consequences of the political reality, we derive from Table 3 that these are proportionately present in speeches held for the three distinguished audiences. But, then again, we find a slightly different pattern regarding key words related to political change and the political future. It appears that Tutu has more often used keywords like *demands, means and vision* in the presence of blacks and whites.

Summarizing the variation of key words in the presence of different audiences, we find a number of tendencies. First, we ascertained that Tutu has spoken about liberation theology proportionately in front of different audiences. But we found a slight tendency to emphasize the matters that God is on the side of the oppressed and liberation and freedom more often in front of whites. It seems that Tutu has been trying to convince whites of the just cause he and others have put forward. Next, we found that in front of white people, Tutu has emphasized key words related to general theology more often than in front of other audiences. Hence, it seems that he has presented himself more as a bishop than as a politician to the whites. Conversely, in front of black people we found that Tutu has more often addressed matters related to both the historical background and the political reality of the system. Therefore, it seems that he has presented himself more as a politician than as a bishop to the blacks. Finally, we found a slight tendency that he has addressed matters related to political change more often in the presence of both blacks and whites, seemingly pointing in the direction that these changes should be carried out by all ethnic groups together.

VII CONTEXTUAL INFLUENCE ON THEOLOGICAL THINKING AND PREACHING

For many centuries people assumed that the theological systems developed in Western European theology were universal, and therefore valid for all Christian theology. With the rise of liberation theologies in Latin America, South Africa and other parts of the the third world after World War II, the insight came that theology is essentially contextual. The theoretical premise with which every sensible theologian works today is that she or he is doing contextual theology. De Gruchy puts it aptly: "Theology as hermeneutics is clearly dependent upon

the careful exegesis of Scripture; that is, understanding the biblical text within its own context ... What is also required is a careful analysis of the context in which the church is called to witness to the gospel, as well as a critical understanding of the role which the church is playing and where those engaged in 'doing theology' are, to use a colloquial phrase, 'coming from'" (De Gruchy & Villa-Vicencio 1994:10).

The insight that the nature of the context plays a major role in the theological themes that theologians research, and the themes preachers preach about, is also developed by Steck (1974) in homiletical theory. Biblical texts which were not generally preached in Germany before the Nazi regime suddenly became topical during the Nazi regime.

This theological insight (the influence of context on the themes of theological thinking and preaching) explains the key word variations over time in the sermons and speeches of Tutu, as well as the key word variations in the presence of different audiences. At the beginning of the eighties there was new hope that change in the system of apartheid was in the air. The reform policy of P.W. Botha sparked some expectation. After the bitter disappointment of 1984 (blacks being left out of the new tricameral parliament) violence erupted again, sanctions were imposed on the country, and the total situation was in a mess. The beginning of the nineties, of course, brought new hope for radical change after the February 2 speech of F.W. de Klerk in 1990. Violence prevailed and there was much uncertainty as to which way things would develop, but it was a new situation and a new context.

Our empirical analysis of the variation in key words over time and in the presence of different audiences proved Desmond Tutu to be a very sensitive and profound contextual theologian and preacher. The nuances in key words in his texts is a good rendering of the issues and the mood of the times, and the nature of the audiences he addressed.

VIII KEY WORD VARIATION IN DIFFERENT SITUATIONS

In order to answer our sixth question on whether Archbishop Tutu has emphasized different aspects in situations of violence versus non-violence, again we have categorized the sermons and speeches according to the circumstantial violence of the situation. And again we have computed the relative frequency of the key words per category of violence versus non-violence in order to compare these with the row percentages. The results are presented in Table 4.

As opposed to the previous paragraphs, we found little variation in emphases of different key words in different situations. It appears that Archbishop Tutu has not, at least not strongly, overreacted to violent situations. We found only one

slight exception, that Tutu has more often appealed to *christian values* in violent situations. We have ascertained above that the crux of this theme is expressed in the christian message of 'love thy neighbour'. This may be interpreted as a way of inciting the masses to stay calm in violent situations, stay disciplined, not lose their temper and hence as a means to let violence not get out of hand.

IX A PRUDENT PACIFIST STANCE

Pacifism is seen here as the categorical prohibition of the killing of people in war – whether it is aggressive or in self-defence. This implies that the use of weapons is rejected either by the state or by individuals (Van Iersel & Spanjersberg 1993:51). According to Van Iersel and Spanjersberg (1993:51-54), there are two types of pacifism. The first type represents the position of people who have an idealistic view. They are in principle against any killing of people regardless of the consequences. The second type is called prudent pacifism. This type is directed at peaceful, non-violent handling of conflict between parties in order to establish a good society based on justice and a good constitution.

Pacifism uses different sources for its thinking: religious sources; philosophical sources and political scientific sources (view of state), socialistic sources, and anti-imperialistic and anti-colonialistic sources.

Making use of this theory we can put Tutu in the category of prudent pacifism. His texts contain several statements pertaining to a negotiated settlement between white and black. There are also references to the good society we should strive for, built on justice, peace and reconciliation. He has a non-violent approach, true to South African liberation theology, which is surely fed by Christian religious sources, and an abhorrent attitude to colonialistic violence. It is therefore no wonder that he always pleaded for discipline, calmness and abstention from violence in violent situations.

X SUMMARY

In this chapter we have tried to provide answers to the questions posed in the Introduction.. The answer to *the first question*, pertaining to the crucial themes that Archbishop Tutu adopted in his sermons and speeches has been given in detail in Appendix 1 and 3. These crucial themes have been listed together with their absolute and relative frequencies in section II, referred to in *the second question*. One main finding is that these sermons and speeches have been remarkably balanced with regard to the extent of attention to religious themes, on the one hand and political themes, on the other.

Regarding *the third question*, namely the ways in which Tutu has related these themes to each other, we found a rather clear argumentation structure in section III. Tutu has used theological themes, both from general and liberation theology, to deliver the message that the Christian faith, as interpreted in liberation theology, is stronger than the politics of apartheid.

The fourth question on the variation of themes over time has been answered in section V. Again it appeared that these sermons and speeches have been remarkably balanced over time. But we found a slight tendency that Archbishop Tutu put more emphasis on theological themes at the beginning of the eighties and at the beginning of the nineties whereas in the mid-eighties he emphasized political themes more strongly.

The answer to *the fifth question*, on the emphasis on different themes in the presence of different audiences, was given in paragraph VI. Again it turned out that Tutu's texts have been remarkably balanced. But we found a slight tendency that Tutu has presented himself more as a bishop to white audiences and more as a politician to black audiences.

Regarding *the sixth question*, the emphasis on different themes in violent versus non-violent situations, it turned out that Archbishop Tutu has never overreacted in difficult situations. We found a slight tendency that he, especially in violent situations, has delivered the message of christian values referring to 'love thy neighbour', apparently aiming at preventing an escalation of violence.

A theological interpretation of our analysis of Tutu's sermons, speeches and other texts reveals to us a modern liberation theologian who stands steadfastly in the central faith of the great Christian tradition. He thinks from the classical theory of salvation – the revelation of God's grace and love in Jesus Christ, the victory over Evil and sin on the cross through his resurrection and ascension. He is a committed pastor and theologian who discovered in his context of oppression and suffering the Liberator God, who loves and cares for us, and who promises – on the basis of Jesus' victory over Evil – liberation for his people. He also discovered an active God who involves his people in the praxis of the struggle for liberation.

Desmond Tutu is therefore a very sensitive and profound contextual theologian who could read the Bible in his context in such a way that he could fulfil his prophetic ministry without shrinking from this immense task. He is committed to his Christian views – based on sound Christian values – of non-racialism and non-violence. In this he is a prudent pacifist. He has a vision for the South African society which is also based on his Christian interpretation of the reign of God. This vision inspires his prophetic ministry.

Desmond Tutu is a committed pastor, church leader and theologian with a remarkably clear understanding of the essence of the gospel of Jesus Christ in the unique South African situation.