

**Invitations to Prophetic Integrity in the Evangelical Spirituality of the  
Students' Christian Association Discipleship Tradition:  
1965 - 1979**

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30 November 2015

For Joyann whose joy for living is our joy to share

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## Foreword

When all has been said and done a PhD dissertation is just a learning exercise, albeit a student's most rigorous, formative and culminating accomplishment for matriculation as a scholar. This training assignment is also a journey into service. Thanks to the prayers, friendship, patience, hospitality, generosity, and excellence in discerning mentorship of many people who have accompanied me towards this destination, the grace and challenge that direct a PhD researcher's journey have been my experience in equal measure. For this reason, along the way I have received many of the charisms and have learnt many of the disciplines of true fellowship.

That I was able even to start a PhD is thanks to Prof James Houston with whom I worked as teaching assistant for two years at Regent College, whose salted words helped me understand what Jesus meant by "treasures old", and Alan Kreider, Pauline Hoggarth, Gideon Strauss, Eugene Peterson, Vinoth Ramachandra, Dan Nighswander, David Barbour, John Roff, Joan Campbell and Heather Johnston, who in different instances over many years have expressed their belief in my ability to write, in service of what is true. For being first to show me the meaning of authentic discipleship I thank Steve Truscott, Jane Asher, Lynn Pedersen and Sally Longley.

Philippe Denis, my supervisor, has patiently schooled me in many research and writing lessons with a sharp eye and keen historical sense, inspiring me to greater rigour and saving me from errors. The responsibility for any that remain is mine. My thanks also go to Prof Denis for generously providing me funding to present my first academic paper at Oxford University even before he had read my first chapter - a risked investment that led to four of my subsequent research articles being accepted for publication before I completed this monograph.

The PhD destination would never have been reached without the kind generosity of twenty-two patrons, including the Rouxville Baptist and Hilton Methodist Church leaders, who regularly contributed towards my family's keep during the two and a half years of writing. Words cannot express my thanks for the gift and regimen of their magnanimous sharing from the economy of God's Kingdom.

One of many pleasurable aspects of the journey was to work with over fifty co-researchers who shared their memories, helping to breathe into this study its relational, personal spirit. My special thanks go to Stephen Granger, Peter Greenwood, Philip Le Feuvre, Dons Kritzinger, Lybon Mabasa, Caesar Molebatsi, Maurice Ngakane, René Padilla, Lynn Pedersen, Eunice Rajuile, Sydney Seolonyane, Stanley Sher, Deryck Sheriffs, Steve Truscott and Stuart Vaughan, who went extra miles to help me attain greater accuracy. Jim Johnston and Bill Houston gave copious hours of interviews, patiently opening multi-dimensional windows on their stories, to this historian's often one-dimensional viewpoint. Without their personal archival materials generously lent, insightful comments on each of the chapters, debate, constructive criticism, and assistance on many of the finer details, this history would have been a chronicle without insight.

Celeste Johns and John Timms at the Cecil Renaud Library at UKZN; Karen Suderman of the Anabaptist Network of South Africa Peace Library; and Clare Landon and Jacqueline Gibson of The Denis Hurley Library at the St Joseph's Theological Institute, all deserve heartfelt thanks for their steadfast, kind assistance. André Landman, archivist at the University of Cape Town's Jagger Library, also well deserves thanks for professional advice during my ten weeks in the archive, and for readily digitizing and sending documents right up to the last week of the research. Particular mention needs to be made of Glenn and Ann Truran, James and Ros Irlam, Gary and Michelle Pienaar, Peter and Analie Golesworthy, Ralph and Aileen Wilcox and Philip and Charmian Le Feuvre in Cape Town, Ray and Margie Durrheim and Stanley and Alison Sher in Johannesburg, Ian and Jacqui Couper in Hartbeespoort, Faure and Rita Louw in Pretoria, and Steve and Jan Truscott in Bristol, for taking me into your homes and welcoming me into the rhythms of your families' lives during my travels, overnight, over a few days or a week, or during the two and a half months of my longer sojourns to complete the archival studies. Your companionship across many miles in many settings was an empowering gift.

Finishing would not have been possible without a smaller company. David and Anne Barbour and Dave Larsen came to my aid with crucial Apple computer support. Vic Graham, Carolyn Dugmore and Roger Stewart drew alongside with sustaining words at moments of weariness. The loving support of Joyann, my wife, and the enthusiasm of our sons, Gabriel and Simeon, have been a constant inspiration. Their wholehearted permission for me to make this midlife journey, their endurance of shared financial constraint, and forbearance during my many travels from home, make this monograph a celebrated family achievement. Joyann most of all helped me shoulder the weight carried along the way and faithfully encouraged me to persevere. At the last minute she pushed on to the finish with me in the capacity of final copy editor. I dedicate this monograph with brimming gratitude, to Joyann.

With hindsight, I am the richer for having set out on these peregrinations into this new field. May the history I uncovered in my wanderings be of service - to faithfully echo ancient, present and future *kairós* invitations to prophetic discipleship, in which our Messiah guides his fellowship of witnesses into the everlasting grace and disciplines of hearing and taking hold of God's spoken, given gift - our true names.

## ABSTRACT

In January 1965, after 67 years as a multiracial entity, the Students' Christian Association of Southern Africa voted to dissolve and separate into four autonomous associations correlated to the racial, linguistic categories of apartheid – that is, Black, Coloured, Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking associations. This study documents the development of the new English-speaking association, which retained the name SCA. Jim Johnston, Bill Houston and SCA's national leaders welcomed around two thousand tertiary students to discipleship training courses, national conferences and campus programmes during the high apartheid era of B.J. Vorster, from 1965 to 1979. This monograph integrates methodologies from oral history research, archival and secondary historiography, theology and ethics, in an Anabaptist perspective, to narrate a struggle that took place in SCA's corner of White South African evangelicalism – the struggle to respond to apartheid's many injustices with peaceful resistance in an integrative, biblical, prophetic spirituality. From 1972 SCA encountered black consciousness and black theology through Cyril Ramaphosa, Frank Chikane and Maurice Ngakane, the leaders of SCA's black sister Association - the Students' Christian Movement. In the mid-70s the eschatological theology of Christian conversion and identity which was expounded at the Lausanne Congress for World Evangelization by John Stott, Michael Green, Hans Bürki, Samuel Escobar, John Howard Yoder and René Padilla, was received into SCA when Green, Bürki, Yoder and Padilla visited. As these architects of Lausanne's "new evangelicalism," and South Africa's David Bosch, taught white students an eschatological discipleship, grounded in Christ and God's Kingdom, and expressed through socio-political engagement, the struggle in SCA heightened. Those subscribing to a post-War establishment evangelicalism eschewed social, political opposition to injustice in discipleship, while a new, younger generation of students and staff were able to interpret the events around 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976 with eschatological lenses - as Christ's *kairós* moment for the South African Church. SCA students like Stanley Sher, Richard Steele, Peter Moll, Bruce Moles and Martin Oosthuizen, and staff members like Steve Truscott took new steps to contextualize biblical repentance, restitution and reconciliation in an eschatological discipleship – a spirituality of prophetic integrity.



## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE MONOGRAPH

ACSV	Afrikaanse Christelike Studentevereeniging
AE	Africa Enterprize
ANC	African National Congress
CCSA	Churches' Christian Council of South Africa
CESA	Church of England in South Africa
CI	Christian Institute
CICCU	Cambridge Intercollegiate Christian Union
CSV	Christelike Studentevereeniging
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
ECU	Evangelical Christian Union, Rhodes University
EGM	Extraordinary General Meeting, Bloemfontein, January 1965
FOCUS	Fellowship of Evangelical Christian Union, Kenya
GCF	Graduates' Christian Fellowship
ICOWE	International Congress on World Evangelisation, Lausanne
ICT	Institute of Contextual Theology
IDAMASA	Inter-Denominational African Ministers Association of Southern Africa
IVCF	Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship (United Kingdom)
IVF	Intervarsity Fellowship (United States of America)
IVP	Intervarsity Press
IFES	International Fellowship of Evangelical Students
JTSA	Journal of Theology for Southern Africa
NATEX	National Executive
NIR	National Institute of Reconciliation
NSC/E	National Students' Committee/Executive
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
PACLA	Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly
PAFES	Pan African Fellowship of Evangelical Students
SACLA	South African Christian Leadership Assembly
SAFES	South African Fellowship of Evangelical Students
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SASO	South African Students' Organization
SCA	Students' Christian Association
SCAMP	Students' Christian Association Missions Programme
SCO	Students' Christian Organization
SCM	Students' Christian Movement
SPRO-Cas	Study Project on Christianity in South Africa
TNDT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
TSF	Theological Students' Fellowship
Tukkies	University of Pretoria
Turfloop	University of the North, Pietersburg
UCT	University of Cape Town
UCM	Universities' Christian Movement
UDW	University of Durban-Westville
UWC	University of the Western Cape
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
WP	Western Province
WSCF	World's Student Christian Federation
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

## CHAPTER ONE

### Remembering with Eschatological Imagination: Historical Theological Method

“We can never begin to imagine a new future for ourselves until we find ways to remember ourselves differently.”  
Emmanuel Katongole<sup>1</sup>

On 12 September 1964 Rev. G.J.V. Bell, Associate General Secretary of the Students' Christian Association wrote a sharp letter of disaffiliation to Valdo Galland, General Secretary of the World Students' Christian Federation (WSCF), terminating SCA's 67 year membership in the Federation. Shortly thereafter, in January 1965 at Bloemfontein, an Extraordinary General Meeting of the SCA Council voted to dissolve the Association and reconstitute it into four autonomous associations, defined almost identically to the segregated racial and linguistic categories of apartheid society. The resulting four new associations included an English-speaking Students' Christian Association (SCA), the only one of the four new bodies to retain the old name.

In July 1966 at Cape Town the Council of the new SCA decided to adopt an evangelical basis of faith which executive office bearers in SCA would need to publically sign at SCA's annual Council. At the same gathering the SCA voted in favour of affiliating with the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students. In the fifteen years that followed until 1979, SCA grew into a student movement with active branches in more than 25 tertiary education institutions. These included all but two of South Africa's white universities, all of the white English-speaking teachers' training college campuses, and a few of the white technical colleges.<sup>2</sup> During this period more than two thousand students of all races participated in SCA's national, regional and local discipleship programmes, which aimed to ground the students in an evangelical practice of Christian faith.<sup>3</sup>

The 60s and 70s was a period of increasing repression by the apartheid state, culminating in a situation of low intensity civil war in South Africa, between the Soweto Uprising of 1976 and P.W. Botha's consolidation of his personal control over the South African army, police force and intelligence apparatus, by 1980. These were decades in which tens of thousands of South Africans were “killed by apartheid” in the sense that apartheid's social engineering created the grounds for lethal, racially motivated violence whether in domestic or marital conflict, police brutality, violent student protest, guerrilla warfare, torture, military occupation, counter-insurgency, forced removals, racial polarization, or cultural and societal breakdown. During this fraught decade of the 1970s SCA leaders and

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<sup>1</sup> Emmanuel Katongole with Jonathan Wilson-Hartgrove, *Mirror to the Church: Resurrecting Faith after Genocide in Rwanda* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009), 25.

<sup>2</sup> Racial descriptors such as “Bantu”, “African”, “black”, “coloured”, “Indian” and “white” in this study will be used not because they have any legitimate denotations, but only to recall the official nomenclature of the apartheid state's race classifications. At times the narrative will capitalized these descriptors, as “Black”, “White” etc. to designate the official nomenclature of apartheid policies. For example, “Black Group Areas”.

<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive range of SCA's discipleship events see the sample in APPENDIX E on page 278-279.

office bearers began to intentionally design discipleship-training events that would reflect the Association's evangelical tradition, to make new generations of students followers of Jesus Christ, encouraging them in the transformation of everyday living which the Bible calls Christian conversion.

During SCA's evolving discipleship programmes after 1970, white SCA leaders attempted rapprochement with the black and coloured sister associations. After several failed attempts to reconvene across the racial divides between the now separate associations, at the height of the period in this study, SCA was very poignantly reminded about the social dimension of Christian conversion, during its annual Intervarsity Conference of 1977, by Prof David Bosch, in his five Bible expositions titled "The Church as the Alternative Society":

Conversion is something that is always linked to a specific moment in history, a specific *kairós*. cf. Mark 1:14. [...] Jesus understood the present time as *God's moment*, as a decisive hour. Conversion is never ahistorical or general. It is always tied to a specific time, place and context [...] Take another instance: 2 Cor. 5:16 [...] Literally in the Greek, it says: From *now on*, from this *kairós* on, we have stopped judging people by human standards. This means: recognising God's *kairos* implies subscribing to a new definition of community. When once Paul discovered that he was living in the new age of God's *kairós* he realised that he had to see his fellow-men through new eyes. Or perhaps it was the other way around: when once Paul became aware of the reality of the new community, he suddenly discovered that he was now living in another age and time.<sup>4</sup>

Bosch's two themes of God's *kairós* and God's *new age* were unprecedented subjects of study in the "new" SCA and directed the Association to give attention to the following two eschatological dimensions of Christian conversion, [1] that the gift of conversion to Jesus Christ through repentance, results in part, from recognising and responding to God's interrupting intervention into time, God's *kairós* in Jesus Christ, and [2] that conversion is not only an individual, personal reality, but includes the transfer of Christians corporately through baptismal identity in Christ, into God's eschatological "new age" of new-made social, political, ecological and economic relationships – the surprising communion and reconciliation that characterizes God's "new community." The mysterious yet visible expression of this new creation - the Kingdom Jesus proclaimed and the witness of SCA people to it – is the subject of this study.

During the 1970s SCA people were interrupted on a number of occasions within and outside of the Association, by what might be called *kairós*<sup>5</sup> moments – decisive encounters in which SCA leaders were challenged to become part of the transformation of South African society through the Gospel of reconciliation. These *kairós* moments invited key SCA office bearers to recognize white Christians' cultural and economic accommodation to apartheid in South Africa, and to respond with prophetic integrity. SCA's *kairós* interruptions were not dissimilar to *kairós* moments of encounter in Germany during the rise of Nazism, when Christians, especially in the Confessing Church, were

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<sup>4</sup> Bosch's emphases. David Bosch, "The Church as the Alternative Society: Part II," *IFES Review*, no.1 (1979): 3,11.

<sup>5</sup> For a definition of *kairós*, see the section on definitions of key concepts below.

challenged, to reconsider the genuineness of their conversion as their primary allegiance to Christ was tested.<sup>6</sup>

Tensions caused by these *kairós* moments caused SCA office bearers of different generations, at different levels of authority in the Association, and from a range of denominational backgrounds to promote, receive, integrate, or sometimes to contest and resist, emphases from the following streams of Christian spirituality: [1] a South African stream of post-World War Two fundamentalist evangelicalism; [2] a South African stream of establishment evangelicalism; [3] a stream of contemplative spirituality from Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy; [4] and a prophetic, missional and social activist stream from the Anabaptist and liberation theology traditions that flowed into evangelicalism during and after the Lausanne Congress for World Evangelization in 1974.<sup>7</sup> In the crosscurrents of this confluence of theological streams, the Association's leaders welcomed and promoted the theologies of a diverse range of evangelical personalities, among them Julian Charlie, Henk Hart, Arthur Glasser, Michael Griffiths, Maurice Ngakane, Chua Wee Hian, Caesar Molebatsi, Michael Green, Michael Cassidy, Martin Goldsmith, David Gitari, Hans Bürki, René Padilla, Ron Sider, John Howard Yoder and David Bosch.

In a historical study of the diverse theology and spirituality promoted by these formative contributors to SCA's programmes, this monograph will construct a history of the Association's theological reception, in order to understand SCA's evolving discipleship tradition. The research question that guided the historical research underlying this monograph was:

*To what extent did SCA people receive into the Association's discipleship training programmes a theology and spirituality that enabled students to emulate and practise Jesus' prophetic challenge to social injustice and political oppression, during the crisis of the South African Church struggle against apartheid between 1965 and 1979?*

The scope of the monograph will include an introduction to the historical sources of SCA's evangelical tradition and an overview of SCA twentieth century history that led to the dissolution of 1965. The narrative will then describe the theology and spirituality received into the discipleship training programmes of "the new SCA" between 1966 and 1979 to ascertain whether the Association resisted the evangelical community's tendency to accommodate apartheid, and whether SCA practised a spirituality of prophetic integrity.

The focus of the study will be SCA's discipleship programmes - on campuses, at the annual Intervarsity Conference, in the Christian Maturity Course, later called Discipleship Course,

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<sup>6</sup> John de Gruchy shows how the Christian Institute and the Christian Council of Churches (forerunner of the SACC) proactively moved towards a confessing-church model of ministry, looking to Bonhoeffer's story and theology as a role model, after the Cottesloe Consultation in Johannesburg in 1961, and its repudiation by Verwoerd and the DRC churches. See John W. de Gruchy, *Bonhoeffer and South Africa: Theology in Dialogue* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), esp. 49,125-130.

<sup>7</sup> Literature explaining the origins of these streams will be cited below.

on SCA's vacation work camps and "Vac Missions", and in the SCA Missions' Programme (SCAMP). The emphasis on SCA's theological reception will include key theological streams of evangelicalism that flowed into these SCA programmes, how they were responded to, and what kind of spirituality they fostered in the Association. The study will show how SCA people - that is students, graduates, staff and associates - received and then struggled to model and hand down to new student generations, a way of following Jesus that was autochthonous, because it responded to South Africa's unique context of social, economic and political injustice, with prophetic integrity. A synonymous, yet more theological way of describing the task of this monograph, is to say that it will describe SCA's response to the *kairós* of God's in-breaking Kingdom, and whether SCA's response enabled student disciples to become a holy interruption to racial discrimination and systematized violence in South Africa during the 1960s and 70s.<sup>8</sup>

In summary, this monograph will trace converging and sometimes antithetical emphases in evangelical theology and spirituality as they were received into SCA's student training activities from 1965 to 1979. SCA people and the evangelical Bible expositors they invited into the Association, attempted to align SCA, sometimes at cross-purposes, with Biblicist, doctrinaire, triumphalist, mystical, contextual, socially responsive or liberationist traditions of theology and spirituality. Creative tensions in this mixed theological reception in SCA decisively shaped the Association's discipleship "curriculum" and determined SCA's responsiveness to its challenging social context under apartheid. The monograph will have to determine whether SCA responded to the growing structural evils of apartheid in the 1970s with indifference, tacit support, or increased readiness for corporate prophetic resistance.

Having introduced the aim and scope of this thesis, the remainder of this chapter will present five important foundational concerns. First, definitions of key concepts in the monograph will be presented. Second, the value of this study in its related fields of contemporary scholarship will be suggested, notably history, theology and spirituality. Third, the methodologies that have been used to arrive at the reconstruction of SCA's discipleship tradition will be explained. Fourth, the influence of the researcher's gender, biography and faith tradition on the research will be identified. And finally, details of citation and a summary of the structure of this monograph will be laid out.

### **Definitions of Key Concepts**

Because this is a historical study of the reception of evangelical theology and spirituality in South Africa during the 1970s, part of its aim is to lead the reader through historical discourse to a wider, deeper understanding of South Africa's particular evangelical

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<sup>8</sup> The various images of the holy interruption, of holy deviance, holy defiance and of being "resident aliens", I have borrowed variously from Emmanuel Katongole's theological reflection on the Rwandan Church cited above, from Alan Kreider's scholarship on the pre-Constantinian Church, Walter Brueggemann's scholarship on the exilic prophets, and Stanley Hauerwas and William Willimon's theological ethics, all to be cited below.

tradition and culture, in socio-political conditions that cried out for prophetic Christian witness. As a student historian, my hope is that such understanding may result from the degree of excellence of historical and theological exposition that I present in the content of the monograph. Thus, it seems necessary here to provide only brief definitions of the *five key themes* of this study: the history of a South African **evangelical** tradition of Christian **conversion** and **discipleship** in a context that necessitated a Christian **spirituality** of **prophetic integrity**. The brief definitions of these five concepts that follow will thus receive fuller historical or theological elucidation throughout the monograph:

The multi-faceted nature of **evangelical** Protestantism in South Africa will be presented, and also rigorously questioned in the historical narrative and analysis to follow. A definition that suffices for this introduction is that evangelicalism denotes expressions of Christian faith that descend directly from the Puritan, Pietist and Wesleyan Protestantism of the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, embodying the claim to Apostolic succession, rigorous Biblicism, professed experience of conversion, notable piety and missional commitment to society.<sup>9</sup>

The concept of Christian **conversion** relates most strongly to the Greek noun for “repentance” in the New Testament - *metánoia* (Matthew 4:17 cf. 3:8; Mark 1:15 cf. 1:4; Luke 13:3 cf. 3:3; Acts 2:38, 3:19) - which connotes “an about-turn of the will” that is more than remorse, because it “breaks free from sin”.<sup>10</sup> In New Testament soteriology – the theology of conversion - *metánoia* is associated with a range of closely related “movements” of divine and human agency that together enable people to turn to Christ, from a particular moment of awareness or decision, throughout the rest of their lives. The Holy Spirit prompts an awareness of God’s love and grace expressed pre-eminently in Christ’s atoning death on the Cross - the need for a response of confessed sin and guilt, and the need for obedience to Christ in daily living. God simultaneously vivifies the Christ follower in the community of the Christian church - that is - God enables a turning away from self-centredness to a new and common life of living out the ethics Jesus practised and taught.<sup>11</sup>

Examples of this multi-dimensional conversion of lives through *metánoia* are the New Testament narratives of the lives of Peter of Galilee and Paul of Tarsus.<sup>12</sup> Conversion is also

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<sup>9</sup> These characteristics correlate with David Bebbington’s defining traits of evangelicalism in twentieth century Britain. See his *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From 1930 to the 1980s* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 3-19. John Stott’s description of contemporary evangelicalism concurs. So, John Stott, *Evangelical Truth, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition: A Personal Plea for Unity, Integrity and Faithfulness* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press (IVP), 2003), 17-25.

<sup>10</sup> See Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., trans. Geoffrey Bromley, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (TDNT)* (Grand Rapids: MI: Eerdmans, 1985), 589-590.

<sup>11</sup> These justifying, sanctifying and vivifying movements of *metánoia* are expounded by St Paul in his letter to the Romans, and then summed up by him at Romans 12:1-2. For a succinct introduction to this New Testament theology of conversion, from an Anabaptist perspective, see Tom Yoder Neufeld, “Are you Saved? Paul and Salvation,” *Vision: A Journal for Church and Theology*, 7, 1 (Spring 2006): 5-13.

<sup>12</sup> Biblical theologies of the conversions of Peter and Paul are Martin Hengel, *Saint Peter: The Underestimated Apostle* (Grand Rapids MI: 2006) and F.F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011).

the subject of centuries of Christian reflection - St Augustine's *Confessions*, Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and Jonathan Edwards' *The Religious Affections* being four outstanding examples.<sup>13</sup> As mentioned in regard to Bosch's historic 1977 presentation in SCA, *metánoia* in the New Testament is also understood as a sign or a proof of the now-and-not-yet-fully-arrived interruption of Christ's new age or kingdom, or alternative community, which means that it is not limited to the personal, but confronts and transforms the cultural, political, social and economic dimensions of life.<sup>14</sup>

**Christian spirituality** derives its meaning from the Hebrew word for divine "breath" - *rû(a)h* - and its Greek cognate - *pneúma*.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, Christian spirituality has to do with Christian behaviours or ethics which derive directly from the presence of God's Spirit. In Paul's New Testament terminology this is described as the behaviour of the *pneúmatikoí* - "the saints") - or "the ones who know God by the Spirit" (1 Cor. 2:13-15, Gal. 5:24-25, Rom. 8:14-17 etc.).<sup>16</sup> The presence and work of the Holy Spirit among the saints means that the self-abandoning, other-serving love in the heart of God who is Trinity, necessarily defines, shapes and identifies Christian spirituality.<sup>17</sup> This monograph is a history of Christian spirituality which approaches this mystery of corporate Christian metamorphosis - that the Holy Spirit transforms social relationships and economic commitments in the Church to reflect or image the economy of love which is the communion of Persons in the Triune God.<sup>18</sup>

**Discipleship** and spirituality are inseparable in that discipleship denotes day-to-day situations of following Jesus in context, as faced by his first disciples, in which the ethics of the saints are corporately lived out.<sup>19</sup> Thus, what the New Testament teaches about day-to-day realities for disciples, such as the disciplines of prayer, worship, stewardship, fellowship, the temptations associated with financial stewardship, sexual integrity and national citizenship, and the shaping of singleness and marriage, family, parenting ageing, death and dying, is foundational for Christian discipleship.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, edited by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ* (London: J.M. Dent, 1971); John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to the world to come under the similitude of a dream* (Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1971) and Jonathan Edwards, *The Religious Affections* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1986).

<sup>14</sup> Jim Wallis' *Call to Conversion* (Hertfordshire: Lion, 1981) published at the height of SCA's programmatic commitment to discipleship training, is a well-known Anabaptist treatise highlighting this eschatological dimension of conversion

<sup>15</sup> See Kittel and Friedrich, TDNT, 878 - 879.

<sup>16</sup> See Kittel and Friedrich, TDNT, 891. For an introduction to the field of Christian spirituality see Rowan Williams' essay, 'To Stand Where Christ Stands,' in *An Introduction to Christian Spirituality*, Ralph Waller & Benedicta Ward, eds., (London: SPCK, 1999), 1-13. For a fuller exposition of Christian spirituality from the Apostles to St John of the Cross, see Rowan Williams, *The Wound of Knowledge; Christian Spirituality from the New Testament to St John of the Cross* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1999).

<sup>17</sup> See James M. Houston, "Spirituality and the Doctrine of the Trinity," in *Christ in Our Place: The Humanity of God in Christ for the Reconciliation of the World*, T. Hart and D.P. Thimell, eds., (Allison Park: Pickwick Publications, 1999), 48-69.

<sup>18</sup> For a fuller introductory exposition, see James Torrance, *Worship Community & the Triune God of Grace* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996).

<sup>19</sup> A popular text on discipleship used in SCA during the 1980s to introduce students to following Jesus is David Watson's, *Discipleship* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1981).

<sup>20</sup> An inspiring introduction is N.T. Wright's *Following Jesus: Biblical Reflections on Discipleship* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994).

As this monograph's main concern will be to identify **prophetic** Christian spirituality and to look for its germination in SCA's history, a slightly fuller definition of the theme of the prophetic is necessary here.<sup>21</sup> The word "prophetic" has its etymological root in the Greek verb *prophēteúō* -"to prophesy"- also meaning "to proclaim or testify", or "to be an oracle prophet."<sup>22</sup> The New Testament word for such acts of witness is the Greek verb *martyréō* -"to bear witness" -, whose noun form *martýs* -"witness"- is the etymological root for the English word "martyr" (John 15:27; 18:37 cf. Matthew 24:14; Acts 22:15 etc.).<sup>23</sup> Thus prophetic witness or testimony in Scripture is sacrificial, sometimes symbolic and necessarily public action, taken by the prophet with her or his community,<sup>24</sup> in obedience to God, nearly always resulting in conflict between prophetic communities and ruling authorities, and often precedes persecution or martyrdom.

Prophetic words and actions are remembered in Jewish-Christian history, starting with the "former prophets", whose paradigmatic origin is the "covenantal tradition of Moses" (Deut. 18:15-19; 34:10).<sup>25</sup> Biblical prophecy includes the later prophets of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, and others, and the New Testament prophetic witness of martyrs like John the Baptist and Stephen of Jerusalem, and the prophecy of John of Patmos.<sup>26</sup> Three hallmarks of the Bible's prophetic tradition are: [1] its assumption that God's calling of individual prophets is shared by God's covenant community,<sup>27</sup> [2] that prophetic witness always voices God's special commitment to the poor, the oppressed, the weak and the marginalized (Matthew 4:23-25 cf. 4:12,17; Luke 4:16-21), and most importantly for this study, [3] that through the corporate vocation of God's prophetic community who witness to God's love and justice, who confront unjust powers, and who stand in sacrificial solidarity with the oppressed, *God's hidden agency in history* may be identified.<sup>28</sup> Thus, prophetic word-acts anticipate or even themselves occasion God's intervention into

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<sup>21</sup> A resurgence of theological interest in prophecy resulted from Abraham Heschel's classic text *The Prophets* (London: Harper & Row, 1969), followed by the scholarship of Martin Buber, Claus Westermann and then, during the period of this study, Walter Brueggemann. For example, *Hopeful Imagination: Prophetic Voices in Exile* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986).

<sup>22</sup> Kittel and Friedrich, *TNDT*, 953.

<sup>23</sup> Kittel and Friedrich, *TNDT*, 564-566.

<sup>24</sup> Huldah the prophetess is an example of a female among the prophetic community (2 Kings 22:14ff.).

<sup>25</sup> See Walter Brueggemann's discussion of Judeo-Christian prophecy whose "beginning point" is "Moses as the paradigmatic prophet who sought to evoke in Israel an alternative consciousness." See Walter Brueggemann, *The Prophetic Imagination* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 15ff.

<sup>26</sup> An insightful treatment of biblical prophecy from the perspective of New Testament hindsight is Richard Bauckham's *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies in the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993).

<sup>27</sup> Moses, Aaron and the Israelites are Scripture's paradigmatic example of the prophetic community. For an insightful biblical theology of the Exodus as a prototype for the corporate prophetic witness of Christ and his kingdom community, see Walter Brueggemann, *Living Toward A Vision: Biblical Reflections on Shalom* (New York: United Church Press, 1976), esp. 63-69. A discussion of the shared vocation of Old Testament prophecy is Robert Coote, *Amos Among the Prophets* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981). Also see any commentary on Jonah, whose message assumes the prophetic vocation of Israel as a nation. Jesus and his disciples' close identification with John the Baptist at the Jordan, and the commencement of Jesus' ministry in baptism, in the year of John's imprisonment (cf. Matt.4.; anticipate the Bible's climax of prophetic witness to the Kingdom of God by God's prophetic community.

<sup>28</sup> The Exodus is again the paradigmatic example of this biblical assumption. For searching analysis of the "inscrutable historical process" in the Old Testament which lies between "supernaturalist" intervention and ideological, official histories, "in the voice of marginality which is carried by prophetic figures and those with whom they make common cause", see Walter Brueggemann's "Blessed Are the History Makers," in his *Hope Within History* (Atlanta, GE: John Knox Press, 1987), 55ff.



situations of oppression, injustice or despair, germinating an inscrutable historical process by which the oppressed, the poor or the lost, are led up and out by God, to liberation, peace, freedom and reconciliation, *through* God's instrumental prophetic community.<sup>29</sup>

Christian prophetic witness and ministry in this monograph will be understood to share all of these defining characteristics of Old and New Testament prophetic words and actions, whereby testimony or witness is given to God's Word, and by which human testimony itself becomes a vehicle for God's Word (Luke 21:15).<sup>30</sup>

Closely related to this study's concern with prophetic witness is the biblical theology of *kairós* or God's "decisive moment"<sup>31</sup> as expounded by David Bosch in 1977. This is the relationship of chronological time experienced in the present to eschatological, proleptic or teleological time. In other words, *kairós* has to do with God's relationship to and purpose for history, which is regularly communicated in the New Testament noun, *télos* - "end", "goal", "fulfilment" or "conclusion" - as in Mark 1:15,<sup>32</sup> or in the New Testament adjective *éschatos* - "final", "last" - as in Hebrews 12:2,<sup>33</sup> to describe the present continuous era which began in the coming of Jesus Christ, and which will be finally capitulated in Christ's return.<sup>34</sup> Tom Wright succinctly describes an even deeper aspect of this mystery - the Church as the eschatological community related to Christ who himself is God's *télos*:

It was not merely that God had inaugurated the 'end'; if Jesus, the Messiah, was the End in person, God's-future-arrived-in-the-present, then those who belonged to Jesus and followed him and were empowered by his Spirit were charged with transforming the present as far as they were able, in the light of that future.<sup>35</sup>

Therefore SCA's history of theological reception and struggle to practise prophetic spirituality in the period of 1960s and 70s immediately before apartheid's climax and demise, will be presented in this study, as having everything to do with an *eschatological* relationship to Jesus Christ - a relationship which was only made possible in Jesus being sent on behalf of the Trinity, for the purpose of wholly transforming history and time.

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<sup>29</sup> An Anabaptist treatment of Christian prophetic witness, published during the period of this study, is Perry Yoder, *Shalom: The Bible's Word for Salvation, Justice & Peace* (Suffolk: Spire, 1989), and esp. 102-146.

<sup>30</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer comments on this Scripture reference to illustrate the synchrony in prophetic Christian witness between human and divine words: "Because the disciples remain true to the Word in their sufferings, the Word will remain true to them. To self-sought martyrdom this promise would not apply, but there is no doubt whatever that it does apply to suffering with the Word." Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (London: SCM, 1969), 192.

<sup>31</sup> Kittel and Friedrich, *TNDT*, 389.

<sup>32</sup> Kittel and Friedrich, *TNDT*, 1161.

<sup>33</sup> Kittel and Friedrich, *TNDT*, 264.

<sup>34</sup> A recent introduction to Christian eschatology is Tom Wright's *Surprised by Hope* (London: SPCK, 2007). Hauerwas and Willimon's insightful summation, in their treatment of the Sermon on the Mount is, "The Sermon is *eschatological*. It is concerned with the end of things - the final direction toward which God is moving the world." So, Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon, *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony; A provocative Christian assessment of culture and ministry for people who know that something is wrong* (Nashville, TEN: Abingdon Press, 1990), 86.

<sup>35</sup> *Surprised by Hope*, 57-58.

**Prophetic integrity** - The theme of integrity in Christian character is foundational to Christian spirituality, as shown in the ethical aspects of the definition of *conversion* and *spirituality* above. Integrity or wholeness of character are intrinsic to God's purpose in salvation, to bring all of creation, all of history, and every aspect of human experience to completion and perfection, to image the loving communion within the Triune God, in the world, through Jesus' Cross and the Holy Spirit's presence in Christian community.<sup>36</sup>

With regard to prophetic integrity, the possibility of SCA playing a prophetic role in society, such as that played by Beyers Naudé in the church struggle against apartheid, is remote, because of the Association's racial partition in 1965 and its almost complete eschewal of public engagement during the 1970s. However, it will be seen that individuals and groups in the Association moved decisively towards prophetic action, especially in the open challenge of students to SCA's Council in 1979, for the Association to distance itself from apartheid and imagine an alternative to race-based student associations. The historical process in SCA that gave rise to these words and actions in 1979, will be shown by this study, to have fostered prophetic integrity because SCA people now displayed a similar measure of public resistance to apartheid, as David Bosch showed towards the Dutch Reformed Church, during the same period.<sup>37</sup>

### **Importance of This Study for History, Theology and Spirituality Research**

A historical study of theological reception in SCA's developing discipleship training programmes during the penultimate decade of the apartheid era necessarily integrates research from the fields of history, theology and spirituality. Before suggesting the value of this monograph to these areas of research, the relationship of recent work in these fields to the research question of this study needs to be briefly described.

### **History**

Five interrelated fields of historiography situate this dissertation. Firstly, the work of Alan Kreider, Stuart Murray, Jonathan Bartley and a wide range of Anabaptist historians and theologians engages the subject of "post-Christendom" - the slow decline of the worldview that had dominated thinking from Constantine to Descartes, in which the Church was indistinguishable from the civic power and social institutions of "Western civilization."<sup>38</sup> Post-Christendom research, though it is being conducted from a North

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<sup>36</sup> For more on the relationship between Christian integrity and the healing of creation, see my essay, "A River Runs Through: Water In God's Purpose for Creation," *CRUX, A Quarterly Journal of Christian Thought and Opinion* Published by Regent College, 43, 7 (Summer 2007): 14-20.

<sup>37</sup> I have used the very similar discussion of Bosch imbuing "prophetic integrity" to arrive at this conclusion. See J.N.J. Kritzing & W. Saayman, *David J. Bosch: Prophetic Integrity, Cruciform Praxis* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2011), esp. 186-188.

<sup>38</sup> A succinct introduction to Christendom from the point of view of early church history is Alan Kreider, *The Change of Conversion and the Origin of Christendom* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2009). An introduction to the demise of Christendom is Stuart Murray, *Post-Christendom: Church and Mission in a Strange New World* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2004). Find the full range of scholars in this field at [www.postchristendom.com](http://www.postchristendom.com)

American and British perspective with little reference as yet to African Christianity, is a vital historical framework for this monograph, because SCA drew mainly on British and North American transatlantic evangelical theology and spirituality and practised a hierarchical, liberal democratic model of governance, all of which reflect that modern worldview which is characterized by a confident sense of “choseness”, or of “manifest destiny”, or of a rightful share in social hegemony, which are the lingering vestiges in modernity of Christendom, with its Constantinian mindset.<sup>39</sup>

The story of SCA’s birth and growth can be better understood within this historical paradigm of the demise of Christendom in modernity. That is, SCA’s growth to maturity occurred during the century in which seeds of atheism planted before the Enlightenment came to full flower, in the notion of “the death of God”<sup>40</sup> which signalled the final collapse of Christendom’s global reach on one hand, and ironically, also the indefatigable survival of a Constantinian mindset on the other hand, with increasing evidence that Christians throughout the world might succeed in brokering new-made Constantinian partnerships with civic powers, in a nostalgic attempt to reclaim that prior age when Christianity commanded hegemony.<sup>41</sup>

A second field of historiography relating to this monograph is research on the interrelated origins of evangelicalism in the Anabaptist, Pietist, Puritan and Methodist stories of continental Europe, Britain and North America during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, the transatlantic revivalism of the nineteenth-century, and the arrival and development of evangelicalism in South Africa since 1860. Researchers like C. Norman Krauss, David Bebbington, Boyd Hilton, Richard Carwardine, Richard Elphick, Mark Noll, Andrew Walls, Richard Rawlyk and Louise Kretzschmar facilitate an understanding of the foregoing social, historical context and early theological influences contributing to SCA’s development in the twentieth century.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> For an introduction to how the hegemonic assumptions of modernity’s lingering Constantinian mindset are dissolving in the Christianity of the global North, see Jonathan Bartley, *Faith and Politics After Christendom: The Church as a Movement for Anarchy* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006).

<sup>40</sup> See Michael J. Buckley’s incisive study, *At the Origins of Modern Atheism* (Newhaven, CON: Yale University Press, 1987), tracing the origin of atheism to the theological appeals of Catholic and Protestant theologians for logical “proofs” of the existence of God, during the seventeenth century.

<sup>41</sup> The survival and even consolidation of a Constantinian mindset in the contemporary post-Christendom milieu is incisively described by Robert J. Suderman in his paper, “Response to: An Ecumenical Call to Just Peace,” given at the Conference: *Just Peacemaking, Canadian Church Perspectives and Contributions*, Waterloo, Ontario, (2-3 February 2012). See “Ploughshares: Research and Action for Peace”, [http://ploughshares.ca/pl\\_publications/just-peacemaking-canadian-church-perspectives-and-contributions/](http://ploughshares.ca/pl_publications/just-peacemaking-canadian-church-perspectives-and-contributions/), accessed: 21 February 2016. Suderman points out that the World Council of Churches’ *An Ecumenical Call to Just Peace* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2011), fosters a hegemonic posture for the church by tacitly endorsing a Constantinian “Just War” response to the current proliferation of violence within and between nations. Suderman’s concern is that the WCC statement merely describes the church as “handmaiden” to the state in implementing the “rule of law”, rather than as an authority as the church in its own right, to become an agent of peace, in millions of congregations around the world, irrespective of the success or failure of organs of state.

<sup>42</sup> See C. Norman Krauss, “Anabaptist Influence on English Separatists as Seen in Robert Browne, *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 34, 1 (January 1960): 5-18, D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1999), Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865* (London: Oxford University Press, 1988), Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America 1790-1865* (Westport, CON: Greenwood Press, 1978), Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers: Protestant Missionaries and the Racial Politics of South Africa* (Charlottesville, VI: University of Virginia Press, 2012),

The third field of historical research to situate this study brings together history and theology, in narratives of the rise of twentieth century evangelical orthodoxy, against the background of developing North American Protestant fundamentalism parallel with the development of neo-orthodoxy, ecumenism and the social gospel in the interwar period.<sup>43</sup> Important in this twentieth century development of evangelicalism were post-war initiatives from the global South, in mission, social justice and political transformation, articulated for the first time at the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization in 1974, and since, in the activism and theological production of Orlando Costas, Samuel Escobar and C. René Padilla,<sup>44</sup> and in subsequent South African activism and theological production by David Bosch.<sup>45</sup>

A vital fourth area of historiography, which situates events in SCA during the 1960s and 70s, is South African church historiography in the twentieth century represented among others by James Cochrane, Rodney Davenport, Charles Villa-Vicencio, Johan Kinghorn, Wallace Mills and Peter Walshe.<sup>46</sup> One limitation regarding this last-mentioned field of historiography is my limited consultation of the prolific Afrikaans literature of the mid-twentieth century. The result is that, with the exception of important Afrikaans scholars cited, my historical point of view has been shaped more by Anglophone South African, British and North American historiography, and by the influential historical contribution of the Latin American evangelicals.

A final area of scholarship informing this study is historiography following in the footsteps of seminal studies like Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje's *Native Life in South Africa* (1916) and Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele's *Uprooting Poverty* (1989), a tradition that draws

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Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond 1700-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), Andrew F. Walls, "The Eighteenth Century Protestant Missionary Awakening in its European Context," in Brian Stanley, ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 22-43 and Louise Kretzschmar, *Privatization of the Christian Faith: Mission, Social Ethics, and the South African Baptists* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, Christian Council of Ghana, 1998). Kretzschmar rightly integrates the influence Anabaptist theology and church polity into her discussion of the rise of evangelicalism. However, to what extent any Anabaptist practices from Continental Europe or Anabaptist influences from English separatism took root in South Africa, with any lasting influence on South African evangelicalism, requires further disciplined historical investigation.

<sup>43</sup> This period of evangelical history is succinctly introduced in Richard Quebedeaux's *The Young Evangelicals: The Story of the Emergence of A New Generation of Evangelicals* (New York: Harper & Row: 1974), as it is more thoroughly treated in George Marsden's, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) and George Marsden, ed., *American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984).

<sup>44</sup> For the generous contributions to Lausanne by each of these scholars, see the full report: J.D. Douglas, ed., *Let the Earth Hear his Voice: International Congress on World Evangelization, Lausanne, Switzerland* (Minneapolis, Min: 1975). A sample of their subsequent scholarship includes Orlando E. Costas, *The Church and its Mission: A Shattering Critique from the Third World* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1974), Samuel Escobar and John Driver, *Christian Mission and Social Justice* (Scottsdale, PEN: Herald, 1978) and a volume that follows the theological scholarship of C. René Padilla from Lausanne to 1984, *Mission Between the Times: Essays on the Kingdom* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985).

<sup>45</sup> See for example, David Bosch, *Witness to the World: Christian Mission in Theological Perspective* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1980) and *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991).

<sup>46</sup> See James Cochrane, *Servants of Power: The Role of the English-speaking Churches 1903 – 1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987). Research essays by all of these scholars except Charles Villa-Vicencio are found in Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social & Cultural History* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1997). See also Charles Villa-Vicencio and John de Gruchy, eds., *Apartheid is a Heresy* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1983).

on sociology, social anthropology and economics to better understand the economic bases of colonialism and apartheid and their direct environmental and social impacts. Jacklyn Cock's *The War Against Ourselves: Nature Power and Justice* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007) is a perceptive recent monograph of this type. The 2013 "Land Divided" Conference in Cape Town, marking the centenary of the 1913 Land Act, has recently generated further historiography along these lines.<sup>47</sup> This way of identifying and foregrounding economic interests and their impacts on ecology and society, in writing history, has influenced the main theme of this monograph. Thus the focus in what follows is the necessity for a corporate prophetic witness by Christians, in response not only to cultural accommodation of apartheid and racial segregation in the Church, but also to the church's accommodation of the fundamental economic and environmental injustices of apartheid.

## Theology

Diverse fields of theology that have grounded the research question of this study include biblical, Trinitarian, Black and contextual theologies, narrative theology, theological ethics and missiology. The particular scholars in each of these fields who have most influenced my appreciation of SCA's theological reception and South Africa's context of theological and ethical accommodation to apartheid in the 1960s and 70s are Walter Brueggemann, N.T. Wright, James Torrance, John Zizioulas, Miroslav Volf, Manas Buthelezi, Simon Gqubule, Frank Chikane, John de Gruchy, Stanley Hauerwas, L. Gregory Jones, John Howard Yoder, Vinoth Ramachandra and Alan Kreider.<sup>48</sup> More detail about how these theologians shaped the methodologies employed in this monograph, to theologically

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<sup>47</sup> "Land Divided: Land and Society in South African in 2013: In Comparative Perspective," University of Cape Town Conference: March 2013, <http://www.landdivided2013.org.za/>, accessed: 22 October 2015. Copies of many research papers and presentations given at the conference can be downloaded at "Land Divided Conference: 2013," <http://www.landdivided2013.org.za/papers>, accessed 22 October 2015.

<sup>48</sup> Besides Brueggemann's works already cited, the theology of prophetic identity presented in this monograph is also drawn from Brueggemann's *The Covenanted Self: Explorations in Law and Covenant* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999) and other works to be cited throughout the monograph. In addition to Tom Wright's eschatological theology already cited I have drawn on John Howard Yoder's eschatological understanding of the church in his essay "A People in the World: Theological Interpretation" in *The Concept of the Believers' Church*, James Leo Garrett, Jr. ed., (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1969), 252-283. The Trinitarian theology of James Torrance already cited, and that of Miroslav Volf, *After Our Likeness: The Church as the Image of the Trinity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998) and John Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), are foundational in my theological reflections. Manas Buthelezi's formative work of the early 1970s will be cited in the section on methods of inquiry to follow. Other Black Theologians formative for my theological understanding of South African Christianity include Simon Gqubule, "What Is Black Theology?" *JTSA*, no. 8 (September 1974): 16-23, and Frank Chikane, "The Incarnation in the Life of the People in Southern Africa," *JTSA*, no. 51 (June 1985): 37-50. John de Gruchy's contextual theology, to be cited extensively throughout the monograph has helped me to apply methodologically in what follows - that all theology is "done". See for example, John de Gruchy, *Theology and Ministry in Context and Crisis: A South African Perspective* (London: Collins, 1987). The Narrative theologies of Stanley Hauerwas, L. Gregory Jones and Eugene Peterson widened my perspective. See for example, *Why Narrative? Readings in Narrative Theology*, Stanley Hauerwas, L. Gregory Jones, eds., (Eugene, OR: 1997) and Eugene Peterson, *Run with the Horses: The Quest for Life at Its Best* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1983). Vinoth Ramachandra's *Gods That Fail: Modern Idolatry & Christian Mission* (Downers Grove: IL, InterVarsity Press, 1996) has shaped my interest in missiology and ethics in the study. Theological ethics has shaped the monograph as a whole, and has been drawn from the theologies of Alan Kreider, *Journey Towards Holiness: A Way of Living for God's People* (Scottsdale, PEN: Herald, 1987), Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon, eds., *Resident Aliens...*, and others.

interpret SCA's discipleship history, will be provided in the discussion of methods of inquiry, synthesis and narration to follow.

As regards the integration of history and theology, South African church historiography has notable achievements in this field that have shaped this study. Louise Kretzschmar's work on the privatisation of faith among South African Baptists, Anthony Balcomb's evaluation of evangelical "Third Way theology," David Walker's appraisal of evangelical theology and ethics during South Africa's transition to democracy, and John de Gruchy's historiography, are most notable examples.<sup>49</sup> In this monograph's synthesis of history and theology I will also draw on the sustained tradition of historical-theological reflection in South Africa that compares the South African church struggle to that of the German churches under the Nazis.<sup>50</sup> An important limitation in my theological appeal to this scholarship is that I will not engage the theological, moral problem of Bonhoeffer's decision to advance the scheme to assassinate Hitler.

Besides the above scholarship that integrates history and theology, I have been most assisted in the methodological challenge of relating these fields of scholarship, by Daniel Salinas' treatise on Latin American evangelical theological production in the 1970s and Eric Metaxas' biography of Dietrich Bonhoeffer.<sup>51</sup> My hope is to emulate the achievement of these last two scholars who carefully interrelate history and theology without anachronism, and who deftly portray the spirituality of different eras.

## Spirituality

The field of South African evangelical spirituality has a rich repository of classical texts by Andrew Murray, the founder of evangelicalism on this sub-continent, and related scholarship.<sup>52</sup> However, the twentieth century development of evangelical spirituality in South Africa is poorly documented. Kretzschmar and Walker, as cited above, have written the only recent monographs that treat South African evangelical spirituality. An important recent development was the Concerned Evangelicals' *Evangelical Witness in South Africa*

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<sup>49</sup> See Louise Kretzschmar, *Privatization of the Christian Faith: Mission, Social Ethics, and the South African Baptists*, (Accra: Asempa Publishers, Christian Council of Ghana, 1998), Anthony Balcomb, *Third Way Theology: Reconciliation, Revolution, and Reform in the South African Church During the 1980s* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1993) and David S. Walker, *Challenging Evangelicalism: Prophetic Witness and Evangelical Renewal* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1993). In addition to works already cited and to be cited an example typical of his integration of history and theology is John W. de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1979).

<sup>50</sup> This tradition is best represented by John de Gruchy, *Bonhoeffer and South Africa: Theology in Dialogue* (London: Paternoster, 1984) which inspired a plethora of doctoral research projects such as Johan G. Botha's, "Skuldbelydenis En Plaasbekleding: A Sytematiese-Teologiese Ondersoek Na Die Rol Van Die Skuldvraag in Die Denke En Praxis Van Dietrich Bonhoeffer Tussen Die Jare 1924 – 1945," University of the Western Cape, 1989. More recent scholarship into parallels between South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the post 1945 situation in Germany has been encouraged, again by John de Gruchy's "Confessing Guilt in South Africa Today in Dialogue with Dietrich Bonhoeffer," *JTSA*, no. 67 (June 1989).

<sup>51</sup> See Daniel Salinas, *Latin American Evangelical Theology in the 1970s: The Golden Decade* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2009) and Eric Metaxas, *Bonhoeffer: Pastor, Martyr, Prophet, Spy* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2010).

<sup>52</sup> Among Andrew Murray's most read classics are *With Christ in the School of Prayer*, "Christian Classics Ethereal Library: E Book edition," <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/murray/prayer.html> accessed: 30 October 2015 and *Absolute Surrender* "Christian Classics Ethereal Library: Online Edition," <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/murray/surrender.html>, accessed: 30 October, 2015.

document, published in response to *The Kairos Document* of 1985, and subsequent evangelical reflection on the decades since.<sup>53</sup>

Having described the research disciplines of history, theology and spirituality that situate this study, it now needs to be considered how the narratives presented here will make a unique contribution to these disciplines. This monograph will interest scholars in each of these fields who want to further understand the historical development of Protestant evangelical spirituality in South Africa during the 60s and 70s. The research will bring to light new historical and theological evidence of a struggle among white South African evangelicals in one interdenominational association, to integrate prophetic resistance to apartheid injustices into their spirituality for the transformation of society. Part of the value of this research will be to present historical evidence that qualifies a strong contemporary assumption that has been encouraged by the theses of Cochrane, de Gruchy, Balcomb, Kretzschmar and Walker regarding the English-speaking churches - that white English-speaking Christians tacitly abetted the apartheid system.<sup>54</sup> Historical narratives of integrative spirituality within SCA in this study will show that outside of local English-speaking congregations and evangelical denominations, in a small but visible corner of South African evangelicalism during the 1970s, the seeds for a prophetic spirituality were being planted and were taking root.

Perhaps the even greater value of this study is the possibility that historians and theologians may consider a new, un-researched question:

*To what extent did seeds of prophetic integrity germinating in SCA during the 1970s grow and come to flower as an interruptive, prophetic witness against unprecedented injustice in South African society during the 1980s and beyond?*

For historians and theologians alike, the question of exactly how best to remember the past – especially recent periods of gross injustice and social trauma – will be of particular interest throughout this study. This dissertation’s choice of a theological lens - eschatological time - which so strongly foregrounds the necessity of repentance, forgiveness, restitution and reconciliation, wedded to the painful events of the past, will invite hopeful ways, not only of remembering, but also of re-imagining the present and glimpsing surprising possibilities for the future.

In this way, the work accomplished in this dissertation will also contribute insights and new research questions from a South African context to the largely North American and

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<sup>53</sup> See *Evangelical Witness in South Africa: Evangelicals Critique Their Own Theology & Practice* (Dobsonville: Concerned Evangelicals, 1986) cf. Kairos Theologians, *The Kairos Document: Challenge to the Church: A Theological Comment on the Crisis in South Africa* (Braamfontein: SACC, 1985) and Louise Kretzschmar and Moss Ntlha, eds., *Looking Back, Moving Forward: Reflections by South African Evangelicals* (Johannesburg: The Evangelical Alliance of South Africa, 2005).

<sup>54</sup> Anthony Balcomb’s critique is introduced in his “Third Way Theologies in the Contemporary South African Situation” in Hofmeyr, Kritzingner & Saayman, eds., *Wit Afrikane? ’n Gesprek met Nico Smith [White Africans? A Conversation with Nico Smith]* (Johannesburg: Taurus, 1990): 33-46.

British field of post-Christendom scholarship. The monograph will reveal the painful consequences for human culture, society and the Church of a cultural Christianity that could not distance itself well enough from state sources of power or hegemonic models of governance, and which, with one notable exception, in the 1980s, could not loose itself from a Christendom model of mission.

SCA's ambiguous story and the remaining work of repentance, forgiveness, restitution and reconciliation still to be accomplished in South African evangelicalism, will be of no small significance to post-Christendom historiographers and scholars of Christian spirituality. Part of what this history will show is that the era "after Christendom" will be no less challenging for the Church than the Constantinian period, because of Eden's ever present temptations to power, influence and individual interest, and because of the great cost of following Jesus with prophetic, eschatological imagination, among the dispossessed, the weak, and the marginalized.

Thus, the intentional link in this monograph between spirituality and ethics will interest any who encourage the South African Church to embody the love, wholeness or integrity of the Triune God, in a context of almost war-scale violence, creeping authoritarianism and rapidly increasing environmental degradation and economic and social injustice. This context of a deepening Church struggle in South Africa in 2015 makes the subject of *integrity* as vital as it is sobering, and this theme will be presented not from a standpoint assuming moral high ground, but in a posture of eschatological hope, of those who journey in Christ's company of the broken-being-made-whole.<sup>55</sup>

### **Methods of Inquiry, Synthesis and Narration**

Two secondary questions relating to the thesis question of this study determined the methodologies of research in this monograph. These secondary questions are:

*Which theology and spirituality was welcomed into SCA, in the exposition of visiting theologians or the reception of published theology, and integrated into the curriculum of SCA's discipleship programmes during the 1970s? To what extent did attitudes, governance decisions and activities in SCA demonstrate that the Association had internalized and passed down to students a theology and spirituality that would resist and transform injustice in apartheid society?*

Methodologies deriving from the fields of history, theology and theological ethics, and spirituality are combined in the monograph, to answer these secondary questions in the task of resolving the main thesis question of this study. Specific methodologies from each

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<sup>55</sup> Probing biblical and narrative theological studies of integrity that have helped me recognize the company who make this journey are David Bosch's *A Spirituality of the Road* (Scottsdale: PEN, Herald Press, 1979) and Eugene H. Peterson's, *A Long Obedience in the Same Direction: Discipleship in an Instant Society*, (Downer's Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press: 1980) and *Working the Angles: The Shape of Pastoral Integrity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993).



of these fields, which will at times be seamlessly integrated in the monograph, will now be briefly overviewed.<sup>56</sup>

## Historical Method

Implicit in the primary research question and the secondary questions of this monograph is the assumption that this study is a *social and cultural history* which takes cognizance of the unique political and socio-economic conditions in South Africa during the 1970s. Therefore, wherever possible, events in SCA have been interpreted against the backdrop of key socio-political events of state repression and the liberation struggle in South Africa during this era. The whole study has also been rigorously contextualized, from two historical points of view: [1] the complex antecedent history of evangelicalism in South Africa whose roots date back to the transatlantic evangelicalism of the late eighteenth century, and [2] a brief retrospective description of historical developments in the Church and SCA for at least two decades *after* the period of study (1965-1979). In this way the historical trajectory of SCA's reception of theology and spirituality during the 1960s and 70s is carefully situated into the preceding and proceeding historical developments of evangelical faith in South Africa.

In addition to the general historiographical literature reviewed above, various social and cultural historical methods of inquiry were used to construct a narrative of SCA in its relationship with apartheid society. Historical methodologies which I learnt in my undergraduate training in grassroots or "peoples' histories" with Philip Bonner, Peter Delius and Charles von Onselen, and in my postgraduate study of the history of Christian spirituality in the context of the history of modern consciousness, with James Houston, have been emulated in this monograph.<sup>57</sup>

In addition, I have drawn on Philippe Denis' training in archival research methods. Thus, ten weeks were conducted in the Student Christian Organization (SCO) Archive lodged at the University of Cape Town's (UCT) Jagger Library, drawing on correspondence between SCA members, promotional materials, the Association minute books at all levels of governance, and official reports on SCA's work. Collection number BC1473, The SCO Archive, is one of the Jagger Library's growing collections, comprising more than 547 folders of documents, and more than fifty thousand individual items. A detailed list of documents in this collection is available on request from André Landman – UCT's Jagger Library archivist. Limited research into correspondence and minutes of SCA's black sister association, the Students' Christian Movement (SCM), was also undertaken. The duration

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<sup>56</sup> A previously published exemplar of the way I integrate the methodologies of these fields is my essay, "A River Runs Through..."

<sup>57</sup> An example of the peoples' history approach is Charles Van Onselen, *New Babylon, New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2001). James Houston introduced students to the history of modern consciousness drawing richly on the work of the philosopher, Charles Taylor's *The Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1989). For Houston's history of Christian spirituality approach, within the context of the history of human consciousness, see his *The Mentored Life: From Individualism to Personhood* (Colorado Springs: Navpress, 2002).

of archival research was constrained by cost factors, and was therefore only just adequate, for a repository as massive as SCA's archives, to obtain sufficient data for a first historical monograph on SCA's discipleship tradition.

Denis' scholarship and training in the ethics and methods of oral historical research, in the tradition of the Sinomlando Centre for Oral History and Memory Work, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, shaped the participatory research method used in this project.<sup>58</sup> In this tradition more than 50 students or graduates who participated in SCA and SCM during the period studied in this monograph were contacted via popular media networks such as Facebook.<sup>59</sup> Heuristic interviews with no set questions were conducted to construct "rich descriptions" from memory of specific events or of the period in general. Interviewees were also at liberty to submit added information as co-researchers. Memories recalled in interviews were transcribed and then used in this research *only* if interviewees gave their written consent.<sup>60</sup> In this way transcribed interviews and the written memory work sources were used alongside secondary literature, archival and historiographical sources, as evidence of theological reception in SCA's discipleship programmes.<sup>61</sup>

Interviews often led to conversations and correspondence, resulting in further e-mailed memory work authorized by the co-researchers. Authorized interviews, memory work and e-mails have all been cited in this narrative, and have been donated to the SCO Archive located at the UCT Jagger Library. During the participative research Ian Couper, Bill Houston, James Irlam, Jim Johnston, Lynn Pedersen, Stanley Sher, Deryck Sheriffs and Dale Taylor, kindly lent their personal SCA archival materials for the research process, much of which will also be lodged at UCT to augment the SCO Archive.

In the methodology to create a *socio-cultural history*, this monograph loosely resembles recent studies of Christian student movements, such as the dissertations of Michael Deeb, Bill Houston and Chris Langeveld, which discuss ecumenical and Roman Catholic student movements in South Africa under apartheid.<sup>62</sup> However, my research methodology more

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<sup>58</sup> An introduction to the ethics in contemporary South African oral historiography is Philippe Denis and Radikobo Ntsimane, eds., *Oral History in a Wounded Country: Interactive Interviewing in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008) and Philippe Denis, ed., *Orality, Memory and the Past: Listening to the Voices of Black Clergy under Colonialism and Apartheid* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2000).

<sup>59</sup> An initial list of more than 1000 names of these students and graduates was compiled by the researcher from diverse archival records such as branch SCA committee minutes, SCA event participant lists, etc.

<sup>60</sup> Interviewees sent their completed transcripts with the following statement of release, for inclusion in the research process of this dissertation: "The memory work supplied below is sent to Allen Goddard voluntarily, for the purpose of his PHD research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I recognize that Allen Goddard may want to quote from my transcript in his PhD research, and I give my permission for this as well as for my memory work in this transcript to become part of the SCA Archive at the African Studies Department of the University of Cape Town, in the Jagger Library's Special Collections."

<sup>61</sup> For an example of oral historiography in this tradition see *The Casspir and the Cross: Voices of Black Clergy in the Natal Midlands*, Philippe Denis, Thulani Mlotshwa, George Mukuka, eds., (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 1999).

<sup>62</sup> So, Michael C. Deeb, *Forms of Ministry That Can Offer Good News, and Inspire Commitment and Moral Leadership in Post Apartheid South Africa among Students at the University of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg), (M.Th. Dissertation, University of Natal, 2000). William J. Houston, *A Critical Evaluation of the University Christian Movement as an Ecumenical Mission to Students, 1967-1972*, (M.Th. Dissertation, UNISA, 1997) and Chris F. H. Langeveld, *An Emerging Ecclesial Practice: A Socio-Theological Study of the Theory and Practice of a Church Youth Group in the Period 1980-1988*, (M.Th. Dissertation, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1993).

closely resembles the contextual responsiveness of Risto Lehtonen in his chapter on the rise and decline of the University Christian Movement (UCM) in South Africa in his history of the World Student Christian Federation.<sup>63</sup> Methodological discipline to attend to social and political context means that my work most closely resembles Daniel Salinas' work (cited above) on prophetic evangelical theology and spirituality in Latin America during the 1970s.

## Theological Method

Three methods were used. The first was biblical hermeneutics. At times biblical texts and historic theological declarations<sup>64</sup> had to be analysed in the narrative. To achieve this I drew on three areas of my own training in scholarship: [1] undergraduate training in Bible interpretation with Pauline Hoggarth in 1985 and 1986;<sup>65</sup> [2] postgraduate training in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics at Wits University with Pippa Stein and Hilary Janks;<sup>66</sup> and [3] postgraduate training in biblical languages, biblical hermeneutics and exegesis at Regent College, Vancouver, B.C., with David Diewert, Brad Eastman, Gordon Fee and Bruce Waltke.<sup>67</sup>

Secondly, because SCA's discipleship programmes were founded on Bible study and theological reflection by SCA people, the question of whether SCA developed a rigorous theology of its own, responsive to South Africa's local context, or whether it unquestioningly applied North American and British theologies to the South African context, was crucial for tracing the development of the Association's discipleship tradition. Consequently, to construct SCA's story of theological reception, it was necessary to study developments in South African theology, like the launch of Beyers Naudé's Christian Institute, and developments in the global North and South that directly influenced SCA's theological reception.<sup>68</sup> In particular, the theological activism of early Black Theologians like Manas Buthelezi, the remarkably similar theological activism of Latin American evangelicals, Samuel Escobar and C. René Padilla, the development of the "new evangelicalism" after the Lausanne Congress for World Evangelization, the advent of North American church growth theology, and the prophetic voices of Dutch Reformed theologians, Beyers Naudé and David Bosch, were studied and foregrounded, to understand responses to these in SCA in the evolution of its discipleship tradition.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Risto Lehtonen, *Story of a Storm: The Ecumenical Student Movement in the Turmoil of Revolution* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: W.M.B. Eerdmans, 1998), 233-251.

<sup>64</sup> SCM students' "The Cyara Declaration" is appended at APPENDIX C, and SCA students' "Response to 'The Cyara Declaration'" is appended at APPENDIX D.

<sup>65</sup> Pauline Hoggarth's exegetical approach is now available in her recently published monograph, *The Seed and The Soil: Engaging the Word of God* (Carlisle: Global Christian Library, 2011).

<sup>66</sup> Stein and Janks introduced me to Peter Trudgill's *Sociolinguistics* (London: Penguin, 1974), which introduces this field.

<sup>67</sup> See for example, Gordon D. Fee, *New Testament Exegesis: A Handbook for Students and Pastors* (Louisville, KEN: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1983).

<sup>68</sup> Developments in South Africa were traced in *Pro Veritate*, the Journal of the Christian Institute and in the *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa (JTSA)*, among other sources, which will be cited in the narratives.

<sup>69</sup> See for example, Manas Buthelezi, "Six Theses: Theological Problems of Evangelism in the South African Context," *JTSA* no. 3 (June 1973): 55-56. For introductory citations to the Latin American scholarship see footnote 45 above. While Naudé and

The formative influence of these theologians and others was used to evaluate SCA's discipleship programmes in the context of intense racial alienation and low intensity war in South African society during the 1970s. By contrast, the lack of engagement in this study with Alan Boesak, was an intentional "methodological silence", to emulate the "theological gap" in SCA, caused by its non-engagement with Reformed Black Theology during the 1970s, a gap that Bill Houston would momentarily bridge, only in personal dialogue with Allan Boesak, during the 1980s.

Thirdly, in order to guard against anachronistic imposition of current theological categories and insights onto SCA's theological imagination in the 1970s, I created two archival, theological instruments. First, I recorded the occurrence of every book title sold, purchased, read, or recommended in SCA between 1970 and 1980, from the scope of the archival records I was able to consult. This *Matrix of Published Theological Reception* (A sample is presented in APPENDIX A) enabled me to get a general idea of SCA's reception of published theology during the period, in turn highlighting the Association's theological proclivities and even its possible blind spots. Second, I created a chronological list of SCA curriculum topics and learning materials in seminars, workshops, lectures, films, and creative arts events, again from the limited scope of my archival research. This *Matrix of SCA Curriculum Topics and Materials* (A sample is presented in APPENDIX B) helped me to more accurately distinguish SCA's theological identity in the late 1960s and 1970s from my experience of SCA in the 1980s, and from contemporary questions and trends in evangelical theology.

Having now mentioned my involvement in SCA, it remains then, to consider the methodological influence of my race, gender biography and faith journey on the research of this dissertation.

### **Race, Gender, Biography and Faith Journey Positioning in the Research**

Integral to the methodology of a cultural, historical and theological study of South African Christianity, especially from the apartheid period, is the researcher's racial background, gender, biography and faith journey. These will now be discussed in a different order to their listing in the title of this section.

As a male researcher, my willingness to view the world with empathy for women's perspectives has developed gradually over many years, in the discipline and delight of

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Bosch might not have called themselves evangelicals, they stood in the broad evangelical tradition of the DRC. They were both open to signing SCA's statement of belief and to participating in SCA's National Conferences and other activities, though only David Bosch eventually played a consequential role in SCA in the late 1970s and early 80s – see Chapters Six and Seven. The question as to why "Oom Bey" was not invited to be involved more readily in SCA will be addressed in Chapters Three and Four. The theology of Donald MacGavran and the "Church Growth" movement at Fuller Seminary will be discussed in Chapters Four, Six, and Seven.

mentorship, friendship and work alongside four of the new millennium's fine women teachers, Pauline Hoggarth, Sally Longley, Lynn Pedersen, and Heather Johnston.<sup>70</sup>

It is also pertinent that I participated variously, as a student, graduate and volunteer associate of SCA, during the period immediately preceding the period of this study. The perspectives I bring to the dissertation as a white student from the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) SCA, and then as an SCA graduate volunteer during the height of the political and social turmoil of the 1980s, locates my interpretive horizon quite specifically in this research. My "insider" perspective was invaluable as I introduced myself to scores of respondents in the participative research.

My proximity to my subject, SCA in the 1970s, raised the possibility of compromise in two capacities, as a historian on the one hand, and on the other as a friend to some of the main characters of this study, whom I love and respect, irrespective of our different generational perspectives, or theological emphases. I have had to constantly recognize and "stand apart" from relational biases arising from such proximity, an ethical tightrope walk that I embarked on almost daily in the final year of this research. Whether I achieved this feat gracefully will be measured in time to come, but I know that I have only "arrived at the other end", thanks to the magnanimity of these fellow disciples who invited me to be as "objective" an historian as I could be.

My location in the research as a white South African, born soon after South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961, at the height of apartheid's social hubris, and educated in the Christian National Education system, pertains directly to the choice of subject and methodology of this study. As in Germany after the Second World War, in South Africa today next to no white historians, theologians and lay disciples of Jesus Christ readily admit to having supported apartheid, however tentatively. Now that apartheid is legally buried it is hard to find anyone who went along with it, with the exception of a small group who appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.<sup>71</sup>

This is a challenge because, as a teenager schooled in apartheid's Christian National Education system, and growing up in the racist context of a blue collar suburb of Johannesburg, I naïvely supported aspects of apartheid policy without the later maturity that doubted, questioned and then critiqued my earlier adolescent assumptions. As an eighteen year-old first-year student at Wits in 1981, when the truth of apartheid finally

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<sup>70</sup> Hoggarth, now a retired missionary, editor and author, is known widely in the global South for her decades of service in Bible engagement training with Scripture Union. Longley, now a spiritual director at the Canisius Centre for Ignatian Spirituality in Sydney, pioneered and developed SCA's SCAMP Programme in the 1980s with Trevor Gow. Pedersen is retired Chaplain to the Red Cross Children's Hospital in Cape Town, and an Anglican Deacon in the Diocese of Cape Town. Johnston, one of the protagonists in this history, has worked for thirty years in spiritual direction, the teaching of creative writing and publishes anthologies of devotional writing and poetry.

<sup>71</sup> Faith Communities' submissions to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission are recorded in Chapter 3 of Volume 4 of the TRC Report. See "Volume Four of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/finalreport/Volume%204.pdf>, accessed: 30 October 2015.

erupted into my life, I faced some difficult years of reinterpreting my identity and searching for a community in which I could grow in the corporate disciplines of following Jesus. In some ways that search continues, and the research process of this monograph marks yet another milestone along my discipleship journey, with growth in discovery of a community of Christians who follow Jesus in a five century-long commitment to peacemaking and shared prophetic witness.

My growing commitment to this global Anabaptist community, especially in its South African expressions, also decisively shapes this study. Anabaptist theology has been formative for my adult understanding of following Jesus since I was introduced to the Mennonite historian, Alan Kreider, in 1985. Kreider encouraged me to write my statement of conscience to the South African Defence Force Board for Religious Objection ahead of my appearance before the Board in February 1986.<sup>72</sup> During that year of preparation in 1985, for either imprisonment or “Alternative Service”, I realized that the Anabaptists or “the Radical Reformers”, who also have been called “God’s left wing”, represent a turning point in history that helped me to apply Jesus’ Sermon on the Mount to South Africa’s culture of militarism and structural violence, and work out what Jesus’ call to peacemaking requires of me.<sup>73</sup> Presently, I continue to contribute to the global conversation with, and widening commitment to the Anabaptist tradition, particularly in its Mennonite stream, as a “Pilgrim” of the Anabaptist Network in South Africa.<sup>74</sup>

Anabaptists arose at the time of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, but subscribed neither to Catholic nor Protestant theology or church governance.<sup>75</sup> Instead Anabaptists restored a commitment to the witness of the first Apostles and intentionally identified themselves with the prophetic testimony of scattered, persecuted and marginalized Christians prior to Nicaea and Constantine’s Christendom, refusing (with some exceptions) to identify themselves with any coercive state institutions, especially armies.<sup>76</sup> Anabaptists aimed to emulate Jesus’ priority of building a Kingdom of “resident aliens”, living “antithetically” to the power structures of society in an “alternative community” distinguished by peacemaking, love of the poor and the weak and reconciliation with “the enemy”.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Allen Goddard, “It is Not Lawful for me to Fight,” Paper submitted to the Board for Religious Objection, 1986, Allen Goddard Archive.

<sup>73</sup> Alan Kreider, “God’s Left Wing: The Radical Reformers” *Christianity Today* <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ch/1986/issue9/947.html>, accessed: 15 September 2015.

<sup>74</sup> My recent contribution to this conversation is an essay forthcoming, “Beginnings, the Ending and Africa’s Century of Anabaptist Witness, in Between,” in the 2016 Anthology of the African Christianity Project of the World Council of Churches.

<sup>75</sup> For an introduction to the Anabaptist tradition see Walter Klaasen, *Anabaptism: Neither Catholic nor Protestant* (Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press, 2001).

<sup>76</sup> A good introduction to how Anabaptists went about this restoration, distinctly from the Reformation, and since, is John D. Roth, *How Mennonites Came to Be* (Scottsdale, PEN: Herald, 2006). For more on Anabaptists’ commitment to non-violence see Gerald J. Mast and J. Denny Weaver, *Defenseless Christianity: Anabaptism for a Nonviolent Church* (Pietermaritzburg: Anabaptist Network in South Africa, 2013).

<sup>77</sup> Bosch’s theme of the “antithetical” discipleship of “resident aliens” in the “alternative community” was adopted as part of his deepening conversation with Anabaptist history and theology. For more on the influence of Mennonites on Bosch, see Cobus Van Wyngaard, “The Public Role of the Christian Community in the Work of David Bosch,” *Missionalia: The South African Journal of Mission Studies*, 39, no. 1 and 2 (April and August 2011): 151-166. A good introduction to Anabaptist

The joining of civil and military power to the mission of the Church since Constantine, so that Christianity spread less through prophetic witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and more through coercion, too often during the conquest of peoples and in wars that built the modern nation states, has been noted above as the Christendom model of mission. Since the sixteenth century Anabaptists have often interrupted the Christendom model of mission to restore a “believers’ church” ecclesiology, modelled on the sacrificial fellowship of the earliest church.<sup>78</sup> While being close to Protestant evangelicals in commitment to Christ and the authority of the Scriptures, Anabaptists are as close to Roman Catholics in a commitment to a corporate expression of Christian discipleship. While Protestant evangelical spirituality has emphasized an experience of individual conversion, creedal correct belief and personal discipleship, Anabaptists have emphasized the experience of life-long conversion in which the “beliefs”, “belonging” and “behaviour” of disciples are transformed together by Christ, into an expression of counter-cultural community that practises active non-violent resistance to social injustice as an embodiment of God’s new creation.<sup>79</sup>

Anabaptist theologies and Anabaptists’ pre-Christendom-post-Christendom lenses on history and contemporary society have infused my interpretation of SCA’s theological reception, production and the main debates within the Association, particularly regarding conversion, evangelism and mission.<sup>80</sup> My Anabaptist lens has also evoked the many questions I have asked in this study; Anabaptists have a long history of living out answers to difficult questions. I hope that the way in which my frame of reference suffuses the narratives to follow will be radical and gentle enough to be recognized as Anabaptist, and might inspire in the reading of this monograph a more tenacious, joyful, corporate discipleship of Jesus, marked by prophetic integrity.

Where Anabaptist lenses were deliberately and temporarily discarded in this research, was in regard to SCA’s governance and missions tradition, which, the historical evidence presented in what follows will demonstrate, reflected the confident “chosenness” and hegemonic spirit of, mid-twentieth century evangelicalism, with its Christendom-like methods of mission. In this way SCA blended evangelization with statecraft-like governance procedures, sometimes even with coercion, by a Council that mostly approved

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ecclesiology and its relation to peacemaking in wider society is Alan Kreider, Eleanor Kreider and Paulus Widjadja, eds., *A Culture of Peace: God’s Vision for the Church* (Intercourse, PA.: Good Books, 2005).

<sup>78</sup> Max Weber coined the term “Believers’ Church” to describe the voluntarism of the Anabaptist movement, a label that Anabaptists have taken up to describe the essence of the ecclesiology that was received through the Radical Reformation and its descending streams. See Robert Friedmann, “On Anabaptist Historiography, and on Individualism and Brotherhood,” *The Mennonite Quarterly Review (MQR)*, 18, 2 (April 1944): 120. An introduction to the Anabaptist practice of fellowship is Tom Yoder Neufeld’s “Koinonia: The Gift we Hold Together,” *MQR*, 86, 3 (July 2012): 339-352.

<sup>79</sup> Belief, belonging and behaviour is Alan Kreider’s shorthand for the ecclesiology of the first century believers’ church. See *The Change of Conversion...*, xii-xviii.

<sup>80</sup> For more on the difference in emphasis between Anabaptist and Protestant soteriologies see Tom Yoder Neufeld, “Are you Saved?” 5-8. Essays on Anabaptist missionary history and theology have influenced the focus of narratives in this monograph. See Wilbert Shenk, ed., *Anabaptism and Mission* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1984).

of, but too often also obstructed work for the common good, to perpetuate its own authority. To be faithful to SCA's historical consciousness and its understanding of its own identity, I have uncritically used all of SCA's hegemonic language from the liberal-democratic tradition, referring to its governance and missions *modus operandi*, with no disclaimers from the Believers' Church perspective – common SCA terms like “president”, “office bearers”, “terms of office”, “incumbent”, “executive”, “seconded”, “mandated”, “constituency”, “co-opted”, “subscribed”, “at the level of Council”, “at the Regional Committee level”, “missions thrust”, “missions strategy”, “campaign” etc. Only in the concluding chapter will there be a tentative evaluation of SCA's spirituality, offered to identify SCA's strong historical affinity, in its identity and missiology, with Christendom.

One last concern as an Anabaptist historian needs to be the reminder that many conflicts and divisions during the 1970s touched the deepest fabric of South African society and the church, and caused painful separations – whether motivated by race, culture, gender, sexual orientation or theological pride. Many of these broken relationships remain unresolved. My hope is that the historiography presented in this monograph will serve to respectfully present some of the differences of opinion and persuasion which evangelicals adopted with such consequence during the period. Implicit in the chosen title and subject of this history is my understanding that even at the heart of South Africa's deepest moments of crisis, Jesus Christ stood with his open, continuing invitation to all people, to take up his cruciform love and walk the costly road to reconciliation and peace.

### **Terminology and Citation in the Monograph**

Any mention of “the Students' Christian Association” in this monograph will be abbreviated simply as “SCA” or as “the Association”. The shorter, more colloquial “SCA” is used to capture the way in which all who used this shortened nomenclature personified the “spirit” of the Association. As mentioned above, archival sources have been taken from the Students' Christian Organization Archive located in the University of Cape Town's Jagger Library. Each citation will provide the number of the file in which the cited document is currently found, plus the correspondents' names if the document is a letter, or the title of the document, e.g. B4.1.4 Smith to Jones (14 December 1969) or H2.5.1 Wits Committee Minutes (October 1973). Interviews, memory work or e-mailed citations will include co-researchers' names and dates of interviews or dates of memory work submissions, e.g. Interview: Keith Matthee (18 March 2014). Where an interview is cited more than once in close succession, *Ibid* will not be used. Successive citations of the same interview will cite only the surname of the interviewee and the date of the interview. So, Matthee (18 March 2014). Where donated archives have been used, the monograph will cite the archival donor's name and the title and page of the document, where appropriate, e.g. Bill Houston Archive: “Aims of SCA,” 3. Where my own collection of photographed documents was used, the number of the photograph will be cited, with the name of the document, e.g. Photo Archive: 431: Memo, Matthee to Tyler (19 January 1984). Where the



exact date of a letter or document is uncertain on account of a research error or the omission of an exact date in the archive, an asterisk will be used instead of the conventional “circa”, e.g. B6.2.1, Staff Report (August 1978)\*.

## **The Structure of the Dissertation**

Chapter One has introduced the thesis of this study. Chapter Two will describe the complex historical roots of the evangelical faith tradition in South Africa from its Puritan, Pietist and Wesleyan origins since the Enlightenment, particularly as these took root in South Africa during the nineteenth century. The focus will shift to the development of evangelicalism in the Victorian missionary period of the Cape Colony where the struggle for equality by black converts to Christianity, and a pastoral myopia among white missionaries and settlers decidedly influenced the worldview and founding culture of SCA in 1896.

Chapter Three will survey the twentieth century social, political and theological background to SCA’s historic decision in January 1965 to divide itself into four culturally, racially separate Associations. The narrative will trace the struggle for racial equality in SCA as a struggle for true allegiance to the Gospel, raising the crucial historical question of compromise, in the events surrounding 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965. The chapter will close with a brief historical overview of SCA’s development between 1966 and 1969.

Chapter Four will narrate the genesis of the English-speaking SCA from 1969 to 1974. The focus will be on SCA’s governance, staffing and campus reach, and its formation of a discipleship curriculum, between the arrival of its first full-time General Secretary, Jim Johnston, and the attendance of SCA leaders at the formative Lausanne International Congress for World Evangelization in July 1974. SCA’s first encounters with Black Theology and with the unsettling idea of resisting apartheid, in the encounter with Manas Buthelezi, and in the theology and spirituality of Hans Bürki and Michael Green will highlight the narrative.

Chapter Five will document the advent in SCA of the theology and spirituality of the “new evangelicalism” of Lausanne. The tensions that arose in the Association as a result will be described, and the watershed events for SCA of 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976, the writing of Student Christian Movement’s “The Cyara Declaration,” and SCA’s racially conflicted Pietermaritzburg conference in July 1976, will be narrated, evaluating SCA’s ability to respond to the *kairós* invitations hidden within these events.

Chapter Six will document the way in which SCA people, including Bill Houston, SCA’s National Director after 1976, a growing staff team, and students, began to appropriate the new evangelicalism in SCA’s discipleship tradition. The Association’s halting progress

towards prophetic resistance to apartheid, particularly by student leaders, will bring the historical narrative of the period studied, to a surprising, hopeful conclusion.

Chapter Seven comprises three parts. Firstly, the chapter will briefly summarize the narrative of SCA's discipleship tradition as presented in the thesis as a whole. Secondly, a short retrospective historical excursus of developments in the Church and SCA during the two decades after the period of study will be presented, to retrospectively locate SCA's mid-twentieth century history. Finally, by way of epilogue, the monograph will draw on biblical, Trinitarian, narrative and Black theologies, as well as theological ethics, to highlight three prominent themes which emerge in SCA's history of discipleship, before concluding with a brief summative reflection on SCA's story, as inspiration for positing the possible content of a *kairós* invitation to hopeful, eschatological and prophetic discipleship in the South African Church today.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Enlightenment Evangelicalism and Victorian Civility at the Origins of SCA

For me the main question for people and nations is whether or not they have learned to live with other people and nations. Dietrich Bonhoeffer<sup>1</sup>

Dominant culture – even with its myth of progress – is characteristically a culture of despair.

Walter Brueggemann<sup>2</sup>

The Extraordinary General Meeting of the National Council of the Students Christian Association on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965 was convened in Bloemfontein, comprising 106 delegates from across the Republic, including 13 staff members.<sup>3</sup> The business of the day was to dissolve the SCA Constitution of 1896 and reconstitute the Association into four autonomous and separate movements that would be defined along racial and linguistic lines. Thus came into being the English-speaking Students' Christian Association whose students, curriculum and programmes from 1965 to 1979 are the subject of this study. The English-speaking SCA, mostly white, but including student branches at Indian tertiary institutions, took its place alongside three sibling movements created by the same vote of dissolution - the black Students' Christian Movement (SCM), the coloured *Christen Studente Vereeniging* (CSV), and the white Afrikaans-speaking, *Afrikaans Christen Studente Vereeniging* (ACSV).<sup>4</sup>

In order to construct a historical account of the theology and spirituality received into the “new” SCA from 1965 to 1979 a description of important historical continuities between the “new” SCA and its parent association, the “old” SCA is required. To identify these historical linkages it will be necessary to describe the kind of spirituality and Christian ethics that were common in two formative periods of SCA's history: [1] the period of evangelical revivalism, mission, and nascent African nationalism at the close of nineteenth century, when SCA was founded, and [2] the period of repression and resistance in South Africa, and of external international pressures and embargoes, which characterized high apartheid between 1955 and 1965, when SCA divided along racial lines.

This chapter will focus on the first period with a general description of late nineteenth century transatlantic and colonial revivalism and missionary activity during which the Rev Dr

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Keith W. Clements from Bonhoeffer's *Fiction From Prison: Gathering up the Past*, Clifford Green, ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 121 in “Bonhoeffer, Barmen and Anglo-Saxon Individualism,” *JTSA*, no. 54 (March 1986): 23.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Brueggemann, *Mandate to Difference: An Invitation to the Contemporary Church* (Louisville, KEN: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 99.

<sup>3</sup> A.P. Ferguson, “The Beginning,” in William J. Houston, ed., *The Living Past SCA 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Commemorative brochure* (Johannesburg: SCA, 1986), 4.

<sup>4</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning* (Stellenbosch, Afrikaans-Christenstudentevereeniging van Suid Afrika, 1996).

Andrew Murray Jr. founded the “old” SCA, among others. This historical background will be presented to understand the character of spirituality embodied by SCA at its beginning. In other words, this chapter is a general historical overview of international and local events that led to the founding of SCA in 1896. The historical narrative will include observations about the *socio-political and theological context* of the period and the *character* of key SCA people, which, together, might be said to embody the spirituality of SCA at its inauguration. Chapter Three will then describe the second period - the twentieth century’s social and political context and key events, and the character of SCA people during the century, that together contributed to SCA’s dissolution in 1965. Chapter Three will also draw some conclusions about historical continuities in the spirituality of the “old” and the “new” SCA, at the commencement of this monograph’s period of detailed inquiry.

### **Transatlantic and Colonial Revivalism**

The events that led to the founding of the Students’ Christian Association at Stellenbosch in 1896 are best associated with three simultaneous historical developments. Firstly, SCA, like the Young Men’s Christian Association and Young Women’s Christian Association established before it, was in part the fruit of a three century-long historical tradition of sixteenth century Anabaptist, seventeenth century Baptist and separatist movements in Britain,<sup>5</sup> and then later seventeenth and eighteenth century revivalism and missionary fervour set aflame in Britain and North America<sup>6</sup> during the Methodist Revival.<sup>7</sup> This longstanding evangelical tradition, it will be shown, attained its most popular transatlantic reach in tandem with the zenith of British colonial power under Queen Victoria at the turn of the twentieth century. Secondly, SCA began in the particular British colonial context of a spontaneous series of evangelical revivals which spread from Worcester in 1860; this was a local form of evangelicalism decisively shaped by Andrew Murray, his brothers, William and John Murray, and their American revivalist friends, rooted in personal prayer and commitment to interdenominational missionary outreach.<sup>8</sup> The third important historical development for understanding SCA at its beginning, was growing tension in settler churches as to whether white and “heathen” worshippers could receive Holy Communion

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<sup>5</sup> For an introductory essay see Norman C. Kraus, “Anabaptist influence on English Separatism as Seen in Robert Browne,” *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 34, 1 (January 1960): 5-18.

<sup>6</sup> In order to distinguish evangelicalism in the USA and Canada from that of Latin American evangelicals, who were to be more formative of spirituality in SCA than in British or North American evangelicalism, I employ the term “North America” generically to denote the USA and Canada.

<sup>7</sup> An introduction to revivalism is John Walsh, “Methodism’ and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism,” in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>8</sup> See my references to David Bosch, John de Gruchy and Richard Elphick in this regard, in the detailed narrative of early South African evangelicalism to follow.

together, or rather in separate congregations, or even separate church denominations!<sup>9</sup> It will be shown that the interplay of these three historical developments: [1] rapidly increasing transatlantic evangelical missionary activism in tandem with inexorable colonial ambition; [2] enthusiastic and pietistic evangelicalism expressed in growing missionary commitment in South Africa; and [3] the half-century of growing African resistance in the Cape and Natal colonies, created a social and theological climate that shaped the theology and spirituality of the Student Christian Association in its first years of life. First we turn to the broadest of these interrelated historical developments - the rise of transatlantic revivalism in the nineteenth century, and its global reach.

The roots of British evangelicalism date all the way back to waves of Dutch and Flemish emigrés arriving in England, commencing under Henry VIII in 1535, through the reign of Mary I, and well into the reign of Elizabeth I.<sup>10</sup> By 1562 there were 30 000 Dutch and Flemish immigrants settled in Southern Britain, among them many Anabaptists who were forced to practise their Christian faith clandestinely - Henry VIII's general pardon of July 1540 specifically excluded anyone who practised adult baptism; Mary was notoriously intolerant of separatists of any kind; and Elizabeth's Ecclesiastical Commission of 1560 identified Anabaptists as heretics and gave them 20 days to leave England.<sup>11</sup> That hundreds of Dutch Anabaptists in sixteenth century England had a significant influence on the rise of English separatism is firmly established.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the influence on the seventeenth century British Baptist movement of Dutch Mennonites and Anabaptist theology and church polity in the Netherlands, is being revisited in contemporary scholarship, although Anabaptism is yet to be popularly accepted as a formative source of British evangelicalism.<sup>13</sup>

A more popularly accepted historical explanation for the provenance of Anglo-Saxon evangelicalism is "The Great Awakening" in the North American colonies, which began in the ministry of Congregationalist, Jonathan Edwards, whose first revival meetings took place in his own village of Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1734 and 1735.<sup>14</sup> Just months

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<sup>9</sup> Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers: Protestant Missionaries and the Racial Politics of South Africa* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 43-45.

<sup>10</sup> See Norman C. Kraus, "Anabaptist influence...": 5.

<sup>11</sup> See Norman C. Kraus, "Anabaptist influence...": 6.

<sup>12</sup> As early as 1891, R.W. Dixon, in his *History of the Church of England I*, held "there were more Anabaptists burned by Henry VIII than Lollards were burned in the whole of the previous century." Quoted in C. Kraus, "Anabaptist influence...": 5. For more on the role of Anabaptists in the origins of the General Baptist and Particular Baptist movement in England at the turn of the seventeenth century, see Lonnie D. Kliever, "General Baptist Origins: The Question of Anabaptist Influence," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 36, 4 (October 1962): 291-321, and Glenn H. Stassen, "Anabaptist Influence in the Origin of the Particular Baptists," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 36, 4 (October 1962): 322-348.

<sup>13</sup> See for example, Sprunger, Mary and Keith Sprunger, "The Church in the Bakehouse: John Smyth's English Anabaptist Congregation at Amsterdam, 1609-1660," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 85, 2 (April 2011): 219-240, and Stuart Murray, *The Naked Anabaptist: The Bare Essentials of a Radical Faith*, (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 2010).

<sup>14</sup> See J. I. Packer, *A Quest for Godliness: The Puritan Vision of the Christian Life* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1990), 309 ff.

later in Wales the movement found expression in Britain in the conversions of Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland, and soon after in Oxford, with the conversion of George Whitefield. In 1738 John Wesley was converted in his famous Aldersgate experience.<sup>15</sup> These five men were to become leading personalities in the North American Colonies, Wales and England, during a decade of revivals which unfolded on both sides of the Atlantic in the 1740s, and continued for many decades beyond, partly in response to the tracts, published sermons and biographical popular writings of these founder evangelicals.<sup>16</sup>

Whitefield and the Wesley brothers' ministries drew initial support from within the Arminian branch of the Church of England, and were regarded with suspicion by Calvinist nonconformist denominations, the Baptists and Congregationalists, which had originated in the Puritan Reformation.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, in North America, the Calvinist Dissenter churches were skeptical of Jonathan Edwards, however as George Whitefield, himself a "dissenting Anglican," initiated his camp meetings in England, Scotland and North America, more and more Calvinists were drawn into the revivals, on both continents.<sup>18</sup>

John Walsh and Richard Carwardine have presented analyses of the rapid growth through the eighteenth century in transatlantic Methodism.<sup>19</sup> From 1790 to the mid 1820s, after the deaths of Whitefield and Wesley, sporadic revivals continued in what is now understood to be the "new-measure" revivals.<sup>20</sup> Methodist churches and non-denominational benevolent societies increasingly drew supporters from Dissenter churches in Britain and from Calvinists in the Colonies.<sup>21</sup>

Revivalist spirituality during this period shared four of the core characteristics that have recently been recognized as hallmarks of evangelicalism over the last one and a half centuries: [1] a conversion experience including an emphasis on personal assurance of salvation, [2] evangelistic activism to encourage conversions, [3] an appeal to the authority of Scripture, and [4] a commitment to Christ's atonement as central to all matters of

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<sup>15</sup> John Walsh, "'Methodism' and the Origins...", 22.

<sup>16</sup> For an introduction to the role of publishing in the spread of revival see Susan O' Brien, "Eighteenth-Century Publishing Networks in the First Years of Transatlantic Evangelicalism," in, Mark A. Noll, et al, *Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism*, 38-57.

<sup>17</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From the 1930s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1999), 22.

<sup>18</sup> See Harry Stout, "George Whitefield in Three Countries," in *Evangelicalism*, Mark A. Noll et al, eds., 58 -72.

<sup>19</sup> See John Walsh, "'Methodism' and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism," 19-37, and Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790 – 1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978).

<sup>20</sup> See Richard Carwardine's chapter "The New-Measure Revivalism in the United States" in his *Transatlantic Revivalism*, 4ff.

<sup>21</sup> This is the premise of Richard Carwardine's *Transatlantic Revivalism*, xiii-xv.

Christian living.<sup>22</sup> By the 1840s the term “evangelical” was publically coined with the founding of the Evangelical Alliance in Britain.<sup>23</sup>

As important as these essential character traits defining early evangelicalism are for understanding the theological roots of SCA, it is as important to recognize with David Bosch, Peter van de Veer, Brian Stanley and others, that transatlantic evangelical Christianity since the “Great Awakening” was also a new sociological, psychological, political and economic phenomenon, expressing the global transformation of cultures and societies that was brought about by the Enlightenment.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, Christian conversion in the era after the Enlightenment should also be understood as part of the rise of religious pluralism, toleration and a seismic shift from the medieval religious expressions of global allegiance to state churches, to a more personal and private expression of regeneration, as a “voluntary act of the individual will”, which could find social expression as the free association of individuals in myriad new “voluntary societies”.<sup>25</sup> Evangelical conversion and discipleship in this era, it will be seen by the end of this chapter, also has to be understood as spreading in tandem with unquestioned civic “duties” to coercive colonial powers - in the South African case, to the Victorian project of British economic and political hegemony in Southern Africa.

The quietist tendency of evangelicalism to separate a private experience of faith from public involvement is an important aspect of SCA’s evangelical origins. It is also important to remember that there were exceptions to this privatization of Christian experience, in which evangelicalism propelled some upper-middle class “revived” Protestants of the late eighteenth century to become social and political luminaries of exceptional political influence. People such as William Wilberforce and John Venn of the Clapham Sect, and Hannah More and Charles Simeon, are all examples of how early evangelicals might involve themselves for the political and economic transformation of their industrializing society.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> As discussed in Chapter One, David Bebbington detects evidence of revivalist Christianity in Britain as early as the 1730s, which he characterizes in four similar categories: *conversionism, activism, Biblicism and crucicentrism*. See David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 3-19. We also noted that these characteristics, with the exception of the mid-twentieth century concern for “social action,” are almost identically identified by John Stott in *Evangelical Truth, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition: A Personal Plea for Unity, Integrity and Faithfulness*, (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2003), 17-25.

<sup>23</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 99.

<sup>24</sup> See Bosch’s chapter “Mission in the Wake of the Enlightenment,” in his *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (New York: Maryknoll, 1991) and Peter van der Veer, cited by Brian Stanley, “Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation,” in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, Brian Stanley, ed., (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 13.

<sup>25</sup> Brian Stanley, *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, 13.

<sup>26</sup> See Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865* (London: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3-35.

In the popular culture of transatlantic societies the *Lectures on Revivals in Religion*, published by Charles Finney in 1835, popularized information about the “Great Awakening”, and introduced the idea of “new measures” in revivalism, which in turn stimulated popular interest throughout North American Protestant traditions for “planned” revivals; intentional planning of revivals in Britain also commenced after Finney’s lectures were published there in 1839.<sup>27</sup> Interdenominational evangelical volunteer movements also increased through a range of new mission societies like the Young Men’s Christian Association founded in 1844, and the Young Women’s Christian Association in 1854.<sup>28</sup>

The second half of the century hastened the demise of Christendom as church numbers gradually declined in England for various reasons – growing divisions between conservatives like Calvinist bishop J.C. Ryle and proponents of the new skeptical and rationalist biblical criticism, industrialization, urbanization, a resurgence of High Church Anglo-Catholicism, and the advent of recreational sport.<sup>29</sup> Despite declining church attendance and increasing criticism of holiness revivals from Bishop Ryle<sup>30</sup> and the High Churchmen, evangelical interdenominational voluntarism increased, with particular rallying points around holiness and sanctification, revival meetings, inner city evangelism, philanthropic societies and foreign missions societies.<sup>31</sup> In 1858, for example, after a visit to Cambridge of David Livingstone, the Cambridge University Missionary Union was formed to educate students about opportunities in world mission.<sup>32</sup>

Decisive in the spread of experiential evangelicalism in Britain were the years 1859 and 1860, when spontaneous revivals among seamen and coastal congregations in Ulster, Glasgow, the Moray Firth, Inverness, Wales and Cornwall evidenced prostrations, conversions and experiential fervency that were last seen in the ministries of Wesley, Whitefield and Edwards in the previous century.<sup>33</sup> Because this “Second Awakening” did not take root in England itself, English evangelicals encouraged the planning of non-denominational gatherings after 1860, with an emphasis on evangelism and holiness

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<sup>27</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 116.

<sup>28</sup> Hugh McLeod, *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 9: World Christianities c.1914 – c.2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 51.

<sup>29</sup> For a detailed analysis see D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 117-150.

<sup>30</sup> J.C. Ryle wrote an open letter critiquing Robert Pearsall Smith’s lack of sound theology at the Brighton Convention in May 1875. In 1877 he published his book *Holiness*, which gave a comprehensive critique of the holiness movement’s reliance on experience. See David. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Britain*, note 139, p. 321.

<sup>31</sup> For in-depth analysis see Richard Carwardine, David. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 152–180.

<sup>32</sup> Pete Lowman, *The Day of His Power* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1983), 19.

<sup>33</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 117.



teaching.<sup>34</sup> R.C. Morgan launched *The Revival* magazine to promote awareness in England of the recent awakenings in Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Cornwall of 1859.<sup>35</sup>

In the spirit of Charles Finney who encouraged specific techniques to reach convicted sinners, Morgan and the English evangelists of the church societies invited North American guests like Robert and Hannah Pearsall Smith, Dwight L. Moody and Ira Sankey to promote a series of annual “revival” gatherings.<sup>36</sup> An Oxford holiness Conference in 1874, the first Brighton and Keswick Conventions in 1875,<sup>37</sup> and a Dwight Moody mission to Cambridge University in 1882<sup>38</sup> encouraged this growing tradition of annual nationwide evangelistic weeklong outreaches.

A definite theological impulse in this popular transatlantic evangelicalism of the later nineteenth-century was a marked increase in premillennial eschatology and spirituality.<sup>39</sup> Throughout the century pockets of evangelicals had subscribed to *postmillennial* optimism which blended Enlightenment reasoning with Bible passages like Revelation 20, where Satan is bound for a thousand years, or prophecies of God’s Spirit poured out in the latter days<sup>40</sup> - the central idea being that Christ’s return would take place *after* a millennium of peace. Elphick shows how postmillennialism shaped early nineteenth-century missionary theology:

In linking science with missions the missionaries drew on a “postmillennial” eschatology, the belief of most early nineteenth-century evangelicals that God would inaugurate the millennium, his spiritual kingdom on Earth, through the processes of human history.<sup>41</sup>

Bebbington holds that Evangelicals were by no means unanimous in their postmillennial views. In fact, premillennialists were dominant by the mid-nineteenth-century. However, some of the most significant leaders in the evangelical movement, including Jonathan Edwards, William Carey and William Wilberforce believed that there would be no sharp break with history at the second coming of Christ, and anticipated a gradual continuity

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<sup>34</sup> Bebbington holds that J. Edwin Orr’s view in *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain* (London: 1949) that revivals occurred throughout Britain in equal intensity as the “Second Awakening,” is not sound. Bebbington’s evidence suggests that in fact spontaneous revival began in North America in 1857-8, and arrived in the coastal cities and towns of Ulster in 1859, spreading to coastal places in Scotland, Wales and Cornwall, with three small exceptions in England. See *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 116 and 151.

<sup>35</sup> David. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 116.

<sup>36</sup> David. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 117.

<sup>37</sup> See for example R. Elphick, *Equality of All Believers*, 41.

<sup>38</sup> Hugh McLeod, *The Cambridge History...*, 51.

<sup>39</sup> See G. Mills “Millennial Christianity, British Imperialism, African Nationalism,” in Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1997), 337.

<sup>40</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 62. Also Mills, “Millennial Christianity, British Imperialism, African Nationalism,” 338-340.

<sup>41</sup> Richard Elphick, *Equality of Believers*, 63.

between present missionary activity, revival, gradual improvement in society, and Christ's ultimate coming to usher in the Millennium.<sup>42</sup> One of the characteristics of postmillennial missionary spirituality and ethics, was that missionaries involved themselves politically in social advocacy to challenge the social evils of colonialism, on behalf of colonized people, even sometimes with a misplaced trust in imperial governments as bulwarks of progress and justice – John van der Kemp, John Philip and John William Colenso of the nineteenth century exemplify early South African postmillennialists.<sup>43</sup>

By contrast the growth of premillennialist evangelical eschatology throughout the century fostered a more pessimistic view of Christ's return as sudden and in response to a period of moral decline, social upheaval and tribulation, marking a clear rupture between history and the millennium.<sup>44</sup> The spirituality and Christian ethics associated with premillennial eschatology fostered disengagement with pressing social issues and more of a focus on prayer and on winning of souls for the world to come.<sup>45</sup> It was this premillennialist spirituality, emphasizing the hastening of the Second Coming by promoting individual conversions through local evangelism and foreign mission that characterized the growth of evangelical student movements in the last three decades of the century.

The impulse for missionary involvement and personal conversion in the transatlantic evangelical student movement, which began with Livingstone and the Missionary Union at Cambridge, gathered momentum in the YMCA movement of North America, and crystallized through the students' involvement of Moody in Britain and in the United States, and in the formation of the Cambridge Intercollegiate Christian Union (CICCU) in March 1877.<sup>46</sup> None of these events escaped the keen attention of Rev. Andrew Murray Jr. who himself had witnessed the beginning of spontaneous revival in the Cape Colony at

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<sup>42</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Britain*, 62, 81-86.

<sup>43</sup> See Richard Elphick, "Evangelical Mission and Racial 'Equalization' in South Africa, 1890-1914" in Dana L. Robert, ed., *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 112-133.

<sup>44</sup> Richard Elphick, *Equality of Believers*, 63. Bebbington links the upsurge of nineteenth century premillennialism to the climate of uncertainty in England during the Napoleonic wars, especially after the prophetic publications of James Hatley Frere from 1815. See Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 83.

<sup>45</sup> Boyd Hilton points out that sometimes the material versus moral or spiritual pre-occupations of these two positions were reversed or hard to distinguish, as in the early nineteenth century case of Lord Shaftesbury and the Clapham Sect who praised Adam Smith's *laissez-faire* economics as fitting for the personal, spiritual and moral renewal of society, without questioning the attendant evils. However, Hilton concurs that in general, "Since premillennialists hold that improvement can only take place *after* the Second Coming, which itself must be preceded by chaos and deterioration, there is no incentive (and some disincentive) to set about repairs. Postmillennialists, on the other hand, see the need as well as the possibility of building towards the New Jerusalem by human agency, and therefore take a more interventionist approach towards social problems." See Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 16-17.

<sup>46</sup> Contact between Britain and North American evangelicalism increased in the last two decades of the century, as in Moody's Cambridge invitation, organized around increasing commitment to foreign missions. C.T. Studd, the famous English cricketer, was one of "The Cambridge Seven," a group of CICCU students who became career missionaries after graduation, leaving England to serve the China Inland Mission in 1884. By 1893, 140 CICCU students had joined the Church Missionary Society. See Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 17-22.

Worcester in 1860<sup>47</sup>, and who had travelled widely in Britain during 1854 and 1866, and in North America and Britain during 1877.<sup>48</sup> We thus turn to briefly consider the nineteenth century colonial context of evangelicalism in South Africa.

It is not possible to speak about the “rise of evangelicalism” in South Africa in nearly the same way as we have sketched it in Britain and North America, for three reasons. Firstly, the spread of Christianity in the interior of South Africa through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries occurred simultaneously with settler or imperial wars of conquest, in which indigenous peoples were subjugated, colonized or granted imperial protection.<sup>49</sup> Secondly, nineteenth century human settlement patterns in South Africa were dissimilar to those of transatlantic societies in that European settlers comprised less than 5% of the total population. Until the discovery of diamonds, human settlement in the South African sub-continent consisted of a patchwork of sovereign entities, African kingdoms, Boer republics, British colonies and protectorates, in which most subjects lived a remote and rural existence, more or less in homogenous groupings.<sup>50</sup> Thirdly, black rural communities resisted conversion, the heart of the Christian missionary message, for much of the nineteenth century, for cultural, socio-economic, and cosmological reasons, and then, after the incursion of the Boers and the British into Sotho and Tswana heartlands by 1840,<sup>51</sup> after the Xhosa Cattle Killings in 1859 in the Eastern Cape,<sup>52</sup> and after the demise of the Zulu Kingdom in Natal by 1880,<sup>53</sup> persistent missionary effort and widespread revivals in the 1860s and 1890s led Africans to convert *en masse*.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> J. Du Plessis, *The Life of Andrew Murray* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1919), 194-196.

<sup>48</sup> J. Du Plessis, *Andrew Murray*, 520-521.

<sup>49</sup> John Philip of the London Missionary Society expresses this conflation of imperial and evangelistic enterprises in his understanding of the missionary task when he wrote, “the missionaries have been employed in locating the savages among whom they labour, teaching them industrious habits, creating a demand for British manufactures, and increasing their dependence on the colony [...] Missionary stations are the most efficient agents which can be employed to promote the internal strength of our colonies, and the cheapest and best military posts that a wise government can employ to defend its frontiers against the predatory incursions of savage tribes.” John Philip, *Researches in South Africa, Vol. II* (London: Duncan, 1828), 227.

<sup>50</sup> This thesis is expounded in depth by Monica Wilson et al in *A History of South Africa to 1870*, Monica Wilson & Leonard Thompson, eds., (Cape Town: David Philip, 1982).

<sup>51</sup> Robert B. Beck, “Monarchs and Missionaries Among the Tswana and Sotho” in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political Social and Cultural History*, Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1997), 107-120.

<sup>52</sup> Janet Hodgson, “A Battle for Sacred Power: Christian Beginnings Among the Xhosa” in *Christianity in South Africa*, Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., 68-88.

<sup>53</sup> Norman Etherington, “Kingdoms of this World and the Next: Christian Beginnings Among Zulu and Swazi” in *Christianity in South Africa* in Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., 89-106.

<sup>54</sup> Richard Elphick, *Equality of All Believers*, 32-37. Bruce Hindmarsh identifies a similar pattern of initial resistance to conversion, followed by mass conversions among the first nations of the Massachusetts Valley, repatriated slaves in Sierra Leone, and the island nations of the South Pacific. See Bruce Hindmarsh, “Patterns of Conversion in Early Evangelical History and Overseas Mission Experience,” in Brian Stanley, ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 71-98.

Despite this unique African and colonial context of evangelicalism in South Africa, the common trait shared between evangelicalism in transatlantic countries of the Northern Hemisphere and South Africa was dramatic personal conversion. Conversions of Protestant missionaries such as Georg Schmidt, Johannes van der Kemp, Andrew Murray and William Taylor, and their African ministers, like Charles Pamla must be associated with the source of South Africa's evangelical tradition.<sup>55</sup> Initially sporadic, the increasing number of conversions after the revival at Worcester in 1860 and successive revivals throughout the Cape Colony, spreading eastwards to Lovedale, and a flood of vocations to pastoral and missionary service in their wake, bear a close resemblance to evangelical conversion narratives of the previous century, in the Pietist movement of Cesar Franck, or the conversion and holiness movement of the Wesleys, or, in the late Puritan evangelical "Awakening" during Jonathan Edwards' ministry in North America.<sup>56</sup> There are also striking similarities between the theological and legal battles between Murray and the "liberal" rationalist theologians of the Cape DRC Synod, mid-century, after which evangelicals gained a majority in the DRC,<sup>57</sup> and the theological impasse occasioning the birth of the Free Church of Scotland in 1843, which Andrew Murray experienced first-hand, during his adolescent schooling in Aberdeen.<sup>58</sup>

Vital Christian spirituality resulting from conversion, associated with evangelical South African missionaries and evangelists from the 1730s to the 1890s brought about a sweeping change to settler churches. Hundreds of converts, most of them "heathen", entered previously nominal, culturally homogeneous and insular congregations. A much more significant development in Cape churches was the groundswell of resistance by white settlers to *gelykstelling* - the equality of the new coloured members, which first expressed itself in the refusal of whites to share the communion table or the same pews as their coloured brothers and sisters, and then progressed to synodic measures to segregate the churches.<sup>59</sup> It will be seen that the psychological, social and political struggles associated

<sup>55</sup> The conversions of Johannes van der Kemp are told by Ido H. Enklaar, *Life and Work of Dr Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp, 1747-1811: Missionary Pioneer and Protagonist of Racial Equality in South Africa* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1988), 17-31, and Andrew Murray, who conveyed the news of his gradual conversion experience in Utrecht, in a letter to his parents on 14 November 1845. See J. Du Plessis, *Andrew Murray*, 64-65. A study of the conversion of Charles Pamla in the context of the mid-nineteenth century revivals is Darryl M. Balia's, 'Charles Pamla and the 1866 Revival,' in *The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa*, ed. by Philippe Denis (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 1995).

<sup>56</sup> See Du Plessis, *Andrew Murray*, 187-207, 311-329, and Hindmarsh, "Patterns of Conversion," 72-78. The significance of growing popular access to conversion narratives throughout the Anglophone world, in the form of print media, which began with the entrepreneurial initiatives of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, is well documented by Susan O' Brien, "Eighteenth Century Publishing Networks ...," 47-51.

<sup>57</sup> See P.B. van der Watt, *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Vol. 1, 1652-1824* (Pretoria: N.G. Kerkboekhandel, 1976), 26-27; Vol. 3, 1824-1905 (Pretoria: N.G. Kerkboekhandel, 1980), 7-38.

<sup>58</sup> "Called. Convicted. Converted. The Musings of a Young Passionate Evangelical Pastor – Tyrrell Haag's Blogspot" <http://calledconvictedconverted.com/2014/05/01/the-gospel-in-south-africa-9-andrew-murray-a-giant-in-sa/>, accessed: 11 September 2014.

<sup>59</sup> Further discussion of these developments is Richard Elphick's "Evangelical Missions and Racial 'Equalization,' 115-118.

with *gelykstelling* would become a significant determinant of spirituality and ethics, not only in the South African church as a whole, but in SCA, throughout the period of study in this monograph.

### **Evangelicalism in the Ebullience of Empire**

The gradual incorporation of South African evangelicalism into a burgeoning global missionary movement in transatlantic Protestantism carried the seeds that ultimately germinated into the SCA at Stellenbosch in 1896. Just two decades before, in 1877, at Louisville Kentucky, student delegates from twenty-five colleges had met to form the United States Inter-Collegiate branch of the YMCA.<sup>60</sup> Luther Wishard, its first travelling secretary, recommended that its activities comprise “Diligent Bible study, prayer and personal evangelism...”<sup>61</sup> By 1886 a total of 181 student groups across North America had affiliated to the Inter-Collegiate YMCA, giving it a total of 10 000 members.<sup>62</sup> The YMCA students attending Moody’s first teaching conference at Northfield, Carolina in the summer of 1886 were to hear a Japanese, a Thai and an Armenian student relate stories of need for foreign missionaries.<sup>63</sup> As a result, 100 students attending an evening prayer meeting each evening of the Northfield week, took a pledge: “It is my purpose if God permits to become a foreign missionary.”<sup>64</sup> Later in 1886 John Mott, a lay Methodist converted by Moody, and Robert Wilder, a former Princeton student and member of the Princeton Foreign Missionary Society, founded the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission, at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts; they incorporated the missionary pledge as well as John Mott’s famous dictum as their motto: “The evangelisation of the world in our generation.”<sup>65</sup>

By summer 1887 Wilder and John Forman had visited 162 North American institutions, obtaining 2100 Student Volunteers as signatories to the pledge.<sup>66</sup> What the students understood by their commitment was: “We are fully determined to become foreign missionaries unless God block the way.”<sup>67</sup> In 1888 Wishard travelled widely in Germany, Malaya, Thailand, Burma, Egypt Bulgaria, Greece, Russia and Bohemia, giving evangelistic

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<sup>60</sup> Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 18.

<sup>61</sup> Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 24

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Moody quoted by John Pollock’s *A Cambridge Movement* (1953) in Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 27.

<sup>64</sup> Risto Lehtonen, *Story of a Storm: The Ecumenical Student Movement in the Turmoil of Revolution* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), xii.

<sup>65</sup> See Clifton J. Phillips, "Changing Attitudes in the Student Volunteer Movement of Great Britain and North America, 1886-1928" in *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*, Torbin Christensen and William R. Hutchison, eds., (Arhus, Denmark: Aros Publishers, 1982), 131-145. Also, Hugh McLeod, *World Christianities*, 52.

<sup>66</sup> Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 26.

<sup>67</sup> Joe Cumming, *The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions*, quoted in Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 27.

meetings and establishing YMCA branches, each with a chapter of the Student Volunteer Movement, so that by summer, 1889, 12 student YMCA branches existed in Japan.<sup>68</sup> A Japanese national YMCA conference convened under the title “Christian Students United for World-Conquest,” sent a telegram to the North American student conference: “Kyoto, July 5, 1889. Make Jesus King. (Signed) 500 students.”<sup>69</sup>

A United States citizen, Miss A. P. Ferguson and Andrew Murray, who had invited Ferguson to be the first Principal of the Huguenot Seminary for young women in 1874, initiated the Student Volunteer Band, which formed in South Africa in Wellington in 1890.<sup>70</sup> The words of the South African pledge were, significantly, different from the North American equivalent: “I am willing and anxious, God permitting, to be a missionary among the heathen.” Fifteen names were signed to this pledge in its first year of circulation.<sup>71</sup> By 1893, four Student Volunteer Bands - at Huguenot Seminary, at the Wellington Missionary Training Institute, at Stellenbosch Seminary, and at Lovedale College in Alice - came together under the chairmanship of Rev. George Ferguson, Principal of Wellington’s Mission Institute, during the Wellington Keswick Week, and affiliated to the Student Volunteer Movement.<sup>72</sup> D.A. Hunter, its first Travelling Secretary, travelled after the Convention to speak at mission stations and educational institutions in the Free State, Basutoland, Natal and Transkei. In its first two years of existence “no less than twenty-four candidates for the mission field had proceeded to their various spheres of labour through the instrumentality of the SVM.”<sup>73</sup>

In July 1894 Miss Ferguson travelled to Moody’s Northfield Convention, as one of the only women delegates among “500 young men from 109 colleges coming together day after day in the interests of Christ’s Kingdom.”<sup>74</sup> Here she met Luther Wishard, now World-Secretary of the SVM, and invited him to visit South Africa. Soon after, South African University College graduates who had recently met with John Mott in Scotland to inquire about the newly formed Student Christian Movement, gathered with Miss Ferguson and Andrew Murray in Wellington to set up a “committee of arrangements”; Chaired by Murray, the committee included Misses Bliss and Ferguson, Prof John Murray, Prof J. I. Marais, Prof C.J.F. Muller, Ds J. H. Neethling and Rev George Ferguson.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 28.

<sup>69</sup> Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 28.

<sup>70</sup> Houston, *The Living Past*, 1 and J Du Plessis, *Andrew Murray*, 521.

<sup>71</sup> Houston, *The Living Past*, 2.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Houston, *The Living Past*, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Houston, *The Living Past* 1.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

In 1895 Andrew Murray, now 67, travelled as an invited Keswick Convention speaker to England.<sup>76</sup> At the conference he met with national representatives of five branches of Britain's SCM, affiliated to the World Student Christian Federation, and John Mott, who, later that year, was to be elected Chairman of the newly formed World Student Christian Federation at Vadstena in Sweden.<sup>77</sup> Preparations for creating a South African student movement within the World Federation were gathering momentum. On 3 June 1896 Mr and Mrs Wishard arrived in Wellington for consultations there and in Stellenbosch with Murray's committee. Wishard then travelled on a speaking tour of Paarl, Worcester, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Natal, to raise student awareness about the July conference. On 20 July, Rev Donald Fraser, a newly qualified doctor from Glasgow University, who had chaired the 1896 SVM Conference in Liverpool, arrived in Wellington. He was en route to the Livingstonia Mission in Nyasaland in fulfilment of his own mission pledge, and was invited to help run the conference. The conference took place from 24-29 July, commencing in Stellenbosch's Victoria College Hall; a census on the second day of the inaugural conference showed that 358 students had registered from 29 university and normal colleges around the country, representing 9 denominations.<sup>78</sup>

In what remains of this chapter it will be seen that these longstanding transatlantic friendships with North Americans and Britons, which brought about SCA's inaugural conference in South Africa, illustrate one national example of an almost militant voluntarism worldwide, which was gathering momentum in the Protestant missionary movement – a hegemonic confidence that would be most fully expressed at the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 in North American missionary, John Mott's announcement of the “realistic possibility” of an “imminent Christian triumph” over the religions of the world.<sup>79</sup> Mott's milieu of statesman-like international mission “diplomacy”, tied closely as it was to North America's economic ascendancy and Britain's imperial

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<sup>76</sup> Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 30 and J. Du Plessis, *Andrew Murray*, 523.

<sup>77</sup> Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 30

<sup>78</sup> Houston, *The Living Past*, 2. Further research is required to understand which denominations were represented, and whether delegates at SCA's first conference were active in their churches.

<sup>79</sup> See Brian Stanley *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 15. The danger of generalized, over-simplified, stereotyped assumptions about the relationship between Protestant missionaries and the Victorian colonial project is aptly raised by Andrew Porter and Norman Etherington in their recent monographs. See Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 316, and Norman Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 3-9. Brian Stanley observes that after more than a century of Protestant missionary endeavour in Asia and Africa only 19 of the 1 215 delegates at Edinburgh were born outside of Europe, and that only one black African representative complemented the delegation for the African continent. See Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference ...*, 91-92, 97-98. Even if voices critical of the Empire were voiced at Edinburgh, the predominant mindset in the Edinburgh gathering was that exemplified by its convenor, John Mott - a conference of missionary “insiders” who voiced the ebullience of the Edwardians at the height of their imperial prowess. This “insider” set of assumptions at Edinburgh, says Kim Caroline Sanecki, made for a very uneven experience of the conference proceedings, between European delegates and those from the Global South. See Kim Caroline Sanecki, *Protestant Christian Missions, Race and Empire: The World Missionary Conference of 1910, Edinburgh, Scotland*. (Masters Dissertation: Georgia State University, 2006).

dominance of the world stage, are pertinent reminders of the theme of Constantinian Christendom in this monograph, introduced in Chapter One, and to be illustrated with historical evidence in Chapter Three.<sup>80</sup> This confident sense of “choseness” among nineteenth century evangelicals, it will be seen, imbued the spirit of SCA’s inaugural conference and opening decade of ministry.

### **Characteristics of the Christian Spirituality Received into SCA**

The record of proceedings on the first night and second day of the conference are significant in three ways, because they anticipate the different patterns of Christian spirituality that would continue to be received and practised in SCA throughout its life:

Mr Fraser opened the [...] meeting, reading from the Bible, John 20:19-29. This was followed by an earnest prayer, after which Dr Thomas Walker, of Stellenbosch, greeted the guests most cordially. Then Mr Wishard told us something of the work in other countries, its aims, etc. He emphasized three [...] aims: (1) To make every student realise his duty to his fellow student. (2) His duty to his country. (3) His duty to the whole world. The movement aims to make every college a distributing centre of Christianity. Four ways are suggested by which this can be done: (1) By encouraging the use of the Bible. (2) Individual work. (3) Prayer. (4) Lead every schoolboy and girl to realise that he or she has some responsibility which no one can bear for them.

Rev Andrew Murray then gave us a talk about prayer, in which he impressed upon us that if we wanted to do this work or any work for Christ, or to be a blessing to anyone, we must have a great deal of God to impart, and this can only be got by prayer. We must pray that the fire of the Holy Ghost may be upon us [...] The meeting was then closed, and it was decided to meet in the Dutch Reformed Church the next morning at 9:30

Mr Wishard spoke on evangelistic work, Prof N. J. Hofmeyr on Bible Study, Mr Fraser on individual work [...] The foundations of our Students’ Christian Association were laid in prayer and consecration to service, and shall we not trust Him that He who began this great work [...] will continue it to the day of the Lord Jesus Christ ...<sup>81</sup>

The following brief observations about this report on the Stellenbosch Conference will identify three aspects of the evangelical spirituality being received into SCA at its inauguration. Firstly, SCA’s defining activities on its opening day in Stellenbosch – prayer, Bible exposition, and training in one-to-one discipleship, social service and mission, were to occupy the Association’s programmes throughout its life, and these discipleship activities of SCA provide the subject matter for study and reflection in this monograph.

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<sup>80</sup> A history of the statecraft involved in Victorian missionary enterprise, which this monograph understands as an example of the Christendom model of mission, is Brian Stanley’s *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missionaries & British Imperialism in the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990).

<sup>81</sup> William J. Houston, *The Beginning*, 2.



Secondly, the men sharing the Stellenbosch podium to inaugurate SCA on 28 July 1895 had markedly different personalities and theological emphases, despite seeing themselves as part of the same worldwide evangelical movement. The American evangelist and social activist, Wishard, the Scottish revivalist and contemplative, Murray, the Dutch Calvinist and Biblicist, Nicolaas Hofmeyr (1827-1909),<sup>82</sup> and the pastoral and missionary-minded Scot, Donald Fraser, represent diversity within evangelicalism that today would be understood as almost ecumenical. This is because the ecumenical and evangelical movements had not yet begun to define themselves in relation to each other, a social process which would really commence only after 1914, so that this initial breadth of partnership began to narrow, but this is a subject to be treated in Chapter Three. For now, it suffices to say that the SCA founders' identifiable denominational and theological diversity remained a characteristic of SCA for the next century, albeit the narrow diversity of evangelical expressions of faith within Protestantism.

Thirdly the Stellenbosch report also hints at SCA's Victorian milieu of a growing sense of chosenness and confidence resulting from the hegemonic status of Protestantism in the empire – in Wishard's emphasis on “responsibility [...] which no one else can bear”, and on “duty to [...] country”, and “duty to the whole world.”

Before drawing some conclusions about the character of spirituality in SCA at its beginning in 1896, further commentary on the socio-political and theological contexts of the Cape and Natal colonies near the close of the nineteenth century will foster a greater understanding of evangelical culture at that time. By the last two decades of the century colonial hut and poll taxes, restrictive land policies and the first deliberations about “the native question”, evoked the earliest forms of organized African resistance - vigorous political activity by the emerging black middle class, to convince Victoria's government of their dwindling liberties, and to press for economic and political *equality* in South Africa.<sup>83</sup> A parallel development in the Church was an increase in demands for recognition by black Christian leaders and the secession of other black leaders in the *Ethiopian* independent church movements as a reaction to the official racial segregation of settler churches.<sup>84</sup>

Significantly it was William Murray, Andrew Murray Jr.'s brother, and his father, Andrew Murray Sr., who promulgated the motion in the DRC Cape Synod in 1857, for separate

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<sup>82</sup> For a short biography of Nicolaas Jacobus Hofmeyr, see Fritz Gaum, ed., *Christelike Kernensiklopedia* (Pretoria: Lux Verbi, 2008).

<sup>83</sup> See Richard Elphick, *Evangelical Missions and 'Racial Equalization'*, 117-119, and Mills, “Millennial Christianity, British Imperialism, African Nationalism,” 337-346.

<sup>84</sup> See Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 82-100.

buildings in worship and separate communion services for Coloured congregants.<sup>85</sup> Richard Elphick convincingly highlights an irony arising from the wording of their motion. Their underlying motivation was the romantic, paternalist Victorian notion held by Christians of all theological persuasions at the time, that “heathen” converts were more likely to grow in true Christian virtue *without* contact with white congregants.<sup>86</sup> This assumption was also held by James Hendersen, Principal at Lovedale College, and Frederick Bridgman of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who viewed segregation as ultimately beneficial for the “heathen” and their salvation.<sup>87</sup> However, the wording of the Murrays’ motion inadvertently advanced a very different sentiment. Almost naïvely, they moved that congregational segregation *might* be necessary, “because of the weakness of some” (white) members, an idea that in reality confirmed and fuelled the reticence of white settlers in the Cape to accept the “heathen” as equals within their churches, with dire consequences for later developments between races in South Africa.<sup>88</sup>

This paternalism in Victorian colonial society was the Victorians’ assumption of their “chosenness”, which Andrew Walls identifies in Rudyard Kipling’s poem, “The White Man’s Burden”, as “pre-eminently [...] the British white man, going out to bring peace and equity to a new-found empire,” an attitude that definitively shaped the founding spirituality in SCA from 1896.<sup>89</sup> A blindspot arising from this Victorian paternalism pervaded the colonial churches and became evident in SCA’s early spirituality and organizational ethics, a development discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. Philippe Denis describes this blindspot more accurately as “pastoral myopia”.<sup>90</sup> This willed blindness of the Victorians

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<sup>85</sup> Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 42-44. Also see John de Gruchy’s comments about how this Synod decision laid theological foundations for apartheid as a theological heresy: John de Gruchy and Charles Villa-Vicencio, eds., *Apartheid is a Heresy* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1985), 83-84.

<sup>86</sup> A famous proponent of this view in the British established church mission societies was Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) who, in 1864, as Honorary Secretary of the Society, advised missionaries that ‘the European element in a native church is the great snare and hindrance to its growth: and that if native churches were kept separate with a complete organization of Bishop, priest and Deacon they would exhibit a more firm and rapid development.’ Quoted by C. Peter Williams in Elphick and Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa ...*, 86. The Murray’s Cape DRC Synod motion stated that it was “desirable and scriptural that our members from the Heathen should be taken up and incorporated in our existing congregations, wherever that can be done; but where this rule, because of the weakness of some, should stand in the way of the advancement of Christ’s cause among the Heathen, the congregations raised up, or to be raised up, from the Heathen, shall enjoy their Christian rights in a separate building or institution.” Richard Elphick, *The Equality of All Believers*, 44.

<sup>87</sup> Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 99.

<sup>88</sup> See de Gruchy’s commentary on this in John W. de Gruchy with Steve de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition, (Suffolk, England: SCM Press, 2004), 7-9.

<sup>89</sup> Andrew Walls, “Carrying the White Man’s Burden,” in *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, Andrew F. Walls (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1970), 178-179.

<sup>90</sup> Philippe Denis’ research into the colonial missionary attitudes to the migrant labour system during the closing decades of the nineteenth century shows that Church leaders could not have been unaware of the destruction this caused to thousands of African families under their jurisdiction, yet missionaries did nothing to protest the coercive legislation of their colonial governments. See Philippe Denis, “A case of pastoral myopia: the colonial church’s historic responsibility in the undermining of the family in South Africa.” A paper read at the conference of the Theological Society of South Africa held in

apparently screened out basic pastoral needs of black communities from white missionaries' line of vision because of colonial Christians' prior allegiance to the economic sustainability and success of the Empire.

On the one hand, although Andrew Murray had promoted black education and the founding of the South African General Missionary Conference in 1889,<sup>91</sup> his ministry was dedicated almost entirely to the evangelization and pastoral needs of white Afrikaners, and, as we have seen, he apparently did not foresee or attempt to prevent the colonial churches' tendency towards segregation, exclusion and marginalization of black Christians from 1857 onwards.<sup>92</sup> On the other hand it is hard to categorize Murray as a stereotypical premillennial quietist, because his ministry of more than 65 years was dedicated to social upliftment, and included among many other political achievements, the establishment of Grey College, soon to become the University College of the Orange Free State, and the Stellenbosch Dutch Reformed Church Seminary.<sup>93</sup> Thus, when the social, political impact of Murray's civic involvement is considered, he almost fits the stereotype of the eighteenth and nineteenth century optimistic postmillennial missionary statesman.

Nevertheless, despite having participated actively in the civic life of his century Murray's spirituality did not propel him to lament any injustice against black Christians, or to champion any of their causes with the political dedication in which he always responded to the needs of the Afrikaner. There were many junctures after 1857 at which he might have offered a dissenting, or even critical voice to increasingly coercive labour legislation and treatment of black residents of the colonies and Boer republics, by the British and Dutch, much as the outsider, F.B. Meyer did, in different parts of his memoir, *A Winter in South Africa*.<sup>94</sup> If Andrew Walls and Philippe Denis' conclusions about Victorian colonial hegemony

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Pietermaritzburg on 17-19 June 2015.

<sup>91</sup> Mills, "Millennial Christianity, British Imperialism, African Nationalism," 344.

<sup>92</sup> Willem Saayman makes this point, but rests too much weight on Murray's point of view at one moment in time, that is, on Murray's motivation for excluding black participation and inter-denominational participation in the 1860 Wellington conference. See Willem Saayman, *Christian Mission in South Africa: Political and Ecumenical* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1991) 49-51. In my view a more historical warrant for this conclusion about Murray, is that his involvement as a pioneer of the DRC in Transoranje and the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek, as a firebrand of evangelicalism in the "liberal" DRC ecclesiastical controversies at the Cape, and in humanitarian assistance to "poor whites" during and after the first Boer War, meant that his point of view was no different from all the other settler missionaries of his day - unquestioning loyalty to the economic success of the South African colony.

<sup>93</sup> David Bosch's conclusion about Murray is that in fact he did represent a dualistic evangelical tradition which saw the 'vertical,' inner relationship with God as prior to and separate from 'horizontal', external social commitments. See David Bosch, "The Roots and Fruits of Afrikaner Civil Religion." In *New Faces of Africa: Essays in Honour of Ben Marais*, J.W. Hofmeyr and W.S. Vorster, eds., (Pretoria: UNISA, 1984), 25-26.

<sup>94</sup> After meeting General Louis Botha Meyer advocated for the landless poor in the former Boer Republics who would be sorely affected by the proposed Native Settlement and Squatters Bill: "It is estimated – and I am quoting from the letter sent by the Land Owners' Association to the Native Affairs Department – that the native population which would be displaced by this measure would amount to 300, 000 or 400,000, owning approximately 300,000 head of large stock; and over 100, 000 of small stock; and that to enable them to live under conditions as favourable as those in which they are now situated, would

are accepted, then Murray's pastoral myopia, like nearly all white missionaries in the colonies, was ubiquitous across the British Empire, and almost certainly characterised the mindset and ethics of SCA's founders.

One of the nineteenth century's rare instances of prophetic Christian opposition to racial injustice in the Church, by a European in South Africa, arose in response to the Synodic Resolution of 1857. During the fervour of the 1860 revivals in the Cape an evangelical clergyman Damme Pierre Marie Huet in Natal published two books criticizing the 1857 Synodic resolution. The second, a book about missions, was called *Één Kudde en Één Herder - One Flock and One Shepherd* - in which he employed simple evangelical Bible exegesis to argue strongly for inter-racial ecclesiastical unity in worship.<sup>95</sup> As the final separation of the Cape DRC Church into segregated white and coloured denominations was effected by the Synod of 1880 it may be assumed that Huet's lone voice had not been heeded.

### **Conclusions: SCA's Spirituality - Its Promise and Myopia**

Each evening after the Stellenbosch Conference programme, the organising committee met to draft a constitution and to discuss the choice of name. After considering affiliating the movement to the international YMCA family, it was preferred to name the association "SCA" and to affiliate it to John Mott's WSCF, to cement SCA's truly non-denominational identity.<sup>96</sup> Although SCA had a majority of Afrikaans DRC members, the Anglophone contribution from the very beginning was strong and accorded with Andrew Murray's personal involvements in Scottish, English and North American evangelicalism. The Wishards departed on the evening of 29<sup>th</sup> July 1896 but Donald Fraser decided to stay on in South Africa for three months, "in answer to urgent invitations," and "in the interests of the Association," to visit schools and colleges to encourage leaders and establish local affiliates to SCA throughout the country.<sup>97</sup> It would be significant for the Association's emphasis of evangelism and mission that the Anglophone Student Volunteer Movement, founded at Wellington in 1893, was incorporated into the SCA at Stellenbosch as its missions' wing, represented on the General Committee by Rev Clinton T. Wood. Also, the former Travelling Secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement, D.A. Hunter, was enlisted

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require an amount of not less than 5, 000, 000 acres of land to be set apart for their use. No such provision of land, however, is contemplated; and the effect would therefore be to oblige all these tens of thousands of people to wander over the colony in search of a permanent abode, or to crowd into the native locations, which are already, in many cases, overcrowded and exposed to heart-breaking evils." F. B. Meyer, *A Winter in South Africa* (London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, 1908), 93-94.

<sup>95</sup> Huet challenged settler arguments for segregation saying that Jesus unified white and black Christians in the church as "one nation". He cited Moses' Cushitic wife as reason enough for acceptance of interracial marriage and inquired: "Who are the weak?" as the logical response to the "weakness of some" clause. See Richard Elphick, *The Equality of All Believers*, 44.

<sup>96</sup> William J. Houston, *The Beginning*, 2.

<sup>97</sup> William J. Houston, *The Beginning*, 2.

as the first Travelling Secretary of SCA.<sup>98</sup> We have already commented on the interdenominational and programmatic diversity of SCA, which bred a spirituality of co-operation. However, despite allowing for this diversity, SCA evangelicalism was in reality identical to the Afrikaner evangelicalism of the DRC at the close of the nineteenth century. Johan Kinghorn describes the DRC evangelicals thus:

Reformed in essence by modified German pietism, Scottish puritanism and a touch of American conservatism, Afrikaner evangelicalism was characterized by an emphasis on individual religious experience; on the virtues of modesty, diligence, and sobriety; on intellectual and moral education; on a highly motivated missionary movement; and on a somewhat mystical piety.<sup>99</sup>

What was promising in this blend of spirituality, as has been shown in this chapter, was that it was directly descended from the movements of vital renewal in Christianity, since the Pietist, Puritan and Wesleyan revivals of the eighteenth century. SCA's organizational ethic and spirituality was based on vital Christian commitment and thrived in the counter-cultural co-operation of the missionary movement, including the involvement of women.<sup>100</sup> At the SCA's Ninth Annual Conference of SCA in Cape Town in 1905, John Mott, his wife, and Miss Ruth Rouse attended as organizers.<sup>101</sup> Mott's opening address paid tribute to Dr A. P. Ferguson for her:

enthusiasm and determination in securing women secretaries, in the encouraging Seaside Services and Camps for scholars, both boys and girls [...] her organising of work among local teachers and those in other places, especially on lonely farms, and securing their active aid and co-operation in encouraging Christian training among students through the Student Volunteer Movement and in other ways [...]"<sup>102</sup>

On the one hand, SCA was well placed in its leadership, and its programme emphases to bring young people across Southern Africa into the way of following Christ, in socially engaged discipleship. On the other hand, what Walls described as the "white man's burden" and what Denis identified as "pastoral myopia" at work in the social awareness and social commitment of colonial Christians, characterised the mindset and ethics of the evangelical leaders at the outset of SCA's ministry. In the discussion to follow it will be seen that this myopia would persist in SCA for decades to come, and would partly explain SCA's

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<sup>98</sup> William J. Houston, *The Beginning*, 2.

<sup>99</sup> Johann Kinghorn, "Modernization and Apartheid: The Afrikaner Churches" in Elphick and Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa*, 137.

<sup>100</sup> Further research about women in Victorian and later colonial society, drawing for example, from the work of Deborah Gaitskell or Mandy Goedhals, may throw new light on how women's leadership unfolded in SCA before WWII. See for example, Deborah Gaitskell, "Beyond 'Devout Domesticity': Five Female Mission Strategies in South Africa: 1906 – 1935," *Transformation*, 16, 4 (1999): 127-35, and Mandy Goedhals, 'Nuns, guns and nursing: an Anglican sisterhood and imperial wars in South Africa 1879-1902,' *Studiae Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, xxxiv, 1, 2008.

<sup>101</sup> William J. Houston, *The Beginning*, 3.

<sup>102</sup> William J. Houston, *The Beginning*, 3.

accommodation in the 1940s and 50s to the heresy of apartheid. In Chapter Three it will be shown that this same myopia would also partially explain the inertia in the “old” SCA to prevent itself from dissolving into racially defined associations, in response to the social pressures of apartheid, on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The Question of Gospel Allegiance in SCA's Twentieth Century Story: 1900 - 1969

There are two gospels, two lords, two christs, which have come to oppose each other in our national life. They are mutually irreconcilable; for there is only one Gospel, one Lord, one Christ. On the Church rests the responsibility of coming to a clear unambiguous choice.

Beyers Naudé, J.D. Smith and F.J. van Wyk<sup>1</sup>

But at this moment, can any movement which claims to be scripturally based and to live with the life of the age to come, contemplate further fragmentation?

Calvin Cook<sup>2</sup>

The Extraordinary General Meeting of the Students' Christian Association on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965, in the boardroom of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission Press at Bastion Road, Bloemfontein, gathered 112 members of the Association, 10 women and 102 men, of whom 5 women and 101 men had voting rights.<sup>3</sup> The rules for a special meeting permitted three "additional" SCA members to attend, for each council member present. The Association was divided into five sections. Therefore, the 15 council members of the Afrikaans Section were joined by 45 additional members, the English-speaking Section's 3 council members were joined by 15 additional members, the African Section's 2 council members by 6 additional members, and the Coloured Section's 2 council members by 6 additional members. The Student Volunteer Movement, SCA's "Missions Section", had 2 council members, who were now augmented by 6 additional members. The African and Coloured Sections were, for the most part, represented in SCA's governance structures, by white office bearers – a pattern which mirrored the apartheid model of black civic representation. For this reason, only 9 black voting members attended the meeting, among them Mr A.T.R. Masipa of the University of the North (Turfloop) and Mr Allan Boesak from the University of the Western Cape. Among those present there were also 31 white ministers of the Dutch Reformed Churches. With the exception of these black delegates in the room, this might have been any gathering of Christian leaders in South Africa at the zenith of apartheid ascendancy in the second last year of Hendrik Verwoerd's regime.

The aim of this chapter is to narrate SCA's twentieth century focusing on the events that immediately led to SCA's controversial Extraordinary General Meeting in Bloemfontein of 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965, where SCA elected to dissolve and reconstitute itself as four racially and linguistically separate associations for Christian student ministry. The four years immediately after SCA's partition will also be briefly introduced at the conclusion of the chapter to sketch the organizational transformation that the 1965 dissolution in Bloemfontein effected. Throughout the period, from 1903 to 1969, (See my motivation in the structure of the dissertation - chapter one) SCA leaders' opposition to, welcoming of, or indifference to South Africa's developing culture of statutory racism, influenced the kinds

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<sup>1</sup> Joint Statement, *Pro Veritate*, 4 (15 Aug 1965): 183.

<sup>2</sup> "The S.C.A. in Mid-1965," *Pro Veritate*, 4 (15 August 1965): 9.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is reconstructed from A1.15, Minutes of the Extraordinary General Meeting of SCA (12 January 1965).

of theology and spirituality received into the Association, which in turn determined SCA's understanding and practice of Christian discipleship.

Two areas of important historical background in SCA's development will occupy the first third of this Chapter. First, the historical process of SCA's growth up to the mid-twentieth century within a developing culture of racism in the South African church that did not question apartheid ideology or legislation promulgated by South Africa's white nation builders. Second, the simultaneous historical development of a theological conflict in the twentieth century, which caused the polarization of the Protestant Church into opposing "ecumenical" and "evangelical" groupings – and resulted in the formation and growth of the evangelical International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES) and the decline and dissolution of the World's Students Christian Federation (WSCF).<sup>4</sup>

What was common to both of these historical processes were instances of cultural, racial, political or relational coercion in the Christian community that compromised Christian witness to the person and teaching of Jesus Christ, and cried out for a response of prophetic conversion or *metánoia* - a return to radical allegiance to the Gospel. The degree to which leaders in SCA put aside ethnic, theological or political allegiances in these instances, for the sake of their *prior Christian allegiance to Christ*, is the measure by which prophetic integrity in the discipleship and spirituality of SCA during this two thirds of a century will be identified.

The second half of the chapter will present selected events from the 50s and 60s which led to and from the watershed Bloemfontein Extraordinary General Meeting (EGM) of 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965, with a view to evaluating this meeting as a *kairós* invitation to SCA to prophetically challenge apartheid's culture of exclusion.

### **Imperial Paternalism, Nationalist Resistance and the Roots of Apartheid**

In order to understand the historical background to SCA's partition on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965, the Association's longstanding relationship to South Africa's evolving culture of exclusion in the church needs to be identified, and three crisis moments of transition in SCA's twentieth century story in which the Association mirrored this culture of exclusion, need to be reconstructed. This section of Chapter Three will sketch these two important aspects of SCA's twentieth century story.

Chapter Two noted that a characteristic of white churches and missionary work throughout Victoria's Empire, was a residual paternalism that expressed itself in a confident sense of chosenness and a strongly related allegiance to the economic success of the Empire, which

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<sup>4</sup> Introductory studies from evangelical and ecumenical viewpoints respectively are: Douglas Johnson, *Contending for the Faith: A History of the Evangelical Movement in the Universities and Colleges* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1979), and Risto Lehtonen, *Story of a Storm: The Ecumenical Student Movement in the Turmoil of Revolution* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998).



in South Africa's colonies, resulted in what the Chapter termed as white Christians' "pastoral myopia" in regard to Victoria's black colonial subjects.<sup>5</sup> This almost sub-conscious screening out of the basic pastoral needs of black people partly explains the apparent indifference of white Christians in South Africa to increasing economic exploitation of the colonies' black subjects after 1902.<sup>6</sup>

The pastoral myopia of the missionaries was more than just a blindspot, or a sin of omission, but mirrored the colonial culture of racial exclusion. Richard Elphick shows that the 1905 General Missionary Conference, convened especially to consider the "Native Question," gave unanimous support to Lord Milner for his plan to exclude "natives" from the franchise in three out of four provinces of the proposed South African Union, a plan that fuelled African nationalist resistance and led directly to the birth of the South African Native National Congress in February 1912.<sup>7</sup>

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, SCA reflected a similar pastoral myopia, marked by cultural exclusivity. When missionary statesman John Mott and his colleague Ruth Rouse represented the World's Student Christian Federation at SCA's ninth anniversary conference in 1905 they both quietly raised the thorny issue of animosity between black and white students with SCA Chairman, Jozua Naudé; Rouse was particularly concerned about openly hostile attitudes among Afrikaans SCA students towards black people.<sup>8</sup> Organizationally, SCA displayed a similar reticence as the General Missionary Conference to advance the leadership of black members in the Association - it had taken as long as 1925 for white missionaries in the General Missionary Conference to accept first presentations of papers by black delegates, John Dube and Rev D.D.T. Jabavu, and only after 1938 were more than five black delegates permitted to attend.<sup>9</sup> SCA took twenty years to appoint its first black travelling secretary, J. Knox Bokwe, to work in black schools, and only in SCA's fortieth year was a first branch launched in a Coloured educational

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<sup>5</sup> Brian Stanley explains this paternalism as follows: "The error of nineteenth century missionaries [...] was to mistake the contingent values of a particular philosophical tradition – the Enlightenment – for the central values which the Christian counter-culture must seek to express. It was not that they abandoned the public sphere to current secular judgements, but rather that, in their anxiety to claim the public sphere for Christ, they intermingled distinctively evangelical insights with assumptions which Enlightenment thought had woven into the fabric of Victorian discourse about human social development. The most baneful of these confusions was the assumption that the regenerative power of the gospel would propel a society along essentially the same path of economic, technological and political 'progress' as Britain had herself followed. Missionaries proved unable to resist the temptation to push their converts and churches along that path which they believed the dynamic of the gospel had already selected for them." See Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missionaries & British Imperialism in the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries*, (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 173. For an introduction to varieties of, and exceptions to nineteenth century British missionary paternalism in South Africa, see Peter Hinchliff, "The 'English-Speaking' Churches and South Africa in the nineteenth century," *JTSA*, no. 8 (December 1974): 28-37.

<sup>6</sup> Besides Brian Stanley and Peter Hinchliff's historiography, cited above, another scholarly introduction to the economic priorities shaping Victorian mindsets at the Cape Colony, including missionary attitudes to "the Natives", is James Cochrane's chapter "Victorian Expansionism and the Missionary Ethos," in his *Servants of Power: The Role of the English-speaking Churches, 1903 – 1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987).

<sup>7</sup> Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 105-106.

<sup>8</sup> These racial tensions in SCA were noted by T. Jack Thompson in his discussion of Donald Fraser's ministry in South Africa. See T. Jack Thompson, *Christianity in Northern Malawi: Donald Fraser's Missionary Methods & Ngoni Culture* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 81-82.

<sup>9</sup> Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 348.

institution.<sup>10</sup> For these reasons, by 1922, white office bearers in SCA saw the “natives” and “native work” as an extension of SCA work in *white* institutions, rather than *as SCA’s work per se*.<sup>11</sup> This fine distinction, though it was possibly a sub-conscious distinction in the minds of SCA’s white leaders, would perpetuate the deepening racial prejudice that dogged SCA throughout the twentieth century.

SCA’s first two decades, with the exception of the three years of the South African War, saw the Association growing rapidly, especially in its emphasis on evangelism and mission, and particularly in Afrikaans schools and colleges,<sup>12</sup> on account of Andrew Murray’s abiding influence and oversight.<sup>13</sup> However, despite numerical growth through many new professions of faith in Christ, three crucial moments of transition for the Association between 1900 and 1963 showed SCA to be identifying itself steadily with South Africa’s evolving culture racial exclusion. That SCA was unable to dissociate itself from this culture gave rise to conditions in the Association that would make dissolution in 1965 a choice that white members of SCA would embrace, almost unanimously.

The Association’s first crisis of transition came with an attempt to partition SCA in 1915. This impasse can be understood as one more manifestation of ill feeling after a century of conflict between Afrikaners and the British in South Africa, which was exacerbated in 1900 in the cruelty of the South African War.<sup>14</sup> The fact that white Christians of every denomination committed themselves to *fight each other* in their allegiance to the Empire or the Boer Republics showed that the War itself represented a deep conflict of allegiance to the Gospel of reconciliation, bitter fruit of a deep-seated antipathy. The South African War only seeded deeper animosity.<sup>15</sup> Martial law banned SCA meetings in many places and one of the War’s ironies was that among many Afrikaners taken prisoner, to camps in Bethulie, Bloemfontein, Ceylon, Bermuda or St Helena, branches of SCA sprang to life to keep up morale, and many conversions resulted!<sup>16</sup> Thus it is comprehensible that the first expressions of Afrikaner nationalist patriotism of the late nineteenth century were encouraged by severe loss of life and livelihoods in their communities during the War, and

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<sup>10</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 35, 52.

<sup>11</sup> In SCA Executive Minutes taken in 1922, Ds. F.J. Liebenberg describes SCA’s founders’ original intentions as follows: “From the very beginning of the Movement it was in the mind of the organizers and promoters of the SCA to extend its work among Bantu students of South Africa, and at the first meeting called for the purpose of definitely organizing the Association there were present representatives from Native Educational Institutions.” Quoted in Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 48.

<sup>12</sup> Gerdrie van de Merwe, *Jesus is Koning: Die Verhaal van die Christen-Studentevereeniging van Suid-Afrika – 1896 to 1996* (Stellenbosch: CSV, 1996), 20-31.

<sup>13</sup> Dr Murray’s youngest son, Charles Hugo, served as SCA’s third Chairman from 1899 to 1901 and later, as Travelling Secretary, from 1921 to 1926. Andrew Murray was instrumental in appointing the first eight Chairman of SCA. For this and more on Murray’s influence see Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 26, 30, 34, 37.

<sup>14</sup> A useful U.S. Library of Congress summary of Boer-British antipathy, from the discovery of minerals to the Union of South Africa is: “Industrialization and Imperialism, 1970 – 1910,” <http://motherearthtravel.com/history/south-africa/history-7.htm>, accessed: 25 November 2014.

<sup>15</sup> David Bosch describes the role of the War in the rise of Afrikaner nationalism: “More than any event in the preceding century it shaped Afrikaner identity, putting the seal on the development of the Afrikaner nationalism which first surfaced clearly in the 1870s.” David Bosh, “Fruits and Roots ...,” 22.

<sup>16</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 35.

that Afrikaner nationalism increased after 1902, finding a voice in SCA in the decades that followed, leading directly to SCA's first organizational crisis.<sup>17</sup>

In 1915 Nicolaas van der Merwe, Travelling Secretary for SCA in the Free State, sent the SCA executive in Cape Town a strongly motivated letter calling for the Association to divide into separate English and Afrikaans-speaking bodies.<sup>18</sup> Van der Merwe's biography illustrates his emotive reasoning. He had been interned with his mother as a boy at Norvalspont concentration camp during the War and had won a scholarship for his leadership of children in the camp, to Grey University-College in Bloemfontein.<sup>19</sup> After teaching, then training in theology at Stellenbosch, he became Chairman of SCA in 1911.<sup>20</sup> Van der Merwe and other SCA leaders like B.B. Keet and W. de Vos then championed the cause of the *arm blanke* (poor whites) and the status of the young Afrikaans language after 1902, confronting the open British antipathy towards Afrikaans culture and language after the war.<sup>21</sup> True reconciliation between English and Afrikaans members of SCA was never attained, and this was possibly the biggest unspoken reason, in 1965, for their official parting of ways.

Van de Merwe was part of a group of like-minded *Vrystaaters*. Thus SCA's forthcoming General Conference at Cradock in July 1915 brought Boer-British antipathy out into the open in SCA for the first time.<sup>22</sup> The *Vrystaaters* could not persuade SCA's executive to divide the Association so van de Merwe left SCA greatly disappointed.<sup>23</sup> Keeping in mind the immediate context of the 1914 Boer Rebellion, Louis Botha's newly formed Nationalist Party, and the groundswell of community organizations around ideas of *volk* and *Afrikanerdom* which led to the formation of the *Afrikaner Broederbond* and the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organizations, this first incidence of pressure for cultural partition in SCA makes a lot of sense.<sup>24</sup> However, more significant than SCA's quelling of Boer-British antagonism in its brief crisis of 1915, was the resounding silence of solidarity between Boer and British SCA members, mirroring a similar indifference in South African colonial society as a whole, towards the gross political and economic injustices in South Africa endorsed by the Westminster parliament after 1910 - the disenfranchisement of Africans by the Union of South Africa Act of 1910; the Enabling Act of 1911 preventing black church members of the Cape Province from joining white churches North of the Orange River;<sup>25</sup> and the social and

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<sup>17</sup> The worst injustice of the War for Afrikaners, was that whereas 3000 Afrikaner soldiers died in battle, about 26 000 women and children died in British concentration camps. See David Bosh, "Fruits and Roots ...," 22.

<sup>18</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 40.

<sup>19</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 29.

<sup>20</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 29.

<sup>21</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 40. Their feeling of ostracization by the British was not imagined. Bosch shows how Lord Milner's insensitive Anglicization policy after the War implemented in all Afrikaner schools by E. B. Sargent, Milner's Director of Education, became one of the deepest sources of Boer antipathy. See David Bosch, *Fruits and Roots*, 22.

<sup>22</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 40.

<sup>23</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 37, 40.

<sup>24</sup> In addition to David Bosch's, *Fruits and Roots* see Willem Saayman's "Rebels and Prophets: Afrikaners Against the System," Charles Villa-Vicencio and John W. de Gruchy, eds., *Resistance and Hope: South African Essays in Honour of Beyers Naudé* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1985), 52-53.

<sup>25</sup> See Richard Elphick's commentary on the way this Act fuelled African resistance: Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 152-153.

environmental tragedy on the land, after the passing of the Native Land Act of 1913.<sup>26</sup> Sol Plaatje's prophetic voice lamented all of these degradations without the solidarity of anyone in SCA, and went unheeded by church, government or Empire.<sup>27</sup>

SCA's second critical moment of transition came in 1930. The "Native" branch at the South African Native College of Fort Hare hosted an open Inter-University Conference. Eighty white delegates attended out of a total of 275.<sup>28</sup> This was the fruit of three previous smaller conferences.<sup>29</sup> Black SCA members' motivations in these events were to advance *gelykstelling* in SCA and they were encouraged in this by British-born Oswin Bull, Travelling Secretary for the English Medium Work in the Cape and Natal from 1908, whose visits to SCA's first "Native" branch at Lovedale Mission School, and to other Eastern Cape Province branches commenced after 1912.<sup>30</sup> From 1922, Bull and the black American missionary Max Yergan, General Secretary of SCA's "Native Division" and supported by the U.S. Negro YMCA and WSCF, actively supported SCA's black leaders so that numbers of branches and SCA membership in the Eastern Cape grew exponentially.<sup>31</sup> Thus, Fort Hare's joint conference of 1930 'to discuss the fundamental truths of the Christian religion and its social implications,' was a culmination of Yergan and Bull's diplomacy and the support of Rev B.B. Keet, Chairman of the SCA executive.<sup>32</sup>

Discussion at this conference would have exhibited the new confidence among black mission school graduates, now also graduates of the Native College of Fort Hare - SCA members who were schooled during the decade of work strikes, sports boycotts, incidents of arson and "riots" in mission schools during the 1920s, such as those of 1920 and 1924 at Lovedale.<sup>33</sup> This decade of growing black opposition to missionary coercion in English-speaking and Dutch Reformed settings had been exacerbated by Hertzog's "Colour Bar" Act of 1926, introducing white job reservation onto the mines, and by his "Native Bills" which ended the black franchise in the Cape Province.<sup>34</sup> For these reasons, deliberations at

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<sup>26</sup> As mentioned in Chapter One, recent scholarship investigating the social, political and environmental impact of the 1913 Land Act was presented in the recent centenary conference: "Land Divided: Land and South African Society in 2013 in Comparative Perspective," <http://www.landdivided2013.org.za/>, accessed: 30 November 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Brian Willan's *Sol Plaatje: A Biography* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), 174-204, reconstructs Plaatje's fruitless years of advocacy in Britain during the First World War.

<sup>28</sup> Lehtonen, Risto, *Story of a Storm: The Ecumenical Student Movement in the Turmoil of Revolution* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 234. An interesting difference in figures in the secondary literature is Gerdrie van der Merwe's 300 *afgevaardigdes [...] warvan meer as die helfte blankes was:* Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 51. My experience of South Africa's history of skewed statistics makes me choose Lehtonen's exact figures, rather than van der Merwe's estimates which inflate the ratio of white delegates. It has not been possible for me to access archival sources to verify numbers of participants at Fort Hare in 1930.

<sup>29</sup> See Harold Le Roux, "A Historical Critical Analysis of Scripture Union: Opportunities for Mission in the Contemporary South African Situation" (Masters Dissertation: University of Cape Town, 1987).

<sup>30</sup> Clifford P. Dent, "The Bantu SCA," in F.J. Liebenberg, ed., *For Christ and Youth: SCA 1896 - 1946* (Half-Centenary Commemorative Brochure (Bill Houston Archive), 22.

<sup>31</sup> By 1946 there were 65 branches with 3000 members. See Clifford P. Dent, "The Bantu SCA," 23.

<sup>32</sup> Harold Le Roux, "A Historical Critical Analysis ...," 13 and Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 50-51.

<sup>33</sup> For background to the student protests in the mission schools, see Graham A. Duncan's *Lovedale: Coercive Agency* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 2003), 302-353.

<sup>34</sup> Opposition by Sol Plaatje and Prof D.D.T Jabavu of Fort Hare during the 1920s to the coercive culture in mission schools was an early precursor to Black Theology later in the twentieth century. See Richard Elphick, "Missions and Afrikaner

the 1930 Fort Hare conference would have been marked by controversial debate and would have been shaped by the growing influence of the “social gospel.”<sup>35</sup>

A vocal influence on proceedings at the Fort Hare Conference were contributions by J.T. Jabavu and his father D.D.T. Jabavu, James Moroka and Z.K. Matthews, who, with the exception of D.D.T. Jabavu, saw no contradiction between their Christian discipleship, their SCA membership, and the political struggle for racial equality.<sup>36</sup> The fact that white conference delegates voted in favour of sharing eating and dormitory facilities at Fort Hare with their “native” colleagues, thus contravening the Nationalist Party colour bar regulations after 1924, caused such a stir in NGK circles that Barend Keet was forced to publically justify white SCA students’ participation at the conference:

In the past [...] conferences between whites and natives were organized with the full blessing of the Dutch Reformed Church. Men like Yergan Aggrey addressed large white audiences, to present the point of view of natives, and the Fort Hare Conference was called for the same purpose. White students were guests of the natives and reciprocated by sleeping and eating under the same roof. Everything was done with the predetermined aim of making the conference a success, and the natives were also fully aware of this.<sup>37</sup>

Risto Lehtonen holds that it was because this conference brought the tough social issue of racial equality out into the open in SCA discourse for the first time, that so many Christians who were bent on segregation of South African society reacted so strongly.<sup>38</sup> Within ten years of the Fort Hare joint conference, SCA’s increasingly racially and linguistically separated “Divisions” had formed, but had not yet been constitutionally segregated, and any joint conference mealtimes that might have happened were increasingly taken in the open air, to avoid contravening separate eating facilities’ regulations on the South African statute books.<sup>39</sup> Continued white resistance to black *gelykstelling*, in the interracial conferences of SCA was to cause much more harm, and prophetic protest by white Christians to live out the gospel teaching of Christ’s unity, won for all people, when it arose in SCA, would be a rare exception to the rule.

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Nationalism: Soundings in the Prehistory of Apartheid,” in Brian Stanley ed., *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 58.

<sup>35</sup> An example of how the social gospel was transforming the thinking of some South African missionaries is the public about-turn of Lovedale’s principal, James Henderson in his espousal of the Victorian motivation for separation of the races, and after his public support in the *Christian Express* for the Land Act of 1913. At the sixth General Missionary Conference in 1925, Henderson addressed his increasing isolation by his black colleagues at Lovedale by publishing a critical exposé of the impact of the Land Act. See J. Henderson, “The Economic Life of the Natives of the Union of South Africa in Relation to their Evangelization,” General Missionary Conference VI, (1925). Cited by Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 111, 144 -145.

<sup>36</sup> Graham Duncan shows that the Jabavus, as successive editors of the Eastern Cape newspaper *Imvo Zabantsundu*, held to politically conservative views that were out of step with their black intellectual contemporaries, although they openly criticized white missionaries. *Coercive Agency*, 309 cf. “Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 48. Much later, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was to become a member of the Fort Hare branch of SCA. See Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 51.

<sup>37</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 51. My translation.

<sup>38</sup> Lehtonen, Risto, *Story of a Storm*, 234.

<sup>39</sup> See Rod Laburn to Rod Hewitson (Bill Houston Archive: 10 November 1991). “In those days [1940] SCA was starting to feel its way with mixed camps on the Reef where our Afrikaans friends condescended to having a few Blacks [sic] with us [...] provided they did not eat under the same roof as the rest of us!! It was okay to sleep in the same room and worship and praise together, but meals together had to be taken in the open!!” (Laburn’s emphasis.)

A third twentieth century crisis of transition which directly anticipated SCA's final partition in 1965, was the SCA General Meeting of 1951 at Winkelspruit, where it was decided to change the constitution to create five separate "Sections" in SCA for student ministry to homogenous language or ethnic groups:

The association is divided into independent sections for Afrikaans-speaking, English-speaking, Bantu, Coloured and Indian students, in addition to an independent department for mission activities. Each [...] under the direction of its own Executive Committee, [...] has [...] control over its own affairs [...] Executive Committees nominate their representatives onto the SCA Council, which determines the general policy of the Association.<sup>40</sup>

This constitutional change expressed a dualistic understanding of Christian witness, caused in part by the pastoral myopia within SCA since its inception. This dualism perpetuated the almost unanimous assumption of white SCA members, that work among black South Africans and cross-cultural missionary endeavours were separate compartments of SCA's primary task - ministry in *white* institutions.

Divergent ideological standpoints at the 1951 Winkelspruit Conference polarized discussions and the final vote. Moshe Rajuile, from the black Students' Christian Movement in the 1970s disagreed with the SCA minutes recording the 1951 Winkelspruit decision, as happening "by unanimous consent."<sup>41</sup> Rajuile noted that African opposition and debate interrupted proceedings before the meeting finally acceded to a majority of white delegates; Rajuile also showed that as a result of the vote, Rhodes, Fort Hare, the University of Natal and Wentworth Medical School branches disaffiliated from SCA in protest.<sup>42</sup>

Rajuile's reminder that heated debate strained the Winkelspruit meeting is also partly explained by the attitude of white SCA members, held since the 1890s, that associated liberal theology and the social gospel with a dilution of the gospel encouraged by "racial mixing".<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, tensions would have been heightened by D.F. Malan's surprise Nationalist Party victory in 1948 and the immediate promulgation into law of coercive apartheid policies like the "pass" system, "group areas," and "separate amenities" proposals. The participation of prominent past SCA Travelling Secretary and Eighth Chairman of the Association, Gustav Gerdner, a prominent DRC missiologist at Stellenbosch, in D.F. Malan's Sauer Commission of 1947, and in the Eiselen Commission of

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<sup>40</sup> My translation of the constitutional change quoted by Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 117.

<sup>41</sup> B4.1.3 Moshe Rajuile, *Summary of the History of the Students' Christian Association*, 1982, 2.

<sup>42</sup> B4.1.3 Moshe Rajuile, *Summary of the History of the SCA*, 2. The University of Natal and Rhodes branches were to re-affiliate by 1965. Mick Andrew, English Medium Work Travelling in the mid-1960s, noted that on the other side of the debate, Heidelberg Training College disaffiliated from SCA on account of the mixed Intervarsities' conferences, and that the University of the Orange Free State threatened to do the same if interracial events continued in SCA: Mick Andrew, "Historical Foundations," *The South African Outlook* (July, 1967): 103.

<sup>43</sup> As early as William Murray in the late nineteenth century, this pejorative association about European theology permeated SCA. Commenting on why mission is more important than racially mixed worship, William Murray said: "Some country people who would not want to sit with a Coloured at Holy Communion often took more trouble to impart religious principles to that Coloured than most in other congregations who were *liberal enough to sit with them*, but seldom religious enough to tell their servants about the gospel." Emphasis added. Richard Elphick, *The Equality of All Believers*, 44.

1949, to write the Nationalist Party's "colour policy," would also have encouraged phobias about racial integration among many prominent Afrikaners participating at Winkelspruit.<sup>44</sup>

Thus SCA's early twentieth century history can be characterised at best by a wilful blindness and muteness on the part of white members in the Association to increasing racial discrimination and state oppression of black South Africans, and at worst by outright endorsement and promotion of the Nationalist Party's ideology of segregation. Before turning to events around SCA's EGM of 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965, a second historical parting of company which decisively influenced the theology and spirituality received and practised in SCA, particularly in its English Medium Work, needs to be introduced - the twentieth century "ecumenical-evangelical" conflict.

### **The Evangelical-Ecumenical "Schism"<sup>45</sup>**

Acrimonious divisions fractured English-speaking Protestantism in South Africa for the first time in the evangelical and High Church conflict that resulted from the Oxford (Tractarian) Movement of 1833.<sup>46</sup> Strong evangelical reaction to this Anglo-Catholic movement erupted in South Africa in controversies between the newly arrived first Bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray, who was an ardent Tractarian, and two of his equally ardent evangelical priests, in 1848, and in time spiralled into pitted arguments about theological liberalism and heated financial litigation.<sup>47</sup> Excommunications, expropriations of properties, charges of heresy, appeals to the Crown, two constitution writing processes between Anglicans who were opposed to each other, and tens of thousands of pounds spent in legal fees and penalties, characterised pitched battles in this theatre of conflict, lasting for over a century, until in 1955, when the division in the Anglican Communion was finally accepted, the existence of the separate Church of England in South Africa (CESA) was tacitly but not officially recognised by the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>48</sup> A markedly similar conflict unfolded simultaneously in the DRC, including high profile heresy trials, dividing the

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<sup>44</sup> Gustav B.A. Gerdner, the son of a German Missionary and professor of Missions at the Stellenbosch Seminary sat on both commissions with primary responsibility for developing the Nationalist Party's "missions policy," its response to *gelykstelling* in education at missionary schools in South Africa. Werner W. M. Eiselen, also the son of a Berlin Missionary, was one of the ideological architects of the policy of cultural separation of the races in South Africa. See Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 236-237, 281-283.

<sup>45</sup> "Ecumenical" is a label that became popular in South African in the second half of the twentieth century, to denote a "breadth of Christian orthodoxy," and was used synonymously with terms like "mainline" or "liberal" churches. "Ecumenical" now has wide coinage in South African theology, especially since John de Gruchy's *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, and his related theological historiography. I use the term with reservations in this monograph, only to denote "breadth of Christian orthodoxy". My reservations are for two reasons. First, because many evangelicals, as will be seen below, used "ecumenical" as a pejorative label for Christians "other" than evangelical, with negative consequences for SCA's model of missionary practice. And conversely, because many Christians in South African mainline churches may understand the term "ecumenical" to be meaningless, derogatory, or to connote a diminishment of their Christian identity.

<sup>46</sup> David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989), 96ff.

<sup>47</sup> For an introduction from the reformed Anglican perspective see Anthony Ive, *A Candle Burns in Africa: The History of the Church of England in South Africa* (Gillits: CESA, 1992).

<sup>48</sup> Anthony Ive, *A Candle Burns*, 132. Today the denomination is known as the Reformed Evangelical Anglican Church of South Africa, or REACH-SA. See [www.reachsa.org.za](http://www.reachsa.org.za).

denomination into three separate denominations.<sup>49</sup> These related century long histories of theological schism mirror the wider international conflict which engulfed Protestantism in Europe and North America, as advocates of “higher biblical criticism” did battle with those who defended the foundations of Protestant belief - the authority and inerrancy of Scripture, the divinity of Christ and the priority of Christ’s atonement.<sup>50</sup>

This parting of ways between evangelicals and broader Protestantism in the parachurch student world of the WSCF had its beginnings in the Student Christian Movement and its Student Volunteer Movement in Britain, which, we shall see, was to be consequential for SCA. John Mott’s ecumenical mindset at the turn of the twentieth century welcomed aspects of liberal criticism of the Bible.<sup>51</sup> His theological breadth is part of what qualified him to host the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, and eventually, to found the World Council of Churches (WCC), however in 1903 his openness to “the new biblical criticism” elicited tensions as older SVM founders, among them Ruth Rouse and G.T. Manley, called on Mott to “recapture the spirit of the time when increase of Bible Study, Prayer, Personal Work and full consecration were our sole objectives.”<sup>52</sup>

At the Cambridge Intercollegiate Christian Union (CICCU) and at medical schools in London the crucial issues were vigorously debated by students and lecturers: the authority of Scripture, the divinity of Jesus Christ, and the sufficiency of atonement through Christ’s death and resurrection.<sup>53</sup> This debate was mirrored in a constitutional wrangle at Cambridge between older evangelical dons and the new generation of liberal theologians who wanted to establish a less doctrinally restricted Christian Union alongside the evangelical CICCU.<sup>54</sup> Led by CICCU Vice-President, G. Fred Morris, CICCU formally broke ties with Britain’s SCM, just two years after a John Mott Mission at Cambridge in 1908.<sup>55</sup> It will be shown in what follows that Morris’ move from Cambridge to Cape Town, as Bishop of CESA from 1955, would inspire influential SCA Council members to adopt the schismatic, contending evangelicalism of the Reformed group at Cambridge.

Lehtonen and Lowman’s respective ecumenical and evangelical studies share a significant point of agreement - the steady erosion of WSCF’s initial commitment to Bible study and devotional prayer among students led to a dramatic decline in SVM and WSCF membership from 1920, and, the appearance of the first evangelical student movements outside of the WSCF, like the Norges Kristelige Studentlag in Norway in 1923, and Britain’s Inter-Varsity

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<sup>49</sup> One pertinent example of the DRC controversy for SCA was the heresy trial of Johannes du Plessis, Andrew Murray’s friend and biographer. See Richard Elphick, *Equality of All Believers*, 134, 161-162.

<sup>50</sup> See Richard Quebedeaux, *The Young Evangelicals* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 5-17. For an introduction to North American developments in this schism see David Bebbington, “Walking Apart: Conservative and Liberal Evangelicals in the Early Twentieth Century,” in his *Evangelicalism in Britain ...*, 181-228.

<sup>51</sup> Tislington Tatlow, *The Story of the Student Christian Movement* (London: SCM, 1933), 272.

<sup>52</sup> Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power: A History of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students* (Leicester: IVP, 1983), 35.

<sup>53</sup> Douglas Johnson, *Contending for the Faith ...*, 69-78. See also Tislington Tatlow, *The Story of the Students’ Christian Movement* (London: SCM, 1933), 272.

<sup>54</sup> Johnson, *Contending for the Faith ...*, 73.

<sup>55</sup> Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 36. Morris was elected President of CICCU immediately after secession with SCM.



Fellowship of Evangelical Unions in 1928.<sup>56</sup> By the late 1930s the WSCF was in free fall with plummeting membership.<sup>57</sup>

Whereas evangelicalism in North America would only distance itself from the literal Biblicism of fundamentalism at mid-century, in Britain, the founding of Tyndale House in Cambridge in 1944, and the publication of its first evangelical Bible commentaries and monographs was a significant early sign of maturation in the evangelical movement, bringing reason and scholarly respect into a conflict which up until now had been dominated on the evangelical side, by flamboyant personalities.<sup>58</sup>

Howard Guinness and Stacey Woods, now pioneering the Canadian, Antipodean and United States evangelical student movements, were among these strong characters, aspiring to the earlier example of “missionary statesmen” like John Mott and E.B. Myers.<sup>59</sup> By 1939, when 1000 evangelical students from 33 nations, including South Africa, met in Cambridge, the idea of IFES was already well conceived.<sup>60</sup> After eight more years IFES was born in Boston in 1947 with Martyn Lloyd-Jones as its first Chairman, Ole Hallesby of Norway as President, and Stacey Woods as General Secretary.<sup>61</sup> During the 1950s and 60s the separation between conservative evangelical and liberal ecumenical Christians worldwide continued, with the establishment of the World Council of Churches and in reaction to this, by the World Evangelical Alliance.<sup>62</sup>

The conflict and moral compromise that punctuated the international and local battles fought through this half-century of Protestant schisms, left battle scars. Whether it required job resignations on the evangelical side, as with Robert Wilder and Jesse Wilson, from the Student Volunteer Movement,<sup>63</sup> or whether it resulted from broken relationships, on the ecumenical side, as with the Finnish SCM, who experienced “excommunication [...] without prior consultation” in 1948,<sup>64</sup> or however else, poorly understood and managed

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<sup>56</sup> See Lehtonen, *Story of a Storm*, 15-20, Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 41-51.

<sup>57</sup> Lehtonen notes that by 1938 only twenty-five Volunteers enrolled with SVM compared to the 2783 of 1920. Similarly only 465 attended SVMs 1938 convention compared to 6890 in 1920. His conclusion is that the decline in membership of this mission arm of the WSCF was on account of the “enormously tricky waters of ecumenical unification.” Lehtonen, *Story of a Storm*, 43.

<sup>58</sup> See Derek Tidball, “Post-war Evangelical Theology: a Generational Perspective,” *Evangelical Quarterly*, 1, 2 (2009): 45-60 and Quebedeaux, *The Young Evangelicals*, 18-37.

<sup>59</sup> See for example, C. Stacey Woods, *Some Ways of God: the Personal Journey of an International Pioneer* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1975).

<sup>60</sup> Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 70-71.

<sup>61</sup> Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 79-81.

<sup>62</sup> A nuanced treatment of this process is not possible here, so this statement may appear to be a sweeping generalization - especially in view of Britain and America’s unique and different responses to ecumenism. A rigorous analysis of the gradual distancing between evangelicals and ecumenicals internationally is provided in David Bebbington’s “Evangelicalism in its Settings: The British and American Movements Since 1940,” Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond, 1700 – 1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 365ff. For a searching analysis of international evangelical separation from the ecumenical movement and the impact of liberal theology and Marxism on the WSCF, see Risto Lehtonen’s *Story of a Storm*, 11-26.

<sup>63</sup> Their focal point in this longstanding conflict was the decline in “passion for souls,” and that “destructive criticism [...] has led many students to doubt the trustworthiness of the sacred scriptures.” They also lamented SVM leaders’ lack of time for prayer on grounds that ‘we cannot be mystics in the modern age.’ Pete Lowman, op. cit., 42.

<sup>64</sup> Risto Lehtonen, *Story of a Storm*, 21.

conflict became like any theatre of warfare - psychologically and morally wounding.<sup>65</sup> What is most significant in this schism for this study, is the degree to which SCA office bearers' allegiance to Jesus Christ and the ethics of God's Kingdom determined their theological, cultural or interpersonal allegiances, and how tensions between these two poles of allegiance led either to a deepening of compassion, godliness and mutual understanding, or to intractable self-groundedness, polarization and many partings of ways.

### **Coercion, Compromise and Confrontation: 1951-1964**

After 1951, the first tentative examples of evangelical prophetic protest against D.F. Malan's grand apartheid legislation occurred - dismantling of mission education institutions, state control of university entrance policies, inferior syllabuses in black schools, and the beginning of a three decade long process of forced removals which would include the destruction of Sophiatown, District Six, Cato Manor, South End, Marabastad, and thousands of other racially integrated suburbs or black freehold rural communities.<sup>66</sup> Albert Luthuli's call to the Defiance Campaign is the first post-war example of prophetic evangelical confrontation and resistance to black oppression, and he encouraged Anglican priest Trevor Huddleston and Bishop Ambrose Reeves of Johannesburg to initiate similar opposition, for which they were later deported.<sup>67</sup> The English-speaking Churches were conspicuously silent during the Defiance Campaign, and, with the exception of Trevor Huddleston and a few other clerics, there was no Church presence at the Congress of the People in Kliptown in June 1955.<sup>68</sup>

A first instance of mild Afrikaner opposition to apartheid took place when B.B. Keet, past SCA Chairman for 46 years, shocked the Dutch Reformed Churches' Federal Missions Council of 1953, and denounced apartheid as unbiblical.<sup>69</sup> He followed his gentlemanly defiance with his critical essay, "Whither South Africa?"<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Howard Guinness, IFES' pioneer in Canada, Australia and New Zealand reflected with hindsight: "My complete belief in God's guidance, which made the enterprise possible, also tended to preclude the possibility of seeing that some of my judgements might be wrong." He felt he had been "brash and self-opinionated [... ] But God knew this and He chose me. He was evidently planning that all the glory should be ascribed to the only wise God and not to fallible man." See Pete Lowman, *Day of His Power*, 65.

<sup>66</sup> For insight into the first effects of Vorster's announcement about the forced removals in District Six, see Beyers Naudé, "Skadu Oor Distrik Ses," *Pro Veritate*, IV, no. 11 (March 1966): 1-3. An autobiographical mirror reflecting the pervasive social effects of grand apartheid is Bloke Modisane's *Blame me on History* (Johannesburg: A.D. Donker, 1986).

<sup>67</sup> Black evangelicalism saw no distinction between political activism and piety. This essential trait of Black Theology will be explored further in Chapter Four. For now, it need be accepted that Luthuli's faith in Christ and his appeals to Scripture characterise him as having evangelical faith. For more on Huddleston and Reeves' stories, see Peter Walshe, *Prophetic Christianity*, 45-47.

<sup>68</sup> John de Gruchy, "Grappling with a Colonial Heritage: The English-speaking Churches Under Imperialism and Apartheid," in Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social & Cultural History* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1997), 161.

<sup>69</sup> John de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa, 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2011), 56. On the promulgation of the doctrine of apartheid at the Volkskongress of 1944 by Jakob Daniël du Toit, better known as Totius, see Richard Elphick, *The Equality of Believers*, 254-255.

<sup>70</sup> John de Gruchy, *Church Struggle*, 56.

By 1958 tensions in South Africa mounted as the non-cooperation of a handful of DRC evangelicals including a past SCA branch chairman, Beyers Naudé, elicited stronger reactions from those vesting themselves with the regime.<sup>71</sup> During a meeting of 300 students and academics of the Pretoria Political Study Group, which J.H.P. Serfontein invited Luthuli to address, militant students stormed the stage, assaulted Luthuli and knocked him to the ground, refusing “in the name of Afrikanerdom” admittance to a “Kaffir.” Police had to restore order and Serfontein recorded what followed:

Quiet, half shy, soft-spoken and no great orator, he held the audience in his hands. Almost apologetically explaining black demands and his vision of a non-racial South Africa, and sticking close to his text written in a school exercise book, he emphasised the Christian principle of justice and neighbourly love, with whites not to be driven into the sea. For the first time Afrikaans Pretoria saw a man totally different from the ogre usually presented in the Government press. His recipe was non-violence and peaceful negotiations.<sup>72</sup>

Luthuli cut a wholly different shape to the ebullient international “missionary statesmen” of Britain and North America, whom this monograph associates with a Constantinian or Christendom model of mission. Luthuli’s quiet example of prophetic witness would be emulated by very few white evangelical leaders - among them two gentle and erudite Afrikaners.

In 1959 the *Hervormde Gereformeerde* minister, Albert Geysler, whose denominational leaders were attempting to deregister him on trumped up charges of heresy, joined up with Naudé of the DRC and other Afrikaner evangelicals, to publish their *Delayed Action* which called the Afrikaans Reformed churches to return to the gospel message of Christ and his Word, the only hope for racial unity.<sup>73</sup> After the Sharpeville Massacre Luthuli again in his Defiance Campaign, still unaccompanied by white Christian leaders, voiced the struggle of the voiceless majority. Luthuli modelled evangelical prophetic spirituality by questioning white Christians’ true *allegiance* and inviting them to break their tacit support for apartheid’s violence to turn the tide of black communities *away* from violence:

The Churches have simply submitted to the secular state for far too long; some have even supported apartheid. While it is not too late for white Christians to look at the Gospels and redefine their allegiance, I warn those who care for Christianity, who care to go to all the world and preach the Gospel, that in South Africa the opportunity is three hundred years old. It will not last forever. The time is running out.<sup>74</sup>

Verwoerd’s response to Sharpeville was to declare a state of emergency and to ban Luthuli and all other ANC and PAC leaders, on 8 April 1960.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Naudé served as President of the Pretoria University branch of SCA in 1950. Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 106.

<sup>72</sup> Quoted by Peter Walshe, *Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995), 22.

<sup>73</sup> See W. Dreyer “In Pursuit of Justice (1) Albert Geysler’s Story as Told by the Media,” Conference Paper delivered at the Church History Society of South Africa (Potchefstroom: 2015), esp. 6-9 cf. Peter Walshe, *Prophetic Christianity*, 23.

<sup>74</sup> Albert Luthuli, *Let My People Go* (London: Collins, 1962), 119.

<sup>75</sup> T.R. H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History, 2nd Edition* (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1977), 286-287.

The two years after Sharpeville were strained for the white churches in South Africa, especially in the Dutch Reformed Churches. A consultation in December 1960 at the Cottesloe residence of Wits University in Johannesburg brought together ten representatives from each South African member church of the WCC, to respond to political and social developments in South Africa since Sharpeville; the conference resulted in a mildly worded declaration denouncing the Mixed Marriages Act, the effects of migrant labour, and affirming the right to the franchise in South Africa for “Coloured” people.<sup>76</sup> Within eighteen months of Cottesloe reaction was so strong that subsequent DRC Churches’ synods required Afrikaner Cottesloe delegates to publically retract as signatories, and the DRC withdrew from the WCC.<sup>77</sup> Controversy ensuing from Cottesloe was stirred up by the Broederbond against B.B. Keet, Albert Geysers and Naudé, and brought about Naudé’s decision in 1962 to resign from the Broederbond and launch the bilingual magazine *Pro Veritate*, and the Christian Institute, with their programmes to promote biblical justice, social change and humanitarian assistance to black church leaders.<sup>78</sup> In the English-speaking churches controversy about Cottesloe was no less contentious. One of the clerics who vocally championed Cottesloe’s ideals was Dr Calvin Cook, a Presbyterian Church historian at Rhodes, Chairman of the English-speaking Division of SCA, and a friend of Naudé, who strongly supported the Christian Institute.<sup>79</sup>

Mounting pressure from the DRC (and the Broederbond) for SCA to cede its Afrikaans Section to the control of the DRC’s youth department effected new stresses in the Association, and caused personal tension between the Revds Johan Bell and Mike Smuts as Associate General Secretaries.<sup>80</sup> In the “Coloured Section”, travelling secretary Julian Sonn and students were losing patience with the attitudes of white office bearers in Stellenbosch.<sup>81</sup> In the English Medium Work students at UCT were unhappy about Stellenbosch Headquarters’ notification that the Association magazine, *Die Wekroep*, would be produced from now on *only in Afrikaans*.<sup>82</sup> The English Medium Work treasurer, Rod Laburn, was concerned about its poor financial position, and tensions between Reformed evangelical leaders and students at Rhodes were coming to the boil.<sup>83</sup> In the old “Native

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<sup>76</sup> Robert Vosloo, "The Dutch Reformed Church, Beyers Naudé and the Ghost of Cottesloe." A Paper read at The Church History Society of Southern Africa Conference, at the University of Pretoria, 16 – 18 August, 2010, 1.

<sup>77</sup> John de Gruchy, *Church Struggle*, 66. Also see Calvin Cook’s regrets about the forsaken unity that was temporarily enjoyed at Cottesloe, in his “Pursuing Dead Dogs and Fleas: An Opinion on the Christian Institute,” *Pro Veritate*, V, 2 (15 June 1966): 7-10.

<sup>78</sup> John de Gruchy, *Church Struggle*, 102. For more on Naudé’s motivation to educate the churches, see Philippe Denis, "The Journal of Theology for Southern Africa and the Emergence of Contextual Theology in South Africa," *JTSA*, no. 146 (July 2013): 6-22 and Robert Vosloo, “Naudé and the Ghost of Cottesloe,” 3-5.

<sup>79</sup> See Calvin Cook, “Pursuing Dead Dogs ...,” 7-10. Cook’s regular articles in *Pro Veritate* began to appear from late 1965. A worthwhile subject for future study might be to ascertain whether Cook became disheartened with evangelicals in SCA after 1965, and whether this caused his growing support for the Christian Institute.

<sup>80</sup> Mike Smuts was open about this tension. See Gerdrie van de Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 115 cf. 68-69. Analysis of the Broederbond influences on the DRC is presented by J.H.P. Serfontein’s *Brotherhood of Power: An Exposé of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond* (London: Rex Collings, 1978).

<sup>81</sup> B 4.1.3, Letter (5 May 1961).

<sup>82</sup> B 4.1.3, Universities’ Committee at Stellenbosch HQ to John Gibbon (8 February 1960).

<sup>83</sup> B 4.1.3, Rod Laburn to Norton Parry (22 April, 1960).

section”, which, significantly, Stellenbosch Headquarters now called the “Bantu Section”,<sup>84</sup> the daily stress of external apartheid injustices was made harder to bear inside the Association, after SCA effected without reservations, new racially determined salary scales for staff.<sup>85</sup>

To protest their marginalized position in SCA the “Bantu Section” moved its Central Committee to write a circular to Bell and Smuts and Chairmen of SCA’s five sections in February 1960, informing them of their recent resolution regarding the SCA constitution: “that the word Bantu [sic] be replaced throughout by African [...]”<sup>86</sup> They recommended a constitutional amendment to allow for “[...] avenues of contact between students of the various Sections.”<sup>87</sup> Black SCA members also civilly reminded SCA in this circular of its racially segregated *modus operandi*, and put the matter of closer union onto the agenda. Their initiative would more than ruffle a few feathers across the Association.

In July 1960, the “Bantu Section” Executive Committee at Thaba Nchu decided to “ask Council to reconsider, with a view to rescind the [1951] resolution of Winkelspruit, dividing the SCA into five racial groups, since we feel that some are prevented from coming to Christ through such a division in the Constitution.”<sup>88</sup> They moved that “an extraordinary meeting of all sections [...] be held to discuss the matter” and elected J. Masipa and John Summers to take this resolution to SCA’s forthcoming General Council at Winkelspruit in July 1961.<sup>89</sup> The unanimous goal of Black SCA members at Thaba Nchu was *toenadering* within SCA, which they wanted placed on the agenda for open discussion by the whole Association at Winkelspruit in 1961.<sup>90</sup>

By June of 1961 Stellenbosch Headquarters had sent no word as to whether their item would be on the agenda, so Summers wrote a confidential circular to Regional Chairmen of the “Bantu Section” informing them of two instances of misinformation from Stellenbosch, including an erroneous article in *Die Wekroep*, making it likely the “Bantu Section” motion for *toenadering* would not be on the agenda at Winkelspruit.<sup>91</sup> Summer’s circular expresses black members’ conviction that racially determined “Sections” in SCA contradicted the missional essence of the good news of Jesus Christ:

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<sup>84</sup> This change in nomenclature is evident in SCA’s half-century commemoration brochure produced in 1946, *For Christ and Youth*, 23.

<sup>85</sup> B4.1.3, Liebenberg to Cook (24 Sep. 1963). By July 1963 new salary scales had been set “as closely as possible to the teachers’ salary scales in force at the time [...] but still a good deal lower than the teachers’ scales...” So European Men: R2394 p.a., European Women: R1962 p.a., Non European Men: R1320 p.a. and Non European Women: R1160 p.a.

<sup>86</sup> B 4.1.3, Circular (February 1960).

<sup>87</sup> B 4.1.3, Circular (February 1960).

<sup>88</sup> B4.1.3, The resemblance of this statement to the “weakness of some” DRC Synod Resolution of 1857 is a significant irony.

<sup>89</sup> B 4.1.3, John Summers’ Confidential Memo to Bantu Section Council members (26 June 1961).

<sup>90</sup> *Teonadering* is the Afrikaans word for “rapprochement” which was coined in South African English during the “talks about talks” between the ANC and white political parties in the late 1980s and the CODESA negotiations after the release of Nelson Mandela. B 4.1.3, Summers’ Confidential Memo.

<sup>91</sup> B 4.1.3, Summers’ Confidential Memo.

[C]onsultation, in our view, has not taken place [...] for members of the Bantu Section to explain their difficulties in bringing people to Christ under the present divisions and equally [for] members of the other sections [...] explaining to members of the Bantu Section [...] their difficulties if the 1951 Winkelspruit resolution were rescinded. [...] We do not know what will happen at Winkelspruit but we are confident that God will guide our thinking and discussions. We hope that we have your prayers when we speak for the Section, and we hope that we have correctly interpreted your decision at Thaba Nchu, that without discussion, in which all concerned can take part, we will neither know the will of God nor be able to put it into effect. If we meet in fellowship with one accord to know His will, He will make it known to us.<sup>92</sup>

The “difficulties” of the Bantu Section “bringing people to Christ under the present divisions” is sobering evidence of how SCA’s slow accommodation of the apartheid heresy was hindering acceptance of the true gospel.<sup>93</sup> As it happened, the Bantu Section motion was side-lined at Winkelspruit; General Secretary F.J. Liebenberg was to take up the “Bantu Section” proposal for an “Extraordinary General Meeting” of SCA with the “Afrikaans Section” Executive in 1963, but to motivate for the very opposite goal, of “working out” with the other Sections how each might go their separate ways.<sup>94</sup>

In January 1962 Ds W. Conradie sent cyclostatted copies of fundraising letters to Calvin Cook of the English Section, who was motivating SCA students to attend WSCF’s All Africa Youth Assembly in Nairobi in December that year. Conradie’s letter illustrates the extent to which South Africa’s culture of exclusion now shaped Stellenbosch Headquarters’ understanding of SCA’s *modus operandi*:

Number of individual branches: 687 (415 Afrikaans-speaking, 75 English-speaking, 145 African, 47 Coloured, 5 Indian and Chinese). The total membership of the Association is 7200 of which number 1200 are non-whites. The governing body (Council) of the Association consists of 27 members, including four non-whites. The chairman is Prof JJ Müller of Stellenbosch. The Headquarters in Stellenbosch has a field staff [sic] of 17 including three non-whites. The work is financed by direct contributions from its members, contributions from various churches, and contributions from old members and friends of the Association.<sup>95</sup>

Four months before representatives from all SCA Sections travelled to WSCF’s Nairobi Youth Assembly, controversy arose at Rhodes University after a Reformed conference, which had been addressed by Michael Green and Dick Lucas.<sup>96</sup> A small group of students encouraged by Reformed lecturers, Johan Roos and Marjorie Scott, broke ties with SCA and registered the branch as a separate student association in August 1962 - the Rhodes’ Evangelical Christian Union (ECU).<sup>97</sup> They required office bearers to sign an evangelical basis of faith document, provoking instability and discord in one of SCA’s most ecumenical

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<sup>92</sup> B4.1.3, Summers’ Confidential Memo.

<sup>93</sup> See David Bosch, *Nothing But a Heresy* in John de Gruchy and Charles Villa-Vicencio, eds., *Apartheid is a Heresy* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1983).

<sup>94</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 118.

<sup>95</sup> B4.1.3, W.S. Conradie to Calvin Cook (26 March, 1960).

<sup>96</sup> B4.1.3, Marjorie Scott, “The Role of the Rhodes Evangelical Christian Union and the South African Fellowship of Evangelical Students in the Struggle to Establish an Evangelical Students’ Christian Association in South Africa: 1962-1968” Cyclostatted circular (1970),\* 1.

<sup>97</sup> B4.1.3, Marjorie Scott, “The Role of the Rhodes Evangelical Christian Union ...,” 2.

branches.<sup>98</sup> The ECU breakaway was supported by Jeffree James of the Bible Institute in Cape Town, Stephen Bradley, the Bishop of CESA, and SCA members like Daniel G. Mills, Jack Allen, Clive Tyler, Robin Wells, Murray Hofmeyr and Rod Hewitson, all of whom were SCA graduates and office bearers in CESA.<sup>99</sup> Bishop G.F.B. Morris of CESA, now living in South Africa, who was President of the Cambridge Intercollegiate Christian Union (CICCU) at the time of the historic break with SCM in 1910, also supported the ECU breakaway.<sup>100</sup> Interpersonal conflict at the heart of the Rhodes' schism led Rhodes' students Shirley Silverthorn and "Ruth" to describe what happened as "three weeks of awful bitterness," leading to a final acrimonious General Meeting, a split vote, and the final decision to divide the branch in one casting vote, all of which they said required them to "salvage the Christian witness on campus."<sup>101</sup>

Those sympathetic to the ECU breakaway shared the longstanding UCT graduate tradition of dissenting from SCA's affiliation with WSCF, dating back to SCA's earliest days, influenced by this group's longstanding ties with the strict Reformed grouping at the Cambridge Intercollegiate Christian Union (CICCU)<sup>102</sup> UCT had instituted an evangelical basis of faith to determine UCT's branch membership, similar to that of CICCU, without consulting Stellenbosch Headquarters, and D.G. Mills had encouraged UCT student chairmen to withhold their annual financial contribution to the English Medium Work, in protest against certain decisions, such as the English Medium Work decision to send the Universities' Travelling Secretary, Margaret Nash, to WSCF's India conference in 1952.<sup>103</sup> On the strength of this dissenting tradition in UCT's SCA branch, and close ties with Britain's Intersarsity Fellowship (IVF) and the North American Intersarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF), Scott and the Rhodes' ECU's sponsors contacted IFES General Secretary, Stacey Woods, over the heads of the English Medium Work Central Committee, and informed him of their plans to launch a "South African Fellowship of Evangelical Students" (SAFES) in the wake of the ECU breakaway. Woods and Scott thus began to discuss the appointment of an IFES-seconded worker from Britain to work in the Rhodes ECU, to pioneer SAFES.<sup>104</sup>

During the December 1962 WSCF Nairobi Conference, SCA's black representatives made use of this neutral international forum to bring to light the segregated structures of SCA. They also expressed the view that the Rhodes' breakaway and SCA's troubled relationship with

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<sup>98</sup> B4.1.3, Marjorie Scott, "The Role of the Rhodes Evangelical Christian Union..." and B4.1.3, Shirley Silverthorn to Sam Fehrsen (12 Aug. 1962).

<sup>99</sup> For example, Daniel Mills served on the CESA Synod throughout the 1940s, and as Registrar in 1949, Anthony Ive, *A Candle Burns ...*, 107, 109.

<sup>100</sup> Anthony Ive, *A Candle Burns ...*, 127-128.

<sup>101</sup> B4.1.3, Shirley Silverthorn to Sam Fehrsen (12 Aug. 1962) and "Ruth" to Sam Fehrsen (21 Aug. 1962).

<sup>102</sup> These ties originated with Donald Fraser and Andrew Murray at the founding of SCA.

<sup>103</sup> Bill Houston Archive: More than ten letters between a vitriolic D.G. Mills, a forbearing EMW Treasurer, Rod Laburn, and an exasperated Nash, thrash out the issues in this regard, during 1952, with no resolution for Mills, whose agenda was anything but hidden; he apparently resented Nash and SCA Chairman, Bill Burnett, just because they were Church of the Province Anglicans.

<sup>104</sup> B4.1.3, Cyclostatted Document: "The Role of the Rhodes Evangelical Christian Union and the South African Fellowship of Evangelical Students in the Struggle to Establish and Evangelical Students Association in South Africa – 1962-1968", 4-5.

WSCF was the result of discrimination in SCA towards black members, and called for the “complete integration” of the Association; their desire was for *equality* throughout SCA, not least in the matters of salary scales and that the African Section was chaired by Dr J.A. van Wyk, appointed from Stellenbosch.<sup>105</sup> This first frank multiracial disagreement, on neutral ground, was more than likely decisive for the Afrikaans Section’s resolution, around March 1963, to press for SCA’s dissolution, a goal they concealed in an enigmatic circular from Stellenbosch to Section Executive Committees, calling for an Extraordinary General Meeting for “matters raised by the requesting parties” *ahead* of the next scheduled General Meeting of 1966.<sup>106</sup> In the months that followed Nairobi, Calvin Cook would stand almost alone in the English Section of SCA, in his empathy for the African Section’s desire for equality.

In April 1963 the Afrikaans Section’s Ds Johan Bell announced a “consultation” in Johannesburg for July 1963 that was to be a “spiritual conference.”<sup>107</sup> Bell’s circular could have been *the* pivotal moment of prophetic integrity in SCA’s twentieth century history because it announced the agenda for this Johannesburg conference to include: “A. The SCA, its method and aims ...,” and “B. The Cross of Christ as the solution to our problems - individual, social, and political (my emphasis).”<sup>108</sup> The Stellenbosch Executive’s third circular outlining a “preliminary programme” for the conference, omitted any mention of “the Cross of Christ as the solution to our problems...”<sup>109</sup> It was, during this “spiritual conference” in Johannesburg that Liebenberg first verbalized what the Afrikaans Section really wanted, but in the guise of a “Study Commission for a Federal Constitution”.<sup>110</sup> The African, English Medium and Coloured Sections immediately opposed this resolution and secured an agreement from Council to uphold “the unitary character of the movement and the desire to foster and seek greater contact between components of the movement.”<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, soon after Johannesburg, the Afrikaans Section unilaterally announced it was discussing not only the dissolution of the Association but *also* the sale of the Stellenbosch Headquarters! The latter decision was put to immediate effect.<sup>112</sup> A “Federal Study Commission,” which the other Sections had so vehemently opposed was already hard at work drafting four separate new constitutions for “daughter” movements it envisaged taking the place of SCA, after the forthcoming EGM.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> B4.1.3, “Paul” to Murray Hofmeyr (15 April 1963), cf. A1.15 Minutes of the EGM (12 January 1965).

<sup>106</sup> B4.1.3, G.J.V. Bell Circular (March 1963)\*.

<sup>107</sup> B4.1.3, G.J.V. Bell Circular (10 April 1963).

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 118.

<sup>111</sup> Calvin W. Cook, “The S.C.A. in Mid-1965,” *Pro Veritate* (15 August 1965): 9.

<sup>112</sup> Gerdrie van der Merwe, *Jesus is Koning*, 116.

<sup>113</sup> B4.1.3, Bell to Cook Re: SCA Matters (2 December 1964).



## Prophetic Protest Versus Towing the Line

Once the shock of the real purpose behind Johannesburg's "spiritual conference" had subsided, Calvin Cook commenced with correspondence in an attempt to reverse the Johannesburg decision to move towards "Federation". He first wrote to Johan Bell emphasizing the mortal operational fragility of the African and English Sections:

As your press memorandum points out, the structure of the Afrikaans section of the SCA is buttressed at every level by members and leaders of the N.G. Kerk in good standing. Herein lies its massive strength. But as you well realize, herein lies its most difficult problem. How can you convince any other church group that the SCA is anything but an N.G. Kerk organization? [...] If the English and African sections often appear to be in coalition against the others, I am increasingly beginning to feel that the reason lies here. We have been forced to create an entirely new structure and none of us has the means to do this effectively. Our sections are virtually our travelling secretaries. If these were to disappear so would most of the work [... ]<sup>114</sup>

Cook's practical concerns are uppermost in this letter, yet he equally clearly communicates his discernment of the coercive spirit, the ultimatum implicit in the Afrikaans Section's resolution to dissolve. More important still is Cook's prior, deeper concern, for building an interdenominational student ministry free of any interference from denominations. In words of direct challenge to Johan Bell, Cook communicated the compromise he believed to underlie the Afrikaans Section's capitulation to the DRC.

A more direct challenge yet to Afrikaans leaders came in a letter from Valdo Galland and Phillip Potter, the General Secretary and Chairman of the WSCF, in July 1964, making a final request for SCA's response to WSCF regarding the "Thessaloniki Policy Statement on Race." They informed Bell that they had encouraged all WSCF affiliates to call "for universal, total and swift economic sanctions [...] and the withdrawal of all trade with that country," in solidarity with South Africans "working for the elimination of racial injustices."<sup>115</sup> The Stellenbosch Executive's response was strong, swift and final:

[Regarding affiliation with WSCF] The Executive [...] wishes to state that it does not see its way open to keep an Association such as the SCA of South Africa with its long and worthy record of Christian work in S.A., affiliated to a body whose character and policy completely changed in recent years (from an ecumenical body to a political group) [...] the WSCF certainly overstepped its task [...] and instead of an ecumenical body became a super structure, a structure which is now busy enforcing the will of the majority onto the minority.<sup>116</sup>

News of SCA's disaffiliation with WSCF reached SCA's Sectional Chairmen in a bombshell circular from Johan Bell.<sup>117</sup> Calvin Cook, hoping for some turn in the tide, decided on a second line of action to effect a retreat from dissolution, this time with Fred Liebenberg, whom he asked "most earnestly [...] to reconsider this whole decision [... ]":

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<sup>114</sup> B4.1.3, Cook to Bell (24 April 1964).

<sup>115</sup> B4.1.3, Potter-Galland Circular (July 1964).

<sup>116</sup> B4.1.3, Bell to Valdo Galland (1 September 1964).

<sup>117</sup> B4.1.3, Bell to All Members of Council (12 September 1964).

I prophesy that if we break at this point and for these reasons, then we shall have done [...] the universities and their students a disservice [...] we should have to face the terrible fact that the salt had lost its savour[...]

The Afrikaans speaking section needs to show the DRC that there is nothing to fear from inter-denominational and inter-racial contact. We must show our churches that there is nothing to fear from association with Afrikaans Christians. We both face the problem of those who do not believe the Spirit is or can be at work in others. But this is paranoia not Christianity. Completely separate development may be the best politicians can manage but it is surely not the best Christians can do? Does it not destroy the whole basis of our faith in the reconciling death of Christ? And if we do not build on this what other foundation can there be?<sup>118</sup>

In a similar vein to Albert Luthuli, Barend Keet, Albert Geysers or Beyers Naudé, Cook was questioning SCA's leadership about their true *allegiance*, keeping the focus of his message on the racial reconciliation made possible through the Cross of Christ. Determined, to get the leadership of SCA to turn back from partition, Cook wrote one last appeal to Johan Bell's conscience before the fast approaching Extraordinary meeting of January 1965, this time questioning due process and the adequacy of prior consultation; Bell immediately rebutted with bureaucratic technicality:

For almost a year the Study Commission, representing all Sections of the S.C.A. [...] gave its full attention to every possible aspect of the whole matter. [...] In the end a full report was issued consisting of an evaluation of the whole position and a proposal to Council and to the General Meeting. This report was sent to all Central Committees [...] (June 1964) to be available at all meetings [...]<sup>119</sup>

SCA Chairman, Ds F.J. Liebenberg, opened the EGM in Bloemfontein, after the singing of the SCA Song and a reading and a prayer from Calvin Cook, with a reflection from Revelation 3:8-10 about the faithful being invited to walk through God's "open door".<sup>120</sup>

For 68 years God has enabled the Association to continue its work and has blessed and crowned it with success amidst trials, tribulations and uncertainties. Should the Association during the course of this meeting be placed on a new road and find itself before an open door, we may still be certain of that victory which He grants to those working in His strength and to the honour and glory of this name.<sup>121</sup>

With hindsight about what was about to occur, and knowing how much the Afrikaans Section believed that the outcome of 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965 was a *fait accompli*, it would not be unreasonable to conclude from Liebenberg's sentiments recorded in the minutes, that he assumed himself and those who had painstakingly designed the agenda and the instruments for the proceedings of the forthcoming meeting, to be among those of Revelation 3:8, "delivered" by God from temptation and about to walk through God's "open door".<sup>122</sup> However, the discipline of historical inquiry into the eschatological question of this study must intervene, to ask what might have happened after Liebenberg's opening

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<sup>118</sup> B4.1.3, Cook to Liebenberg (14 October 1964).

<sup>119</sup> B4.1.3, Bell to Cook Re: SCA Matters (2 December 1964).

<sup>120</sup> This reconstruction of events in Bloemfontein is an interpretation of the minutes of the meeting. My on-going research, drawing on interviews and memory work of people who were present will hopefully shed further light on discussion and debate, in due course. See A1.15 EGM Minutes, III.

<sup>121</sup> A1.15, EGM Minutes, III, 3.

<sup>122</sup> A1.15, EGM Minutes, III, 1-3.

devotion, to prevent SCA from walking through a very different “open door”, into a future of racially segregated, autonomous associations?

How far might prophetic agency have initiated a very different future for Christian witness among students in South Africa, than what will be documented in this study? The possibilities that arise in a prophetic community’s obedient agency, responsive to God’s Spirit, are the perennial hope of Christians in every period history, particularly when disciples are confronted by a culture of injustice and oppression.<sup>123</sup> By the conclusion of the narratives in this monograph, the question of the degree to which SCA succeeded or failed to be hopeful prophetic agents of Jesus’ confronting love will be answered within the eschatological frame of this study. In other words, to what extent did white Christians believe and understand South Africa to be set free from structural violence and oppression through Christ’s Cross and resurrection and did they commensurately embody this freedom, knowing that despite present obstacles, Christ would fully realize it at his glorious second coming?

Most of the morning that followed Liebenberg’s opening devotion was led by Rev A.J. van Wijk, who outlined the brief and conclusions of the Federal Study Commission, whose final recommendation was:

That the existing basis of the S.C.A. of S.A. be amended or dissolved and in its place separate and independent associations be established for each of the existing Sections, and that all steps be discussed and the necessary resolutions taken to bring this to pass.<sup>124</sup>

The minutes record that a discussion ensued during which Mr Masipa, Mr Sonn, Andries Treurnicht and Calvin Cook contributed at length. Again, the question of prophetic agency might be posed. *Was anything said about allegiance to Christ’s Good News of reconciliation versus accommodation to apartheid culture, and how were the words received?* An irony of these discussions was that even before the meeting had formally dissolved the Association, the meeting proposed to “consider at the conclusion of these proceedings the creation of a Liaison Committee to serve as a link between the autonomous Associations.”<sup>125</sup>

After van Wijk chaired a vote by secret ballot for the meeting to accept the proposal of the Federal Study Commission to discuss SCA’s dissolution, which was passed with 80 votes in favour and 20 against, Calvin Cook, and Donald Cragg, a lecturer at the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice who was an African Section representative, requested that their votes in

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<sup>123</sup> The Radical Reformation, with some exceptions, provides many examples of such hopeful agency and responsiveness, in the face of some of Christendom’s most violent coercions, which two church historians have called the, “Protestant Inquisition”. See Donovan E. Smucker, “Anabaptist Historiography in the Scholarship of Today,” *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XII, 2 (April 1948): 127.

<sup>124</sup> A1.15, EGM Minutes, V, D. 2.

<sup>125</sup> A1.15, EGM Minutes, VI, B.

the minority be noted in the minutes.<sup>126</sup> Then the decisive resolution of the day, having been prepared in advance, was tabled and put to the vote:

The meeting decides that the present basis of the S.C.A. be dissolved and that four separate and autonomous Associations be established for each of the existing Sections of the S.C.A. (with the exception of the Section of the Student Volunteer Movement), to start function at a time and date to be determined by this meeting at a later stage, but expecting this to be as soon as possible.<sup>127</sup>

Two votes opposed the resolution with 104 votes in favour; thus ended 67 years of SCA ministry as an interracial association.<sup>128</sup> Many questions arise, such as: *Why, despite the African Section's recent attempts at toenadering, did at least 9 out of the 10 black delegates present vote for partition?* And, not least of such questions might be: *Who else besides Cook, cast the other dissenting vote?* All who voted in favour of partition, whether black or white, might be described as realists or pragmatists because they avowed by their votes that there was no other possibility but to split the Association along racial lines. The weighting of the "democratic" ballot at Bloemfontein in favour of the numerically larger Afrikaans Section, which wanted dissolution, apparently predetermined the outcome<sup>129</sup> and for the rest of the voting delegates, the compromise of partition may have appeared to be the only *workable* or *realistic* solution.<sup>130</sup> Further research into the motivation of Black and Coloured voting delegates will shed further light on these questions.

The rest of the daylight hours of the 12<sup>th</sup> January meeting were spent following Liebenberg's outline to change the Constitution and enact the financial, legal instruments to effect dissolution, creating new constitutional foundations for the proportional transfer of assets to four newly constituted associations by 31 May 1965.<sup>131</sup> Andries Treurnicht then reported on the Federal Commission's proposals for four new names, constitutions and operational blue-prints of the four new associations; his proposals would be received and discussed in four separate meetings until supper, in order to be ratified once the meeting reconvened that evening.<sup>132</sup>

After supper the four new associations presented their names and operational procedures to the meeting: in the order recorded in the minutes - The *Afrikaanse Christelike Studente Vereeniging* (ACSV) for white Afrikaners, the Students' Christian Association of Southern Africa (SCA) for white and Indian English-speakers, the *Christelike Studente Beweging* (later called the *Christelike Studente Vereeniging* (CSV)) for Coloured students, and the Students'

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<sup>126</sup> A1.15, EGM Minutes, V, D. 2, cf. D.G.L. Cragg, "Our Faith and the Modern Man," *Pro Veritate*, III, 7 (November 1964): 1-2.

<sup>127</sup> A1.15, EGM Minutes, V. D. 2.

<sup>128</sup> A1.15, EGM Minutes, VI. B. 1.

<sup>129</sup> Don Kritzinger, a first year Theology student at Pretoria University, who attended the Bloemfontein EGM as one of the Student Volunteer Movement delegates, recalled, "Why the decisions of the day could be taken was probably because Afrikaners were in the majority in that meeting. In a sense it was a foregone conclusion." So, Interview: Dons Kritzinger (22 October 2015).

<sup>130</sup> This sense of this inevitability was communicated by Sydney Hudson-Reed in his description of "Oom Fred" Liebenberg's unapologetically distant relationship with the English-speaking Section, immediately prior to the split. See Photo Archive: 243 - 246, "Discussion Between Revd. S. Hudson-Reed and Dr R.J. Wells on 16<sup>th</sup> April 1968", p.4 - 5.

<sup>131</sup> A1.15, EGM Minutes, VI. A-E.

<sup>132</sup> A1.15, EGM Minutes, VI. F.

Christian Movement (SCM) for Black students.<sup>133</sup> The meeting also voted to formally break its ties with the WSCF, at which point Cook, Cragg and J.A. Viljoen again requested that their dissenting votes be recorded in the minutes.<sup>134</sup> The final resolution of the evening enabled the newly created associations to validate their constitutions with immediate effect, and the meeting then ended after a reading of Psalm 121; votes of thanks, and the telling closing hymn, “Onward Christian Soldiers”.<sup>135</sup> The battle wounds inflicted in this genteel and orderly meeting of sublimated conflict would take a whole generation to close before any possibility of healing might arise.<sup>136</sup>

On 13<sup>th</sup> January the Bloemfontein meetings reverted, in effect, to the old, racially determined Sections of SCA, now formally separated and the “new” White/Indian SCA commenced under Calvin Cook’s chairmanship. The moral failure of SCA’s decision for racial partition and Cook’s strong dissent lead to a pertinent question: *Why did Cook serve as Chairman of the “new” SCA?* Cook’s longstanding commitment to evangelising students and his discussions with coloured and black office bearers of the previous Sections about constituting a single multiracial Association need to be remembered.<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, the Federal Study Commission’s ready-made apartheid-style constitutions, the very real threat of financial collapse once dissolution was effected, and tensions caused by the harrowing year leading up to the EGM in Bloemfontein, polarized previous hopes for unity.<sup>138</sup> Thus, Cook served the “new” SCA as Chairman for a year, after which he resigned to serve the Universities Christian Movement.<sup>139</sup>

It will be seen in what follows, that black students in SCA’s sister movements would look back on the partition of SCA in 1965 as first and foremost a *moral failure*, whereas white leaders and students in the new SCA rarely referred to it, and if they did, they tended to see it as an unfortunate necessity caused by the Afrikaans Section.<sup>140</sup> Divided opinion in the early to mid 1970s about where *culpability* for the *moral failure* of the partition of SCA in January 1965 truly lay, would give rise to some painful *kairós* moments in which SCA would confront its responsibility in the moral impasse of 1965.

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<sup>133</sup> B4.1.4, EGM Minutes, VI.J. The motivation of Masipa, Cragg et al in their choice of the name SCM is worthy of further historical inquiry, to ascertain the extent of SCM’s theological affinity and solidarity with the WSCF in 1965.

<sup>134</sup> B4.1.4, EGM Minutes, VIII.

<sup>135</sup> A1.15, EGM Minutes, XV.

<sup>136</sup> Only after 1996 would SCA and SCM reunite to form the Students’ Christian Organization (SCO), and the ACSV and CSV would unite to form the Uniting Christian Students’ Association of South Africa (UCCSA). Attempts to reunite SCO and UCCSA have not been successful.

<sup>137</sup> B4.1.3, Cook to Johnston (20 August 1965).

<sup>138</sup> B4.1.3, Cook to Johnston (20 August 1965).

<sup>139</sup> See Calvin Cook, “From Breakwater to Open Sea,” *Pro Veritate* VI, no. 5 (15 September 1967): 9-11.

<sup>140</sup> One source of this widely held view was Sydney-Hudson Reed’s accurate assessment of the relationship between the old Sections, as one in which “Oom Fred” (Liebenberg) of from Stellenbosch Headquarters never prioritized building the capacity of the less powerful Sections, like the English Section, which, as a result, felt that they had their “wings clipped” financially and in regard to staffing. See Photo Archive 243-246: “Discussion Between Rev S. Hudson-Reed and Dr R.J. Wells on 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1968,” 3-4.

## SCA's Fierce Conservatism Confronts Establishment Evangelicalism

The “new” SCA faced a number of practical challenges – financial sustainability, the best way to structure governance and place staff members, the future of the schools’ ministry, and a proposal from the Western Province (WP) that at its first Council meeting (July 1965) in Johannesburg, SCA should include an evangelical basis of faith into the constitution and move towards affiliation to IFES.<sup>141</sup> These practicalities expressed the deeper challenge in SCA of how to hold together divergent Protestant theology and spirituality, including a contentious Reformed spirituality bordering on fundamentalism, orthodox ecumenism, and a maturing evangelical orthodoxy.<sup>142</sup>

As has been shown, Quebedeaux’s historical analysis of fundamentalism and establishment evangelicalism in North America is helpful, despite the very different genesis and milder expression of these twentieth century varieties of Protestantism in South Africa.<sup>143</sup> What the direct links to fundamentalism were in SCA cannot be investigated here, but Chapter Four will describe some of the “new” SCA’s relationships with North America, and it will become clear that a similar yet peculiar South African, expression of this fundamentalism would be influential in SCA throughout the 1970s.

Controversy about a basis of faith surfaced intermittently in the “old” SCA from 1959 when Murray Hofmeyr of the Western Province Committee attempted to persuade Liebenberg and Bell to promulgate a statement of faith, to solve the problem of the DRC’s denominational encroachment - the proposal divided opinion between SCA’s ecumenically minded leaders and their strictly Reformed colleagues.<sup>144</sup> Rod Hewitson again moved for the Bloemfontein EGM to debate a basis of faith, again eliciting strong differences of opinion in the English Medium Work delegation, and the proposal was struck from the agenda.<sup>145</sup> Thus, the Capetonian SCA leaders at Bloemfontein and their Reformed colleagues from around the country discreetly organized to meet in Cape Town at Easter 1965 for a “Conference” to discuss a basis of faith, and they invited Professor John Jarvis of the U.C.T. Medical School to present a paper.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Cook, “The S.C.A. in Mid-1965.”

<sup>142</sup> See Quebedeaux’s description of the genesis of these differences in North America in, *The Young Evangelicals*, 18-37

<sup>143</sup> Quebedeaux’s traits of North American Strict and Open Fundamentalists include a rigidly dispensational theology, a literal Biblicism, a concerted effort at self-definition in opposition to modernists, secular evolutionists, liberals, neo-orthodoxy, ecumenicals and Roman Catholics, a conspicuously absent social ethic, and “cultural taboos applied rigorously in the fight against worldliness,” which characterized graduates of Moody Bible Institute, Dallas Theological Seminary, Bob Jones University and Talbot Theological Seminary. Quebedeaux, *The Young Evangelicals*, 22-27.

<sup>144</sup> B4.1.3, M. Hofmeyr to Liebenberg (3 April 1963); Liebenberg to Hofmeyr (6 August 1963).

<sup>145</sup> B4.1.3, Mills to Edkins (1 Feb. 1965).

<sup>146</sup> B3.2.2.6, J.F. Jarvis, “A Basis of Faith for an Evangelical and Interdenominational Association such as S.C.A.” If Jarvis had known about the partisan nature of the W.P. Easter conference he would not have agreed to present a paper on the basis of faith. The ethical focus of his paper, his integrity, and the esteem, in which he was held throughout the country and around the world, prevent me from believing that he intentionally deceived Calvin Cook.

If Calvin Cook, Vic Bredenkamp, Sydney Hudson-Reed, Morgan Greenwood and other SCA office-bearers North of the Cape Province had been informed of, or even invited to the W.P. Easter conference, much sweat and tears during the first year of the “new” SCA’s life may have been averted, however preconceived ideas about these colleagues from key leaders in Cape Town were sufficiently entrenched to hold the gathering without their knowledge.<sup>147</sup> Before Cook became aware of the Easter conference he post scripted a letter to Vic Bredenkamp in Pietermaritzburg: “P.S. On the basis of the faith issue: I feel that if we are going to be confessional, then we must trace the implications of these doctrines out in order to see that these are orthodox not only in their statement, but in their application.”<sup>148</sup> Cook’s ecumenical orthodoxy committed him to emphasize beliefs only if these were consistent with Christian behaviour.

John Jarvis’ discussion document for the Easter conference presented a rounded discussion on the “value, purpose, weaknesses and content of a basis of faith.”<sup>149</sup> Poignantly for some in SCA, Jarvis noted that the Council of Nicaea, “in spite of the most unchristian spirit that marked much of its debates, led to the formulation of the Nicene Creed, and later [...] the Athanasian Creed.” Thus, for Jarvis the purpose of a basis of faith was not fundamentalist exclusion, so much as to clarify “agreement on essentials” for harmony and co-operation in the work of the association. Commenting on the weaknesses of a basis of faith, Jarvis said it might be used as “a condemnation”; that it was no “substitute for obedience”; that it would be subject to “widely different interpretations”; and that “someone may be excluded for a detail.”

The content of the basis of faith Jarvis proposed, could in essence refute the following errors: “[1] [...] erosion of the full Deity of Christ, and consequently of His authority and redeeming work. [2] Denial of the Reformation re-statement of justification by faith alone. [3] Denial of the full inspiration of Holy Scriptures. [4] Placing human reason or church tradition above or equal to the authority of Holy Scripture. [5] Belief that unity is possible except on a basis of the supreme authority of Scripture.” It will be seen in what follows that these “essentials” were to form the basis of SCA’s evangelical orthodox identity and tradition throughout the 1970s.

In preparation for SCA’s first Council at St Columba’s Presbyterian Church in Parkview, Cook invited wide representation from the churches sponsoring SCA to attend.<sup>150</sup> He also prepared a document called “The Present Position and Calling of SCA: Calvin Cook Statement as Chairman in 1965,” which was cyclostatted and distributed well ahead of the Council to stimulate reflection.<sup>151</sup> In this statement Cook related SCA’s critically challenging context of complete polarization in student ministry to Christian calling. His description of

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<sup>147</sup> B4.1.3, M. Greenwood to Cook (24 June 1965) and Bredenkamp to Cook (19 July 1965).

<sup>148</sup> B4.1.3, Cook to Bredenkamp (3 May 1965).

<sup>149</sup> All quotations in this paragraph are taken from B3.2.2.6 J.F. Jarvis, “A Basis of Faith...”

<sup>150</sup> Cook to Bredenkamp (23 May 1965).

<sup>151</sup> B4.1.3, Cyclostatted Document: Calvin Cook, “The Present Position and Calling of S.C.A.: Statement as Chairman, 1965.”

the tertiary education landscape of 1965 is reminiscent of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's grasp of Germany's plight in the 1930s, as Cook profoundly discerned the true source of the dark forces undergirding the whole apartheid experiment:

[...] the application of the principle of apartheid in the universities has led to a growing lack of contact between university students [...] rudimentary forms of "open" university life have been closed off [...] The SCA has not reckoned [...] seriously [...] with the problems connected with this tendency [...] The role of the SCA as reconciler in the contemporary situation has gone almost by default, leaving the appeal and claim of radical nationalism almost unchallenged [...] this now represents in both white and non-European universities, a demonic opponent [...] It is clear [...] that the crisis is a total one [...] a crisis of leadership, of resources, of aim, purpose and object. It is something that affects [...] Churches, universities; Christian societies [...] all find themselves powerless in this situation to move. There is nothing to be gained in this situation by "healing the hurt of my daughter lightly [...]"<sup>152</sup>

In the document he suggested a starting point to address the unjust social and cultural conditions created by apartheid. He motivated that South Africa's deepening crisis:

[...] will have to be grappled with in a far more serious way than the earlier tea and talk techniques. Bible study represents one possibility, but such study must be done now within a framework sufficiently substantial to be able to withstand the kind of pressures that will be brought to bear against it. Under conditions that will allow for a genuine commitment not only to the activity of study, but also to the persons with whom one is engaged in that study [...] the whole future of religion is being questioned on the grounds of both truth and relevance [...] What is called for is a thoroughgoing renewal of the whole Christian community [...] when people under the influence of the Holy Spirit begin again to study the word of God and live by the scripture.<sup>153</sup>

Cook's vision of a community transformed by the Holy Spirit presents the antithesis of apartheid's attempt to segregate and regulate all social relations with supposedly scientific and doctrinal methods. For Cook, the kind of Bible study that could resist the cultural forces in South Africa aiming to condition it, would need to expand from mere cerebral study to include personal encounter and contextual application. Here was a first, unique expression in SCA of a different way of engaging the Scripture. In Chapter Four it will be shown that Cook's vision predated and found an echo in the contextual Bible engagement approach that emerged in Europe and Latin America in the later 60s and early 70s, through Hans Bürki and C. René Padilla of IFES, who would both be welcomed into SCA discipleship programmes in the 1970s. Bible study for the transformation of individuals and society would be welcomed by some SCA leaders, and resisted by others, as foundational to SCA "curriculum" throughout the 70s.

Cook's "Statement as Chairman" before the SCA Council of 1965, also confessed the failure of white members of the "old" SCA for allowing the Association to be coerced into racial division, a confession that would elicit pitted disagreement among his Reformed colleagues:

[...] It is simply no answer to have two organizations in the place of one [...] If it is to be Christian fellowship, it must bear the marks of the church itself – it must show unity, holiness, catholicity and

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<sup>152</sup> B4.1.3, Calvin Cook, "The Present Position and Calling of S.C.A...".

<sup>153</sup> B4.1.3, Calvin Cook, "The Present Position and Calling of S.C.A...".



apostolicity. Thus there must be reconciliation – for again, the scriptures know no unity that does not depend on reconciliation [...] Such unity [...] cannot be bought at the expense of holiness. [...] Our deepest pieties need to be challenged by the dimension of catholicity, because here is where the devil, like a wily old trout finds his best hiding place, in their shadowed pools [...] Catholicity without intimate fellowship becomes a superficial thing [...] only the man whose sympathies have been effectively widened by contact with others is in a position to give himself unreservedly to one. [...] Finally, apostolicity involves both fidelity to what has been given to us and transmission of this faithfully to others [...] <sup>154</sup>

The heart of Cook’s challenge to the “new” SCA in his “Statement” ahead of the Parkview Council was that SCA’s *allegiance* and *vocation* would be tested not against a written basis of faith, but only by entering the eschatological threshold of following Jesus:

Question has arisen [...] as to whether there should be a basis of faith for the movement [...] a confessional statement in addition to the statement of aims. [...] The writer of this paper believes [...] that this is irrelevant to the main issue. It introduces a further division of the already scattered forces [...] Any declaration of faith [...] to act as a standard towards which to move, would have to include some statement about the reconciling work of Christ in specific terms relating to the divisions of this country. So far this has not been forthcoming. [...] to take seriously the fact that in Christ, every man is a new creature, and that the barriers have been done away. At present our failure to transcend these traditional barriers is evidence that we have not in fact been regenerated... <sup>155</sup>

For Cook doctrinal clarity was pointless without imitating Christ’s cruciform way of living in the unique conditions of apartheid’s broken, challenging context. He clearly pointed SCA to a *compromise of allegiance* to Jesus Christ should aspects of apartheid be accommodated in SCA. This choice between cultural accommodation and prophetic allegiance would remain before SCA throughout the 70s and 80s.

Events immediately before and after SCA’s first 1965 Council proved Cook’s conviction that congruence between faith and practice would be the test of true spirituality in SCA along its new journey. News of the basis of faith conference in Cape Town did reach him before the Parkview Council, and along with it, news of a malicious anonymous document circulating among Council members, alleging that a well-known UCT student leader had reported doctrinal error on the part of SCA’s Travelling Secretary, Mick Andrew.<sup>156</sup> As Cook made inquiries about the April conference and the allegations regarding his employee, the UCT student, and the publication of such allegations without Cook’s knowledge as SCA Chairman, Cook completed a meticulous process towards truth and reconciliation, to repair broken trust, turning for assistance to his colleagues Monty Sholund in the Transvaal and Stan Edkins in the Eastern Cape.<sup>157</sup> His efforts took the rest of 1965, but recurring conflict between the UCT committee and Mick Andrew finally left the matter unresolved!<sup>158</sup> Cook

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> B4.1.3, Calvin Cook, “The Present Position and Calling of S.C.A...”

<sup>156</sup> B4.1.3, Cook to Hewitson (24 June 1965). The document was produced by Monty Sholund in a meeting preparing for Council. It was entitled “A Report on a discussion between Mick Andrew and an S.C.A. Committee Member – 12 April 1965.”

<sup>157</sup> B4.1.3, Cook to Hewitson (15 September 1965).

<sup>158</sup> B4.1.3, Robin J. Wells to Oliver Barclay (21 March 1966).

guessed who the source of the accusations in the ‘anonymous’ “Report” was, and Hewitson confirmed Cook’s intuition.<sup>159</sup>

In his letter of thanks to Vic Bredenkamp who facilitated the Parkview Council, Cook included incisive theological reflections that came to him after a meeting with the WP leaders to try and resolve their conflict with Mick Andrew:

I think it was providential that this should have occurred, [...] it made us face up to the essentially unchristian character of our attitudes to one another, and [...] brought about one of the prerequisites of any future unity [...] What is becoming clearer [...] is whether we are going to be able to articulate our faith in such a way that the world will recognize it as salvation. [...] In practice our bona fides are always what we are prepared to give up, and if I read the incarnation correctly, it is precisely sovereignty that Christ renounced in order to carry out the mission of the Son. Yet what we are concerned with is the maintenance of our own sovereignty and we do this claiming his name and support [...] This means that the word about seeking to save our lives is precisely the most important one for us in our times. If we are prepared to spend them for the Gospel, then we can leave salvation to God as he promised. But we cannot have it both ways. [...] Also this articulation will lead us to recognize the many things of which have to repent.

Beyers Naudé’s call for a confessing church is interesting, because he is in fact calling for a basis of faith for contemporary action. Unless we make the implications of our Christology and soteriology clear, then it may well be questioned whether we have either [...].<sup>160</sup>

From Parkview in 1965 to SCA’s second Council meeting in Cape Town in July 1966 until early 1967, SCA weathered a state of internal agitation that matched the fragmentation in South African society and politics – it was the time of Hendrik Verwoerd’s assassination and B.J. Vorster’s accession to power, the time of Steve Biko’s medical studies at Wentworth, of Robert Kennedy’s address to NUSAS, and the year in which the DRC revoked Beyers Naudé’s ministerial status, formally calling on DRC members of the Christian Institute to immediately resign as CI members.<sup>161</sup> Would the Association adopt an evangelical basis of faith and be successfully affiliated to IFES as a national movement? Would SCA’s assets after the legal settlement of the dissolution accounts by Stellenbosch be sufficient to employ any staff? What of Mick Andrew’s future as Travelling Secretary, in view of his sympathies with the Churches’ Council of South Africa initiative at Wilgerspruit, to spearhead a new interdenominational University Christian Movement?<sup>162</sup> And what of the Rhodes ECU and the supposed SAFES; would SCA and SAFES aim for amalgamation?

Stacey Woods had recommended Jim Johnston, a British staff worker at England’s Intervarsity Christian Fellowship campsite in Keswick,<sup>163</sup> to Marjorie Scott, to serve ECU and to pioneer SAFES. However, should Johnston not rather work for SCA if IFES affiliation

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<sup>159</sup> “... someone here who is notorious for this kind of thing, and I’m sure you know who I mean.” See B4.1.3 Hewitson to Cook (26 June 1965).

<sup>160</sup> B4.1.3, Cook to Bredenkamp (24 July 1965).

<sup>161</sup> David J. Bosch, “Fragmentation of Afrikanerdom and the Afrikaans Churches” in Charles Villa-Vicencio and John de Gruchy (eds.), *South African Essays in Honour of Beyers Naudé* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1985), 71.

<sup>162</sup> Houston, William J. “A Critical Evaluation of the University Christian Movement as an Ecumenical Mission to Students, 1967-1972.” M.Th. Dissertation, UNISA, 1997, 13-15.

<sup>163</sup> B4.1.3, Woods to Scott (3 May 1966).

were successful?<sup>164</sup> There were also pastoral dilemmas; Hudson-Reed and Morgan Greenwood were in a quandary about how to respond to so many SCA students in the Rhodes and Natal branches who would leave SCA if it adopted a basis of faith:<sup>165</sup>

Calvin Cook handed over to Sydney Hudson-Reed as Chairman in December 1965.<sup>166</sup> One of Cook's last letters written as SCA Chairman was to Offie Fehrson, the UCT student Chairman, to wish him well for his medicine exams and to thank him for his student Annual Branch Report; the letter shows Cook passing on to the younger generation the essence of prophetic integrity - unreserved allegiance to Christ, especially at the margins of organized religion, in the sacrificial act of mission:

Don't be too discouraged by the poor response to missionary work. The acceptance of missionary responsibility, where it is not simply a habit, is the mark of spiritual maturity. And non-support is also a vicious circle. People who are concerned about saving their own souls are generally unable to give very much time to those of others. The only point to be made here is that the guarantee of our salvation comes from the same point as the command to make disciples of all nations. The best guarantee of our own salvation is to leave this to Christ and to get on with obeying his commandment... When we make the chief focus of our work the majority of students who are not touched by anything we or any other Christians do [...] we shall find ourselves where Christ is. For the upbuilding of our faith in the end depends on them!<sup>167</sup>

At the Cape Town Council meeting in July 1966 a more than two-thirds majority voted in favour of the IFES basis of faith, to cede the High Schools work to Scripture Union, and to institute a new provincial structure; thus began a process of consolidation and growth for evangelical student ministry across South Africa.<sup>168</sup> By November a new Executive Committee of Council was discussing an application to IFES for affiliation.<sup>169</sup> In many months of negotiations with Dr Scott, it was finally agreed that Jim Johnston would commence work as Organising Secretary in accordance with his visa application, at Rhodes ECU for SAFES, but that once SCA's affiliation to IFES was ratified at the triennial IFES General Committee in August 1967, Johnston would be seconded to SCA as Organising Secretary for the whole Association.<sup>170</sup>

SCA's affiliation with ECU and SAFES remained a thorny issue. The Rhodes ECU and its backers at UCT refused absolutely to take the SCA name or to relinquish the word "evangelical" for the Rhodes group, and SAFES proved to be nothing more than an ideal, in the minds of this Reformed grouping, rather than a national movement of any real

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<sup>164</sup> B4.1.3, R. Wells to Barclay (21 March 1966).

<sup>165</sup> Hudson-Reed expressed his ethical dilemma thus: "When I came into SCA I had no idea that we would within a very short period of time be adopting a Basis of Faith, in fact, to be perfectly frank, I was opposed to this, not in any sense because I was opposed to the BOF, but because I felt that in the light of my experience of the movement, with its heterogeneous composition, it would be unfair for one group to impose on the rest a statement of faith; unfair, that is, because so many, I felt, with my experience, would not be prepared for it..." B4.1.3, Typed manuscript: "Discussion Between S. Hudson-Reed and Dr. R.J. Wells, 16<sup>th</sup> April 1968," 4.

<sup>166</sup> B4.1.3, Cook to Galland (4 October 1965).

<sup>167</sup> B4.1.3, Cook to Fehrson (5 October 1965).

<sup>168</sup> B4.1.3, Wells to Woods (2 September 1966).

<sup>169</sup> B4.1.3, Wells' Circular to Executive Members of Council - Nov. 1966.

<sup>170</sup> B4.1.3, Woods to Wells (15 Sep.1966).

capacity.<sup>171</sup> Furthermore, the lack of finance in IFES, SCA and ECU meant that each entity hoped one of the others would finance the post of Organising Secretary; the salary worked out for Johnston in July 1967 was thus frugal, and, in line with “IFES policy,” included life insurance but not a pension or medical aid.<sup>172</sup>

As Hudson-Reed had feared, there were many painful partings of ways resulting from SCA’s decision to adopt the evangelical basis of faith. The Archbishop of Cape Town gathered representatives of the mainline churches at Bishop’s Court in November 1966 to consider a co-ordinated response; at a follow up conference a fortnight later it was decided to form a new student movement, the Universities Christian Movement, with R. Steven as “full-time agent to organise the inaugural conference of the UCM.”<sup>173</sup> Many separations occurred at SCA branch level such as the group of students at Rhodes led by Trevor de Bruyn, a Methodist theology student, who felt betrayed by the basis of faith decision, and who was encouraged by Calvin Cook, leaving SCA himself, to join UCM.<sup>174</sup>

Once the decision for IFES affiliation was taken, Robin Wells, Honorary Secretary of SCA, wrote to Oliver Barclay of Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions in Britain for more information about Jim Johnston emphasizing, “we have a vast amount to do. Apart from the doctrinal question SCA needs a massive organizational and constitutional face-lift.”<sup>175</sup> This was no exaggeration. News of SCA’s decision for an evangelical doctrinal basis had been received as controversial in many quarters of the country, and the size and structure of SCA’s governing body, inherited from the Stellenbosch constitution writers, was ungainly and bureaucratic. Wells knew that visionary and capable leaders who could win the trust of church leaders nationally, and simultaneously reform and transform the Association internally, were going to be difficult to find. Barclay’s reply assured him that SCA would benefit from Johnston’s “very real gifts [...] for teaching and reconstruction and apologetics...”<sup>176</sup>

Johnston actually arrived in South Africa only in September 1967, after the Wuppertal IFES General Committee, where Robin Wells and a student representative, with Johnston as a witness, signed SCA’s affiliation with IFES. Within two demanding years, by July 1969, Johnston married and moved from Port Elizabeth to Johannesburg, to establish SCA’s National Office.<sup>177</sup> He worked closely with Stan Edkins, Vice-Chairman of SCA in Port Elizabeth, to downsize SCA’s Council and establish a Panel of Reference, to formalize regional committees, and launch an Associate Membership Scheme for donor involvement. He also prepared the ground for a national Graduates’ Fellowship in SCA and expedited

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<sup>171</sup> B4.1.3, Woods to Wells (15 Sep. 1966).

<sup>172</sup> B4.1.3, Stacey Woods requested SCA and SAFES to negotiate between them for Johnston’s support: Woods to Wells (15 September 1966).

<sup>173</sup> Calvin Cook, “From Breakwater to Open Sea,” *Pro Veritate*, VI, 5 (15 September 1967): 10.

<sup>174</sup> De Bruyn to Wells (22 Nov. 1966), Wells to de Bruyn (30 Nov.1966).

<sup>175</sup> B4.1.3, Wells to Barclay (1 Sep. 1966).

<sup>176</sup> B4.1.3, Barclay to Wells (12 Sep.1966).

<sup>177</sup> B4.1.3, Memo from Morgan Greenwood (17 April 1969).

IFES' policy of student led branch ministry. This last mentioned achievement birthed SCA's first National Student Executive in Council, chaired in its first year by Graeme Maxwell. At the end of his term of office, in July 1969 Maxwell minuted:

The decision of SCA's National Council in July 1968, which provided for a National Student Committee, marked the inauguration of a new era in the history of the S.C.A. of Southern Africa. Students for the first time were called upon and given the opportunity to administer and plan through their own committee. This established a new concept in the vision of S.C.A, and this first National Student Committee and Executive, whose term of office is now at an end, will always have its place in the history of the Association...<sup>178</sup>

### **Some Faithful Conclusions: About Remembering Eschatologically...**

By 1969 the SCA of Southern Africa, though it retained the aims of its forebear association, was remarkably different to what it had been in 1899. Two-thirds of a century of modern history in which South Africa metamorphosed into an industrialized state based on one of modernity's most environmentally and humanly degrading experiments in monopoly capitalism had caused the change.<sup>179</sup> During the century of this dramatic economic, social and ideological transformation, prophetic opposition by white Christians to the cultural evils taking root in South Africa were rare.

The opportunity for prophetic resistance in SCA's evangelical constituency, in the tradition of Sol Plaatje and Albert Luthuli, was taken up at mid-century only by Beyers Naudé and Albert Geysler, at great personal cost, and by men like B.B. Keet and Calvin Cook, who made their voices heard with prophetic integrity. Bar these exceptions white SCA members actively supported, tacitly accepted, or indifferently disregarded the political sources of apartheid and the extent of its oppression of black people. Thus, the watershed events of 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965, when SCA dissolved into four racially or linguistically defined associations, fulfilled the vision of apartheid's theologians and missionary architects, among them SCA members like G.B.A. Gerdner, who in turn advanced the heretical civil religion of South Africa's white nation builders.<sup>180</sup>

A Christian understanding of time is that God works in and through history, not in some separate realm, and, as the *kairós* theme of this study has described, the advent and second coming of Jesus Christ imbue present history with a particular eschatological significance and ethical responsibility for the church. With this eschatological understanding of history in view, the evidence presented in this chapter for SCA and the churches' historical, social,

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<sup>178</sup> H2.2.1, NSC Minutes, 16 July 1969, Wilgerspruit.

<sup>179</sup> The capitalist underpinning of colonialism led to adverse human and environmental consequences, which were first documented by Sol Plaatje in 1915, in his *Native Life in South Africa*. Recent scholarship in this tradition includes Alan B. Durning's, *Apartheid's Environmental Toll* (Washington: Worldwatch Institute, 1990) and Phia Steyn's, "The lingering environmental impact of repressive governance: The environmental legacy of the apartheid era for the new South Africa," *Globalizations* 2, no. 3 (2005), 391-402. The work of Jacklyn Cock documents the social and environmental effects of apartheid's capitalist legacy. See her "The Politics of Ecology" in Mamphela Ramphele, ed., *Restoring the Land: Environment and Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (London: Panos, 1991) and her monograph, *The War Against Ourselves: Nature, Power and Justice* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007).

<sup>180</sup> Discussion of South African civil religion will be undertaken in Chapter Four.

economic, spiritual, cultural and moral accommodation to apartheid up to 1969, needs to be accepted with contrition and sobriety. Also, the racial and ethnic isolation of the “new” SCA from its Black, Coloured and Afrikaner sisters and brothers in Christ after 1965, and the “new” SCA’s decision to adopt an evangelical basis of faith and affiliate to IFES at the price of broken relationships, need to be remembered from the perspective of this eschatological perspective, as falling short of SCA’s primary allegiance to the gospel of reconciliation in Jesus Christ.

In on-going conversations with many SCA graduates and past office bearers the sentiment that SCA had no option but to divide in 1965, stubbornly recurs. Making room for such a sentiment would be to invite historical fatalism and deny the God of history who is in the habit of subverting, transforming and redeeming human “inevabilities.” For this reason the aim of the gathered evidence in this chapter has been to demonstrate a more hopeful, eschatological understanding of history and time. This view, that Jesus’ resurrection and imminent return, demarcate an eschatological threshold for hopeful prophetic imagination and confident prophetic agency, in obedience to the Holy Spirit, mean that a very different history in SCA to the history narrated in this monograph, *was possible*. In the next chapter it will be shown that the “new” SCA’s status quo of racial separation would constitute an on-going test to such prophetic agency and integrity, as new *kairós* moments unfolded in the early 1970s inviting the Association to step onto history’s eschatological threshold, with sacrificial obedience to Jesus Christ, in prophetic resistance to apartheid’s structural violence.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Liberal Evangelicals and Conservative Radicals: An SCA Paradox: 1970-1974.

“It is almost always the ones whose bellies are full who say that religion and politics don’t mix.”

Desmond Mphilo Tutu<sup>1</sup>

“Is God at work in my brother, even if hitherto he had been my theological, social or political Samaritan?”

Michael Cassidy<sup>2</sup>

Chapter Three documented the dissolution of SCA after its 67 years of interracial student ministry and the formation of four racially or linguistically separated daughter associations in 1965. The focus of this chapter is the ministry of the new English-speaking SCA, which, though open to all races, received mainly white and Indian students and graduates into membership. The narrative will trace the kinds of theology and spirituality that SCA welcomed into its early discipleship programmes and campus ministries from 1971 to 1974. The focus will be a reconstruction of SCA’s conferences and student and staff training events which presented the Association’s evangelical ethos of discipleship against the background of South Africa’s maturing national liberation movements and the advent of Black Consciousness and Black and African Theology, as each of these responded to B.J. Vorster’s intransigent apartheid regime.<sup>3</sup>

The narrative will focus on repeated *kairós* moments during SCA discipleship events and outside of SCA’s programmes, which evoked unforeseen invitations to SCA leaders to embrace a new evangelical theology and spirituality of costly prophetic witness to Christ’s gospel of reconciliation, in response to South Africa’s context of rapidly spiralling injustice. These *kairós* invitations which confronted the Association with new dimensions of evangelical theology and with the cries of the oppressed, were welcomed, ignored or resisted exactly as SCA leaders began to design a “discipleship training curriculum” in the early 1970s at campus, regional and national levels.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Desmond Tutu, 'Church and Nation in the Perspective of Black Theology,' *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* (June 1976): 9.

<sup>2</sup> Quoting George Eldon Ladd at the SACC and AE Durban Congress on Evangelism in February 1973. So, Michael Cassidy, “The Third Way,” *JTSA*, 10 (March 1975): 27.

<sup>3</sup> For an introduction to Black and African theologies in Southern Africa see Frank Chikane’s “The Incarnation in the Life of the People in Southern Africa,” *JTSA*, 51 (1985): 37-50.

<sup>4</sup> Johnston, the SCA Executive, or the National Students’ Council did not use the word “curriculum” for their choices of speakers, foci of Bible study, or structuring of discipleship training events, nor has evidence been found for any discussion of “curriculum design” during this early period. Nevertheless, the concern in this chapter is to identify the characteristics an evolving SCA discipleship “curriculum,” forming in the early 1970s, which became the hallmark of SCA’s discipleship tradition later in the decade.

Firstly, the chapter will introduce the extent of SCA's national reach, its forms of governance and its staffing model in 1970. Secondly the narrative will describe how SCA's affiliation with IFES by 1970 set it on a particularly Anglophile trajectory in the kinds of theologies and methodologies its discipleship training events would include. Third, the longest section of the chapter will construct a narrative of SCA's evolving discipleship training tradition from 1970 to 1974, in which SCA students, staff and graduates engaged the challenge of following Jesus faithfully as the Scriptures teach, while all around them the apartheid state increased its stranglehold on white or black resistance, through deportations, detention without trial, harassment and torture.<sup>5</sup>

Four *kairós* invitations to the Association which adjured SCA leaders to respond with prophetic integrity to South Africa's context of injustice will be highlighted: [1] the first two Maturity Courses during '73 and '74 where a Swiss theologian and psychologist from Lausanne, Hans Bürki, modelled an evangelicalism that was as social and political as it was radically transforming of the personal, and who also mediated between SCM students and SCA students in situations of heightened racial tension,<sup>6</sup> [2] the SACC and Africa Enterprise Congress of Mission and Evangelism in February 1973 in Durban, where SCA leaders experienced black theologians confronting white South Africans in an exposition of Black Theology on a public platform for the first time,<sup>7</sup> [3] the Lausanne Congress for World Evangelization in Switzerland in 1974, where Bill Houston and other SCA leaders heard "new voices" in evangelicalism, as John Stott, C. René Padilla and Samuel Escobar radically questioned and controversially challenged North American "church growth" theology, and expounded clear biblical warrants for the social and political dimensions integral to Christian discipleship,<sup>8</sup> and [4] SCA's Stutterheim Branch Chairmen's consultation of November 1974, when SCA leaders, and student leaders in particular, began to confront the reality of SCM's harassment, after the detention without trial of Cyril Ramaphosa at Turfloop on 25 September 1974.<sup>9</sup>

Implicit in this reconstruction of SCA's early discipleship events are the interrelated questions that underpin this monograph as a whole: *To what extent did SCA receive and internalize a theology and spirituality in its discipleship training programmes that included*

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<sup>5</sup> A poignant account of the Vorster era from a Liberal perspective is Glenn Frankel's *Children of Rivonia: Three Families and the Cost of Conscience in White South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> For descriptions of Bürki's wide-ranging international ministry, see my essay, "Hans Bürki in Retrospect. Theology and Spirituality: Through the Lens of Memory," *JTSA*, 151 (March 2015): 24-40.

<sup>7</sup> A presentation from the podium which immediately drew the attention of Vorster's secret police was Manas Buthelezi's "Six Theses: Theological Problems of Evangelism in the South African Context." *JTSA*, 3 (June 1973): 55-56.

<sup>8</sup> The Lausanne Congress papers are reproduced in J.S. Douglas, ed., *Let the Earth Hear His Voice: International Congress on World Evangelization, Lausanne, Switzerland: Papers and Responses* (Minneapolis, MN: World Wide Publications, 1975).

<sup>9</sup> Anthony Butler describes the Frelimo Rally at Turfloop and the march led by Ramaphosa that led directly to his arrest and eleven-month incarceration. Anthony Butler, *Cyril Ramaphosa (Revised)* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2007), 56-58.



*Jesus' prophetic challenge to injustice in society? How far were SCA's leaders equipped to develop an autochthonous theology and spirituality that encouraged South African students to engage a context of injustice and oppression? Were SCA's theology and spirituality able to speak with prophetic integrity into the exigencies of South Africa's particular struggle?*

### **SCA's National Presence, Governance and Staffing in 1970**

In January 1970 nine university branches affiliated to SCA, at the Universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Port Elizabeth, Rhodes, at the University of Natal in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses, at the Salisbury Island University College for Indians,<sup>10</sup> and at the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Pretoria. Seven SCA branches were meeting in teachers' training colleges around the country, at the Johannesburg College of Education, Fordsburg Teachers College for Indians, Edgewood in Pinetown, Springfield Indian Teachers' College near Durban, and at the Grahamstown and Graaff-Reinet Teachers' Colleges.<sup>11</sup> Student numbers in each SCA branch could range from 15 to more than 250 per branch in different academic years during the 1970s.

In addition to the annual cycle of branch meetings on campuses there were three additional regional and national events offered to SCA students during 1970 - the annual April regional Day of Prayer gatherings in churches,<sup>12</sup> the traditional July Intersarsity conference which in 1970 was held at the Maphumulo Lutheran Theological College near Stanger,<sup>13</sup> and SCA's first Vac Mission or "work camp", which took place at Murchison Hospital and the interdenominational mission station of Harry and Gay Oosthuizen at Kentani near Butterworth and the Wild Coast.<sup>14</sup>

The activities and concerns of the Association throughout the 70s related closely to SCA's original aims and objects formulated by Andrew Murray and the founders of 1896. Whether staff visited student branches or not, SCA's regularly mimeographed *Aims of SCA*, posted each January to thousands of students on SCA's mailing list around the country, clearly communicated the scope, content and implicit structure of a typical SCA branch's activities. Here, for example, are the *Aims of SCA* reworded slightly by Bill Houston in his

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<sup>10</sup> The "bush college" for Indians was established at a disused military base on an island in Durban harbor in 1961. See Devarakshanam (Betty) Govinden's 'Remembering "Salisbury Island"'.  
[http://dspace.nwu.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10394/6722/Y&T\\_2011\(6\)\\_Govinden.pdf?sequence=1](http://dspace.nwu.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10394/6722/Y&T_2011(6)_Govinden.pdf?sequence=1), accessed: 25 March 2015.

<sup>11</sup> These details have been retrieved from A1.24, Council Minutes: Roma (30 June 1973) and H2.1.1 Jim Johnston and Graham McIntosh: "Joint Recommendations": Document for the July 1969 Wilgerspruit SCA Council. Groups at Pretoria University, UPE, Cape Town Teachers' College and Tygerberg Medical School were granted affiliation by SCA Council, between 1970 and 1976. UP and UPE branches existed as early as 1969 and the Tygerberg and CTTC groups affiliated formally in 1976.

<sup>12</sup> H2.1.1, Dave Levy: Prayer Secretary Report, NSE Minutes: Durban (14 July 1970).

<sup>13</sup> H2.1.1, Kevin Tait's Wits SCA Chairman's Newsletter (Autumn 1970).

<sup>14</sup> H2.1.1, Ammi Saayman's Missions Secretary Report, NSE Minutes: Stutterheim (Feb 1971)\*.

policy statement for SCA Council as National Director, in January 1977:

1. To lead students to accept the Christian faith in God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, according to the Scriptures, and to live as true disciples of Jesus Christ.
2. To deepen the spiritual life of students and to promote among them the earnest study of the Bible as the inspired Word of God.
3. To urge students to devote themselves to the extension of the Kingdom of God in their own country and throughout the world.
4. To foster among students loyalty to the Church of Christ as a whole and to their own church in particular.<sup>15</sup>

The Association's aims were its clearest "curriculum statement" and affiliated branches understood their task on campus to be evangelism in its broadest sense - bringing students to faith in God and leading them into daily discipleship of Jesus Christ through involvement in evangelism, mission and active membership in the local church. Wherever branches met, the core activities of Bible study, meeting to pray, evangelistic outreach and Bible expositions from guest speakers were organised to fulfil these aims.

The centre of SCA's governance comprised the annual National Council of more than thirty members, past graduates and current students, who simultaneously served on SCA's Transvaal, Natal, Eastern Cape and Western Cape Regional Committees.<sup>16</sup> Parallel and equal in size to the National Council (Hereafter, just Council) was the National Students' Council (NSC) made up of student representatives of all branches around the country.<sup>17</sup> The Chairman of Council, the Chairperson of the NSC,<sup>18</sup> together with the General Secretary (formerly, Organising Secretary) who represented staff, and other elected members, made up the National Executive (NATEX) of SCA which was responsible for the day to day running of the Association, and reported directly to the Council Chairman. NC and NSC met annually at mid-year during the national Intervarsity Conference, and NATEX met at least bi-annually to effect and monitor the running of the Association, mostly in February and October. The General Secretary (later, National Director) directed the SCA staff team, consisting of administrative staff and travelling secretaries (later known as staff workers). Policies affecting SCA's executive decisions that were drafted by students, staff, or Regional Committees had to be ratified first by one of the biannual NATEX

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<sup>15</sup> B4.1.4, Bill Houston, 'SCA Policy Statement on Social Issues,' 4 January 1977.

<sup>16</sup> Regional committees functioned in an ad hoc fashion until they were formalized into SCA's constitutional structure as 'Regional Committees' after the Port Elizabeth SCA Consultation in 1977: A1.28, Memo re: Port Elizabeth Consultation (January 1977).

<sup>17</sup> See B3.1, for SCA's Constitutional evolution. For minutes of Council, see B1.29 – B1.53.

<sup>18</sup> "Chairman" was the term SCA Council used for its chief incumbent and men held this position in the Association throughout the period. National Students' Council elected a first woman chairperson, Wilma Jakobsen, in 1981.

meetings and then by both the midyear Council and NSC meetings before they could come into effect.

In addition to Council, SCA constituted a Panel of Reference of ten to twelve church leaders and elders of the evangelical movement in South Africa, from among all Protestant denominations.<sup>19</sup> The Panel of Reference received copies of Council minutes, and they could address Council and NATEX on any matters that might concern them. Unbeknown to most in the Association until the revelation of two students in July 1983, two Panel of Reference members were also members of the Afrikaner Broederbond.<sup>20</sup> Because SCA also invited observers from its sister movements to attend its councils, it was not unusual for more than fifty or sixty people to be present to discuss the agenda in any annual SCA Council or NSC meeting. If SCA was renowned for large chilly midwinter student conferences, it will also be remembered for the august size and gravity of its annual Council meetings.<sup>21</sup>

SCA's cumbersome, unwieldy model of governance, which replicated the structure of the old SCA, was created and then transplanted into the new SCA by Ds Johan Bell's Federal Study Commission of 1963/4.<sup>22</sup> On account of SCA's compliant acceptance of this bureaucratic structure in 1965, and because there was an influential quorum on the SCA Council of men and women who championed South Africa's peculiar, formulaic, individualistic and contentious evangelicalism of the post-war years, which bordered on fundamentalism, and was expressed in a myopic stance towards the ecumenical movement, it will be shown that SCA's Council or Panel of Reference would often hamper the Association by delaying or delimiting vital changes in SCA policies, or restricting staff workers' and even students' activities. It will also be seen that the extreme wariness of liberal theology, ecumenism, Roman Catholicism and secularism by these councillors, filtered down into the regions and even branches of the Association.

Regarding SCA's financial governance by 1970, Jim Johnston and NATEX began to bring to a conclusion three years of intricate financial negotiations to effect the devolution to SCA of its legal payments from five dissolution accounts of the old Association before 1965.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> In September 1970 SCA's Panel of Reference included Dr J.F. Jarvis (Brethren), Bishop S. Bradley (CESA), Ds Dr J.A. Heyns of the Theological Seminary in Stellenbosch, Bishop Bill Burnett (CPSA), Rev Dr Calvin Cook (Presbyterian Church) D.G. Mills (CESA), Dr P.M. Bremer (NGK), Sydney Hudson-Reed (Baptist Union). B4.1.4, Letters from Johnston to Panel of Reference members confirming receipt of their signed copies of SCA's Basis of Faith.

<sup>20</sup> SCA's relationship with the Broederbond will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

<sup>21</sup> The researcher attended two SCA Councils during the 1980s and three Councils of the Students' Christian Organization, which succeeded the SCA after its merger with SCM in 1996.

<sup>22</sup> B4.1.3, Bell to Cook, "Re: SCA Matters" (2 December 1964).

<sup>23</sup> These accounts included [1] SCA's rightful portion of funds as a successor association, [2] SCA's portion of funds earmarked for the development of the *Indian Work*, [3] SCA's constitutional portion of "The 1966 Fund" bequeathed to SCA for

Ds Johan Bell of ACSV held the purse strings in this process and appeared to be obfuscating, thereby delaying SCA's receipt of its funds.<sup>24</sup> As a result of this three-year bureaucratic treadmill of correspondence, bi-lateral meetings, and waiting for the Council rulings of both ACSV and SCA, SCA's fundraising for operations and salaries by 1970 was seriously deficient, and Hannes Fehrsen, SCA's National Treasurer, reported a growing deficit.<sup>25</sup>

Another important financial theme in this chapter's focus on race relations is the financial assistance that SCA tried to effect for ACS, SCM and its own "Indian Work". Financial gifts towards "African Work" or the "Indian Work" had been part of the Afrikaans Section's "mission to others" tradition for many years before the 1965 dissolution, a tradition that reflected whites' growing discomfort about widening inequalities between black and white Christians in SCA's "Sections".<sup>26</sup> By 1969, the new SCA saw financial support towards the Black, Coloured and Indian work as part of SCA's responsibility when its sister associations emerged from the dissolution in 1965 with such meagre human and financial resources.<sup>27</sup> Despite indifference by many Afrikaners in ACSV towards the financial plight of its Coloured and Black "daughter" associations after 1965, exceptional leaders like Ds A.F. Louw and Ds Faure Louw intentionally maintained contact with SCM and SCA after 1965, and attempted to raise SCM's financial needs with Ds John Bell for an official ACSV response.<sup>28</sup>

SCA's staffing in July 1970 consisted of full time General Secretary, Jim Johnston, and full time travelling secretaries, Graham McIntosh from Pietermaritzburg and Gill McGregor of Inter-Varsity Fellowship in Britain, who visited SCA branches countrywide, McGregor focusing on work with women in residences.<sup>29</sup> McIntosh had served since November 1968; his responsibilities included visits to SCM and ACSV branches around the country, particularly at Fort Hare, the University of Zululand and the University of the North

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assisting Christian students in their university education – [a] the Sargent-Bliss Fund bequeathed by Helen Sargent and Anna Bliss to SCA in 1953, for theological education grants to English medium staff workers, and [b] the Jan Hofmeyr Bequest to SCA through Hofmeyr's bequest to UCT. See among other letters, B4.1.4, Morgan Greenwood's finance memos to NATEX in 1970 (6 February, 21 April and 29 May), M. Visser to Greenwood (14 May 1970) and Jan Buitendag to Johnston (27 August 1970).

<sup>24</sup> B4.1.4, See for example, Buitendag to Johnston (27 August 1970).

<sup>25</sup> See B4.1.4, Hannes Fehrsen to Council (13 March and 29 September 1970). Adding to the shortage of funds in 1970 was Stacey Woods' appeal to SCA to assist IFES, which was facing a financial shortfall: B4.1.4, Stacey Woods' Memo to General Secretaries (April 1970).

<sup>26</sup> B4.1.4, Buitendag reminded Johnston of ACS' "mission to others" donations, (27 August 1970).

<sup>27</sup> B4.1.3, For example, Graeme Maxwell wrote in his NSC Report of 1969, "Bitter failure is recorded in the efforts of the NSE to meet financial requirements for extension and consolidation in the work amongst the African universities and colleges."

<sup>28</sup> B4.1.4, Ds A.F. Louw to Johnston (26 July 1973), Johnston to Louw (22 August 1977).

<sup>29</sup> B1.28.3, NATEX Minutes (20-21 November 1970) cf. H2.5.2, Mark Alexander's Report to NATEX as Wits SCA Chairman (August 1971).

(Turfloop).<sup>30</sup> Deryck Sheriffs, a Hebrew and Akkadian doctoral student at Stellenbosch, and his wife Del, were self-supporting part-time local staff who nurtured new English-speaking SCA branches in Stellenbosch and at Tygerberg Hospital.<sup>31</sup> Sheriffs' keen interest was to develop SCA's Theological Students' Fellowship (TSF), a theological newsletter and conference ministry for theological students at institutions around the country.<sup>32</sup> Also in 1970, a promising student at Salisbury Island, Shun Govender, represented SCA's Indian campus branches at Johannesburg's Fordsburg Teachers' College, at Springfield Teachers' College and at Salisbury Island, as Chairman of the Indian Work Committee.<sup>33</sup> The SCA administration was divided between Durban and Johannesburg, each utilising a local office made available by Scripture Union.<sup>34</sup>

### **SCA's Anglophile Affinity in the Worldwide IFES Family**

The last chapter showed that from SCA's earliest beginnings, a sustained network of relationships developed between evangelicals in the Cambridge Christian Union and the London Medical School branches of what became the Inter-Varsity Fellowship (IVF), and evangelicals in South Africa, particularly but not exclusively in SCA's UCT branch.<sup>35</sup> One of the reasons for the breakup of the old SCA, notwithstanding the racial and ideological pressure to dissolve the Association that came from DRC leaders, was the pressure group in the English-speaking SCA to adopt an evangelical "Basis of Faith", and to affiliate SCA to the evangelical IFES. Chapter Three also described the determination by the old English-speaking Section to achieve this goal with colleagues from North America and Britain in the period immediately prior to the dissolution of 1965. What might be called a strong anglophile affinity in SCA partly explains why support from Britain gathered momentum immediately after the Bloemfontein dissolution conference. Oliver Barclay encouraged the SCA leaders to steer away from a narrow association with the Rhodes' Evangelical Christian Union, towards a larger more inclusive association of evangelicals in the hope that SCA would quickly comply with criteria for IFES affiliation.<sup>36</sup> Ties with the British movement grew at governance level, fostered by Robin Wells, first Secretary of the new SCA, and Oliver Barclay, General Secretary of IVF in Britain and an Associate General Secretary of IFES; the priority in their correspondence was IFES affiliation for SCA and the

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<sup>30</sup> See B4.1.4, Johnston's memo to NATEX (5 October 1970) and H2.1.1 NSC Minutes (16 July 1969), respectively.

<sup>31</sup> B1.28.3, NATEX Minutes (20-21 November 1970).

<sup>32</sup> See for example B4.1.4 Johnston to Greenwood (17 May 1971).

<sup>33</sup> See H2.2.1, NSC Minutes (16 July 1969) and A1.24 Council Minutes (30 June 1973).

<sup>34</sup> See B4.1.3, Greenwood to Fehrsen (26 September 1969) and B4.1.4, R. Jacobsen to Johnston (13 April 1970).

<sup>35</sup> Robin Wells, Dr J.F. Jarvis, Rod Hewitson, G.F.B. Morris, Murray Hofmeyr and Stephen Bradley were among those who sustained these relationships, in part through the Christian Medical Fellowship. See for example B4.1.4, Jarvis to Johnston (2 July 1975).

<sup>36</sup> See for example B4.1.4, Wells to Barclay (21 March 1966) and Barclay to Wells (12 September 1966).

appointment to SCA of British travelling secretary, Jim Johnston, seconded from England's IVF through IFES.<sup>37</sup> As part of this strengthening of ties, in June and July of 1967, David Bentley-Taylor, a retired British missionary of the China Inland Mission was sent by IVF to speak in SCA branches throughout the country.<sup>38</sup>

Earlier ties with the USA Intervarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF) were also strengthened after 1965, as Stacey Woods, former IVCF General Secretary and now General Secretary of IFES, visited South Africa for talks with SCA Council members in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town during February and March 1966, and then proactively assisted the SCA leadership to prepare their application for acceptance as a national evangelical student movement in IFES.<sup>39</sup> In South Africa's spring of 1966, Paul E. Little, North American author and "shirtsleeve evangelist", travelled throughout South Africa speaking on Christian apologetics and evangelism, and disseminating his recent book, *How to Give Away Your Faith*.<sup>40</sup>

SCA's Anglophile affinities strengthened after September 1967 when Jim Johnston arrived from Belfast to be organising secretary. Johnston's Baptist background in Britain and his evangelical theological training at London Bible College, his contacts in IVF as a travelling secretary in England,<sup>41</sup> and his attendance of James I. Packer's keynote lectures on evangelical faith and the authority of the Bible at the 1967 General Committee of IFES in Austria, en route to South Africa,<sup>42</sup> were formative influences in Johnston's professional background that would influence SCA's theological reception in the early 70s; growing relationships between British IVF graduates who were evangelical authors, preachers or scientists such as Canon Michael Green, David Kingdon, Michael Griffiths, Martin Goldsmith, David Watson and Donald MacKay, many of whom Johnston had met, would also naturally evolve with SCA students and graduates.<sup>43</sup> Johnston also secured the wide subscription of SCA regions, branches and office bearers to the *IFES Journal* and the *Christian Graduate* in the early 1970s, to consolidate SCA's evangelical foundations and international affiliations, which would shape SCA's theological reception during the rest of the decade.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> B4.1.4, Barclay to Wells (12 September 1966).

<sup>38</sup> B4.1.4, Woods to Wells (15 September 1966).

<sup>39</sup> See B4.1.4, M. Scott to Wells (23 March 1966) and especially Woods to Wells (15 September 1966).

<sup>40</sup> B4.1.4, Little to Wells (6 November 1966).

<sup>41</sup> Interview 4: Johnston (19 June 2014).

<sup>42</sup> Packer's addresses for IFES staff in 1967 are referenced in James I. Packer, "Biblical Authority, Hermeneutics and Inerrancy," *I.F.E.S. Journal* 24. No. 2 (1971): 1.

<sup>43</sup> Interview 4: Johnston (20 June 2014).

<sup>44</sup> SCA's first 40 copies of *I.F.E.S. Journal* were invoiced in November 1970: B4.1.4 Greenwood to NATEX (27 Jan 1971) and the first consignment of the *Christian Graduate* were shipped to SCA Graduates Fellowship members from September 1972: J. van de Heever to Jeffree James (12 September 1972).

SCA's theological reception and discipleship tradition may have run a very different course had any friendship been established through the mid-twentieth century between SCA leaders and African evangelicals from the Pan African Fellowship of Evangelical Students (PAFES), to which 28 African countries within IFES had affiliated by 1970.<sup>45</sup> Leading pastors, Bishop Festo Kivengere of Kampala and Lesslie Newbigin, Bishop of Madras - popular evangelical theologians who were assisting the development of the PAFES region - were never invited to share their organizational, evangelistic or missiological expertise in SCA.<sup>46</sup> Newbigin in particular was respected in South Africa as Chairman of the WCC's International Missionary Council, and first visited to lecture ecclesiology at Rhodes Theological Faculty in 1957 en route from India to Britain.<sup>47</sup> Newbigin's subsequent visits to give practical assistance to the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice, after Verwoerd's dissolution of independent theological institutions, and Kivengere's openness to speak in ecumenical settings, might explain the reticence of the SCA Council to welcome them into the Association.<sup>48</sup> Ironically, apparent tensions between PAFES leaders and their colleagues in IFES to the north, may also account for a top-level caution from Stacey Woods himself, that SCA should avoid attempting to affiliate with PAFES.<sup>49</sup> Only after 1972, when Johnston began to give time and energy to establishing a Southern African Fellowship of Evangelical Students (SAFES), and invited William Adodoadji, Travelling Secretary for PAFES' Fellowship of Christian Unions (FOCUS) in Nairobi for the first SAFES consultation at Roma, Lesotho, in June 1973, were formal ties between PAFES and Southern Africa first established.<sup>50</sup>

For all these reasons, leaders in the new SCA, and SCA's discipleship programmes inclined from early on towards receiving and promoting British and North American evangelical theologians. Significant for this study of prophetic integrity, almost no British or North American visitors to SCA would speak directly to apartheid injustices, or highlight the dire realities of state oppression in the daily experience of black South Africans since the early 1960s.<sup>51</sup> This blindspot in the ministry of Anglo-Saxon visitors to the Association only

<sup>45</sup> H2.1.7.2, Mimeographed pamphlet on PAFES by David Gitari.

<sup>46</sup> H2.1.7.2, PAFES pamphlet, by David Gitari. No mention of Kivengere in minutes of SCA's executive has been found. The only mention of Newbigin found as yet, is cautionary, in the context of whom SCA should not include and whom not to consult. See B4.1.3 S. Edkins to UCT Student Chair, Roland Darrol (15 October 1960).

<sup>47</sup> Skype Interview: John de Gruchy (15 February 2015).

<sup>48</sup> See Philippe Denis and Graham Duncan, *The Native School that Caused all the Trouble: A History of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 2013), 45-46.

<sup>49</sup> B4.1.4, Woods to Wells (15 September 1966).

<sup>50</sup> A1.24, Council Minutes: Roma (30 June 1973).

<sup>51</sup> David Bentley-Taylor's published travelogue of his speaking tour to South Africa in 1967 mirrors the concerns, style and gentlemanly chauvinism of the nineteenth century 'missionary statesman' F.B. Meyer, who published a diary of his visit to South Africa including several engagements with SCA, in 1908. See F.B. Meyer, *A Winter in South Africa* (London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, 1908). However, Bentley-Taylor's *Adventures of a Christian Envoy* (Lausanne: IFES,

reinforced the pastoral myopia which had unfolded in white South African missionary endeavours for over a century. Anglo-Saxon visitors to SCA would also be hesitant to identify and confront a corollary of this white myopia, which was the moth and flame dynamic encircling white South Africans in regard to our statutory racial privileges under apartheid.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, there were to be outstanding exceptions to Anglo-Saxon establishment evangelicalism in SCA's theological reception between 71 and 74, in the existential and social challenge represented by Hans Bürki, Michael Green, Manas Buthelezi, René Padilla and Samuel Escobar, as their theologies reverberated into SCA with great consequence.

### **Black Consciousness and SCA's Forming Discipleship Tradition**

SCA's Intersivity conference topics and branch curricula from the late 60s, to as late as the first half of 1976, rehearsed the Anglo-Saxon establishment evangelicalism that had characterized much of the twentieth century, illustrated in systematic exposition of Christian doctrine, and using T.C. Hammond's 1936 classic *In Understanding be Men* as the rule of thumb.<sup>53</sup> Bible expositors at Intersivity conferences in the late 60s and early 70s were usually well-known English, Irish and North American missionaries or theologians, on themes like mission, church, evangelism, and topics about the Christian in society. So, American missiologist Talmage Wilson and British Bible teacher, Julian Charley, at Maphumulo in July 1970, expounded the content and methods of communicating the Gospel to two groups at Intersivity conference, the theological students in SCA's new Theological Students' Fellowship (TSF) which Deryck Sheriffs convened, and the other for the remainder of 270 student delegates.<sup>54</sup> Seminar topics offered by SCA graduates and other visiting speakers included: "The Christian and Social Responsibilities", "Relationships", "Christian Marriage", "The Role of the Christian Graduate", "The Christian's Political Responsibility", "Science and the Christian Faith."<sup>55</sup>

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1992), 17-23 reveals an indifference to, rather than understanding and compassion for the suffering of the black majority in South Africa, in contrast to the more empathetic attitude of his compatriot a half-century earlier.

<sup>52</sup> The moth and flame metaphor is James Houston's, from his searching chapter on addiction, in *The Heart's Desire: A Guide to Personal Fulfillment* (Oxford: Lion, 1992). James Houston's theological reflection on the spiritual roots of addiction in twentieth century societies are worthy of study in regard to the social compulsions of apartheid in South Africa...

<sup>53</sup> From 1968 SCA branches used the chapter titles and content of David F. Wright, *In Understanding be Men: A Christian Handbook of Christian Doctrine* (London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1968) as a guide for guest presentation topics during term meetings. The Transvaal region used the book title as the theme of their first two summer schools of Evangelism in January 1974 and 1975. See H2.5.1, Wits Branch Minutes 1974, and Stanley Sher's 1975/76 Chairman's Reports.

<sup>54</sup> "What we communicate about: God, Jesus Christ, Man" H.2.1.7.2, Steve Truscott's NSC Chairman's Report, "Intersivity Conference: Umpumulo" (July 1970).

<sup>55</sup> H2.1.7.2, "Umpumulo" 1971 conference brochure. For a larger sample of SCA's curriculum topics see the *Matrix of SCA Curriculum Topics and Materials* at APPENDIX B on page 267-268.



At the July 1972 Michaelhouse Intersivity conference there were Bible expositions by David Kingdon from Belfast on “The Church”, and by Rev. David Cook of Scripture Union on “Revolutionary Revelation,” with seminars by Johnston and Sheriffs for 205 students in the main conference, and 25 theological students attending a parallel track in SCA’s TSF; optional seminars included topics like “The Christian Mind”, “The Christian and Violence” and the “The Christian and Art.”<sup>56</sup> In January 1973 the NSC’s Literature Secretary, John Child, from Rhodes, presented students with a suggested reading list of 155 titles which, although it represented the more Reformed grouping within SCA, typified SCA’s strong European and North American orientation, and emphasised the Enlightenment perspective of establishment evangelicalism, which centred more on “the individual” than on the Christian community, or questions about or applications to South Africa’s socio-political context.<sup>57</sup>

Social and political events in South Africa that were the backdrop to Johnston’s pioneering years in SCA’s young discipleship tradition were marked by rapid politicization of black youth and rising fears in white South Africa.<sup>58</sup> Firstly, many black Christian student leaders were becoming more vocal in solidarity with the exiled and banned liberation movements, as a result of increasing police repression.<sup>59</sup> Rapid politicization of black students in SCM, many of whom had personal contact with SCA students, became a significant conduit of Black Consciousness ideas into SCA. Among the most influential of these students was Steve Biko, who studied medicine at the University of Natal Non-European Section at Wentworth in Durban, and whom Maurice Ngakane, Frank Chikane and Cyril Ramaphosa, on SCM’s student executive, welcomed to speak at SCM conferences.<sup>60</sup>

In 1968 in Sibasa, capital of the newly created Venda “Homeland,” Ramaphosa, a high school SCM Chairman at Mphapuli, was travelling to SCM branches throughout his region promoting a “new formation” for weekend meetings, the Black Evangelical Youth

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<sup>56</sup> Cook was a British Scripture Union worker, appointed in South Africa. (Deryck Sheriffs Email: 18 March 2015) cf. H2.3.1.2, Kevin Tait’s NSC Chairman’s Report: Michael House (July 1972).

<sup>57</sup> H2.1.3.3: Thus, in his motivation for the reading list, Child foregrounded “[...] the problem of knowledge, which is the problem of the twentieth century. How can I obtain true knowledge? By what standard can I judge differing philosophies? By what standard can I approach life?” For more on the Enlightenment orientation of this list, see the January 1973 entry in the *Matrix of Published Theological Reception* at APPENDIX A on page 266.

<sup>58</sup> For an introduction, see Gail M. Gerhardt, *Black Power: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978).

<sup>59</sup> See Anthony Marx *Lessons of Struggle: South African Internal Opposition, 1960 – 1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 32-51.

<sup>60</sup> Sydney Seolonyane, later a travelling secretary for SCM, was impressed by Biko’s SCM presentations. Interviews: Ngakane: Telephonic Interview (26 August 2014), Seolonyane: (26 March 2014) cf. Lindy Wilson, *Steve Biko* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2011), 28-31. In 1968 Biko was instrumental in forming the all-black South African Students’ Organization (SASO) and the Black Peoples’ Convention (BPC) - a loose organizational structure for students to voice and debate their ideas about Black Consciousness.

Organization, with programmes that seamlessly wove together Bible exposition, prayers for the sick and Black Consciousness ideas - one of South Africa's first indigenous expressions of Black Theology.<sup>61</sup> In Soweto Frank Chikane and others were pioneering their own "new formations" to complement SCM's week day meetings, like Chikane's Youth For Christ or Caesar Molebatsi's Youth Alive, while others like Rachel Sago, Lybon Mabasa, Ishmael Mkhabela and Griffith Zabala roved as speakers to SCM meetings in high schools throughout the Witwatersrand township areas.<sup>62</sup> Biko's influence was evident in the motivational oration genre of these SCM firebrands.<sup>63</sup> In this context of growing black politicization, McIntosh and Johnston regularly met Ngakane, Ramaphosa, Chikane and Mabasa until the end of 1973, after which official contact between SCA and SCM became increasingly fraught.<sup>64</sup>

In contrast to black Christians' growing politicization, white South Africans in general were fearful of engaging Black Consciousness as a natural, positive development in black communities because Vorster's rapidly organised Ministry of Information under Connie Mulder and Eschel Roodie, manipulated information about "black power" on radio and in the media.<sup>65</sup> Secondly, whites were increasingly divided ahead of the 1970 national election, as old *swart gevaar* election tactics were sown by the newly formed Herstigte Nasionale Party, in response to Vorster's relaxation of some petty apartheid legislation.<sup>66</sup> In addition, members of churches in the Churches' Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA) were polarized around the issue of "politics", after a strong statement of the CCSA and the Christian Institute (CI) in their 1968 *Message to the People of Southern Africa*,<sup>67</sup> which called the "ideology of apartheid [...] a heretical interpretation of Scripture", and rallied to churches to "establish justice" for the poor as an expression of Christians' "first loyalty" to

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<sup>61</sup> The Black Evangelical Youth Organization (BEYO) was originally called the "Bold" EYO, Interview: Faure Louw (17 November 2012). Caesar Molebatsi explained the relationship between SCM weekday meetings at schools and the exponential growth of "different formations" on the weekends, where cross-fertilization between evangelical faith and Black Consciousness among black township youth took place. See telephonic interview: Molebatsi (14 May 2015). For more on the genesis of BEYO and Ramaphosa's mentorship by the Lutheran ordinand, Tshenuwani Farisani, see Anthony Butler, *Cyril Ramaphosa* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2007) 32-39.

<sup>62</sup> Interview: Sydney Seolonyane (26 March 2014).

<sup>63</sup> Telephonic Interview: Sydney Seolonyane (26 August 2014).

<sup>64</sup> Interview 4: Johnston (4 June 2014).

<sup>65</sup> Literature on Nationalist Party media propaganda and its play on white English-speaking fears is well-known. See for example, James Sanders *South Africa and the International Media, 1972-1979: A Struggle for Representation*, (London, Portland, OR: F. Cass, 2000).

<sup>66</sup> Biko summarized the effect of the "swart gevaar" tactic in a "SASO Newsletter" thus: "The overall success of the White power structure has been managing to bind the Whites together in defense of the status quo. By skillfully playing on that imaginary bogey —"swart gevaar" — they have managed to convince even the die-hard liberals that there is something to fear in the event of the Black man assuming his rightful place at the helm of the South African ship." Cited from "Pdf: Black Consciousness and the Quest for True Humanity," <http://dch360.com/file/1833432>, accessed: 25 April 2015.

<sup>67</sup> Peter Walshe, *Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 1999) 54. A full summary of the text of *The Message* is found in Peter Randall, ed., *Apartheid and the Church: Report of the Spro-cas Church Commission* (Johannesburg: Christian Institute, 1972), 77-81.

Jesus Christ.<sup>68</sup> Significantly, Calvin Cook's theological concern for primary allegiance to Christ during SCA's ethical impasse of 1965, is strongly voiced in *The Message*, which Cook helped draft with his working paper on "The Lordship of Christ", and which Cook, now a member of the University Christian Movement, endorsed as a signatory.<sup>69</sup>

After 1969, when the SACC (the newly renamed CCSA) openly debated but did not endorse the WCC "Programme to Combat Racism", which included humanitarian aid to the exiled liberation movements, the cat was set among the pigeons in white churches - especially after Vorster legislated in 1970 to criminalize any official contact between South Africans and the WCC.<sup>70</sup> Strong support of the Black Consciousness movement by the SACC and CI, and their jointly organized Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid South Africa (SPRO-Cas) which modelled itself on the Confessing Church movement of Bonhoeffer, and involved 150 academics across the humanities and social sciences, further alienated most white Christians, who, while their churches retained membership of the SACC, distanced themselves from the WCC's assistance to South African exiles and liberation movements.<sup>71</sup>

Despite this increasingly strained context for race relations, SCA student branches, staff and graduate leaders - like Eric Bateman in Cape Town - went to great effort to foster closer working relationships with black and coloured students in the sister movements, SCM and ACS. In 1969 Johnston secured a level of agreement from Masipa of the SCM universities' sub-committee, and from Jimmy Ellis of ACS, for Graham McIntosh to work as a non-stipendiary travelling secretary in a total of thirty branches within these sister movements - SCM was to contribute towards McIntosh's travel expenses to Fort Hare, Turfloop and Natal branches.<sup>72</sup> At NATEX level Johnston proposed to raise funds through the SCA Graduates' Christian Fellowship (GCF) towards SCM and ACS' cash-strapped operational budgets.<sup>73</sup> However, Rod Hewitson in Cape Town prevented NATEX approving Johnston's idea because of SCA's R4808 deficit, and under pressure from GCF members like D.G. Mills et al, who kept alive the idea that the Cape was SCA's true evangelical backbone, and argued to prevent Cape Town funding "going north".<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Peter Randall, *Apartheid and the Church*, 79.

<sup>69</sup> Peter Randall, *Apartheid and the Church*, see "Signatories to the Report..." before the Preamble and the working papers tabulated in Appendix Four.

<sup>70</sup> John de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition (London: SCAM 2004), 125, 129.

<sup>71</sup> *Pro Veritate*, IX, 6 (October 1970), p. 7.

<sup>72</sup> H2.1.1, NSC Minutes: "Umpumulo" (November 1969) and Durban (12 July 1970).

<sup>73</sup> For Johnston's proposal to assist ACS see B4.1.4 Johnston to Buitendag (29 April 1971 and 30 March 1972).

<sup>74</sup> They referred to non-GCF members as "outsiders". B4.1.4, Hewitson to Greenwood (30 December 1971), Hewitson to Johnston (15 February 1972), and Johnston to Hewitson (22 February 1972). SCA's financial deficit figure is reported in Johnston's Memo to Jan Buitendag (20 December 1971).

At student level, initiatives for multiracial cooperation were enthusiastic. During SCA's November 1969 NSC meeting in Maphumulo SCA students endorsed a motion which they felt was a progressive new departure - their Missions' Secretary, Ammi Saayman, proposed that one of SCA's Vac Mission work parties at rural mission stations each year should be intentionally "multi-racial."<sup>75</sup> Early in 1970 the Wits SCA branch hosted Benjamin Allen, a student at the Transvaal College of Education for Indians, to a Wits committee meeting, and welcomed Indian students to attend Wits camps and the Africa Enterprise Mission to the University later that year.<sup>76</sup> At UCT SCA students maintained a longstanding tradition, begun by UCT SCA Chairman Bill Houston in 1965, of visiting and supporting SCM branches with literature and leadership training opportunities in Langa.<sup>77</sup> At staff level in 1970 Johnston and McIntosh welcomed Masipa, K. Magwayi, H. Kentane and other SCM and ACS students and staff, to the July 1970 Intervarsity Conference at Maphumulo.<sup>78</sup> Later that year SCA's work party to Murchison Mission and Vac Mission to Kentani involved 52 students - but only whites. Ammi Saayman - somewhat idealistically in view of current realities - again motivated NSE to invite black students to participate in this experience.<sup>79</sup>

Notwithstanding white SCA students' intentions to befriend black students in an unrestricted way, in a society that criminalised integration, there were other immediate motivations that explain SCA's strong impulse towards closer partnership with the Black, Coloured and Indian ministries associated with SCA. Johnston's sense of vocation to come to South Africa with IFES, after initially balking at the idea, was grounded in the hope that the gospel would be instrumental to heal divisions in the South African church.<sup>80</sup> To this end Johnston adopted Marjorie Scott's SAFES ideal, but with a much wider goal, that Afrikaner, Coloured, Black and English-speaking evangelicals might reconcile through the task of building a new evangelical student movement.<sup>81</sup> Thus Johnston invited students from SCM and ACS, and neighbouring national student movements in Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Madagascar, Mozambique and Rhodesia to SCA events, to lay foundations for SAFES as a new African sub-region of PAFES. He also wanted to counter criticism of SCA by NUSAS, and of IFES by the international anti-apartheid movement, for tacit support of apartheid.<sup>82</sup> Towards all of these goals Johnston presented Morgan Greenwood, SCA's

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<sup>75</sup> H2.1.1, NSC Minutes: "Umpumulo" (November 1969).

<sup>76</sup> H2.5.1, Wits Minutes (30 March 1970).

<sup>77</sup> B4.1.3, Hannah Viljoen to Houston (23 September 1965).

<sup>78</sup> Memoir: Steve Truscott (February 2015).

<sup>79</sup> H2.1.1, NSE Minutes: Stutterheim (6 February 1971).

<sup>80</sup> "When offered the position in RSA, I said 'No, I feel too strongly about apartheid.' Only later, after clear guidance from the Lord did I accept. I was delayed for two years during this time. I studied everything I could get my hands on to do with RSA, and theologically [to] strengthen my position regarding apartheid." Interview 5: Johnston (29 April 2015).

<sup>81</sup> Interview: Andrew Judge (3 July 2013).

<sup>82</sup> Before the parochial scope of Dr Marjorie Scott's "SAFES" initiative from Grahamstown became apparent to Stacey Woods he assumed that funding and resources were extant in "SAFES" for Johnston to achieve the goal of developing a strong

National Chairman, with a draft policy on ‘racial and political matters’ in SCA for circulation to NATEX and Council for approval, as early as April 1971.<sup>83</sup>

Other SCA leaders wanted to realize the “liaison committee” of SCA’s 1965 dissolution clause, to foster closer co-operation. This motivation clearly shaped the speech of Morgan Greenwood in July 1971 at Winkelspruit, where he represented SCA at ACSV’s General Conference to celebrate the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of SCA’s founding. Greenwood challenged ACSV’s Chairman, Ds Gericke, to implement the 1965 resolution for a liaison committee to strengthen ties between the descendent associations; Greenwood emphasized the invitation by quoting the whole of the 1965 resolution verbatim.<sup>84</sup> Presumably, Greenwood translated his strong speech from Afrikaans into English, formally copying it to Johnston, to motivate the General Secretary to intentionally pursue closer relations with SCM and ACS.

Another of SCA’s strategic motives was to influence SCM and ACS towards adopting IFES’ evangelical ethos of student ministry.<sup>85</sup> To achieve this Johnston invited increasing participation from Indian, Black and Coloured staff and students at SCA’s Maphumulo 1970 and Michaelhouse 1972 intervarsity conferences. A last motive for increased contact was the perennial impulse of whites to promote “welfare work” on behalf of Black and Coloured students, in the face of increasingly debilitating evidence of apartheid-induced educational and economic poverty.<sup>86</sup>

Impetus towards multiracial cooperation within SCA and between SCA, ACS and SCM also partly explains the attendance of Shun Govender, Jimmy Ellis of ACS, SCM’s travelling secretary, Maurice Ngakane, and SCM student chair, Sydney Seolonyane, along with SCA’s National Student Chairman, Steve Truscott and Johnston, at the IFES General Committee and discipleship training course in Schloss Mittersill, Austria during August of 1971.<sup>87</sup> They

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sub-region. See B4.1.4 Woods to Wells (9, 15 September 1966). Once Johnston arrived in South Africa perceptions about “SAFES” became more realistic, nevertheless Johnston held to the vision of establishing an IFES sub-region, and began to pursue this possibility energetically from 1970. See B4.1.4 Johnston Memo to NATEX (5 October 1970).

<sup>83</sup> Johnston’s memo mentions pressure on SCA branches from NUSAS about SCA’s relationship to Black South Africans in view of the 1965 split, and the necessity to counter criticism within IFES about SCA’s membership, as background for “a possible policy statement on racial and political matters.” B4.1.3, Johnston to Greenwood (21 April 1971).

<sup>84</sup> In a letter to Johnston Greenwood recalled that “Gericke [...] was sympathetic to the formation of the liaison committee and that the ACSV would “give this matter attention.” B4.1.4, Greenwood to Johnston (6 July 1971).

<sup>85</sup> Neither SCM or ACS were yet affiliated to IFES and Johnston wanted to create opportunities for maximal exposure to IFES discipleship training events for promising leaders in these movements. B4.1.4, Johnston to Buitendag (29 April 1971).

<sup>86</sup> There were fruitful initiatives like securing finance for Lybon Mabasa’s matric school fees from the SCA’s “1966 Fund”: B2.2.3.2, Mabasa to Johnston (Jan 1972)\* and international co-operation to assist Ramaphosa financing his legal training (to be cited below) whereas other initiatives bore little fruit, like Ross Maine’s fund raising drive for the SCM salary of Moshe Rajuile. B4.1.4, Johnston to Michael Green (February 1975).\*

<sup>87</sup> A1.23, Morgan Greenwood’s National Chairman’s Report: Michael House (29 June 1972).

all attended the pre-Committee discipleship training course at Mittersill, engaged very memorably with Hans Bürki of IFES, and came to one mind about inviting Bürki to South Africa.<sup>88</sup> On return from Austria, Ngakane agreed to partner with SCA as a travelling secretary to SCA branches for six weeks during 1972.<sup>89</sup> SCM also endorsed SCA's plans for Johnston's consultation in July 1973 to discuss jointly launching SAFES.<sup>90</sup>

As early as 1970, and increasingly after 1972, growing cooperation between SCA and its Indian, Black and Coloured colleagues in discipleship training events was interrupted by deepening racial tension which seesawed during these years between the two poles of heated standoff and determined rapprochement. Conflict surfaced publically during SCA's national discipleship events, inviting the Association, with its evangelical commitment to Scripture, to recognise God's *kairós* at these moments, and hopefully to respond to these invitations with prophetic insight and integrity.<sup>91</sup> A first official standoff arose as early as January 1970. The SCM universities' sub-committee wrote to SCA's "sub-committee on SCM relations" about SCA's *modus operandi* in SCM branches, particularly regarding Graham McIntosh's work, and received a strong memo from SCA in reply.<sup>92</sup> SCM was insisting that McIntosh could only continue ministry at Fort Hare, Turfloop and Zululand campuses if SCA would accept his direct supervision from the SCM leadership; in response SCA reluctantly withdrew from working in SCM branches.<sup>93</sup> Similarly, from 1972 to late 1973 tensions between The Indian Work Committee Chairman, Shun Govender and NATEX, regarding the appropriateness of SCA having a designated "Indian Work" came to a head, and, despite a desire to appoint Govender as a travelling secretary in SCA in 1973, he left the Indian Work Committee, though he remained on SCA's Council.<sup>94</sup>

Another factor which inhibited racial harmony during this early period was deteriorating perceptions of SCA among black students when it became apparent during national discipleship events that, like the old SCA, the new SCA complied with petty apartheid regulations, such as the Departments of African, Coloured and Indian Affairs' permit regulations for "African", coloured or Indian students to be accommodated in "white areas". One of the first reoccurrences of these polarizing perceptions, since the painful multiracial conference incidents of the old SCA, occurred during the 1972 NSC-organized

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<sup>88</sup> See "Hans Ferdinand Bürki in Retrospect": 31-32.

<sup>89</sup> H2.2.1, NSC Minutes: UCT (July 1971).

<sup>90</sup> A1.24, Council Minutes: Roma (30 June 1973) included Johnston's memo to NATEX outlining SCM and SCA's joint plans for the 1973 SAFES consultation.

<sup>91</sup> Luke 12:54-56

<sup>92</sup> Johnston to Greenwood (12 January 1970).

<sup>93</sup> Johnston to Greenwood (12 January 1970).

<sup>94</sup> A1.24, Council Minutes: Roma (30 June 1973): Council agreed to Govender's appointment. Correspondence after B4.14, Johnston to Govender (27 July 1971) and B6.3.1 "Notes on the Staff Conference of November 1974", refer to the growing tension about a separate "Indian Work" in SCA.

“Mission Safari” to “Zululand”, prior to which SCA applied for and issued students attending the event with Group Areas permits for “African,” Indian and even white students, for travel through different parts of “Zululand.”<sup>95</sup> Compliance with Group Areas on the part of white South Africans entailed a moral compromise and such compliance appears all the more abhorrent with hindsight. Fear of incrimination by the state was ubiquitous at this time so that many white civil society associations acquiesced to these laws, until 1976, after which increasing numbers of liberal white associations began to follow black initiatives to defy this socially toxic legislation.<sup>96</sup> Thus, to a growing number of embarrassed black students attending SCA discipleship programmes, SCA would increasingly be perceived as promoting apartheid in spirit because of active support for apartheid in letter.

### **Engaging Context and Black Consciousness: 1972 and 1973**

Between 1972 and 1973 as Travelling Secretary Peter Anderson, a Rhodesian graduate of SCA from UCT, visited SCA branches across the country, a significant dichotomy of theological persuasions led to polar opposite actions being taken by conservative Council members on the one hand, and by more open-minded leaders in SCA on the other - decisions that would influence the kinds of theology and spirituality SCA would receive, promote or reject, in national discipleship events through the remainder of the 70s. At the conservative pole, Robin Wells, who was elected Council Secretary at Michaelhouse in 1972, alongside Prof Derek Fivaz and Conrad Ball of the Eastern Cape Regional Committee, and Rod Hewitson and Murray Hofmeyr of the Western Cape Regional Committee, were all loyal to Dr Marjorie Scott’s programme at the Rhodes’ Evangelical Christian Union; under their considerable influence the Michaelhouse 1972 Council resolved to prevent SCA from affiliations or even loose associations with any organizations related to the liberation movements, to the WCC, or to the ecumenical movement.<sup>97</sup> The decision crystallized around discussions of the recent banning of Basil Moore, Justice Moloto and Sabelo Ntwasa of UCM.<sup>98</sup> Real differences of opinion then emerged regarding which SCA

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<sup>95</sup> The name “Mission Safari” which white students chose for this event caused concern among SCA staff and Johnston cautioned the students from using it at the Maphumulo NSC. See H2.1.10.1, “Mission Safari” 1972.

<sup>96</sup> For example, NUSAS’ national congress in 1967 was disbanded when Biko called for a “non-racist venue”, as black students were expected to stay overnight in the “location”, Coloured and Indian students, in the town, and whites in the Rhodes’ University Residences. See Lindsay Wilson, *Steve Biko*, 30-31.

<sup>97</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to Jarvis (1 September 1972) cf. A1.23 Council Minutes: Michael House (1 July 1972) and B4.1.4, Melville Jones to Johnston (16 March 1972). In this decision SCA was aligning itself with evangelical groups in Britain and North America, such as the Fuller Seminary, which began to publicly renounce its previous association with the WCC. See David J. Bosch, “Church Growth Missiology.” *Missionalia* 16, no. 1 (April 1988): 14.

<sup>98</sup> UCM’s Moloto and Ntwasa were banned immediately after Vorster’s Security Branch confiscated Basil Moore’s passport, in 1971. Simultaneously, UCM’s Colin Collins went into exile to avoid his military call up and UCM disbanded. UCM was only declared a banned organization four years after its demise, with the outcome of Vorster’s Schibusch-Le Grange Commission. So, ‘University Christian Movement,’ <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/university-christian-movement-ucm>,

delegates should attend the forthcoming South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism jointly organized by the SACC and Africa Enterprise (AE) in March 1973 in Durban.<sup>99</sup> A paradox in the worldview of the SCA conservatives who carried this debate is evident in their resolution, which was finally accepted by the 1972 Council:

It was agreed that SCA would welcome the exchange of ideas and methods which would take place at the Congress [...] but in view of the fact that the Congress may adopt by majority vote resolutions with which SCA did not agree, it did not consider itself to be in a position to send an official delegate but would welcome invitations being sent to individual members of SCA in their private capacities. The organizing committee was to be informed of the reason for SCA's decision not to participate officially.<sup>100</sup>

SCA's resolution effectively rejected association with AE and SACC, and mistakenly tarred both organizations with the "ecumenical" brush.<sup>101</sup> This resolution voiced the growing pressure on SCA Council for a policy preventing SCA from official association with the ecumenical movement. The motivation of SCA's conservative grouping was their strong subscription to the idea that religion and politics should not mix and that any "political" discussion or engagement should remain a "private" affair so as not to "taint" SCA through "official" involvements. Widening acceptance of this logically and ethically problematic idea by white English-speakers, allowed the pervasive Afrikaner civil religion of the 1970s to permeate and galvanize English-speaking evangelical churches, encouraging unreasonable disengagement from "politics" and thereby tacitly legitimizing the apartheid status quo.<sup>102</sup>

More importantly for this discussion of Christian discipleship, the tacit compliance of white English-speakers with the interests of the apartheid state, by understanding faith as "personal" and "private" and thus entirely separate from "politics", derived not from the New Testament teaching of Christian baptism into the new community of persons in God's

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accessed: 13 February 2016. Also see B4.1.4, Memo: Johnston to Branch Chairmen: *Questions of Co-operation in the Light of the Collapse of UCM*. (1 August 1972) cf. Philippe Denis, "The Journal of Theology for Southern Africa and the Emergence of Contextual Theology in South Africa," *JTSA*, no. 146 (July 2013): 13.

<sup>99</sup> Subsequent to the Michael House Council D.G. Mills wrote a poisoned-pen letter to Johnston asking him to debar students who belonged to SACC affiliated churches from SCA's intervarsity conferences. See B4.1.4, Johnston to Mills (1 September 1972) and also, B4.1.4 Johnston to Jarvis (1 September 1972).

<sup>100</sup> A1.23, Council Minutes: Michael House (1 July 1972) - my précis of the minuted resolution. SCA's first National Students' Executive took a very similar decision, to disaffiliate from NUSAS, because they saw SCA and NUSAS as working in "different spheres of operation". See H2.1.1, Eric Bateman's NSE Chairman's Report (September 1969).

<sup>101</sup> AE was not a member of CI or the SACC, but was rather a loosely interdenominational organization. The roots of this strongly held misperception in SCA date back to Marjorie Scott and D.G. Mills' misinformation to Rhodes Evangelical Union students during Michael Cassidy's Rhodes Mission, that AE was "ecumenical" and should be avoided. Johnston made various attempts to refute their theological bigotry. See for example, B4.1.4, Johnston to Mills (1 September 1972).

<sup>102</sup> Civil religion in South Africa during this period applies in its strict sense to Afrikaners. Thus, Charles Villa-Vicencio, using Peter Berger's Hegelian views, defined civil religion as "the objectification of a culture of a people [...] the objectification of those feelings, symbols and acts that bind a group together," in "South African Civil Religion: An Introduction," *JTSA*, no.19 (June 1977): 6.



Kingdom, through Christ and the Church,<sup>103</sup> but was closer to the self-grounded individualism of Locke's British liberalism, a cultural expression of fatalism about governments dating back to Greek and Roman times, in the tendency of Western civilization to deify the state.<sup>104</sup> The clear-cut divide in the minds of the SCA conservatives, between SCA members' "private" and "individual" choices and the Association's "official" stance towards ecumenical and political organizations, despite any biblical or theological warrants they might have cited in the SCA Council, was identical to conservative liberalism in the South African Institute of Race Relations at the demise of the Liberal Party, where group responsibilities and group identity were subordinated to the responsibility and free choice of the rational, self-grounded and freestanding "individual".<sup>105</sup>

An irony of the 1972 Michaelhouse Council was that prior to it Johnston had convened a joint SCM, ACS and SCA study group to produce a discussion paper on Christian social involvement, and citing biblical grounds that "the Christian should take the lead in working for social justice."<sup>106</sup> Perhaps the close surveillance of SCA ministries and theological production by the Reformed group in SCA's Council motivated Johnston to eschew civil disobedience and propose that Christian social action could only take place "within the framework of the law", to "bring about change" which should "be gradual rather than sudden (Matt. 13:33)."<sup>107</sup> Council and Panel of Reference Members like Rod Hewitson, Murray Hofmeyr and D.G. Mills might have exerted sufficient institutional pressure on Johnston, even before the Michaelhouse Council decision, which might explain why Johnston wrote to Beyers Naude's Christian Institute on 28 February 1972, requesting "the deletion of SCA from the contact 1 register" - the Christian Institute's public register of

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<sup>103</sup> As noted in Chapter One, the Bible's presentation of the eschatological identity of Christians, as an alternative society, implying social and political commitments, would be received into SCA in different ways, particularly from John Stott, René Padilla and David Bosch, between 1974 and 1979. The remainder of this chapter and the following two chapters will document the biblical theology of this stream flowing into SCA's discipleship tradition in detail.

<sup>104</sup> The difference between English-speakers and Afrikaners in South Africa's developing civil religion was that Afrikaners created and believed the state's theology and doctrine of apartheid whereas English-speakers, with a few exceptions, simply withdrew into their private worlds, deferring uncritically to the apartheid government. John de Gruchy's "The Civil Religion Debate," *JTSA*, no. 19 (June 1977): 2-3, describes the origins of this dilemma, to either withdraw from or deify the state as follows: "...the problem of the State regarding itself as "divine", incapable of wrong, always right, is one with which believers in the God of Abraham revealed in Jesus Christ have had to wrestle from the beginning and whether it was opposed by the great Prophets of eighth century Israel, Augustine of Hippo, or Karl Barth in the twentieth century, "civil religion" has been regarded as the usurper of God's sovereignty, the ultimate form of idolatry." To better understand the posture of SCA's leaders as English-speakers vis-à-vis Afrikaner civil religion, see James Leatt, "Liberalism, Ideology and the Christian in the South African Context," *JTSA*, no. 22 (March 1978): 31-46 and John W. de Gruchy, "English-speaking South Africans and Civil Religion," *JTSA* 19 (June 1977): 45-54.

<sup>105</sup> See Paul B. Rich *Hope and Despair: English-Speaking Intellectuals and South African Politics: 1896-1976* (London: British Academic Press, 1999), 110-115. For the distinction between classical political liberalism which aimed for the individual to limit the power of the group and its paradoxical opposite in modern liberalism, in which the individual gave more powers to governments see James Leatt, "Liberalism, Ideology and the Christian ...", esp. 32-35.

<sup>106</sup> Mimeographed paper: "For the Attention of Christian Students in Southern Africa" (Johannesburg: SCA, July 1972) 2.

<sup>107</sup> "For the Attention of Christian Students ...," 2.

organizations “working for change.”<sup>108</sup> Thus, SCA Council’s Michaelhouse decision to break “official” ties with the ecumenical movement and those happy to associate with the SACC, like Michael Cassidy, became a tension for Johnston who knew and respected Beyers Naudé, and who had welcomed Michael Cassidy to lead missions in at least three SCA branches by 1972.<sup>109</sup>

In the middle-ground of SCA’s Michaelhouse Council was its newly elected Chairman, Prof John Jarvis of the UCT Medical School, Natal Regional Committee Chairman Jeff Bindon, and outgoing National Chairman, Morgan Greenwood, who did not support SCA’s myopic stance at the Michaelhouse Council; they canvassed local SCA leaders to attend the Congress on Mission and Evangelism in their “private capacities” along with Johnston, Andrew Judge - newly appointed travelling secretary in Johannesburg - and Jarvis.<sup>110</sup> Johnston also ignored Council’s anti-ecumenical stance at times, as when he praised David Hofmeyr, SCA’s UCT student Chairman, for the UCT branch’s principles of co-operation with the Catholic Kolbe and Anglican Students’ Societies, and motivated Hofmeyr for “an open approach to the question of co-operation rather than having fixed rules to be followed slavishly and unthinkingly.”<sup>111</sup>

A new chapter in SCA’s discipleship training tradition began in January 1973 when Johnston welcomed Bill Houston as travelling secretary and Dr Hans Bürki, Associate General Secretary at Large for IFES as a visiting presenter, to SCA’s three-week Maturity Course at Maphumulo. Houston came from a conservative Baptist church, yet his reading of Bonhoeffer’s *The Cost of Discipleship* balanced a strong Reformed commitment to the “sovereignty of God in calling and redeeming,” with “the need for repentance and restitution.”<sup>112</sup> Bürki came from the Swiss Reformed Church, with a PhD in educational psychology. The three-week course was to be co-facilitated by Johnston, Sheriffs, Houston, Shun Govender and Judge.<sup>113</sup> Maurice Ngakane, General Secretary of SCM, and key student leaders from SCA and SCM, like Steve Truscott from Wits and Cyril Ramaphosa of the SCM National Student Executive, along with 60 other participants of all races participated in morning meditations, Bible expositions, and evening discussions during

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<sup>108</sup> See B4.1.4, Johnston to Mills (1 September 1972) and M35.1, Danie van Zyl of the Christian Institute, to Johnston (7 February 1972).

<sup>109</sup> Naudé had participated in SCA’s intervarsity conference at Howard College in July 1970, Johnston’s first SCA event as organising secretary, and Naudé gave Johnston a lift down to Durban for the event. See Interview 4: Johnston (20 June 2014).

<sup>110</sup> *Verlig* - “enlightened” - in contrast to *verkramp* - “extremely conservative”. B4.1.4, Greenwood to Bindon, Buitendag (14 November 1972), and Interview: Andrew Judge (3 July 2013).

<sup>111</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to David Hofmeyr (14 November 1973).

<sup>112</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston’s Memo to NATEX introducing Houston’s credentials (26 October 1972). Houston is one of the few SCA people throughout the period whom the archival evidence shows to have really engaged with Bonhoeffer.

<sup>113</sup> Interview: Judge (3 July 2013).

which many evangelical assumptions about Christian fellowship were upended by Bürki's robust challenge to "evangelical sub-culture."<sup>114</sup>

While at Maphumulo Bürki requested Andrew Judge to take him to visit the SCM conference taking place on the South Coast, to befriend SCM student leaders like Frank Chikane and Lybon Mabasa.<sup>115</sup> Back at Maphumulo, the matter of confronting a culture of racism and an evangelical sub-culture of nicety surfaced awkwardly in the evening discussions; Bürki alternately engaged individuals in the context of the whole group, then welcomed long and pregnant silences - his characteristic method of teaching and simultaneously discerning underlying dynamics at play in himself and between all the participants.<sup>116</sup> The way that Bürki seamlessly interwove Bible exposition and immediate applications of the Bible's shared horizon with the students' present context and experience in 1973 - applications to culture, politics, the affective dimension of experience, gender and sexuality, or the intellectual and tacit dimensions of human being - was unprecedented in student ministry in South Africa, and was especially formative for Johnston:

Hans' approach cuts right across the Anglo Saxon stereotypes, but was just right for our piebald situation. Everyone who attended was helped within their thinking and in themselves. I personally benefitted a great deal from the course [...] I feel at last that SCA has been given a 'soul' and more of the student leaders and young graduates are catching the vision.<sup>117</sup>

Bürki's teaching of Roman Catholic and Orthodox approaches to Scripture meditation and contemplation,<sup>118</sup> and his integration of encounter group methodology in discussion modelled evangelical theology as practised *spirituality* rather than just knowledge, and mediated learning experiences to SCA students and staff that might best be described as "gospel events".<sup>119</sup> In South Africa and overseas, Bürki's theology as spirituality met with suspicion and also strong opposition.<sup>120</sup> As a result of his growing friendship with Bürki, Johnston began to discuss the contours of an SCA discipleship "curriculum" with Judge,

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<sup>114</sup> Interview 1: Truscott (18 January 2012). Detlef Prozesky remembered Bürki at Maphumulo in 1973 "as a severe person, but in a good way. There was no fuzzy sentimentality about him." Interview: (27 November 2013).

<sup>115</sup> Interview: Judge (3 July 2013).

<sup>116</sup> Judge (3 July 2013).

<sup>117</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to Gill McGregor (February 1973).

<sup>118</sup> The history and theology of Orthodox spirituality are well traced, back to their sources, by Andrew Louth in *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981). For an introduction to Roman Catholic contemplative prayer see Jean Le Clercq, *Contemplative Life* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publishers, 1978). A fruitful avenue for future research will be to understand how Bürki was introduced to these practises of Christian spirituality.

<sup>119</sup> For more oral historical findings about these "gospel events", see my essay, "Hans Ferdinand Bürki in Retrospect, Theology as Spirituality: Through the Lens of Memory," *JTSA*, no. 151 (March 2015): 24-40.

<sup>120</sup> See "Hans Ferdinand Bürki in Retrospect...": 28-31.

Houston, Bindon, Greenwood and others for the first time.<sup>121</sup> Bürki's return to South Africa in January 1974 and again in 1976 would encourage SCA to take greater cognizance of contextuality in its young discipleship training tradition, a theme to be revisited in Chapter Five.

The ten-day South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism in March 1973 was an event outside of SCA discipleship events that was formative for the SCA leaders who attended in their "personal" capacities.<sup>122</sup> The Congress included 700 delegates from 30 denominations, 350 of whom were black delegates. A Saturday rally with Michael Cassidy and Billy Graham and keynote presentations on the Monday by Pentecostals, David du Plessis and Nicholas Bhengu, and the evangelical, Canon Douglas Webster, restated the familiar British and American theology of evangelism of the 70s, as primarily *proclamation of good news*, i.e. communicating the gift of grace of "vertical" reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ.<sup>123</sup> This theology foregrounded verbal proclamation of Jesus' message and subordinated all other aspects of mission, including such "horizontal" possibilities as reconciliation and social justice.<sup>124</sup> Black theologians present disagreed and "expressed themselves very forcibly indeed, accusing the whites of evasion and unreality in their calls to prayer and personal salvation."<sup>125</sup> By the Tuesday of the Congress, an impasse was reached and the convocation broke into racially separate meetings.<sup>126</sup> In stark contrast to the opening presentations, and in response to the Tuesday impasse, a tape recorded presentation by Bishop Festo Kivengere of the Ugandan IFES movement, and an exposition by Manas Buthelezi of the Christian Institute, unapologetically named the

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<sup>121</sup> See for example, B4.1.4, Bindon to Johnston (28 January 1972) and Johnston to Macgregor (February 1973). At the Roma Council in July 1973, Morgan Greenwood's Chairman's Report communicated his strong approval of Bürki's unique contribution to discipleship in SCA: "The decision to hold a Maturity Course in Natal last January may well prove to have been a most significant development, and one likely to bear much fruit. I look upon this as a highlight of the past year:" A1.24.

<sup>122</sup> Brian Johanson documents the Congress proceedings in detail in "The South African Congress on Mission and Evangelism," *JTSA*, no. 3 (June 1973): 57-63. Also see John de Gruchy's commentary, "Theology Comes of Age," *JTSA*, no. 3 (June 1973): 3-5.

<sup>123</sup> See for example, Richard Lovelace, *Dynamics of Spiritual Life: An Evangelical Theology of Renewal* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1979), 106-109.

<sup>124</sup> Michael Cassidy quotes Webster at the Congress as follows: "Mission is a comprehensive word with a large meaning [...] Mission [...] has about it a sense of action, posture or process: its root is a verb with the idea of motion or movement. But evangelism is based on a noun: it is centred in news which must be reported in words, about a person, an event, a series of events. It is concentrated. Its concern is with the Gospel itself [...] [Jesus] sends His Church to do many things. Their totality is the Christian mission. Of these things evangelism has its unique importance. But healing, teaching, baptising, liberating, protesting, working for peace and justice, feeding the hungry, reconciling those at variance, are all essential parts of mission, as we see it in the New Testament. They all arise from the Gospel [...] Nevertheless, however closely we may associate these activities with evangelism, the New Testament does not identify them with it. Evangelism is the proclaiming of the Gospel, particularly to those who have not heard it, or who have not understood it, or who have not responded to it, or who have forgotten it." See Michael Cassidy, "The Third Way," *JTSA*, no. 10 (March 1975): 31-32.

<sup>125</sup> Brian Johanson, "Congress on Mission ...," 59.

<sup>126</sup> Brian Johanson, "Congress on Mission ...," 60.

injustice and oppression of apartheid as an affront to the Gospel, which was crippling the church in its call to mission.<sup>127</sup>

It is now time for the black man to evangelise and humanise the white man. The realisation of this will not depend on the white man's approval, but solely on the black man's love for the white man [...] For this to be a reality it is imperative for the black man to reflect upon the Gospel out of his experience as a black man [...] The black man needs to be liberated from the white man's rejection so that the white man's rejection may cease to be a decisive factor in the process of the black man's blackness as a gift of God instead of the biological scourge which the white man's institutions have made it to be [...] The future of evangelism is [...] tied to the quest for a theology that grows out of the black man's experience [...] from this theological vantage point [...] the black man will contribute his own understanding of Christian love and its implications for evangelism.<sup>128</sup>

Buthelezi's address, the turning point of the Congress, was one of South Africa's first public expressions of Black Theology in an audience that included a large, broadly representative hearing of white South African church leaders. In many presentations that followed, like those of John de Gruchy, who had recently moved from the SACC to UCT's Department of Religious Studies, Ben Marais of Pretoria University's Faculty of Theology, and Canon Michael Green of St John's Nottingham, the Congress was challenged to reconsider the biblical understanding of both evangelism, and conversion in light of South Africa's moral and spiritual crisis.

De Gruchy emphasized that Christian conversion necessitated the transformation of groups as well as individuals, beginning in the church.<sup>129</sup> Marais poignantly acknowledged that Christian conversion was a "first step in discovering our neighbour across the traditional class or race barriers [...]" and required the "blind spot" of white Christians' "racial prejudice" to be healed.<sup>130</sup> Green's even bolder exegesis focused on racial injustice in South Africa and recommended provocative counter-cultural demonstrations of Christ's love to accompany evangelistic proclamation.<sup>131</sup> This focus on the relevance of South Africa's context in biblical hermeneutics was new and confronting to whites in the audience, but formative for some SCA leaders, especially Johnston. Michael Cassidy, Director of Africa Enterprise, gave his first formulation of "Third Way" theology at the Congress, a neat categorization of gospel proclamation and social action, a theology that

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<sup>127</sup> Brian Johanson, "Congress on Mission ...," 59-60. The presentations are presented in summary in Michael Cassidy, Charmian Le Feuvre and Ann Blane, eds., *I will Heal Their Land: The Content of the South African Congress of Mission and Evangelism* (Pietermaritzburg: Africa Enterprise, 1974).

<sup>128</sup> Manas Buthelezi, "Six Theses: Theological Problems of Evangelism in the South African Context" *JTSA*, no. 3 (March 1973): 55.

<sup>129</sup> Cassidy et al, *I Will Heal Their Land*, 103.

<sup>130</sup> Cassidy et al, *I Will Heal Their Land*, 103.

<sup>131</sup> Green specifically addressed the "breaking down of race barriers in the church", the lack of parity in salaries between whites and blacks, and the plight of the "prison widows" of imprisoned Robben island liberation leaders, who couldn't afford to travel once a year to see their husbands, inviting wealthy white Christians to provide humanitarian assistance to them! So, Cassidy et al, *I will Heal Their Land*, 71, 77, 78.

would provoke debate by conservative evangelicals and Black Theologians alike during the 1980s.<sup>132</sup>

A growth-point in SCA's theological reception came in July 1973 at the intervarsity conference at Roma, Lesotho. Roma 73 was SCA's biggest conference to date, drawing 360 students from 41 tertiary institutions - among them 50 black students, including Cyril Ramaphosa, Rachel Soga, Ishmael Mkhabela and Sydney Seolonyane from Turfloop, and representatives from Fort Hare, UWC, the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, and from Rhodesia.<sup>133</sup> For the first time SCA also welcomed Afrikaans students from Potchefstroom and Stellenbosch branches of the *Studente Kerk Jeugvereeniging*.<sup>134</sup> Martin Goldsmith, Allan Adam and Michael Green were invited speakers on the conference theme of "Mission". Goldsmith was almost ecumenical, drawing on the "African thinking" of newly published writers like John Mbiti and Bolaji Idowu,<sup>135</sup> while Michael Green would have intentionally joined politics and religion, especially in regard to apartheid injustices.<sup>136</sup>

SCA's fairly open horizons to African theology, ecumenism and justice issues at Roma, was the context of a stark *kairós* moment of invitation to SCA, to recognize and respond to torrid circumstances confronting black Christians under apartheid, with prophetic integrity. While Goldsmith was broad in his referencing, his theology of mission echoed the primacy of evangelism of individuals so typical of much British and North American evangelicalism, as for example, when Goldsmith praised SCA for its commitment to a robustly evangelical "Statement of Faith:"

[SCA] ... is a body which unlike the ecumenical camp, stresses the primacy of man's "vertical" relationship to God over his "horizontal" relationship to his fellow man.<sup>137</sup>

Whether in direct response or later, black students differed strongly. They were concerned about "horizontal" challenges in the South African church like racial segregation, which

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<sup>132</sup> See Michael Cassidy, "The Third Way," *JTSA*, no. 10 (March 1975), 25-36 cf. Anthony Balcomb, *Third Way Theology: Reconciliation, Revolution and Reform in the South African Church During the 1980s* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 1993).

<sup>133</sup> H2.1.7.2, "SCA July 1973 Conference Delegates (Roma Lesotho)" The only tertiary institution not represented at the conference was the Rand Afrikaans University. H2.1.1, NSE and Branches Meeting Minutes: Roma (3 July 1972).

<sup>134</sup> B4.1.4, Houston to Johnston (23 May 1973).

<sup>135</sup> B4.1.4, Goldsmith to Johnston (21 November 1973) in reply to a letter from Johnston after the Roma conference, requesting Goldsmith's references to "African thinking" about biblical theology.

<sup>136</sup> As early as April 1965 Michael Green angered Reformed evangelicals at UCT when he encouraged students during a UCT Mission to oppose the apartheid regime and support ecumenical initiatives for reconciliation. B4.1.3, D.G. Mills to Honorary Office Bearers at UCT (14 April 1965). Green's public brush with Afrikaner theologians at Stellenbosch in August 1974, a year after this conference, was to be his most outspoken public criticism of apartheid. Therefore, on account of the large contingent of black students present at Roma in 1973, I assume that Green's expositions were as applied to apartheid injustices as on other occasions.

<sup>137</sup> Rhodes' *ECUNews Bulletin*, 20 (1973).

contradicted and compromised any proclamation of individual salvation.<sup>138</sup> One theological student spoke about the futility of a multiracial conference until the objectives of Black Consciousness had been reached for black students.<sup>139</sup> Rob Sieborger, SCA's NSC Missions Secretary and Editor of the Rhodes *ECUNews Bulletin* reported mounting racial tensions during the Bible expositions at Roma. At one point in a Q&A session one of the black students stood up and spoke for 25 minutes without a stop - about racial oppression:

At another point, when the chairman asked a Black participant to keep a question short, he sat down and refused to put his point. When he was eventually persuaded to do so, he said he felt he had been "kicked in the face [...]" it was notable that Black participants refused to allow a Black Consciousness line [...]" "We belong together as Blacks and Whites in this organization," they said. This means that the SCA is one of the few student bodies in South Africa which maintains a multi-racial character.<sup>140</sup>

Sieborger reported SCA, SCM and ACS students who attended as unified, "for the most part, middle-of-the-roaders who, while not subscribing to student radicalism nonetheless feel strongly on issues of race and the banning of NUSAS and SASO leaders. And although they are theologically conservative [...] they reject extreme fundamentalism."<sup>141</sup> Sieborger appears to have misunderstood the singular importance of the "Black Consciousness line" to Ramaphosa who was Chairman of SCM's NSE, branch chairman of SASO, and Chairman of the Students' Union at Turfloop, and to all the other outspoken black students at Roma in 1973.<sup>142</sup>

A similar misunderstanding occurred in Johnston's anticipated "SAFES launch" during the Roma 73 Conference. In these discussions of the proposed sub-region of PAFES, attended by Johnston, Kevin Tate, NSC representatives, and SCM student executive and staff, and observed by William Adodoadji of PAFES, SCM delegates raised strong objections about SCA's insensitivity to black students during intervarsity conferences, citing this as grounds for withdrawing from participation in any process to launch the IFES sub-region.<sup>143</sup> SCA leaders apparently struggled to accept of Black Consciousness as a positive influence in the thinking of Ramaphosa, Chikane, Mabasa and other SCM students, and as such as *positively* motivating legitimate disaffection by SCM as it distanced itself from SCA.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Moshe Rajuile, "Summary of the History of SCA": Photocopied pamphlet (Johannesburg: SCA, 1982), 2.

<sup>139</sup> Rhodes' *ECUNews Bulletin*, 20 (1973).

<sup>140</sup> Rhodes' *ECUNews Bulletin*, 20 (1973).

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Interview: Seolonyane (14 April 2014).

<sup>143</sup> Moshe Rajuile, "Summary of the History of SCA," 2. cf. A1.24 Council Minutes (30 June 1973). SCM's Literature Secretary in 1976, Phazamisa Mkhabela: "It was apparent even in the SCA Conference of 1973 that the time [...] was not ripe to make any genuine claim of real and meaningful fellowship." See Photo Archive 0214: Mimeographed document: P. Mkhabela, "The Background to the SCM Cyara Declaration (1976)," 1.

<sup>144</sup> Bürki's later correspondence with Johnston and Johnston's with Stacey Woods pertain, and will be cited below.

News about the counter-cultural multiracialism and broad theological reception at Roma 73 travelled very quickly, as with one student who was reported as learning “more about ‘politics’ than mission.”<sup>145</sup> Another JCE student, Judy Chatterton, who had shaken hands with a black man for the first time in her life at Roma, arrived home in Vereeniging after the conference to a telephone call from a local policeman who asked if she had “discussed politics” while attending the conference:

I replied that it had been a Christian conference and that most of the teaching had been about the Bible. He answered that he was pleased with my observation, because he didn't think that a niece of Henry Chatterton [a previous Mayor of Vereeniging] would get involved in politics.<sup>146</sup>

### **New Voices in Evangelicalism in 1974**

Throughout 1974, unprecedented *kairós* invitations to SCA for a more contextual discipleship arose in a number of formative events. Before this watershed year can be described, consequential events before the close of 1973 need to be mentioned. Late in 73 Ngakane and Govender left their SCA responsibilities, officially for health and professional reasons.<sup>147</sup> Pressure from their communities to disassociate with SCA and growing internal pressure in SCA, because of their ecumenical associations, were as pertinent in their resignations. Racial polarization and growing mistrust across South Africa in the early 1970s are illustrated, for example, at the new University of Durban-Westville (UDW) campus, where students banned any student society meetings from around August 1973, in protest against mounting state oppression: the listing, banning and detention without trial of black leaders throughout the country.<sup>148</sup> In one of many attacks on academic freedom by apartheid laws, Manas Buthelezi's “Six Theses” were banned and removed from libraries.<sup>149</sup> While black students faced the lethal gauntlet of Vorster's crackdown on internal opposition to apartheid, life in white South Africa and SCA continued a world apart.<sup>150</sup> Fear in white communities and whites' reluctance to see their privileges as unjust, tempted them to accept state propaganda about “black power”, instead of engaging

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<sup>145</sup> Rhodes' *ECUNews Bulletin*, 20 (1973).

<sup>146</sup> Interview: Judy Chatterton Wienand (9 June 2014).

<sup>147</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to Houston (22 July 1974).

<sup>148</sup> B4.1.4, Rev I. R. Main of Christchurch Addington to Johnston (21 August 1973).

<sup>149</sup> See Philippe Denis' “The Journal of Theology for Southern Africa and the Emergence of Contextual Theology in South Africa,” *JTSA*, 146 (July 2013): 14 and B4.1.4 Johnston to Ngakane (9 January 1974).

<sup>150</sup> My choice of words here is an allusion to Shawn Slovo's film, “A World Apart,” which drew wide criticism for diminishing the experience of black South Africans as a whole in 1963, in its myopic lens on the “Armageddon” suffered by one liberal white family. See “A World Apart: 1988”

<http://www.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=940DE0D7123AF934A25755C0A96E948260>, accessed: 11 June 2015.



directly with black colleagues to understand Black Consciousness.<sup>151</sup> The challenge to overcome permeating fear, to engage the experiences of black South Africans and their context, would occur among select SCA leaders only later in 1974.

From August 1973, Bill Houston and his wife Joan left South Africa for a year's study leave at London Bible College.<sup>152</sup> The Houstons' enthusiastic theological reception of the best of British evangelicalism in the ensuing year, especially in a preaching course by John Stott, James Packer and Alec Motyer at Bristol University, a series of expositions by Stott at the IVF Winchester Conference on "God's New Society," and a memorable sermon at All Souls Church, London, by Stott on the "Authority of Scripture", were to become part of SCA's theological reception early on, as Houston sent cassette recordings of many of these presentations, via Peter Anderson and other South Africans visiting London, for distribution in SCA by Johnston.<sup>153</sup>

Back in South Africa the *kairós* invitations to SCA during 1974, to engage more honestly with a context of injustice, arose again with Hans Bürki, who returned for a month to facilitate an SCA staff training course in counselling, with 22 delegates near Durban (2-6 January), an SCM National Conference in Swaziland (7-14 January) and a three-week Christian Maturity Course for SCA and SCM staff and students, again with invited members of the ACSV and Coloured representatives from ACS, at Morija in Lesotho.<sup>154</sup> In the months leading up to the week with SCA in Natal, the week with SCM in Swaziland and the 21 day Maturity Course at Morija, Bürki grounded himself in South African realities through correspondence with SCM and SCA leaders; in each of his courses he also worked closely with Moshe Rajuile and Ngakane on the SCM staff, with Cyril Ramaphosa, now Executive Secretary of SCM,<sup>155</sup> and with Johnston, Truscott, Sheriffs and Judge in SCA, nearly all of whom reconvened for the three weeks at Morija.<sup>156</sup> Bürki's grounding in the South African context equipped him to facilitate the Morija plenary discussions in a way that led directly to unprecedented interpersonal and spiritual encounter. Steve Truscott describes some of the factors at work in these group conversations with Bürki at Morija:

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<sup>151</sup> The relationship between B.J. Vorster as Minister of Justice under H.F. Verwoerd, and then as Prime Minister, and Steve Biko and the developing Black Consciousness movement, and the reluctance of whites to acknowledge the importance of Black Consciousness are well described in Gail M. Gerhardt's chapter, "Black Consciousness in the '70s" in her *Black Power: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), esp. 268-281.

<sup>152</sup> B4.1.4, Peter Anderson to Johnston (14 October 1973).

<sup>153</sup> B4.1.4, Houston to Johnston (11 October 1973, 1 February, 17 March, 1 April and 6 May 1974).

<sup>154</sup> B4.1.4, Bürki to Johnston (6 June 1973) and H2.2.1 Johnston National Chairman's Report for the Cancelled Michael House Council, included in NSC: Michael House minutes (June 1974).

<sup>155</sup> B4.1.4. In follow up letters to Johnston after Morija on 28 March and 1 July 1974 Bürki wired SCA finance from Europe to support Ramaphosa's studies and mentioned Ramaphosa's advice in their correspondence on matters regarding joint conferences with SCA.

<sup>156</sup> Steve Truscott shared a room with Ramaphosa at the Maturity Course. Interview 1: Truscott (18 January 2012). Memories of the conference were also drawn from Interviews: Judge (3 July 2013) and Ngakane (26 August 2014).

He was always very careful to explain – if you have got a problem with what I am doing please let me know. He would always make space for people to come back at him. He was careful to say where he was coming from and what the reasons were for what he was doing. He was emphatic that we should always deal with truth rather than casuistry: the Pharisees’ “what ifs – what if this situation – let’s imagine that situation...” He very much emphasized that there wasn’t a male or female part of you but that when we respond our sexuality flows through all of our response to things. The closer we get to the centre of our souls the closer we get to God...<sup>157</sup>

Instances of personal and group transformation by the Holy Spirit were experienced tangibly by participants as these memorable conversations with Bürki unfolded; Ngakane, for one, recalled Bürki’s singular aptitude for grasping the realities of black South Africans’ experience. Ngakane had first encountered Bürki during a memorable walk in Austria at the Schloss Mittersill discipleship training of August 1971, which motivated him, despite personal risks from the South African police, to attend Morija straight after Bürki’s SCM conference in Swaziland:

Hans Bürki understood a little about the struggle of the black man [...] He would say [...] “I hear you but I cannot experience being black, but one thing we have in common is Christ.” I shared my black experience as an oppressed person [...] “You ought to tell the white man of South Africa to stop oppressing me.” And he would say, “I wouldn’t know what to say because the laws of your country don’t allow me to say what I want to say.” This very openness of Hans Bürki went to the very core of my being. Why couldn’t white South Africans do it? There was no true transparency with white South Africans. That added more pain to me, because [...] white South Africans could never level with me. What did Christ mean for them? Hans Bürki gave me some handles of hope about the white man. He didn’t just say “Jesus, Jesus [...]” to me.<sup>158</sup>

Bürki’s winsome, invitational posture and his ability to “level” with black and white students, released considerable racial tensions submerged in the interpersonal dynamics at Morija, so that they surfaced in open confrontation during his third Bible exposition.<sup>159</sup> Unsurprised, Bürki paused to invite students from all sides to voice the issues. In the process, stories of police harassment in South Africa, and police abuse towards black delegates at the Lesotho-South Africa border were narrated to the whole gathering. Angry allegations then surfaced about the presence of Security Branch spies among SCM delegates. Bürki facilitated and mediated, requesting that individuals not be named publically, and the black students agreed to further meetings in smaller groups to solve the crisis.<sup>160</sup>

The layered significance of what took place at Morija in January 1974 represents one of SCA’s most important *kairós* invitations of the 1970s. Bürki demonstrated a radical

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<sup>157</sup> Truscott (18 January 2012).

<sup>158</sup> Telephonic Interview: Ngakane (26 August 2014). Also quoted in “Hans Bürki in Retrospect ...”: 35.

<sup>159</sup> Interview: Eunice Rajuile (11 June 2013).

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

openness and hospitality to students of all races, to the truth of their existential experience and contexts, and pointed them with exquisite insight and sensitivity, to the Bible and its context, so that tacit or tangible or charismatic encounters with God resulted, in unforgettable conversations, about Christ, identity, race, politics, sexuality, gender and culture. He modelled for white students and staff a willingness to understand Black Consciousness, which he would demonstrate practically later in 1974.

The *kairós* invitation that SCA received through Bürki's Morija ministry was to dispense with evangelical sub-culture, to break ties with a privatized Christianity that conformed to social "norms," especially the individualistic norms of apartheid civil religion, and to embrace true baptismal identity of freedom in Jesus Christ, by getting engaged in the particularities of South Africa's approaching crisis. This invitation to SCA, to embrace contextuality, recurred with increasing resonance through the remainder of 1974.

Both Johnston and Houston were invited to attend the International Congress on World Evangelization (ICOWE) in Lausanne, 16–25 July 1974, but Johnston explained to colleagues that he preferred to take time out to integrate lessons he had learnt from Bürki, and so declined the invitation.<sup>161</sup> Thus Houston, Ngakane, Dr Perhadnam Khrishna, a Trinity Divinity School graduate, lecturer in Hindu studies at UDW, and member of SCA's "Indian Work Committee",<sup>162</sup> Rev Dr David Bosch, who was past Chairman of Pretoria SCA and lecturer at UNISA, Anglican Bishop and past SCA Chairman, Bruce Evans, CESA Bishop, Stephen Bradley, Nathaniel Nkosi of SCM staff, Sydney Hudson-Reed, and Calvin Cook, were among the 62 South Africans at Lausanne who had strong associations with SCA as graduates, staff, SCM staff, members of the Panel of Reference, or as past leaders.<sup>163</sup> ICOWE was described in *Time Magazine* as "a formidable forum, possibly the widest-ranging meeting of Christians ever held," because it gathered 2 473 delegates and almost 1000 observers from 150 nations and 135 denominations.<sup>164</sup> SCA delegates' study of the pre-Lausanne discussion papers, and more, their participation in the plenary presentations

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<sup>161</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to Dr Vic Nelson (27 February 1974), Houston to Johnston (1 April 1974) and Johnston to Houston (20 April 1974) cf. Nelson to Johnston (1 October 1973).

<sup>162</sup> Interview: Jim Stamooolis (9 April 2015).

<sup>163</sup> Official Lausanne Congress Delegates' List.

<sup>164</sup> C. René Padilla, *Mission Between the Times: Essays on the Kingdom* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985), vii. Brian Stanley's recent article "'Lausanne 1974': The Challenge from the Majority World to Northern-Hemisphere Evangelicalism," in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64, 3 (July 2013): 533-551, and his longer chapter on ICOWE in his monograph, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Billy Graham and John Stott* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2013) also describe ICOWE proceedings.

and the South Africa group meetings at Lausanne, would be a significant milestone in SCA's theological reception regarding contextuality, especially for Houston.<sup>165</sup>

SCA people at ICOWE witnessed a *kairós* moment of confrontation that was boldly and controversially initiated by theologians and missiologists from the Global South, among them John Gatu of Kenya, Orlando Costas of Puerto Rico, and IFES theologians from Latin America, Dr René Padilla from Argentina, and Dr Samuel Escobar, Peruvian missiologist and General Secretary of IVCF, Canada, in their addresses to the Congress.<sup>166</sup> Padilla spoke on the fourth day, after Billy Graham's opening address, John Stott's paper on the biblical basis of evangelism, and after a contentious presentation, "The Dimensions of Mission", by Fuller Seminary missiologist, Donald McGavran.<sup>167</sup>

Stott had set a high bar for lively debate when he called the Congress to "evangelical repentance", on account of a Christianity that "owed more to culture than to Scripture," and included "especially those of us who come from Europe and North America" in his criticism, for not emulating Jesus' servanthood in mission (Phil. 2:7), and for perpetuating a theology that separated Jesus' Great Commission from his love of neighbours and enemies in the Great Commandment.<sup>168</sup> The following day McGavran's keynote address diverged from Stott markedly by audaciously proposing different kinds of evangelism for different types of churches in different sub-cultural settings.<sup>169</sup> Padilla swung back the pendulum the following day in a theological challenge, as he responded to his pre-Lausanne paper,

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<sup>165</sup> Houston mentioned engaging with the pre-Lausanne papers of Peter Beyerhaus of the old SCA's Afrikaans Section, now a missiologist at Tübingen, and Donald McGavran, the church growth school missiologist from Fuller Theological Seminary. So, B4.1.4, Houston to Johnston (1 April 1974).

<sup>166</sup> John Gatu, Kenyan general secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, had called for a moratorium on involvement of Western missionaries, mission agencies and funders in Africa to foster greater self-sufficiency and initiative by African churches in mission, at the Milwaukee Mission Festival in 1971, and then at the World Council of Churches' Commission on Word Mission and Evangelism in Bangkok in 1973. Gatu was a vocal detractor of efforts by influential evangelicals from the Global North to set up an evangelical parallel global agency to the WCC. He championed behind the scenes debate, at ICOWE, with Billy Graham who opposed the moratorium, and sixty African leaders who were divided on the issue, which, with the sympathetic assistance of John Stott, resulted in the final text of the Lausanne Covenant foregrounding the problem of western cultural Christianity, being "sometimes exported with the gospel." So, Brian Stanley, "'Lausanne 1974': The Challenge...: 543-544. For more on Padilla and Escobar see R. Padilla, "Evangelism and the World," and Escobar's "Evangelism and Man's Search For Freedom, Justice and Fulfilment," together with their pre-Congress discussion papers, published in J.D. Douglas, ed., *Let the Earth Hear His Voice ...*, 116-146.

<sup>167</sup> What made McGavran's paper divisive was that he attempted to provide a biblical basis for his view published in 1970, that "men like to become Christians without crossing racial, linguistic or class barriers". See McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 198. My sketch of these keynote addresses draws in part on Daniel Salinas' analysis of perceptions of ICOWE from the Global South in his *Latin American Evangelical Theology in the 1970s: The Golden Decade* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 125-155.

<sup>168</sup> J.D. Douglas, *Let the Earth Hear His Voice ...*, 65, 67. For an introduction to the biographical sources of John Stott's countercultural evangelicalism, grounded in his experience as a conscientious objector in WWII, see Alistair Chapman's *Godly Ambition: John Stott and the Evangelical Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) esp. Chapter Two.

<sup>169</sup> J.D. Douglas, *Let the Earth Hear His Voice ...*, 108-115.

“Evangelism and the World,” a keynote address which CWN Network journalist, Bruce Kay called “the best theological presentation of the congress.”<sup>170</sup>

When the church lets itself be squeezed into the mold of the world, it loses the capacity to see and even more to denounce, the social evils in its own situation. Like the color-blind person who is able to distinguish certain colors, but not others, the worldly church recognizes the personal vices traditionally condemned within its ranks, but is unable to see the evil features of its surrounding culture. In my understanding, this is the only way one can explain, for example, how it is possible for American culture Christianity to integrate racial and class segregation into its strategy for world evangelization. The idea is that people *like* to be with those of their own race and class and we must therefore plant segregated churches, which will undoubtedly grow faster. We are told that race prejudice “can be understood and should be made an aid to Christianization.” No amount of exegetical manoeuvring can ever bring this approach in line with the explicit teaching of the New Testament regarding the unity of men in the body of Christ [...] How can a church that, for the sake of numerical expansion, deliberately opts for segregation, speak to a divided world? By what authority can it preach man’s reconciliation with God through the death of Christ, which is one aspect of the Gospel, when in fact it has denied man’s reconciliation with man through the same death, which is another aspect of the Gospel (Eph. 21:14-18)? As Dr Samuel Moffett put it at the Berlin Congress, “When racial discrimination enters the churches, it is something more than a crime against humanity; it is an act of defiance against God himself.”<sup>171</sup>

Padilla’s pre-Lausanne paper had brilliantly expounded the New Testament’s theology of Christ and *cosmos* - the universal reach of the Gospel and what it means that the Church, because it is Christ’s, is *in* the world and *for* the world, and *separate* from the world in *only one* epistemological sense: “the Church knows it has been reconciled to God and the world does not know – and that is all.”<sup>172</sup> Padilla’s un-minced words in both the paper and his keynote address, that “a church that is not faithful to the Gospel in all its dimensions [...] inevitably becomes an instrument of the status quo,” were so confronting, that some of his colleagues from North America never spoke to him again.<sup>173</sup> If South African delegates had not yet recognized prophetic ministry, particularly in the discipleship of their fellow black South Africans, then they had come all the way to Lausanne to hear Padilla spell out what it means that the Church *is* necessarily a prophetic community:

It is perhaps in this context that I should say a word on the prophetic ministry today, as I have been asked to do. For it is only in the measure in which the church itself is the incarnation of God’s purpose to put all things under the Lordship of Christ, that it can denounce the evils in society which are a denial of God’s original purpose for men. There is an internal connection between the life of the church and its prophetic ministry, and between the prophetic ministry of the church and its evangelization. The church is called to be here and now what God intends the whole of society to be. In its prophetic ministry it lays open the evils that frustrate the purpose of God in society; in its evangelization it seeks to integrate men into that purpose of God whose full realization is to take place in the Kingdom to come. Consequently, wherever the church fails as a prophet it also fails as an evangelist.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Bruce Kay “Lausanne: An Assessment,” *CWN Series*, 16 August 1974, quoted by Salinas, *Latin American Evangelical Theology*, 127.

<sup>171</sup> J.D. Douglas, ed., *Let the Earth Hear His Voice ...*, 137.

<sup>172</sup> J.D. Douglas, ed., *Let the Earth Hear His Voice ...*, 121.

<sup>173</sup> Daniel Salinas’ interview with Padilla cited in his, *Latin American Evangelical Theology*, 132.

<sup>174</sup> J.D. Douglas, ed., *Let the Earth Hear His Voice ...*, 137.

Some days later, Escobar's keynote address, as one of the authors of the Lausanne Covenant,<sup>175</sup> was equally confronting of cultural Christianity, and added impetus to an unscheduled discussion on "Radical Discipleship" which Escobar had convened the previous day with Atholl Gill of Australia, John H. Yoder and Padilla, and which was attended by 500 delegates.<sup>176</sup> The theological contribution of Padilla, Escobar and the "Radical Discipleship" meeting resulted in the "Social Responsibility" section of the Lausanne Covenant being moved up from Clause 7 to Clause 5 of the Lausanne Covenant, and the benign term, "social action" in the Covenant was exchanged for the more biblical "socio-political responsibility".<sup>177</sup> Fruit of the Latin Americans' and the "Radical Discipleship" challenge at Lausanne was their publication of a document, *A Response to Lausanne*, which though highly controversial for many, was endorsed by John Stott from the podium, and was appended to the Lausanne Covenant!<sup>178</sup>

The prophetic initiatives of the Latin Americans would have resonated strongly with black South Africans at Lausanne, who made the most of this rare opportunity for open debate between whites and blacks, during the scheduled country representatives meetings. While it appeared self-evident in these meetings to Dennis House of YFC and the white South African delegates that a Billy Graham crusade through South Africa would be the most logical follow-up action to Lausanne, the black delegation confronted the prior question of apartheid, and what white Christians were going to do about it.<sup>179</sup> These contrasting priorities were so far apart that the South Africa country representatives' discussion deadlocked and became "explosive and irreconcilable."<sup>180</sup> Houston's participation in these significant debates and his formative conversations with David Bosch, Chua Wee Hian, the new General Secretary of IFES, Anglican Bishop Festo Kivengere of the Ugandan IFES movement, T.B. Dankwa of the Nigerian movement, René Padilla and Samuel Escobar, and the Latin Americans' keynote addresses themselves, all represent a *kairós* moment in SCA's theological reception, because SCA leaders were challenged to address South Africa's context in SCA, on their return.<sup>181</sup> Narratives below will show that ICOWE had been most formative for Houston who later introduced more contextual emphases to SCA,

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<sup>175</sup> The Lausanne Covenant was the summation document of the Congress proceedings in 15 sub-headings and 2700 words. Padilla described the document thus: "With this Covenant, Evangelicals took a stand against a mutilated Gospel and a narrow view of Christian mission." See C. René Padilla, *Mission Between the Times ...*, viii.

<sup>176</sup> A fuller discussion of Escobar's contribution is presented in D. Salinas, *Latin American Evangelical Theology...*, 133-138.

<sup>177</sup> For more of the background to these changes see C. René Padilla, ed., *The New Face of Evangelicalism* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976), 11-15.

<sup>178</sup> D. Salinas, *Latin American Evangelical Theology ...*, 138.

<sup>179</sup> Interview 4: Houston: (26 January 2015).

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Interview 3: Houston, (10 July 2014).

including invitations to David Bosch, René Padilla and Ronald Sider at SCA IntersVarsity conferences.

Two of SCA's new appointments in 1974 were Stuart Vaughan, travelling secretary in Natal, and Jim Stamoolis, an American Missionary theologian from the Evangelical Alliance Mission's Durban Bible College, who was seconded to work in SCA branches in the Western Cape during Houston's absence, especially to develop SCA's Theological Studies' Fellowship.<sup>182</sup> SCA Council hoped Stamoolis, who promoted the strongly Reformed *Banner of Truth* publications, would promote a more Reformed emphasis among theological students countrywide, including those at the University of Fort Hare and the University of Zululand.<sup>183</sup> As it happened, Stamoolis' first six months in SCA were devoted more to branch development than theological dialogues, and especially, to training students in the Eastern and Western Cape, using the Inter-Varsity's new "inductive Bible study" method, recently published by Ada Lum.<sup>184</sup> Stamoolis secured an agreement with Rev. Jeffree James of Cape Town's Protestant Book Room and overseas booksellers, for SCA staff and students to receive *Banner of Truth* Bible Commentaries and IntersVarsity Press publications for discounted rates, via their membership with TSF, and he convened SCA's first TSF conferences in the Western Cape and the Transvaal in May 1974.<sup>185</sup>

From 30 June to 4 July at the Michaelhouse intersVarsity conference Johnston managed to reconvene a second SAFES consultation with ACSV, SCM, ACS and Scripture Union.<sup>186</sup> The meetings included SCM executive members Frank Chikane and Cyril Ramaphosa and a delegation from Potchefstroom, and appeared to herald a breakthrough. However in August 1974 Cyril Ramaphosa and Prof E. P. Lekhela, the respective Secretary and Chairman of SCM's Universities Committee, sent Johnston SCM's "Michaelhouse Resolution" which broke off all further discussions about unity with SCA, making the goal of realising SAFES in the near future almost impossible.<sup>187</sup>

SCM's motivation for this new standoff highlights what had become a sobering pattern through SCA's long history of multiracial conferences – black Christians' perceived and real experiences of racial discrimination: "Differing allegiances have caused divisions whenever multiracial conferences have been held. These allegiances have precluded genuine

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<sup>182</sup> A1.25, Stamoolis' Theological Secretary Report prepared for the cancelled Michael House Council of July 1974.

<sup>183</sup> A1.25, John Jarvis' Chairman's Report prepared for Council (July 1974).

<sup>184</sup> See Ada Lum, Ruth Siemers, eds., *Creative Bible Study* (Gospel Literature Service, 1973).

<sup>185</sup> A1.25, Stamoolis' Theological Secretary Report prepared for Council (July 1974) and Interview: Deryck Sheriffs (21 March 2014).

<sup>186</sup> J3.1, SCM Memo to SCA (July 1973).

<sup>187</sup> J3.1, SCM Executive Memo to SCA (9 September 1975), cf. SCM Memo to SCA (July 1973).

fellowship.”<sup>188</sup> Poignantly, SCM’s implicit question mark about SCA’s “allegiance” to Christ, recalls Calvin Cook’s thematic question along similar lines in relation to the racial parting of ways in 1965. SCM’s explicit reference to SCA’s “allegiance” in the standoff after the Michaelhouse SAFES consultation in 1974, represents yet another *kairós* invitation to SCA’s leadership, to take stock of their racially polarizing context, and measure up the true cost of allegiance to Christ and the gospel of reconciliation.

The impact on Johnston and the SCA leadership of SCM’s new standoff must have been heightened after a letter from Bürki to Johnston in which Bürki explained why he could not return for another multiracial discipleship course between SCA and SCM in 1975, and cited Ramaphosa’s and his own misgivings about the unequal discourse dynamics between black and white students at the Morija Maturity Course that January.

Recent correspondence with Cyril seems to indicate that for the present time it would be better to spend a three-week training course with the African students only. Let me give the reason: I am afraid if we do not give them the possibility to develop their own personality in Christ sufficiently well, the multi-racial training course may work against reconciliation. I think the black students had great difficulties this year after the black conference to adjust to a multi-racial setting. I especially refer to the leaders. It may be alright and different for young students if they have the possibility of meeting with white brothers and sisters [... ]<sup>189</sup>

Not least in Bürki’s motivation for meeting only with black students during a subsequent visit to South Africa was his growing concern about the personal cost of association with SCA to SCM students, and especially to leaders like Ngakane and Ramaphosa and their families.<sup>190</sup>

Houston’s return to South Africa after ICOWE in August 1974 came in an explosive month for South Africa. Vorster had hardened his government’s stance towards exiled liberation movements after the independence from Portuguese rule of Angola and Mozambique, and tabled proposals by his Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha, to criminalize conscientious objection, even the encouragement of conscientious objection to the South African Defence Force, because of escalating counter-insurgency operations that were to escalate into the Angolan war during 1975.<sup>191</sup> In the same month the SACC issued its Hammanskraal

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<sup>188</sup> M. Rajuile, *Summary of the History of SCA*, 2. Phazamisa Mkhabela described Ramaphosa and his SCM delegation’s experience at Michaelhouse as follows, “The SCM delegates were convinced that the formation of SAFES would be both a mockery and hypocrisy as long as the aspirations of the underprivileged black students were trodden upon by those Christians in positions of power as well as privileges.” See P. Mkhabela, “Background to Cyara Declaration,” 1.

<sup>189</sup> B4.1.4, Bürki to Johnston (1 July 1974) with Bürki’s emphasis.

<sup>190</sup> Bürki’s apprehension of increasing difficulty for Ramaphosa motivated him to secure the help of the interdenominational “Offene Abend” prayer group in Stuttgart to assist Ramaphosa and other SCM leaders with their studies. Humanitarian assistance became all the more necessary after Ramaphosa’s imprisonment later in 1974. See B4.1.4, Bürki to Johnston (28 March and 6 April 1974).

<sup>191</sup> J. De Gruchy, *Church Struggle*, 137.



Resolution, calling on member churches to openly discuss Botha's proposed legislation, "whether Christ's call to take up the cross and follow him in identifying with the oppressed does not, in our situation, involve becoming conscientious objectors."<sup>192</sup>

Also that August, Michael Green returned to speak at a campus wide mission week at UCT, as well as at the Stellenbosch University Seminary's *Sendingweek*.<sup>193</sup> As with Houston's formative overseas engagements, Green's public expositions at UCT and Stellenbosch were significant in SCA's theological reception, because SCA leaders at different levels attended, like Bobby Bertrand, Chairman of Stellenbosch SCA, and Houston distributed cassette copies of Green's famous *Sendingweek* presentation, which had reached the front pages of the newspapers because Green was prohibited by the Stellenbosch authorities from speaking again, after his opening address.<sup>194</sup>

Ironically, Stellenbosch Seminary had invited Green to expound the prophet Amos. On the opening night he took by the horns a topic that black theologians in South Africa had confronted head-on, but which would never be publicly addressed within SCA throughout the period of this study. This was the matter of the compromise by white Christians' complicity with apartheid, especially regarding whites' position of economic privilege derived from apartheid laws.<sup>195</sup> Green likened Christians in Britain and South Africa to the Israelites of Amos' day, where "The palaces of Israel could only be kept running through oppression. Justice was a sick joke [...] honest witnesses in the courts were hated [...] the weak were downtrodden. There was materialism. The rich in Israel got richer and the poor, poorer." What was unprecedented was that Green had the audacity to say that the destruction foretold in Amos' "day of reckoning" for Israel, was "perhaps also for your country."<sup>196</sup> This presentation evoked immediate censure from the Seminary authorities, but Amos' message of unjust complicity would not have been lost on Bertrand, Houston and others from SCA.<sup>197</sup> Here was possibly the first *kairós* invitation that SCA leaders received through prophetic preaching of Scripture, to face their own complicity in South Africa's structural violence.

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<sup>192</sup> James Moulder, "Conscientious Objection," *JTSA*, no. 10 (March 1975): 12. Beyers Naudé of the Christian Institute and Douglas Bax of Princeton, teaching at an Anglican seminary, proposed to the Hammanskraal conference that young men facing conscription should consider conscientious objection. After six hours of debate the resolution quoted above was passed unanimously. See F. Hale "Baptist Ethics of Conscientious Objection to Military Service in South Africa: The Watershed Case of Richard Steele,"

<http://www.ajol.info/index.php/actat/article/viewFile/49013/35361>, accessed: 30 March 2015.

<sup>193</sup> L2.12, "Broedelike Twis Broei," *Rapport*: a photocopied newspaper report from the 4 or 11 August edition, 1974.

<sup>194</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to Houston (16 August 1974).

<sup>195</sup> The *Rapport* article "Broedelike Twis Broei" reported it as follows: "There was particular objection about his reference to the impotence and unwillingness of the N.G Church to address the government about injustices in the South African social system. There was a feeling that his criticism at such an occasion was inappropriate..."

<sup>196</sup> "Broedelike Twis Broei".

<sup>197</sup> Johnston to Houston (16 August 1974).

The deepening socio-political crisis in South Africa confronted SCA leaders more directly than ever at their Stutterheim Branch Chairmen's Consultation in November 1974, just weeks after the imprisonment of Cyril Ramaphosa under Vorster's notorious Terrorism Act and 90-Day detention laws, and after Ngakane was detained, assaulted, released, and had to move into a life on the run from the security police.<sup>198</sup> Alphons Mauchle, SCA National Student Chairman at Stutterheim, reported the situation:

Cyril Ramaphosa, the NSE Chairman of SCM was imprisoned at the recent unrests at Turfloop. He is also the local Chairman of SASO. We need to pray for him, especially for strength to endure the loneliness and agony over the future. Before Cyril's imprisonment, the university section had drawn up a memo in which they wanted no further official contact with white Christians. This had come from frustration felt time and again at conferences over a period of three years, where little progress was made in relationships. The SCM have also adopted a new policy of Africanization, which is to replace the white staff with Black staff.<sup>199</sup>

Mauchle's report shows the open-mindedness of a thoughtful student who accepted SCM's new standoff with SCA at face value. Mauchle was apparently closer to Bürki's understanding of the unfolding crisis in South Africa than Johnston at this moment. In a letter sent from the Stutterheim consultation to Stacey Woods to cancel a prior invitation to speak at SCA's January 1975 Discipleship Course, Johnston wrote:

We have been running into serious problems with this Course [...] it is in the balance [...] whether it will be held or not [...] The basic reason for the small numbers is the decision taken in September by the Black students not to meet with whites [at] such conferences. This came as a blow to us and has resulted in a lack of interest in the conference among the Afrikaans students (who now want contact with the Blacks) and a number of English-speaking evangelicals.<sup>200</sup>

Johnston's persistence to organize a multiracial discipleship course in January 1975, and his reticence to accept SCM's Michaelhouse Resolution and SCM's unwillingness to participate, in view of what Bürki had tried to explain in earlier correspondence, reflects Johnston's strong pastoral goals to involve Afrikaans students along with SCM students, in the hope of dialogue between black and white and English-speaking and Afrikaans South Africans, towards gospel transformation and reconciliation.<sup>201</sup>

Vorster's tightening stranglehold on the liberation movements and refusal of dialogue meant that that the radicalizing Black Consciousness movement wanted neither dialogue with moderate whites nor their material help at this moment. Increasingly, blacks wanted

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<sup>198</sup> "90-Days Act Commences," <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/90-days-act-comences>, accessed: 23 March 2015, cf. Ngakane interview: (24 March 2014).

<sup>199</sup> H2.1.1, NSC Chairman's Report: Stutterheim Consultation (28 November 1974).

<sup>200</sup> H2.1.10.2, Johnston to Woods (November 1974).

<sup>201</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to Sheriffs - "Contact Between SCA and Afrikaans Groups" (4 April 1974).

to *liberate themselves* from the shackles of apartheid. This was difficult for whites to understand and accept, because such empathy necessarily called into question white South Africans' privileges permitted by the apartheid system. Alphons Mauchle appears to have accepted the simple, counter-cultural power of the black student stance, at least from a distance. Few of SCA's older leaders would, like Mauchle in 1974, come to a similar empathy with black students during the imminent traumas of the mid-70s. In contrast to whites, Bürki's unconditional acceptance of black South Africans and their social and political aspirations, won the respect and loyalty of SCM to him.

### **Conclusions: Radical Disciples and “Liberal” Evangelicals Privatizing**

Whereas SCA welcomed the mainly British and North American evangelical theology and spirituality into its discipleship programmes during the early 1970s a succession of what this chapter called *kairós* moments of invitation, occurred during this period, as SCA people indifferently, ambivalently or openly encountered black Christians' theology and spirituality, mediated through black experiences of apartheid. A contradiction emerged in the narrative. First, the Association's conservative evangelicals espoused a theology and spirituality that was reminiscent of British liberalism, focused on the individual and individual choices and responsibilities with little consideration for the community implicit in baptismal identity or the corporate unity of God's Kingdom. Their individualism encouraged indifference to the social injustices of apartheid and the aspirations of the oppressed, as might be expected from proponents of the apartheid heresy.

Second, the Association welcomed the theology and spirituality of conservative evangelicals like Hans Bürki, John Stott, René Padilla and Samuel Escobar, who turned out to be “radicals” because the theology they taught, especially from the podium at Lausanne, subversively questioned evangelical sub-culture, debunked racism and cultural Christianity, and dared the evangelical world to embody a more Christ-like discipleship and spirituality that would honestly engage Jesus' teaching with social and political realities. In this way there was something of a “clash of theologies” in SCA's theological reception during the Association's early discipleship tradition – between an evangelicalism championing the fundamental teaching of Christian faith, yet blind to a philosophical liberalism that contradicted this faith, and an conservative evangelicalism that was socially and politically radical.

This Chapter has also shown that part of what caused this paradox of a “liberal” evangelical worldview in SCA, was an uncomfortable corollary of white South African Christians' longstanding pastoral myopia – a willed blindness to certain experiences of

black South Africans in relation to apartheid laws, which was tied to whites' unwillingness to acknowledge or do anything about benefitting from the economic and cultural advantages of the apartheid system. Chapter Five will continue this theme of whites' tacit or active complicity with apartheid, versus the desire for reconciliation with black South Africans, which became all the more problematic in SCA's theological reception and discipleship tradition as Christians from every sector of society became embroiled in the 1976 Uprising and its aftermath of low-intensity civil war. The guiding questions of this monograph, whether SCA would respond to its fraught socio-political context *and* to the clear message of Scripture, with prophetic authenticity and integrity, will continue to guide the narrative.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Old and New Reflections in the Unlikely Mirror of Apartheid: 1975-1976

“Now we see through a glass darkly, then we shall see face to face.”

Paul of Tarsus (1 Cor. 13:12)

“In the Bible, the ‘holy one’ (saint) is not an individual with a halo. In fact, except for God and Jesus, the term never occurs in the singular.”

Alan Kreider<sup>1</sup>

If black consciousness threatens, perhaps the only thing a black man can do is to say, “I am sorry for the inconvenience this is causing you. But I continue to be myself and to be my own interpreter.”

Manas Buthelezi<sup>2</sup>

It has been observed that momentary *kairós* invitations to SCA to embody Christian prophetic integrity in the early 1970s arose outside the Association as SCA leaders encountered theologians and theologies not usually associated with evangelical witness – in Manas Buthelezi’s Black Theology, in SCM leaders’ integration of black consciousness ideas with their peripatetic ministry of evangelism and healing prayer, and in new evangelical emphases coming out of the Lausanne Congress. Chapter Four also described *kairós* invitations that arose within SCA in response to Hans Bürki’s theology and spirituality and as black students expressed their anger in the face of apartheid oppression during 1973 and 1974. During 1975 B.J. Vorster’s regime commenced guerrilla warfare and intensified counterinsurgency operations in Angola against the liberation movements of Angola, South West Africa and Umkhonto weSizwe, and intensified state suppression of internal black opposition to apartheid.<sup>3</sup> New language of instruction laws led directly to tens of thousands of high school students desperately convoking the 1976 Soweto Uprising, which in turn fuelled state aggression against the people through military occupation of black urban areas, which pushed the sub-continent towards a conflagration of internecine violence.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter will trace the development of SCA’s discipleship training tradition during this period of deepening national crisis, to understand how SCA received the “new evangelicalism” of 1974 Lausanne Congress. Stott, Padilla and Escobar expounded an eschatological theology at Lausanne - that evangelism, conversion, discipleship and mission together constitute the dynamic “fulfilment of time” (Mark 1:15) that Jesus

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<sup>1</sup> Alan Kreider, *Journey Towards Holiness: A Way of Living for God’s Nation* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald, 1987), 47.

<sup>2</sup> Manas Buthelezi, “The Christian Presence in Today’s South Africa,” *JTSA*, no. 16 (September 1976): 8.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed analysis of the international response to South Africa’s incursion into Angola in 1975 see Mohammed A. El-Khawas, “White Rule Under Pressure in South Africa,” *Africa Today*, 24, 2 (April–June 1977): 35 – 46.

<sup>4</sup> Recent treatments of 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976 include Anthony W. Marx, *Lessons of Struggle: South African Internal Opposition, 1960 – 1990* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992) and Phil Bonner and Lauren Segal, *SOWETO: A History* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller & Longman, 1998). A reflective treatment from the first hand experience of a journalist is Harry Mashabela’s *A People on the Boil: Reflections on June 16, 1976 and Beyond* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2006).

announced as God’s in-breaking Kingdom – expositions which invited evangelicals to exercise prophetic witness in society.<sup>5</sup> In what follows, SCA’s discipleship programmes of 1975 and 1976 will be described, where this new evangelicalism began to be engaged, especially in the theology of Hans Bürki, Michael Green and John Howard Yoder, who challenged SCA towards prophetic integrity exactly as unprecedented injustice and bloodshed, caused by the state, cried out for a prophetic response from the Church.

The chapter will first describe SCA’s renewed focus on “social involvement” in 1975 and 1976, and growing opposition to this from SCA Council members who were prone to the sometimes-adversarial conservatism of post-war South African evangelicalism. The narrative will select particular *kairós* moments of invitation for prophetic integrity as the SCA encountered the new evangelicalism of Lausanne, and increasingly confronted the grim realities of black South Africans’ oppression. The extent and limits of SCA’s responsiveness to these invitations, and SCA’s integration of personal belief and “social holiness” expressed through reconciled Christian belonging and transformed Christian behaviour, to practise a spirituality of non-conformity or “holy deviance” from South Africa’s culture of racism and indifference to injustice, will be the focus of the narrative.<sup>6</sup> This chapter is therefore shaped by the central concern of this study – whether SCA received and integrated the eschatological, prophetic understanding of conversion so that the Association might respond to *kairós* invitations for prophetic witness that arose during South Africa’s deep social, political crisis in the mid 70s.

### **Making Disciples – Which Way?**

The approach to January 1975 saw first signs for the possibility of an autochthonous theology and spirituality emerging in SCA’s forming discipleship tradition. Jim Johnston and Bill Houston had reflected on the contrast between their experience of British staff conferences and Hans Bürki’s Maturity Courses and wanted to pioneer a format in South Africa that would focus on interpersonal communication, personal development and refreshment, rather than on a programme schedule of strategic, lengthy theological

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<sup>5</sup> This new emphasis took root in Britain, Continental Europe, Latin America and parts of Asia in the early 1970s, facilitated especially by John Stott, Hans Bürki, C René Padilla and Samuel Escobar, all of whom were instrumental in convening the Lausanne Congress in 1974, and the post-Lausanne Symposium on the Lausanne Covenant. A summative statement of this renewed evangelicalism is C René Padilla, ed., *The New Face of Evangelicalism: An International Symposium on the Lausanne Covenant*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976).

<sup>6</sup> We have seen that understanding conversion, baptism and the life of the church as part of the eschatological age which commenced with Christ, is foundational to Anabaptism. In this chapter I draw on Alan Kreider’s summation of eschatological discipleship as “holy deviance” in his *Journey Towards Holiness: A Way of Living for God’s Nation* (Scottsdale: Herald Press: 1987).

presentations.<sup>7</sup> So, at the end of November 1974, Jim and Heather Johnston, Bill and Joan Houston, Stuart and Brenda Vaughan, Deryck and Del Sheriffs and Jim and Evelyn Stamoolis welcomed newly appointed travelling secretaries, Judith Hopley, Trevor Gow and Steve Truscott to the Royal Drakensberg Resort at Tendele in Natal, for a seven-day staff conference in the Drakensburg Amphitheatre.<sup>8</sup> Their purpose was “to review” SCA’s work and “each staff member’s relationship to it”; “to get to know each another”; “to seek to discern what God is saying to us” and “to relax together”!<sup>9</sup>

At Tendele, Johnston and Houston consciously drew on their experience of Bürki’s theology, spirituality, and on Bürki’s integrative teaching methods. So, the pattern at Tendele was to start each day with a Scripture meditation in the contemplative style of Bürki.<sup>10</sup> Thereafter, programme content was facilitated by different staff members who facilitated workshop discussions on the following general topics: SCA’s involvement in evangelism, Bible study, tape distribution, church campaigns, developing Graduates Fellowship and Theological Studies Fellowship, and leadership development. A lengthy discussion was dedicated to SCA’s relationship with SCM, ACS and the Indian Work, and the matters of the YMCA and Campus Crusade for Christ, newly arrived ministries at UCT and Wits. There was also a searching discussion led by Heather Johnston on the marriage and home life of a travelling secretary, and staff reflected on Bürki’s three cassette recorded talks on “The Mental and Emotional Health of a Staff Worker”.

Tendele foregrounded participants’ personal transformation, with regular returns to Hans Bürki’s questions: “Where are you now?” and “What’s clearest to you now?” Thus, each travelling secretary developed the habit of verbalizing to their colleagues their “heart responses” to issues being discussed. Hands-on facilitation of sessions was designed intentionally by Johnston and Houston to develop travelling secretaries’ confidence and skill as reworked previous maturity course materials into SCA’s first three-week Discipleship Course curriculum, to be presented in January 1975.

While on-going formation of SCA staff, and by extension, of SCA students in forthcoming discipleship programmes, was the focus at Tendele, it was not the *only* focus. Three separately headed themes recorded in the conference “Notes” voice three perceived

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<sup>7</sup> Writing to Johnston from London Bible College after attending the British staff conference a year before, Houston felt that “your idea of fellowship among SCA staff in the form of a relaxed holiday is ahead of IVF UK. The staff conference is one of high powered theological discussions when the workers are tired out and the wives feel left out as far as I can make out...” B4.1.4, Houston to Johnston (11 October 1973).

<sup>8</sup> B6.3.2, Reports and related documents: 1974 staff conference.

<sup>9</sup> My emphasis. B6.3.2, “Notes of the Staff Conference Held in November 1974”.

<sup>10</sup> Details in this paragraph and the next are reconstructed from B6.3.2, Programme jottings and from Johnston’s summary: “Notes of the Staff Conference Held in November 1974”.

weak areas in the Association, which staff addressed in their discussions. First, was the quandary about the Michaelhouse standoff with SCM and how to re-engage in conversation with black students.<sup>11</sup> Also, the matter of whether or not to have a separate “Indian Work” was discussed, as was the possibility of financial assistance to SCM for their staff costs. The discussions concluded that Black Consciousness at Turfloop was the cause of the rift at Michaelhouse, as some students, like George Mnisi from Fort Hare SCM, were now keen to ignore the Michaelhouse Resolution, and attend SCA events in 1975.<sup>12</sup> Another conclusion was that SCA carried a responsibility to encourage SCM and ACS to adopt evangelical bases of faith and to join in a South African Federation of Evangelical Students.<sup>13</sup>

In the case of ACS, the Coloured movement, the Tendele discussions were even more decisive: “It was felt that SCA should make some move [...] There was a need for one person to take a grip of the universities and colleges work and to draw it together. It is possible to suggest a universities’ worker to ACS e.g. Graham Cyster [...]”<sup>14</sup> SCA staff committed to meet ACS and SCM and Indian Work committees, to invite them all to national events, and to encourage their involvement in the Kentani work camps.<sup>15</sup>

A clear sense in discussions at Tendele that SCA carried a responsibility for racial rapprochement towards unity is significant, because of the absence of any accompanying admission in the record, that SCA students, staff, or structures might share any culpability for the racial tensions. The records weight SCA with the responsibility for only introducing financial and other possible solutions rather than with any sense, however tentative, of moral failure regarding SCM, ACS or the Indian members of SCA.

A second SCA “weak area” discussed at Tendele was one-to-one evangelism.<sup>16</sup> In the discussions about new strategies of evangelism utilized by YMCA and by John Templehoff of CCC, the Tendele “Notes” record an almost legalistic expectation of SCA Staff: “the opposition to taking the initiative in evangelism was illustrated by the resistance of staff to evangelising the *Tendele campsite* and it was recognised that each travelling secretary would need to take action in the campus situation and to *beware of rationalising his*

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<sup>11</sup> B6.3.2, “Notes of the Staff Conference Held in November 1974,” 1, 3.

<sup>12</sup> George Mnisi maintained contact with Jim Stamoollis after a TSF visit to Fort Hare by the latter. See B4.1.4, Stamoollis to Johnston (14 September 1974) cf. B6.3.2, “Notes of the Staff Conference,” 1, mentions the willingness of “Fort Hare” for joint meetings.

<sup>13</sup> B6.3.2, “Notes of the Staff Conference,” 2.

<sup>14</sup> Graham Cyster came from the Cape Flats. He attended Lausanne while studying at Fuller Seminary and returned to South Africa in 1976. B4.1.4, Johnston to Cyster (13 September 1974) and Interview: Moll (28 April 2015).

<sup>15</sup> B6.3.2, “Notes of the Staff Conference,” 2.

<sup>16</sup> B6.3.2, “Notes of the Staff Conference,” 2-3.



*inhibitions.*”<sup>17</sup> Was there a hint of peer pressure in these conclusions, a sense perhaps that SCA leaders, vis-à-vis YMCA and CCC, were not “making the grade” regarding “personal evangelism”? Rightly or wrongly concluded, SCA’s “weakness” regarding which way to introduce others to Jesus Christ, was given a first robust airing at Tendele, and would remain on staff conference agendas intermittently, as a priority for the Association’s discipleship curriculum, throughout the 70s and 80s.<sup>18</sup>

Bill Houston introduced a third weak area in the SCA discipleship “curriculum” in his workshop entitled “Political and Social Awareness”.<sup>19</sup> This was a turning point in the Association’s discipleship tradition. From Tendele onwards, SCA regularly revisited the topic of “social responsibility” with increasing focus on the scriptural warrants - especially Jesus’ proclamation of good news which was always demonstrated in clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, preaching Good News to the poor, and liberating prisoners, social outcasts and those oppressed.<sup>20</sup>

What might be concluded from Tendele Staff Conference “Notes” is evidence for a measure of compartmentalized thinking about conversion, racial reconciliation and social transformation. Each of these themes was apparently discussed with resolutions made, *as separate topics*: conversion to Christ through one-to-one evangelism, racial tension (seemingly emanating from SCM and ACS), and SCA’s desire for reconciliation and involvement in social justice. However, the eschatological connection in Jesus’ Good News *between* conversion, reconciliation of historically divided races, and the transformation of social injustices in the Christian community, seems not to have been a Tendele topic for Scripture meditation, discussion or application, or indeed a focus for *personal transformation*. In other words, SCA staff might be seen at this moment to reflect the post-war evangelicalism which had shaped them and the racially segregated history of evangelicalism in South Africa, of which they were part, which had emphasized beliefs, preaching, teaching, and individual conversion at the expense of Christian unity and belonging. As Bürki, Bosch and Padilla would say on different platforms still to be described, in 1976, 1977 and 1979, evangelicals too often separated their beliefs and

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<sup>17</sup> Emphasis added. B6.3.2, “Notes of the Staff Conference,” 6.

<sup>18</sup> Chapter Six will show that the priority of evangelism in SCA’s curriculum would be foregrounded by Houston as a focus for future training, at the Second SCA Consultation in Port Elizabeth in December-January, 1976-77. See for example, B4.1.5, Hofmeyr to Krige (31 January 1977).

<sup>19</sup> B6.3.2, Programme jottings.

<sup>20</sup> A formative development of this topic would be Bill Houston’s December 1975 Workshop, “Lessons from Latin America”, which will be discussed below.

evangelism from their lives, their ethics, instead of living them out as Jesus did, in the transforming event of his *kairós*-determining Good News.<sup>21</sup>

The Bible's presentation of the eschatological meaning of disciples' conversion to Jesus Christ that had been expounded at Lausanne, especially in the Radical Discipleship statement endorsed by John Stott and the Lausanne Covenant<sup>22</sup> began to appear in SCA's theological reception later in 1974, and would gradually be received into SCA discipleship programmes from 1975, with increasing emphasis from 1977, and only with tentative expression in SCA's theological production during the early 1980s.<sup>23</sup> However, in the "Notes" of the Tendele Staff Conference, no clear expression of this eschatological dimension of conversion is evident. No voice like Calvin Cook's in 1965 challenged the SCA staff at Tendele to look into Scripture as into the face of Christ, the "mirror" described in St Paul's letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 13:12), to recognize and take responsibility for the Association's almost century-old pastoral myopia. After a century of church-initiated segregation, SCA mirrored its racially divided, chauvinistic culture, in which whites most often saw themselves as holding out solutions, rather than being complicit in South Africa's problems.<sup>24</sup> SCA mirrored apartheid society also, in compartmentalized thinking and theologizing and in its partisan suspicions about Black Consciousness, but most of all, in its physical, geographic and spiritual separation at this moment in time from Indian, Black, Coloured and white Afrikaans-speaking leaders from the sister associations. The approaching crisis of 1976 and events that followed would evoke *kairós* invitations to SCA leaders to integrate in SCA's discipleship curriculum, apparently distinct aspects of the spiritual life: conversion, prayer, discipleship, justice, reconciliation, evangelism and mission. And so, to South Africa's growing crisis in 1975, and SCA's part in it, this discussion now turns.

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<sup>21</sup> The theological omissions and wooden expression of SCA's Basis of Faith reinforced these distinctions for some, and for others, encouraged rigid compartmentalization.

<sup>22</sup> "The *evangel* is God's Good News in Jesus Christ; it is Good News of the reign he proclaimed and embodies; of God's mission of love to restore the world to wholeness through the Cross of Christ and him alone; of his victory over the demonic powers of destruction and death; of his Lordship over the entire universe; it is Good News of a new creation of a new humanity, a new birth through him by his life-giving Spirit [...] of the charismatic community empowered to embody his reign of shalom here and now before the whole creation and make his Good News seen and known. It is Good News of liberation, of restoration, of wholeness, and of salvation that is personal, social, global and cosmic. Jesus is Lord! Alleluia! Let the earth hear his voice!" "Theological Implications of Radical Discipleship" in J.D. Douglas, ed., *Let the Earth Hear His Voice: International Congress on World Evangelization Lausanne, Switzerland* (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1975), 1294.

<sup>23</sup> "The SCA Students' Declaration 1980," discussed below, SCA's *Bible Studies for a Divided Society*, and the SCA Missions Programme (SCAMP) curriculum are rare examples in SCA's theological production which approach the eschatological dimension of conversion.

<sup>24</sup> The choice of metaphor here is my own, however the mirror image has been commonly used to foreground the spiritual compromise in the cultural Christianity of Christendom. See for example, Emmanuel Katongole and Jonathan Wilson-Hartgrove, *Mirror to the Church: Resurrecting Faith after Genocide in Rwanda* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1999).

The early 70s was the closing phase of the apartheid experiment to re-invent the rural and urban landscape of South Africa and socially engineer the imaginations of South Africans of all races through strict segregation in education. Triomf stood on the ruins of Sophiatown in Johannesburg. Many places like Pageview, District Six, and South End were being bulldozed so their residents could be forcibly be moved to “Black” Group Areas, while “black spot” rural communities in “White” South Africa were receiving expropriation notices for their land, irrespective of ownership.<sup>25</sup> The criminalization of the liberation movements by Vorster’s regime was now extended to the area of the arts, as journalist and poet Don Mattera was banned and placed under house arrest.<sup>26</sup> Also by 1975, the ideology to segregate tertiary education institutions along racial lines, without exception, was all but imposed on South African universities and colleges as Vorster’s National Education Department succeeded in expropriating land from under the feet of the last truly multiracial tertiary institution in the country – the ecumenical Federal Seminary near Fort Hare University.<sup>27</sup>

While academic life proceeded unhindered in increasingly well-resourced white institutions, tightening police surveillance and restrictions on academic freedom at Turfloop, Durban-Westville, Fort Hare and the Western Cape, provoked escalating black protest.<sup>28</sup> Black students rejected separate, inferior education and the detention of their leaders and daily life on their campuses became increasingly turbulent. By contrast, white universities continued unaffected. This inequality may have exacerbated the antipathy felt by many in SCM and by Indian students in SCA, towards the Association in the second half of 1974. Thus it was not surprising that SCA’s first Discipleship Course at Morija in Lesotho, from 7 - 27 January 1975, though it was the biggest in the twelve-year history of SCA discipleship courses, with 150 students, included only a handful of black students, among them Moshe Rajuile, past SCM Chairman at Fort Hare, and newly appointed SCM travelling secretary, his wife Eunice, their colleague in SCM, Sydney Seolonyane and a black student from Rhodesia.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Detail on the forced removals policy cannot be provided here. An authoritative introduction is Laurine Platzky and Cheryl Walker’s *The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1998).

<sup>26</sup> “Scenes from a Banned Life: Don Mattera,” <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03064227808532827#.Vb8JeVFkKfQ>, accessed: 3 August 2015.

<sup>27</sup> See John de Gruchy’s editorial “The Future of the Federal Seminary,” *JTSA*, no. 10 (March 1975): 3-4. For a scholarly treatment see Philippe Denis and Graham A. Duncan, *The Native School that Caused all the Trouble* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 2011).

<sup>28</sup> Stuart Vaughan witnessed the effects of disturbances at the University of Durban-Westville on the SCA group, reporting that “... tension between the students and administration led to the dissolution of the SRC last year. This implied the dissolution of all clubs and societies...” B4.1.4, Vaughan: “Travelling Secretary’s News” (1 October 1974).

<sup>29</sup> H2.1.10.2, Participant list: Morija Discipleship Course – 1975 cf. Interview: Eunice Rajuile (19 June 2014).

## Some Things Made New - in 1975

Growing interest among Afrikaans students to participate in SCA events meant that many from Stellenbosch, Pretoria and Potchefstroom registered for the Morija Discipleship Course. Johnston also invited Dr Rex Van Vuuren from the University of Pretoria Psychology Department and his wife Marijke to serve on the discipleship course leadership team.<sup>30</sup> Dr Bürki's popularity with SCA students who had attended previous maturity courses encouraged attendance, even though it was known Bürki would not attend.<sup>31</sup>

SCA staff and guest leaders at Morija presented an interwoven programme of Bible teaching and workshop discussions for mature students who could manage lengthy sessions aimed at integration and application.<sup>32</sup> The programme included Scripture meditation; Bible expositions; manuscript Bible studies, workshops on stewardship, evangelism, marriage; and Bürki's paper "A Ten Point Manifesto on Human Sexuality"; sport and recreation and practical activities such as one-to-one evangelism on the streets of Morija, or a visit to Dr Ted Germond's medical team at Morija Hospital.<sup>33</sup> There was a silent meal each day, encouraging students to practice the skills that they were learning in contemplative prayer.<sup>34</sup> Each evening in retrospective epilogues the day's events were revisited in the reflective Roman Catholic style of the "examen of conscience" to encourage prayerful integration.<sup>35</sup> The aim of the whole curriculum was *transformation* in the gospel event of encountering Christ:

I was impressed by the openness with which people ended up sharing during the course, although we had to be encouraged by the leadership team to share after the first two or three days. I had had no previous experience of sharing in that way in my family or home church.<sup>36</sup>

It was big. It was profound. Looking back [...] Morija was more memorable than Mountain Lodge [discipleship course] in 79, and made a bigger impact on me. The level of input and output at Morija was much more personal, personalised faith. I think because of the context in my own life, Morija was a very key point for me. It was the first time that during a significantly (three-week) long period, I had solid teaching, and shared experiences [...]<sup>37</sup>

Johnston and SCA leaders had begun to integrate Bürki's eschatological method, which anticipated the *kairós* of God's in-breaking, all-transforming kingdom.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Interview: Stephen Granger (12 March 2013). "The fact that it was the year after Hans Bürki and his influence, was significant. There was a sense that you should have been here last year because Hans Bürki is not here this time."

<sup>32</sup> H2.1.10.2, Johnston's memo re: January Discipleship Course (11 September 1974).

<sup>33</sup> Interview: Greenwood (24 March 2014).

<sup>34</sup> Interview: Granger (12 March 2013).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Greenwood (24 March 2014).

<sup>37</sup> Granger (12 March 2013).

Tensions about encounter-based learning and charismatic experience in SCA's discipleship curriculum, between older post-war evangelicals like Robin Wells, Murray Hofmeyr, Derek Fivaz, Morgan Greenwood and Rod Hewitson, and the new generation of travelling secretaries, who were exploring the relationship of evangelical faith with psychology, liberation theologies and the charismatic movement, had first surfaced when questions and hostilities arose in corners of the Association during 1973 and 1974 about "what exactly went on" in Hans Bürki's maturity courses.<sup>38</sup> Disquiet increased when Johnston, Sheriffs and Brian Hahn, editor of the Graduates' Fellowship magazine published a topic sheet, "The Christian & Mental Breakdown", early in 1975, which included a list of Christian psychologists and counsellors, as a resource for students and graduates.<sup>39</sup> For the older SCA grouping who subscribed to Martyn Lloyd Jones' Biblicist approach to counselling, influenced by Jay Adams' *Competent to Counsel* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970), and who could not acknowledge the relevance of depression in evangelical student ministry, consternation would have increased all the more when Houston, Dr Helena Faull and Sheriffs hosted a weekend in Stellenbosch late in 1975, for SCA students and graduates involved with counselling students through issues such as depression, racial discrimination and abortion.<sup>40</sup>

From the Morija discipleship course onwards this growing tension between SCA's older office bearers and the younger SCA leaders would become more evident. These tensions increased again when the new evangelicalism of Lausanne began to filter into SCA's discipleship programming. Strong polarities in SCA between a spirituality tending towards fundamentalism and the highly integrative spirituality of the new evangelical orthodoxy, sometimes playing out at cross purposes, are evident in the divergent spectrum of guest speakers invited to present in SCA branch curricula during 1975 and 1976: Maurice Ngakane, now working for the SACC, Prof J.D. Dengerink, a Biblicist and an exponent of neo-Calvinism from Gröningen and Utrecht, Martin Goldsmith, lecturer at All Nations Christian College, England, Juan Carloz Ortiz, the Argentinian Pentecostal evangelist, Dr Helena Faull, psychology therapist from Stellenbosch, Dr Henk Hart, Canadian Dutch Reformed scholar of Redeemer College, Ontario, Chua Wee Hian, General Secretary of IFES, Dr Geoff Paxton, Principal of Melbourne Bible College, Prof Art Glasser of Fuller

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<sup>38</sup> B4.1.4, Jarvis to Johnston (17 February 1974) cf. Johnston to J.M. Venter (16 April 1973) and a letter from "Denise" to Johnston (14 February 1974) describing the reception of Stellenbosch students returning from the Morija Maturity Course: "Two extremes of reaction have been received at Stellenbosch, the one of openness desiring teaching, and the other of hostility."

<sup>39</sup> B4.1.4, Sheriffs to Johnston and Hahn (27 February 1975) cf. Johnston's "Collection of Names of Sympathetic Psychiatrists in the Republic," sent out on 4 July 1973 cf. Interview: Houston (10 July 2014).

<sup>40</sup> B4.1.4, Houston Prayer Letter (30 October 1975) cf. Interview: Houston (10 July 2014).

Seminary's School of World Mission, and Mennonite scholar and author of *The Politics of Jesus* (1972), Prof John Howard Yoder of Associated Mennonite Bible Seminary in Indiana.<sup>41</sup>

Another indicator of tensions generated by SCA theological polarities were simple questions, explicit or implicit, posed in different levels of the Association about what was in fact meant by conversion, evangelism, and discipleship. Different formulations of these questions recurred through 1975, at times intentionally debated, as leaders searched out theologians, theologies, and models of evangelical spirituality that would most formatively shape the Association's discipleship training curriculum. This narrative will now briefly narrate three instances in early 1975 in which three small questions of great consequence were asked, pointing to the growing tension between the old post-war conservatives and a new evangelicalism. These three instances represented small *kairós* moments of invitation to SCA leaders to be transformed in their understanding of conversion itself, and to witness to Christ with prophetic integrity in South Africa's escalating moral, social and political crisis.

The first of these small questions to challenge SCA's assumptions about conversion came in a letter to Johnston from Bill Houston, after Morija and February 1975:

Should not our Basis of Faith reflect a stronger statement on the Doctrine of Creation, Doctrine of Man, of the World (physical order)? [sic] They seem to be, in Genesis, the groundwork doctrines for what is to follow. Our basis, apart from a stress on authority of Scripture is heavily weighted to individual personal salvation. If there is merit or validity in this, a select committee could study this and make recommendations to council.<sup>42</sup>

Houston's inspired question and suggestions possibly arose in response to his Lausanne experiences, or as a result of what happened at Morija. Whatever the case, Houston apparently wanted to exercise deepening theological insight to correct the imbalance in the atomistic and formulaic assertions of SCA's Basis of Faith. In response, Johnston engaged the theological expertise of Prof Jarvis on SCA Council and Eric Bateman, Chairman of the Western Cape regional committee, to help formulate a new draft of SCA's Basis of Faith for Council's consideration.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Deryck Sheriffs was abreast of these tensions and was already planning to engage SCA's Theological Studies Fellowship in a study of the different approaches towards evangelism and discipleship imbued in the theologies of the Lausanne Congress and the 1975 Congress of the WCC: A1.27, 1976 Durban Council Reports. Data for other presenters during 1975 and 1976 was collected from B4.1.4, International speakers' correspondence, Stanley Sher Archive: *Its Human* (Winter, 1975): 2, 11, B4.1.4, The Houstons' Prayer Letter (30 October 1975), A1.26, Council Reports, 1975, and B4.1.4, Houston Circular (June 1976).

<sup>42</sup> Houston's emphasis. B4.1.4, Houston to Johnston (16 February 1975).

<sup>43</sup> A1.29, Minutes of Council (July 1977).

A second question about conversion, more implicit than explicit, arose in similar correspondence. At SCA's head-office Johnston was formulating a "Statement on Evangelism" to clarify SCA's understanding of how to realize its aims; he invited Jarvis and Stamoolis in Cape Town to comment on his paper. Their replies illustrate the growing tensions in SCA between an earlier twentieth century evangelical theology of conversion as primarily individual and personal, and new insight since Lausanne, that conversion is also necessarily a corporate expression of God's, all encompassing new creation.<sup>44</sup> Because this monograph treats SCA's theological reception, not its theological production, an exposition of Johnston's "Statement" and Stamoolis' affable critiques and affirmations, are not possible here. The present focus will be only on the theological and pastoral inspiration that Johnston received, in Jarvis' reply:

While the "Good news" [...] is [...] personal salvation in Christ, we should not [...] show [...] that we are unaware of the wider implications of God's plan for the ultimate redemption of human society and [...] the whole of creation (Luke 2:10; Rom. 8:19-21; Rev. 21:24-26). This does not mean that we are primarily proclaiming a "social gospel", but unless we show [...] we are aware of these wider implications of the redeeming work of Christ, those who concentrate on the social gospel may have grounds for claiming that we ignore this aspect.

I feel the corporate role of the Christian community in evangelism should be given greater place. The church is only mentioned briefly at one point in your draft. The church is not only the body to which are added those who are saved (Acts 2:47) but it is also the "salt of the earth" (Matt 5:13). In a statement on the methods of evangelism, this should have an important place. So often the student fellowship does not have the public image by which the unsaved might be attracted to come in, to discover the secret of the power that makes them positively (not negatively) different. In this way a vital Christian fellowship can be a powerful means of evangelism. Methods: Personal witness, first by a Christ-like life, followed by speaking to individuals to whom the right to speak has been won.<sup>45</sup>

From one of the oldest members of the Association came a fresh, biblical and contextual theology of evangelism.<sup>46</sup> Jarvis' theology of the Good News saw it as primarily the fulfilment of the prophets' eschatological hopes. He referred to Jesus', Paul's and John of Patmos' eschatological imagery for the "new creation" identity of believers, corporately in the Church, *in the present*. Jarvis' statement implied a small yet subversive question to the formulaic, compartmentalized and individualistic understanding of conversion which had characterised SCA's theology for decades - which might be posed thus: *How does God's desire to save the whole of creation through Christ, break through into society at a person's conversion, through the inspired corporate witness of the Church?*

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<sup>44</sup> B4.1.4, Jarvis to Johnston (23 January 1975) and Stamoolis to Johnston (20 February 1975).

<sup>45</sup> B4.1.4, Jarvis to Johnston (23 January 1975)

<sup>46</sup> Further research may conclude that Jarvis' searching understanding and practice of evangelism, articulated here, though SCA did not yet replicate his theology in position papers or in curricula, was the most biblical and contextual theological definition of evangelism to be articulated by an SCA leader during the 1970s.

Jarvis' advice did leave its mark and Johnston reframed some statements in his paper on evangelism. However, Jarvis' noteworthy New Testament warrants for evangelism and conversion, as not only personal, but as the fulfilment of the prophetic promises that a Messiah would come for all creation to be made new, were not included in Johnston's final paper, and would not receive sustained attention in SCA's understanding of evangelism, until the SCAMP curriculum of 1979 as will be seen in Chapter Six.<sup>47</sup>

A third small but incisive question about SCA's understanding of conversion and its witness to the Gospel, was voiced in Natal at student level, where Stuart Vaughan and newly appointed regional advisor, Rajen Naicker, were seeing steady growth in nearly all their branches, especially among the Indian students at Durban-Westville and Springfield Teachers' Training College, black students at Wentworth Medical School's Students' Christian Fellowship, and in a Coloured branch of ACS which Naicker visited at Bechet Teachers' Training College.<sup>48</sup> During a visit to Wentworth black students challenged Vaughan in their understated but nevertheless firmly held Black Consciousness stance: "Why can't we just be straightforward members of SCA?"<sup>49</sup>

Vaughan experienced a sense of "checkmate" in their question: "They felt that the existence of separate movements for different races was accommodating itself to the apartheid environment. They felt I didn't grasp the big issue about the split."<sup>50</sup> The Wentworth students' implied judgement about SCA's dissolution in 1965, underlying their provocative *Why* question, resonates strongly with the theme of conversion that is guiding the historical narrative of this chapter – their question might be restated as follows: *If white Christians followed Jesus Christ as true converts, why had the Church in South Africa, and SCA with it, become so associated with ideological racism, that it had, wittingly for some and unwittingly for others, become the unlikely mirror of apartheid?*

The rest of 1975 saw many growing tensions arise in SCA and between SCA and its sister associations, as the apartheid regime increased its surveillance of all organizations opposing apartheid through the Schibusch parliamentary Commission.<sup>51</sup> Johnston realized the gravity of the situation after receiving a long letter from Cyril Ramaphosa,

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<sup>47</sup> J. Johnston, "Evangelism in the New Testament," in Bill Houston Archive: W. J. Houston, *Evangelism: A Compendium of Papers* (Johannesburg: SCA, 1980).

<sup>48</sup> The off campus branch of Indian students at Durban-Westville had grown to 60 students, and Howard College to 100. B4.1.4, Stuart Vaughan's "Travelling Secretary's News" (1 October 1974) and A1.26 Minutes of UCT Council (July 1975).

<sup>49</sup> My emphasis. Interview: Stuart and Brenda Vaughan (2 March 2013). Biko had been banned in 1973, but he broke his banning order often, to engage with Eastern Cape students, a development that would not have been lost on Wentworth students. See Lindy Wilson, *Steve Biko: A Jacana Pocket Biography* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2011), 74.

<sup>50</sup> Vaughans (2 March 2013). Vaughan used the idea of "checkmate" to describe this encounter in correspondence subsequent to the 2013 interview.

<sup>51</sup> John W. de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa, 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition* (London: SCM, 2004), 107.



written from prison, where he had been detained under the Terrorism Act that February; Ramaphosa would remain in detention without trial until September of 1975.<sup>52</sup> Space here permits only brief mention of five examples of these tensions.

First, before the autumn, SCA's hopes for a Fort Hare mission were dashed when the Rector forbade it because SCM leaders had rejected a "signed statement that there would be no discussion of anything political."<sup>53</sup> Second, in Natal, despite Vaughan and Naicker's fruitful work in the sister associations with Hindu students making commitments to Christ at Durban-Westville and growing interest from Bechet College, tensions on the Natal Regional Committee about a designated "Indian Work" grew, and two newly appointed "Indian representatives" on the Committee withdrew their attendance at the quarterly meeting.<sup>54</sup> Thirdly, on the one hand in the Eastern Cape, the Regional Committee newsletter of Easter 1975 requested prayers "for the proclamation of the objective truth of God in the gospel by the branches [...] to bring the Word of Life to those who are spiritually dead and under God's wrath" in a programme of Bible studies expounding SCA's Basis of Faith, led by the regional committee.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, at Rhodes SCA branch, later in 75, Sheriffs visited and introduced students to John Stott's *The Lausanne Covenant: A Commentary and Exposition* (1975) and to liberation theology, and invited the SCA committee to consider "widening the scope of book sales to students" from the customary *Banner of Truth* publications to include non-Reformed and even "conservative but not evangelical" SCM authors, like Bright, Cullman, Eichrodt and von Rad.<sup>56</sup> Sheriffs' approach angered the regional committee and anticipated further doctrinal conflict when Sheriffs became travelling secretary in Grahamstown after June 1976.<sup>57</sup> Fifthly, efforts to persuade SCM leaders to meet SCA students, by SCM travelling secretaries, Moshe Rajuile and Sydney Seolonyane, supported by Johnston, could not persuade SCM's National Executive to re-open official contact with SCA.<sup>58</sup>

During this increasingly polarized year of 1975, at the Wits University branch, there was an almost prescient apprehension among students of the eschatological understanding of conversion in the new evangelicalism, which they would only encounter directly in SCA much later, through David Bosch in July 1977. Wits student Chairman, Stanley Sher - a

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<sup>52</sup> Johnston Archive: Cyril Ramaphosa's undated, unsigned letter - apparently for Johnston's protection from the Special Branch. (February 1975)\* cf. Johnston to Faure Louw (21 February 1975) in which Johnston wrote, "Cyril is still in prison and I had word from him ...".

<sup>53</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to Mick Andrews (27 February 1975).

<sup>54</sup> A1.26, Jeff Bindon's Report to Council (July 1975) cf. B4.1.4 Stuart Vaughan's Travelling Secretary's News (1 October 1974).

<sup>55</sup> B4.1.4, Eastern Province Prayer Letter (April 1975) and A1.26 Derek Fivaz's Council Report (July 1976).

<sup>56</sup> A1.27, Sheriffs' TSF Report to Natal Council (July 1976) cf. B4.1.4 Sheriffs' Letter (September 1975)\*.

<sup>57</sup> B4.1.4, Letters from Johnston, Houston, Sheriffs and Committee members during 1976 allude to the conflict.

<sup>58</sup> J.31, Moshe Rajuile, "Summary of the History of SCA in South Africa," 2.

Jewish Fine Art and Hebrew student, who was also editor of Wits SCA's quarterly newspaper, *Its Human*, wrote in April 1975:

We've had enough of ideologies and mysticism which [...] don't even reach our personal and domestic conflicts. Material comforts have blinded and crippled our sensitivity to the needs of the people next door or the maid in our kitchen whose family might be starving or who may just be wondering why she should address your father as 'Master' [...] Our consciences are aching and we're sick of marginal reform, both theological and political, which deals only with forms and images on the periphery of things. Neither will it do to talk about changing the *things* around us, however radically, without allowing a change to take place within ourselves; morally, psychologically and spiritually [...] When Christ promised that rivers of living water would flow from whoever believed and trusted Him, He never divorced these words from His teaching on repentance. That's why He said in Mt.5 (sic) 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'

Undoubtedly faith in Christ gives meaning and purpose, with the consciousness of being a son in relationship with our One Father. The questions are answered. We become part of a family of brothers and sisters of various shades and cultures. This new understanding with God and man becomes the basis for a life of unity, which transcends anything we have ever tried to make for ourselves.<sup>59</sup>

Besides being a rare expression in SCA of guilt about the perverse consequences of South Africa's culture of white supremacy, Sher's sensitivity to the communal grounding of Christian baptismal identity, his conviction from a keen reading of the Gospels, that personal and social transformation are integral to *conversion*, is equally rare evidence of the *cri de Coeur* of white students, to live out an autochthonous expression of discipleship – Christ bringing about the new creation on South African soil. Unbeknown to Sher, his Wits committee, or the *Its Human* editorial team in 1975, their *cri de Coeur* voiced the new evangelicalism, which ultimately would or would not take root in SCA.

Against this background of gradual polarization, Hans Bürki's third visit to SCA in December 1975, for the Kloofwaters staff conference, involved the whole of SCA's current staff team, wives of married staff, outgoing regional advisor, Rajen Naicker, newly appointed travelling secretary, Lynn Pedersen who was a social worker from Cape Town, a visitor from the UK, Lydia Adam, and UCT graduate, David Smith.<sup>60</sup> Friends of SCA who wanted to engage with Bürki on the Bible, psychology and discipleship also attended – Greg Lourens working with the SACC in Johannesburg, his wife Mariaan, Ds Faure and Rita Louw - SCA Associates from the University of Pretoria, who were now DRC missionaries at Tshilindzini in Venda, Revd. Philip Le Feuvre - UCT Chaplain and Chairman of the Anglican Students' Federation and Rex and Marijke van Vuuren from the University of Pretoria.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Editorial, *Its Human* (Autumn 1975), 2.

<sup>60</sup> See photo in APPENDIX F on page 280.

<sup>61</sup> The narrative in this paragraph and the next is reconstructed from B6.3.1 Jottings and correspondence regarding the Kloofwaters conference, and Interviews: Faure and Rita Louw (17 November 2012), Pedersen (10 April 2013) and previously cited interviews with the Vaughans, Judge and Truscott.

The three-week course excluded SCM staff and students at Bürki's insistence, as he would meet SCM leaders separately at Kloofwaters early in 1976.<sup>62</sup>

During the Kloofwaters course, the core group of staff, among them Gow, Johnston, Houston, Truscott and Vaughan, found themselves working intensively alongside Bürki in a second, third, or in the case of Johnston and Truscott, a fourth discipleship training event. The conference programme interwove methodologies used previously during maturity courses, at Tendele staff conference, and at the Morija discipleship course. The focus was Bible exposition and contextual application of discipleship to South African society, with a special emphasis on communication, healing and pastoral ministry. Openness at Kloofwaters to encounter the Christ of Scripture during each session with Bürki and other SCA facilitators, led to some of the most transformative discipleship learning experiences in SCA discipleship programmes.<sup>63</sup> Whether in Bible exposition; small group discussion; in whole group counselling; in solitude; or after waking, in the discipline of working with dreams; in silent Scripture meditation; free-time; or, in discussions such as exploring his famous "onion skin ring" diagram of human identity, every participant was invited to contextually apply the eschatological implications of conversion.<sup>64</sup>

Bürki's emphasis on contextual ministry was affirmed by Bill Houston's Kloofwaters workshop called "Lessons from Latin America," in which Houston recounted René Padilla's Lausanne Congress seminar on the growth of the evangelical movement in Latin America – in the following points:<sup>65</sup> Before the WCC Conference of 1963 which engaged Liberation Theology, Latin Americans' understanding of "evangelism [was] divorced from everything else". After 1963, "slowly [the] conviction [grew in the Latin American IFES] that staff work must be Wholistic (sic)." Houston explained how Latin Americans became disillusioned with the capitalist, middle-class foundations of their education system, which encouraged indifference to the poor. They responded by teaching "social issues". When teaching proved unsatisfactory they integrated social concern into discipleship programmes and enlisted students to teach adult literacy during discipleship training. As a result students actively promoted social transformation - a Mexican engineer left the oil industry to start co-operative farms; Venezuelan students founded a political party; Brazilian medics established a remote hospital and church and groups of students in La

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<sup>62</sup> B4.1.4, Bürki to Johnston (1 July 1974).

<sup>63</sup> Many of these experiences were transcribed during interviews with Allison Oettlé, Lynn Pedersen, Judge, Truscott and Vaughan. Importantly, Lynn Pedersen remembered feeling 'unsafe' with Bürki in a group-counselling situation at Kloofwaters, a significant first-hand reminder that Bürki, like the rest of humanity, had failings. See Pedersen (10 April 2013).

<sup>64</sup> For an exposition of Bürki's diagram see my essay "Hans Bürki's Challenge to A Church Accommodating Modernity: An Invitation to Creatureliness," *JTSA*, no. 153 (November 2015): 91-109.

<sup>65</sup> Data used to create the narrative of this paragraph and citations, are taken from B6.3.2, Bill Houston's Kloofwaters 1975 notes entitled "Rene (sic) Lessons from Latin America".

Plata started a centre for cookery, nutrition-education and dental and medical care. Houston's workshop worked the seeds he had planted at Tendele, a year before, into the soil of staff aspirations, so that "social awareness and involvement" would increasingly be foregrounded at all levels of SCA, from the new academic year in 1976.

As seen from the primary and oral sources about the Kloofwaters conference, from Brenda and Stuart Vaughan and Truscott in particular, it might be concluded that Bürki's invitation in that training event was to a charismatic, existential encounter with the Christ of Scripture, whose resurrection presence was evidently germinal for Bürki, moment by moment, as Bürki modelled Christian discipleship.<sup>66</sup> Receiving Bürki and his theology, as many in SCA had over the last four years, had been a historic opportunity for South Africans to participate in the new evangelicalism which had emerged in contextualized theologies and spirituality before and after the Lausanne Congress.

### **God's Kairós in a Sick Society**

After the Michaelhouse Resolution contact between SCA and SCM students reached an all-time minimum during 1975. However, because Maurice Ngakane was well enough known to the Wits University branch as a friend of travelling secretary Steve Truscott, Ngakane was invited to address an evangelistic meeting on the William Cullen Library lawns in late 1975. Stanley Sher together with Louise Kretzschmar, the branch "vice-chair"<sup>67</sup> and Beverley Haddad, the Missions Secretary, welcomed Ngakane who spoke on Christianity and ideology. Sher's winter editorial in *Its Human* describes how Ngakane's open-air address captured the milieu of growing racial polarization at Wits:

Maurice Ngakane [...] showed us how conditioned we are by our environment. Even with our ideologies we still have not discovered what it is to be a true human being. Whites vary between paternalism and prejudice. Blacks between inferiority and aggression. In spite of our ideologies we know each other largely as Black, White, English or Afrikaans. If it is not colour, then it's status: material, educational or social.<sup>68</sup>

Deepening divisions during 1975 are also reflected in joint letters sent from Johnston and Tshifhiwa Muofhe of the SCM Executive, to Revd. David Gitari of PAFES in Nairobi, inviting him to address SCM and SCA's intervarsity forthcoming conferences in June and July 1976

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<sup>66</sup> For example, Stuart Vaughan related a "life lesson" encounter with Bürki at Kloofwaters, even in preparation for the arrival of the participants. So, Interview: Stuart and Brenda Vaughan (2 March 2013).

<sup>67</sup> Stanley Sher's Council Reports are the first instances found in the archival records, of a change in nomenclature elicited by gender: "Chairman" (Sher) and "Vice-Chair" designating Louise Kretzschmar's portfolio in the Aug.1974-June 1975 Report. Then, "Chairperson" (Sher) and "Vice Chairperson" again for Kretzschmar, in the 1975-1976 Report: Stanley Sher Archive.

<sup>68</sup> *Its Human* (Winter 1975), 2.

respectively.<sup>69</sup> In Muofhe's letter, he carefully explained the present impasse between SCM and SCA and that separate conferences "might look like propounding [apartheid's] state policy of separateness," but was only necessary so that "Black Christian students should first establish their position and consolidate their message as Black Christians to a *sick society*, for there has been division among Christian students who have met at multiracial conferences, on their *allegiance* to certain ideologies and their aspirations differed irreconcilably."<sup>70</sup> Thus, the first letter Gitari received from SCM described the social sickness of conflicted *allegiance* - to the Gospel or ideology - a conflict of allegiance that Calvin Cook had identified as SCA's Rubicon in 1965. Tshifhiwa Muofhe's "diagnosis" of apartheid society as sick is accepted without reservation for the purpose of this monograph, as a prophetic image similar to that of Israel's sin-sickness, in the "incurable wound" prophecies of Jeremiah, Hosea, Micah and Nahum (Jer. 30:12; Hos. 5:13; Micah 1:9; Nahum 3:19). The parallels between white churches' economic support of apartheid in the 70s and Christendom's obeisance to state power since Constantine, also relates to a central task of this monograph, to identify a Christendom model of mission in SCA, and relate it in the concluding reflections of this study, to Anabaptist peacemaking theology and spirituality.<sup>71</sup>

For black and white students in South Africa the first half of 1976 exacerbated the bipolar realities of apartheid's near total segregation of society. White students enjoyed academic freedom and freedom of association like any wealthy students in the "First World" and partook in a wide range of discipleship opportunities. At SCA's January Discipleship Course in the Transvaal,<sup>72</sup> 19 white students with SCA staff and Prof Henk Hart engaged students in morning manuscript Bible study through the Gospel of Mark. The course integrated insights from Johnston's Bible expositions on law and grace in Romans with workshops on diverse topics including homosexuality. In the Cape, UCT began the academic year in the festive summer atmosphere of Freshers' Week, where SCA sponsored coffee shops, a pancake evening, a moonlight climb on Table Mountain's famous Lion's Head, and a Cape

<sup>69</sup> H2.5.1, Johnston and Muofhe to Gitari (April 1975). Gitari had spoken at SCM's Inter-Varsity Conference of July 1974: Photo Archive 0209.

<sup>70</sup> My emphases: H2.5.1, Johnston and Muofhe to Gitari (April 1975). For introductory exegesis on the "incurable wound" in exilic prophecy, more particularly, how YHWH "has come full circle" from inflicting terminal illness on Israel to healing and saving her, in the paradigmatic oracle of Jeremiah 30:12-17, see Walter Brueggemann, *Hopeful Imagination: Prophetic Voices in Exile* (Philadelphia, PEN: Fortress Press, 1986), 35-41.

<sup>71</sup> One way of understanding the Radical Reformers' commitment to "restore" a pre-Constantinian 'believers' church' tradition of non-violent civil disobedience, is as a response to the confused allegiance of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, vis-à-vis the state. See Harold S. Bender's "The Anabaptist Vision," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 18, 2 (April 1944): 68-88.

<sup>72</sup> Details of the Living Waters' Discipleship Course reconstructed here have been sourced from correspondence: B4.1.4, Houston to Gow (5 September 1975), Gow to Houston (10 September 1975); notes from the curriculum of the course in the Lynn Pedersen Archive – pages 20-24, and interviews: Peter Greenwood (24, 25 March 2014), Deryck and Sheriffs (11, 28 March 2014).

Peninsular bus tour.<sup>73</sup> UCT SCA's first term weekend house party in Bainskloof invited students to discuss "Existentialism" and "Christian Worldview" with invited guests like Augustine Schutte of UCT's Philosophy Department.<sup>74</sup> In the Transvaal, 85 students, including a handful of black students who contravened the Turfloop SCM executive's wishes to boycott SCA, and 30 Potchefstroom students, gathered at SCA's provincial conference, the first to be held at Cyara in the Hekpoort Valley, to hear Chua Wee Hian and Geoff Paxton expound the theme: "Jesus Christ, Lord of All", and to attend a choice of sixteen seminars, among them SCA's first seminar on women's unique contributions to Christian leadership: "The Role of Women" by Lynn Pedersen, "The Christian and His Social Involvement" by Lot Mamabolo, "Pollution and the Death of Man" by Peter Furness, and "Sharing the Life Within You" by the Jewish-Christian Fine Artist, Peter Eliastam.<sup>75</sup>

For black students the first semester of 1976 is remembered as the aftermath of the Schlebnush Commission's findings, declaring the Christian Institute, NUSAS and UCM as "affected organizations" and causing increased appearances by Vorster's Special Branch on black campuses, especially at Turfloop where SCM's Ramaphosa, Chikane, Mabasa, Ishmael Mkhabela and Mankekolo Mahlangu were regularly questioned about their activities.<sup>76</sup> That January, SCM Council and Staff members, Prof Lekhela and Seolonyane from Turfloop, Nat Nkosi of Scripture Union, and about ten students, including Muofhe, Mkhabela, Ramaphosa and Mabasa, met Hans Bürki for SCM's Discipleship Course at Kloofwaters.<sup>77</sup> Bürki spent hours just listening to students relate their day-to-day campus or prison experiences - Ramaphosa had been released in September 75, but the clampdown on black student rights of association only intensified.<sup>78</sup> Tensions between the older, more traditional Lekhela and Nkosi, the younger staff worker Seolonyane, and the highly politicized young firebrands, must have been obvious to Bürki as he facilitated games or exercises which evoked participants' vivid recent experiences and engaged their points of view.<sup>79</sup> Bürki's theme at Kloofwaters was contextual Bible study - relating "Christ's life and Christ's times to our times and our lives", especially regarding black experience in apartheid's "conditions" and he encouraged participants to "become influential but not [to] be swallowed up by the conditions".<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> B4.1.4, Houston Prayer Letter (15 March 1976).

<sup>74</sup> Interviews: Houston (10 July 2014) and Richard Steele (6 May 2015).

<sup>75</sup> H2.5.1, Wits Branch Minutes (29 April 1976) cf. SCA Matrix of SCA Curriculum Topics and Materials, page 267.

<sup>76</sup> Email: Lybon Mabasa (9 June 2015) cf. John W. De Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, 107.

<sup>77</sup> H2.1.10.2, Correspondence pertaining to Living Waters and Kloofwaters and Interview: Seolonyane (24 March 2015).

<sup>78</sup> Telephone call: Lybon Mabasa (15 June 2016) cf. Interview: Seolonyane (24 March 2015).

<sup>79</sup> Telephone call: Mabasa (15 June 2016).

<sup>80</sup> "He gave us [...] important self-analysis tools that empowered us to be better leaders by understanding ourselves and those around us. In the context of society at the time and the philosophy of no contact with White people we were able to accept him in our midst primarily because we regarded him as an international person who was unattached and not

Just weeks after Kloofwaters, Mabasa's registration for a third year at Turfloop was withdrawn without written notification.<sup>81</sup> When he resisted a railway policeman for being put off the train from Pietersburg to Pretoria, despite having the correct ticket, Mabasa was assaulted in Potgietersrus by railway police and SADF soldiers on the platform, handcuffed, and driven to Pretoria. There, he was further assaulted, questioned, and driven back to Potgietersrus, where he was detained for five days in the police cells, before Ramaphosa, Johnston, and almost 100 Turfloop students arrived to hear Mabasa conduct his own defence at the hearing. Rightly and unusually, the Magistrate dismissed the case, effecting Mabasa's immediate release.<sup>82</sup>

The pressures of the apartheid state exerted on black students and teachers leading up to the 16<sup>th</sup> June Uprising is well researched.<sup>83</sup> Kane-Berman, Brooks and Hirson show that high school leaders in Soweto like Tsietsi Mashinini, Khotso Seathlolo, D.S. Mtsitsi and their successors on the Soweto Students' Representative Council, were remarkably disciplined, and despite systematic police reprisals, detentions and criminal elements exploiting the potential for violence, they kept the mass of students organized and accountable.<sup>84</sup> The consensus is that these youngsters were mature enough to represent Soweto residents had the Nationalist government not rejected negotiations or political solutions. However, orchestrated state violence against the children meant that by 18<sup>th</sup> June university students on campuses around the country were incensed; at the University of Zululand the administration block was burnt down and arson attempts occurred at Fort Hare, causing the university's closure on 18 July.<sup>85</sup> Judge Jan Cillie's Commission Report on violence between June 1976 and February 1977 comprises 31 chapters of evidence, documenting 575 deaths during uprisings in thirty-one regions, including all "Homeland" areas.<sup>86</sup> By November 1977 the boycott of schools had caused the resignation of 500 Secondary School teachers in Soweto alone, and rioting had destroyed 200 black owned homes and 350 Schools across South Africa, with the number of deaths rising to 700, out

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affected by the racial prejudices of South African Whites." Memory Work: Seolonyane (24 April 2014) cf. interview (14 April 2014).

<sup>81</sup> Telephone call: Mabasa (15 June 2015).

<sup>82</sup> These memories were reconstructed from memory work: Telephone call: Mabasa (15 June 2015) cf. email: Mabasa (11 June 2015) and Interview: Johnston (4 June 2014).

<sup>83</sup> The first research presented on the Uprising was *South Africa in Travail: The Disturbances of 1976/77. Evidence presented by the S.A Institute of Race Relations to the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the riots at Soweto and other places during June 1976* (Johannesburg: Institute of Race Relations, 1978). A collection of eyewitness accounts is Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu's *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-memories of June 1976*, (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1998).

<sup>84</sup> Rodney Davenport and Christopher Sanders, *South Africa: A Modern History, Fifth Edition* (London, MacMillan, 2000), 450-451.

<sup>85</sup> Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 452.

<sup>86</sup> Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 452-453.

of which 104 were under the age of 17.<sup>87</sup> During this period SCM members and staff witnessed increasingly frequent detentions or arbitrary assault of scholars and student leaders.<sup>88</sup>

By contrast, in the second half of 1976, SCA branches continued their programmes unhindered. That August Lynn Pedersen and Steve Truscott led a student team with Sher, Kretzschmar and Haddad on a church weekend mission at Turffontein in Johannesburg. In Cape Town, Houston and Sheriffs hosted Prof Arthur Glasser of the Fuller School of World Mission for a student leadership training Conference.<sup>89</sup> Meanwhile black students across the country were marching in protest against mass detentions. In August 1976 a second mass march of Soweto students to police headquarters at John Vorster Square to demand the release of hundreds of detained children, was met by police who opened fire with live ammunition and teargas, killing three people and detaining many students before the marchers scattered.<sup>90</sup> On 17 October, in the month Hans Bürki returned to South Africa at the invitation of Dr Rex van Vuuren, police again opened fire on a crowd of about 16 000 mourners at the funeral of Jacob Mashabane, a student who had died in police custody; seven people were killed and 51 injured.<sup>91</sup> In December, while 170 white SCA students descended on Kentani for the now annual summer work camp and ‘mission’ experience on the idyllic Transkei Wild Coast, Ramaphosa, Mabasa, Muofhe and James Africa had again been detained without trial under the Terrorism Act, along with hundreds of children; many child detainees from the whole Vaal Triangle region would remain incarcerated until 374 student names were published in the *World* on 8 October 1977, forcing B.J. Vorster, in the face of a global outcry, to release them.<sup>92</sup>

The remainder of this chapter will show that June and July 1976, and the months that followed, were another *kairós* moment for SCA, as they were for the South African Church, a moment that opened the eyes of some white South Africans, including key SCA leaders, to apprehend one of history’s most lethal social pathologies and with it, the possibility of *social healing* offered by Christ in his eschatological call to *conversion*.

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<sup>87</sup> Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 453.

<sup>88</sup> Interviews: Ngakane (24 March 2014) and Moss Ntlha (26 March 2014).

<sup>89</sup> B6.2.1, Pedersen Staff Report and A1.29 1977 Council Report.

<sup>90</sup> Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 451.

<sup>91</sup> Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 451.

<sup>92</sup> A1.28, P.E. Consultation Minutes (January 1977) and B4.1.4 Johnston to Gitari (29 September 1976) cf. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 454.



## A Tempest “Too Ghastly to Contemplate”

Hans Bürki wrote to Johnston on 27 March 1976, a letter that was more than likely pivotal in Johnston’s motivation for SCA’s July national conference theme in Pietermaritzburg for Revd. David Gitari and Michael Cassidy, the invited speakers, as the following brief analysis will demonstrate.<sup>93</sup> Bürki, writing in response to Johnston’s description of Mabasa’s arrest and trial, exhorted Johnston with instructions, which on closer scrutiny, are not mere pastoral advice, but a *kairós* invitation that was a challenge of singular, even prophetic foresight:

I have the impression that the clouds gather for a tempest [...] Do your groups give some thoughts what to do as Christians in an emergency crisis situation? [...] At the moment I have nothing to contribute to “Biblical principles for a student movement”. My strong plea is to subject every institution to the actual needs of Man: Man is not for Sabbath but Sabbath for man.

[...] We have promised [...] you agreed, to establish a booklist of 6 books and write a paper on Biblical patterns of social and political change. Please take hold of John Howard Yoder: The Politics of Jesus [sic], Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1972. It is a very sober piece of Biblical Studies. One chapter has the title: The Possibility of Nonviolent Resistance [sic]. And on page 97 he says: the believer’s cross must be, like his Lord’s, the price of his social nonconformity. [sic] (John 15:20). Another chapter: Christ and Power [sic]. His treatment of Romans 13 is most exciting, a must it seems to me for reading, probably to be put on the reading list.<sup>94</sup>

What Bürki wrote immediately before and after these instructions to Johnston, provide the literary context for understanding Bürki’s sense and intention here, especially of his enigmatic “plea to subject every institution to the actual needs of Man...” and his allusion to Mark 2:27. Immediately before this part of the letter Bürki had reminded Johnston of their hope to include “clear training in non-violence (physical) [sic]” in South African discipleship courses.<sup>95</sup> Immediately after the exhortations cited above, Bürki then asked Johnston to organize, if possible, to meet with carefully selected black and white student leaders during his forthcoming (October 1976) visit to South Africa.<sup>96</sup> Bürki’s purpose shows that his letter was pastoral in the fullest sense of Christian discipleship. His polite and firm refusal to formulate and send Johnston “biblical principles” for student movements, made way instead for an unusual appeal to Christ’s words about “Man” and “institutions”, and a striking set of instructions.

Bürki was troubled about the violent situation into which Lybon Mabasa had been thrust by the inhumanity of South Africa’s “institutions”. Instead of a study document on

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<sup>93</sup> B4.1.4, Gow: Memo to SCA Staff (4 April 1976) cf. Bürki to Johnston (27 March 1976).

<sup>94</sup> B4.1.4, Bürki to Johnston (27 March 1976).

<sup>95</sup> B4.1.4, Bürki to Johnston (27 March 1976).

<sup>96</sup> He was to present at Van Vuuren’s psychology conference. B4.1.4, Bürki to Johnston (27 March 1976).

“biblical principles” for yet more institutions, he focused on what he saw as the greatest pastoral “need”, to resource students, black and white, with theological and existential tools to face apartheid’s trenchant violence, ahead of an imminent crisis. The logic in Bürki’s instructions to Johnston might be summed up as follows: [1] Begin by reading *The Politics of Jesus* and get it into the hands of students. [2] Write your own paper on the Bible’s theology of, or “biblical patterns of social and political change” with which to train students. [3] Then build students’ existential capacities to adopt Christ’s ethics of non-violence. [4] Finally prepare one another, as Christ was prepared, to prophetically practise Jesus’ cruciform politics, even if it costs the “price of his social non-conformity”. Part of the historical significance of Bürki’s pastoral letter of May 1976 was that none of the contextual applications he made to an imminent South African “tempest” had yet been made within SCA by engaging de Gruchy, Bonhoeffer or Yoder, but came at this moment from outside the Association and outside South Africa.

As has been shown, all of Bürki’s ministry in South Africa might be understood as an invitation to evangelicals to integrate Christian beliefs with Christian belonging, reflected in Christian behaviour, as these are one of a piece in Paul’s “new creation” theology of conversion. In his crucial letter, because of the imminent “tempest”, Bürki refocused this invitation, for SCA to work out and practise an autochthonous, biblical theology of Jesus’ Kingdom politics of *non-violence* in corporate non-co-operation with apartheid’s social abuses. As ever, Bürki was commending Jesus’ cruciform way of challenging culture, especially South Africa’s culture of racial chauvinism upheld by state violence. This, Bürki’s pastoral “advice” and invitation to SCA, to confront apartheid’s assault on humanity with Christ’s non-violent holy defiance, was SCA’s most significant *kairós* invitation to prophetic integrity in the 1970s. Similar *kairós* invitations to Bürki’s written exhortation to Johnston in May 1976 would recur in SCA during the tempest that followed 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976.

Johnston was prevented from researching and writing Bürki’s suggested paper on biblical patterns of social change, and even from reading *The Politics of Jesus* because of a range of challenges he faced in his last year as General Secretary – SCA’s growing financial deficit, the challenge of converting SCA’s massive data base onto its first temperamental computer, and poison-penned letters bemoaning the lack of “sound doctrine” in SCA, from the strictly Reformed corners of SCA Council.<sup>97</sup> That Bürki’s invitation to Christ-like

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<sup>97</sup> Johnston had given eighteen months’ notice of his resignation in June 1975: B4.1.4, R.J. Wells to NATEX (24 June 1975). SCA’s financial deficit at the start of the 1976 financial year was a worrying R3500: A1.26 1975 Council Minutes. The challenge of manually transferring SCA’s massive national address list data onto the first computer was Gow and Johnston’s biggest administrative task in 1975: 1975 Council Minutes. Different criticisms came from Fivaz, Hofmeyr and Hewitson but the most unfounded censure to Johnston came in one of D.G. Mills’ vituperative letters: B4.1.4, Mills to Johnston (2 May 1976). Johnston let Bürki know he had not yet sourced Yoder’s *Politics of Jesus*, in May: B4.1.4, Johnston to Bürki (12 May 1976).

non-co-operation with apartheid was not taken up in SCA at this moment is crucial, because this was the all-important lull before the storm, when robust teaching on Kingdom ethics, non-violence, and student training programmes in conflict transformation would have resourced young evangelicals to face the moral challenge to Christian discipleship that would engulf the South African Church after 16<sup>th</sup> June, in a decade of ethnic bloodshed.

Bürki's plea to meet "the actual needs" of students and his forecast of the coming "tempest" resonated with Johnston who motivated Stuart Morgan, the National Student Committee Chairman in the choice of theme for SCA's July 1976 Conference in Pietermaritzburg. This is how Trevor Gow understood the choice:

The theme [...] has been finalized in conjunction with Stuart Morgan 'Contending with Horses' [...] from Jeremiah 12:5. As Jim points out, the conference should meet a need, and speak to people about where we are today [...] Looking at the way God [...] led His people one is aware that God has not always given [...] the easy way out, but has led [...] through some very deep waters. Is this what we are about to face [...]? How are we [...] preparing [...] for what may lie ahead? Will we be able to face a crisis and bring glory to our Lord? As we were discussing this, Jim remembered Jeremiah ch.12, where Jeremiah reproaches the Lord about the spread of evil and asks why God doesn't do something. The answer he gets is sobering (v 5)."<sup>98</sup>

In light of this "lost opportunity" for conflict transformation training in SCA discipleship programmes, the growing political suppression of black student representative councils by police in June 76, and increasing opposition from office bearers in SCA Council to any "political" involvements by the Association, two related events in SCA's history of theological reception occurred with ironic timing in June 76, preceding the July Conference. First, Graham McIntosh, who had left SCA as a travelling secretary in 1972 to become a United Party MP, wrote a parliamentary memo to Johnston "and interested friends," on 11 June, proposing "a conference for Christians in politics", especially students serving on SRCs, a letter which Johnston forwarded to SCA staff on 16<sup>th</sup> June. McIntosh's suggested theme was "Christian minds in public life and in the media" and he stressed the need for: "agreement by what we mean by Christian and I would suggest that the measure of agreement be that the individual regards himself as a committed Christian who seeks to apply biblical principles to his personal and social life."<sup>99</sup> Second, later in June, Bill Houston hosted John Howard Yoder in a seminar of students and SCA Graduates' Fellowship at the Jarvis' home in Cape Town, to discuss *The Politics of Jesus*.<sup>100</sup> In the audience were Peter

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<sup>98</sup> B4.1.4, Gow's Memo to Travelling Secretaries (10 April 1976).

<sup>99</sup> McIntosh Memo (11 June 1976).

<sup>100</sup> B4.1.4, Houston circular letter (June 1976). See John H. Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus: Vicit Agnus Noster* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1972), esp. 189 ff. Unlike South Africa, where, as we have seen, Yoder's work was virtually unknown, his theology of Jesus' cruciform ethics was engaged by evangelicals in many other parts of the world since his contribution to Lausanne 1974.

Moll and Richard Steele, Cape Town SCA undergraduates who would be among the first South African conscientious objectors.<sup>101</sup>

Thus, as some SCA staff and graduates began to plan a conference on politics for carefully selected students, and as other SCA office bearers vigilantly tried to safeguard the Association from any “political” behaviours, a well known Anabaptist theologian and a pioneer of the new evangelicalism challenged Western Cape SCA students and graduates with his now famous thesis, to practise Jesus’ “politics” - the ethics of the “new creation”- which he convincingly presented as the hallmark of baptismal identity at conversion.<sup>102</sup> These two ironically timed invitations by SCA, to engage in very different “political” discussions during the second half of June 1976, were all the more poignant because in Soweto and Alexandra burning tyre smoke and tear gas rose in a pall over Johannesburg’s western and north-eastern horizons as SADF troops moved in to support the “riot-police”. Schools, bottle stores, and councillor homes were torched in response, and SABC News showed images of the bodies, and blood drying in sand patches on the streets.<sup>103</sup>

SCM’s inter-college and varsity Conference attended by at least 50 students at Cyara in the Hekpoort Valley from 24-29 June 1976, and SCA’s Pietermaritzburg Conference at the University of Natal in early July, are so significant for SCA’s history of theological reception that an entire chapter might have been dedicated to narrating the background and what transpired at each. Further research into fragmentary primary sources, and memories obscured by the trauma of the 76 conflagration is still necessary, to establish historical

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<sup>101</sup> See F. Hale, "Baptist Ethics of Conscientious Objection to Military Service in South Africa: The Watershed Case of Richard Steele." *Acta Theologica* 2 (2005): 18-44.

<sup>102</sup> In the 1980s Yoder’s family, local church and employers initiated different accountability processes with him to confront him with his compulsive sexual abuse of women. Yoder would publically acknowledge and confess his sexual compromise only in the 1990s before his death in 1997, when he and those who had remained silent for many years began a torrid journey towards reconciliation and restitution; debate continues about whether he truly acknowledged his culpability. A thorough historical analysis of Yoder’s story, mindful of the many women he abused in the context of his faith and employer communities, is Rachel Waltner Goosen’s “Defanging the Beast’: Mennonite Responses to John Howard Yoder’s Sexual Abuse,” in *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (January 2015). A recent summation of this scholarship is also found at “New Sources Give Clearer View of Abuse by Theologian,” <http://mennoworld.org/2015/01/05/news/new-sources-give-clearer-view-of-abuse-by-theologian/>, accessed: 10 October 2015. Compassionate insight into Yoder’s struggle towards integrity is found in an autobiographical memoir by his globally respected friend - Stanley Hauerwas. See *Hannah’s Child* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010). The timing of Yoder’s welcome into SCA’s story in mid-1976 when he had not yet confronted his moral struggle is poignant for a moment when the Association’s pastoral myopia remained unacknowledged, but was about to be publically confronted in a traumatic series of events. The painful road that Yoder, the women whom he abused, his family, church, colleagues and friends would have to travel when he finally publically acknowledged his abuses, is the narrative of an arduous corporate journey of faith, out of moral failure towards reconciliation and integrity, in Christ’s healing Kingdom community, through the transformation of God’s Spirit, joining belief to belonging and behaviour, which is the subject of this monograph. As we shall see in the remaining chapter of this study, the painful social surgery that would be required for white Christians in South Africa, and for SCA in particular, to acknowledge and publically bring to light the racial abuses of complicity with apartheid, would be no less traumatic.

<sup>103</sup> As a 13 year old cycling home from school in late June 76, I remember stopping to see a mushroom of black smoke rise over Alexandra Township, from Edenvale, just across the Jukskei River.

perspective and garner theological insight. All that can be achieved here is to sum up proceedings at each conference, and to tentatively reflect on the significance of what happened for SCA's theological reception in the Association's unfolding discipleship tradition.

Records or memories of SCM's Cyara Conference are scant.<sup>104</sup> The only memory of David Gitari's expositions found to date is of the poem Gitari read - "Violent Lanka" - about the revolution in Sri Lanka and the intransigent response of the Sri Lankan military regime, which had great oratorical impact on SCM students at Cyara.<sup>105</sup> In the remaining programme time, Lybon Mabasa, Tshifhiwa Muofhe and Ishmael Mkhabela, all from SCM's Student Executive at Turfloop, facilitated lengthy discussions for the whole conference, a mix of debate, reflection and scriptural application, regarding the 16<sup>th</sup> June shootings and subsequent turmoil across the country.<sup>106</sup> Important for this study of SCA's largely anglophile and professionally oriented theological reception, was SCM's contrasting student-led tradition, which Seolonyane describes as "vibrant" and "rooted in both the Diaconate and eschatological aspects of the gospel,[a] view of life [which] forced us to interpret the gospel in the context of our existential situation. To many, this was interpreted as being political."<sup>107</sup> "The SCM Cyara Declaration" (hereafter "The Cyara Declaration") which Mabasa and the Turfloop executive motivated students to formulate and publish,<sup>108</sup> exemplifies such student-generated gospel interpretation. Because SCA's Graduates Fellowship first published "The Cyara Declaration" but thereafter SCA Council did not engage with it and effectively dissuaded SCA students from publishing their response to it until 1981, "The Cyara Declaration" rewards careful study as an example of Black Theology and spirituality which SCA *tacitly resisted* at a critical moment in its discipleship tradition in the 1970s.<sup>109</sup>

Interpreting "The Cyara Declaration" is not possible without understanding the SCM Executive's motivation for publishing it, which was to overturn its 1974 Michaelhouse Resolution and create a basis "for a new dispensation in Christian students' relationships

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<sup>104</sup> My reconstruction of the conference relies entirely on interviews and memory work done with Mabasa, Seolonyane and Rupert Rencken, as well as two rare published accounts: J5.3.2 Phazamisela Mkhabela, "The Background to the SCM Cyara Declaration (1976)," and Rodney Davids' account published in *SCANews* (August 1976).

<sup>105</sup> E-mail: Lybon Mabasa (11 June 2015).

<sup>106</sup> Interview: Rencken (8 August 2015).

<sup>107</sup> Memory Work: Seolonyane (24 April 2014). A fruitful new avenue of research will be to understand what SCM meant by "Diaconate" and "eschatological". Was this, for example, an African instance of autochthonous "new evangelicalism"?

<sup>108</sup> "The SCM Cyara Declaration" was first circulated via hundreds of mimeographed copies: Photo Archive 0210. Reproduced in Appendix C on page 269.

<sup>109</sup> SCA's only publication of "The Cyara Declaration" was in the SCA Graduates' Christian Fellowship newspaper, under the title, "S.C.M. Declaration," *The Christian Student*, 3, 2 (1976): 1-2. The halting provenance of "The SCA Students' Declaration" will be discussed in Chapter Six.

and contact in South Africa.”<sup>110</sup> Phazamisa Mkhabela, SCM’s Literature Secretary, captures the magnanimous spirit of black students’ intentions thus:

The Cyara Declaration should be viewed in the light in which it has been drawn, an invitation to self-examination and new commitment to the message and call of the Lord Jesus. It [...] is not a wall which the Christian Black student has built around him in order to isolate himself, but it is a bridge to aggressive and radical discipleship [...] It is a challenge to a purifying and reconstructing Christian service.”<sup>111</sup>

SCM students grounded the call they were about to make on two profound statements that were thoroughly missiological and Trinitarian:

We [...] accept and believe the fact that Christians all over the world have the same message of salvation to preach to the world and that the Gospel is God’s Good News for the whole world and also that this Gospel is dynamic enough to suit all situations, needs and circumstances of man, be they spiritual, economic, political and social. We feel challenged by the Holy Spirit of God to be true disciples, that is, hearers and doers of the word.

That in our case in South Africa, the Black Christian finds himself in an unjust, racist and oppressive society to which he has to relate the message of salvation [...] first [...] to his situation while at the same time trying to reach the oppressor [...] These circumstances impede the promulgation of the gospel [...] at the same time they strain relationships of Black Christians and Christians of other colours and races.

The opening paragraphs echoed the missiological impasse of sixteen years before, when the Bantu Section of the old SCA tasked Masipa and Summers at Thaba Nchu in 1960, to request the Stellenbosch leadership for a special general meeting, “for members of the Bantu Section to explain their difficulties in bringing people to Christ under the present divisions [...]”<sup>112</sup> As a previous generation of black students had echoed the century-old appeal in South African church history for *gelykstelling* - in SCA’s case to rescind the 1951 resolution that created SCA’s racially separate “sections” - “The Cyara Declaration” of June 1976 was a radical call to embrace the true costs of Christian unity.

The content of “The Declaration” related several core truths in Scripture to actual social conditions – South Africa’s history of mission, racial segregation in church and society, and to SCM itself. Thus “The Declaration” began by affirming the “divine inspiration of the whole Bible [...] as a measuring rod for our faith and social conduct” and then lamented that “our State, [...] said to be a Christian State, [...] has failed to practice [...] Scriptural [...] truth, justice, and reconciliation [...] thereby making the whole Biblical message of no

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<sup>110</sup> Mkhabela, “The Background ...,” 2.

<sup>111</sup> Mkhabela, “The Background ...,” 2.

<sup>112</sup> See the discussion of SCM’s Thaba Nchu resolution in Chapter Three.

effect”.<sup>113</sup> Part of SCM’s lament was their unqualified expression of repentance: “We are deeply repentant because we have also failed to proclaim the whole truth of the Gospel.” Secondly, when “The Declaration” affirmed “only one Saviour and only one Gospel” it simultaneously rejected missionaries who had preached “a Western-robed Jesus [...] to the detriment of God-given Black dignity which presented Blacks as sub-human.” Thirdly, as “The Declaration” affirmed humanity’s creaturely identity, it also moved that since apartheid rejected the image of God in “every man, regardless of colour, race, culture, [...] it is our Christian responsibility and duty, in the name of Jesus, the Son of God, to condemn the status quo as unchristian, anti-God, demonic and anti-man.” This was SCM’s judgement of the heretical theology that undergirded apartheid.<sup>114</sup> Fourth, as they introduced the doctrine that “man has fallen”, the SCM students remembered their own responsibility before God: “Our Black culture should be transformed by the Gospel, just like [...] other cultures and Black Christians themselves should be the instruments of this transformation.” Finally, as students gave pre-eminence in their “Declaration” to racial “unity in the light of Scripture”, they again applied this to current conditions - that “unity has been hypocritically practised with colour bars which we cannot accept.”

After this rigorous application of doctrine to material conditions experienced by black students the climax of “The Declaration” was an appeal to other student movements and SCA in particular, for a “fellowship and unity [...] beneficial to all” that could be “genuinely practised here in South Africa”, meaning that apartheid laws would have to be defied; SCM’s call was to a unity free of past “suspicion”, “fear” and “paternalism,” that could only be proved “unhypocritical” if all participants in this fellowship released a “true statement of faith condemning the existing political evils and social sins of our present government ...”<sup>115</sup> Poignantly in this last injunction, SCM pinpointed a contradiction between the spirit and letter of SCA’s Basis of Faith and SCM’s historical experience of SCA. Thus, SCM invited SCA to “stand for the truth not only by preaching the salvation of the soul, but also by preaching the gospel of liberation and reconciliation i.e. showing concern for the social and political position in this land.”<sup>116</sup>

“The Cyara Declaration’s” unsophisticated theological expression had clear prophetic and eschatological influences. While SCM rightly demonised apartheid, and called on the

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<sup>113</sup> All quotations in the following analysis of “The Cyara Declaration” are taken from “S.C.M. Declaration”, *The Christian Student*, 3, 2 (1976): 1-2. See APPENDIX C. In the task of summarizing “The Declaration” punctuation marks in quoted phrases or sentences from the original text have occasionally been altered, to fit the syntax of my enclosing sentences. My summary keeps faithful to the sequence of main ideas in the original text.

<sup>114</sup> The debate about apartheid as a heresy was about to be voiced in South Africa in 1977 and 1978. See John de Gruchy and Charles Villa-Vicencio, eds., *Apartheid Is a Heresy*, (Cape Town: David Philip, 1985).

<sup>115</sup> “The Cyara Declaration,” Par. 7 e).

<sup>116</sup> “The Cyara Declaration,” Par. 7 f).

Church to condemn its “evils”, “The Declaration” anticipated the eschatological “future coming together of Christians of all races and colours [which] is natural and inevitable.” Twice it referred to the “dynamic” nature of Jesus’ Good News, that “Christ has a unique way of approaching the Blacks as [...] in approaching the other races of the world.” In addition, as seen in the previous paragraph, SCM assumed the Gospel’s intrinsically “prophetic” message, “directed to the whole man”, in both a personal and socio-political outworking. In these ways SCM’s theology appears to be vitally cognizant of the eschatological thread of Scripture, the dynamic “new thing” which was foreseen by Israel’s prophets and recalled in the Apostle Paul as “new creation”, which Christ had announced himself as the “*kairós*” that is “fulfilled” (Mk. 1:15). This strong prophetic grounding and clear eschatological direction in “The Cyara Declaration” means it bears a resemblance to the SACC’s later Kairos Theology of 1985, and the Concerned Evangelicals “Evangelical Witness in South Africa” document of 1986, as an autochthonous example of evangelical “Prophetic Theology”, standing in clear opposition to both apartheid-sanctioned “State Theology” and “Church Theology” - the theology of the English-speaking Churches which verbally condemned the idea of Apartheid, but tacitly supported the political status quo.<sup>117</sup>

“The Cyara Declaration” therefore exemplified the contextual exegesis of Black Theology. Important for this discussion is the remarkable congruence of “The Declaration” with the eschatological emphasis of the Lausanne Covenant. Both documents present evangelism, mission and Christian discipleship as integrated into one whole in Christian witness, and both documents understand Christian witness to necessarily include “socio-political involvement” and racial and denominational “unity” in the Church.<sup>118</sup> In addition, a tone of repentance permeates each document regarding past failures to bear witness to the whole of the Good News.<sup>119</sup> Finally, both documents glimpse the future covenant community of God, beginning to be realized in the present.<sup>120</sup> The only real difference between the theology of “The Cyara Declaration” and The Lausanne Covenant was that

<sup>117</sup> *The Kairos Document* (Johannesburg: SACC, 1985). The full text of the document can be found at <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/challenge-church-theological-comment-political-crisis-south-africa-kairos-document-1985> *The Kairos Document, 1985 - Challenge to the Church: A Theological Comment on the Crisis in South Africa*, accessed: 19 July 2015. *Evangelical Witness in South Africa: Evangelicals Critique Their Own Theology and Practice* (Dobsonville: Concerned Evangelicals, 1986).

<sup>118</sup> Chapter Four noted the Lausanne Covenant’s deliberate choice of the word “socio-political responsibility” in its controversial Clause 5. For a discussion of the intentional healing of past dichotomies in evangelicalism between beliefs (*kerygma*) and behavior (*didache*) and between beliefs (*kerygma*) and belonging (*koinonia*), in the process that led to the Lausanne Covenant see C. René Padilla, ed., *The New Face of Evangelicalism* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976), 11-15.

<sup>119</sup> Notes of repentance in the Lausanne Covenant about the denial of calling, failure in mission and dichotomies between belief, behavior and belonging, are clearly sounded in Clauses 1, 5, 7 and 9. See Padilla, *The New Face of Evangelicalism*, 14.

<sup>120</sup> Clause 6 of the Lausanne Covenant departed from previous evangelical triumphalism and instrumentalism regarding the church as the vehicle of missions, to picturing a “new community...marked by the cross” in “genuine love” and not “identified with any particular culture”. See *The New Face of Evangelicalism*, 103.



the former engaged dialogically between Scripture and rigorous historical and social analysis of South Africa's material conditions whereas the latter appealed solely to Scripture in application to different contexts, *without* robust historical, social or political analysis.<sup>121</sup>

The closing invitation of the "Declaration" resembles two past *kairós* invitations made to SCA - Buthelezi's plea for the beleaguered future of the gospel itself in South Africa, at the 1973 Congress of Mission and Evangelism, and Bürki's May 1976 letter to Johnston to prophetically put the axe to the root of institutionalized violence by teaching peacemaking to South African Christian students. "The Declaration" now invited "the Christian Church [...] in trying to meet man's spiritual needs", to "also condemn and transform the social evils and political sins existing in our country [...]", failing in which, South Africa's future would be "too ghastly to contemplate."<sup>122</sup> SCM's invitation to corporately oppose and transform apartheid in the face of the coming storm, and its two similar antecedent *kairós* invitations in SCA's recent history of theological reception, invited SCA to wrest itself from liberal individualism to prophetically express the corporate baptismal identity of God's Kingdom community in holy deviance from and holy defiance of the structural evils of South African culture.<sup>123</sup>

"Rodney Davids, a Durban-Westville student who, "due to unforeseen circumstances [...] landed up' at the SCM conference," wrote a reflection published by SCA, which sheds more light on the tone and posture of SCM at this historic event:

It would be true for me to admit that I was reluctant after the tragic events at Soweto, I was small minded enough to fear a political imbalance at the Conference. My prejudice was proved wrong. Looking back now, two things especially are significant for me. Initially, the continued deep Christian commitment on the part of some delegates who had suffered needlessly at the hands of the police. This to me was a lesson in Christian discipleship. Secondly, the depth of suffering and oppression experienced, was met by an equal depth of a true Christian perspective, and by a show or true Christian joy.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> As has been discussed, Green, Padilla, Escobar and other influential evangelical voices since Lausanne unapologetically included socio-political analysis to contextualize their gospel interpretation. Social analysis will be discussed further in relation to Bosch and Padilla's ministries in SCA during 1977 and 1978 respectively.

<sup>122</sup> "The Cyara Declaration", Par. 9 c).

<sup>123</sup> In May 1978, after facilitating discussion on "The Cyara Declaration" between 25 White, Black and Coloured Baptist pastors in Grahamstown, Deryck Sheriffs voiced "The Declaration's" subversive challenge to liberal individualism, in its invitation to embrace the prophetic corporate alternative in Christ's Kingdom: "There's no doubt that "The Cyara Declaration" has shock value! What I felt again was how incredibly difficult it is to take my norms and values from the Gospel and not from my middle class, English culture. The corporate nature of our salvation is rather strong medicine." B6.2.2 Sheriffs Staff Report (May 1978).

<sup>124</sup> SCANews (August 1976).

Dauids' chided yet inspired report describes the profound fruits of Christian conversion in SCM, which brought together beliefs, a sacrificial desire for reconciliation in Christian belonging, and transformed behaviour, all for God's glory and the good of South Africa:

Salvation is first of all spiritual, but following, just as equally social, economic, political etc. These two strands of Christian living I saw manifested by many of the delegates. [...] [A] last thought was expressed at the conference: Black students are not anti-white as such but anti-injustice. This I interpreted to be especially significant after the events of Soweto. It is a cry for all Christian students in our country, to stand up and live out the truth of Christ's gospel. If we do not, then the question concerning the credibility of our faith should not be asked: We would have no faith!<sup>125</sup>

Perhaps the greatest irony for evangelical history in South Africa, in June 1976, was that SCM, as yet unaffiliated officially to any evangelical body, was closer to the letter and spirit of the new evangelicalism in the contextual and eschatological theology it voiced and practised, as it wrote "The Cyara Declaration", than SCA was able to be, one week later, at its Pietermaritzburg National Conference of July 1976.

Evidence and memories of SCA's "Contending with Horses" conference for 120 students at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg are as scarce and blurred as those of SCM's Cyara Conference. What follows can only be a memory sketch of defining moments that concurred to make the conference an unhappy event. Ahead of the conference, Trevor Gow, SCA's administrator, encountered difficulties from the University of Natal and the Department of Native Affairs regarding permits to host "Indians" from Durban-Westville and "Coloureds" from the University of the Western Cape at the conference.<sup>126</sup> University and government regulations required SCA to erect signs for separate ablution and sleeping facilities, or, to accommodate these students off campus, to be a legal gathering. SCA leaders chose what they felt was the better compromise, a unified conference during the day and separate sleeping locations at night. The events at Cyara the week before formalized SCM students' prior resolves not to participate in SCA conferences until they had received SCA's response to their "Declaration", thus no SCM students came to Pietermaritzburg. Westville and Belleville students travelling to Pietermaritzburg did so under threat of disaffiliation of their societies by their SRCs, which wanted black students to disassociate from whites after the tragedies of 16<sup>th</sup> June. Finally, the unannounced and late arrival of a group of Western Cape students, and their angry reaction to the living arrangement, caused the conference atmosphere to polarize from the start:

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<sup>125</sup> SCANews (August 1976).

<sup>126</sup> Unless otherwise cited, details in the description of the SCA 1976 Conference are sourced from B4.1.4 Gow: Memo to Travelling Secretaries (10 April 1976), Interview: Nicky Grieshaber (30 May 2015), a report in SCANews (August 1976), and helpful clarifying emails: Johnston (28 June 2015) and Houston (30 June 2015).

They felt this separation to be a betrayal and some wanted to leave immediately [...] The conference split into groups with each of the university and college groups discussing among themselves what it would do if it were in the position of the other two delegations. Having listened to this feedback the Belleville and Westville delegations discussed their responses far into the night. Several decided to leave the conference –The majority decided to stay.<sup>127</sup>

SCA's compliance with regulations instead of quietly defying them in a principled stand against apartheid seemed to trigger the collective memory of black and white students and staff about similar incidents in past SCA events, with grievous effect.<sup>128</sup> This troubled start set the Conference on a volatile course. Gitari accused SCA of being an instrument of apartheid and threatened to leave immediately.<sup>129</sup> Peter Moll, the commerce and theology student from UCT recalled the tense dynamics as “a profoundly emotional experience [...] to observe the breakdown of relationships on account of apartheid.”<sup>130</sup> Bill Houston, who had recently been announced as SCA's National Director designate, from 1 January 1977, saw what happened as an impasse: “For SCA leaders [it] was a ‘farewell to innocence’ moment, to quote Allan Boesak”.<sup>131</sup>

The controversy only heightened when a group of black students decided to meet outside the plenary sessions in protest, thus what was actually said by David Gitari on Jeremiah, or by Michael Cassidy on “The Marks of the Church in John 17”, is not easily remembered and remains to be retrieved and carefully considered in light of such a conflicted context.<sup>132</sup> What is telling for this study is that an alternative “curriculum” unwittingly implicit in the *modus operandi* and *modus vivendi* of SCA's conference, and the hurt and anger that resulted, “taught” students and SCA staff from all backgrounds much more than anything expounded from the podium. From the evidence it may be concluded that the pastoral myopia of SCA's history of compliance with apartheid laws was now painfully evident and abhorrent, especially for Houston and Johnston.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> SCANews (August 1976).

<sup>128</sup> One such memory is Sheriffs' embarrassment about students being bussed across district boundaries at sundown during a previous Stutterheim conference. See Interview: Sheriffs (11 March 2014). Bill Houston reflected: “We were politically naïve,” and Peter Moll felt this arrangement was “... a lack of foresight ...”. See Interviews: Houston (11 June 2015) and Moll (28 April 2015).

<sup>129</sup> Houston (11 June 2015): Gitari made unsubstantiated accusations to this effect on his return to Kenya, eliciting negative reports about SCA in a South African newspaper. See Johnston to Gitari (29 September 1976).

<sup>130</sup> Interview: Moll (28 April 2015).

<sup>131</sup> B4.1.4, Houston Circular (4 June 1976) cf. Interview: Houston 3 (11 June 2015). From what is emerging in this study's evidence about SCA's theological reception of and real engagement with Black Theology, it might be concluded that Houston was one of very few SCA members who actually read Allan, Boesak, *Farewell to Innocence: A Socio-Ethical Study on Black Theology and Power* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1976).

<sup>132</sup> H2.1.7.2, UCT SCA Conference Brochure cf. Interviews: Sheriffs, Houston, Moll and Grieshaber. In my conversation with Michael Cassidy he was unable to remember what transpired during his expositions at the conference.

<sup>133</sup> Houston, for a start, resolved immediately with Johnston to only use Cyara as a venue for future SCA conferences. See Houston (11 June 2015).

In the Theological Studies Fellowship track of the Pietermaritzburg Conference, Deryck Sheriffs' aim to compare the theologies of the Lausanne Congress and the WCC Nairobi Conference of November 1975, was initially overtaken by the alternative "programme" to channel students' heated debates. However, Sheriffs then did chair robust discussions about the WCC and Evangelical mission traditions, the "Rhodesian Call to the Churches and Nations of Southern Africa" and the theological ethics of violence and conscription, with Cassidy and Gitari taking part.<sup>134</sup> As will be seen, the harm caused to SCA's relationships with Indian and Coloured associates and students would play out for years to come. One of many outcomes of the conference among students was Peter Moll's decision during the TSF debates, to object to the military at his next "call-up".<sup>135</sup>

### **The Hidden Seed of Prophetic Engagement**

Nationwide events after 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976, and SCA's own inveiglement with apartheid policies that July opened some eyes in the Association to the hard realization that SCA had tacitly abetted South Africa's racist culture - a tendency this monograph has traced back to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Many in SCA, as will be shown in Chapter Six, would not face their complicity in furthering apartheid injustices. In July 1976, at SCA's Council in Durban, the "Indian Work Committee" was finally disbanded and SCA's "Indian Work" was integrated into the work of the Association as a whole.<sup>136</sup> In the weeks that followed, a "very frank" meeting between newly elected Council Chairman, Murray Hofmeyr, Johnston, and the Coloured Association's executive was held about the events in Pietermaritzburg, and over the next two years relationships began to be repaired.<sup>137</sup> During the year that followed loyalty among Indian students and past Indian office bearers to SCA declined and many withdrew from the Association, leaving sensitive questions, which are posed here by a past SCA member, only for the purpose of deepening insight into the spiritual maturity of SCA's forming discipleship tradition: *Was SCA's response to the embarrassment of Indian and Coloured Christians at Pietermaritzburg in July 76 received by them as a Christian confession of wrongdoing? Did Indian and Coloured associates experience restitution in some way, made by SCA, to repair the broken fellowship?*<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> A1.27, 1976 Council Minutes cf. Sheriffs (11 March 2014) and Moll (28 April 2015).

<sup>135</sup> Moll (28 April 2015). Peter Moll was the first white South African to be imprisoned for objecting to military service on political grounds.

<sup>136</sup> A1.29, 1977 Council Minutes.

<sup>137</sup> Houston knew Allan Boesak, Franklyn Sonn, Nico Botha and Jimmy Ellis personally from his Cape Town Travelling Secretary days, and met now with members of their Council. See informal discussion (4 November 2015) cf. Interview 3: Houston (26 January 2015). Also, A1.29, 1977 Council Minutes: Steve Truscott's work with Coloured students in the Transvaal, and in meetings with University of Western Cape leaders during 1978 contributed substantially to a reconciliation that was never fully accomplished. See B6.2.1, Truscott's Staff Reports (1978).

<sup>138</sup> In my limited access to the archival materials to date, there is no evidence of any statement from NATEX or Council offering an apology for what occurred. Correspondence with Shun Govender and Dr Khrishna of Durban-Westville appears to cease

Christian student societies all over the country responded to 16<sup>th</sup> June with published statements.<sup>139</sup> Philip Le Feuvre and the UCT's Anglican Students' Federation hosted a six week series of "Social Responsibility Seminars" on the theme: "Christianity After Soweto," supported by all Christian societies with invited speakers like Father Michael Lapsely.<sup>140</sup> The series was well attended because of longstanding co-operation at UCT between Mick Milligan of YMCA, Houston of SCA, Fr. Brian Gaybba of the Kolbe society, and the Anglican students, on campus and in Langa community service projects.<sup>141</sup> Le Feuvre encouraged Peter Moll and other student leaders to publish a statement that summarized student consensus in the seminars on what Scripture teaches about social justice; significantly their statement included mention of "white guilt" in response to Vorster's claim that whites had nothing to be guilty about.<sup>142</sup>

At Wits, SCA Chairman Stanley Sher, who had fostered co-operation with the Catholic Students' Society and Campus Crusade for Christ, formulated the wording for the "Christian community at Wits" statement:

How frightening that it takes violence before we take notice [...] it has been said often enough that the violence and even the protest are the result of something far more fundamental. "Bantu Education" and the system of which it is a tool is designed to fit Black children into a prescribed and subordinate role in our society. The word "bantu" itself is an affront [...]

Those of us who confess to be Christians have more of a responsibility than to moralize. We must recognize that we have failed our Black brothers and sisters by our indifference to them as people and by our comfortable complacency. The Churches of both English and Afrikaans communities are equally guilty of failing to bear witness to our unity in Christ. Too many of us regard Christianity as a "nice" philosophy. True Christian faith however, reaches our very beings, resulting in love-inspired obedience.<sup>143</sup>

Christians at Wits expressed their complicity and guilt without reservation and broached the idea of restitution, as a "change of attitude and lifestyle" and "true identification with one another" as Christ "identified with [...] man's [...] predicament [...] becoming a man and bearing man's sin." In their polite way the white Christian community at Wits was encouraging political involvement and renouncing apartheid:

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after July 1977. The last contact with Dr Khrishna seems to have been a "rather abortive supporters' gathering..." organized by Andy Judge. See B6.2.1 Staff Report (August 1978)\* Evidence of "Indian" branch activity continues for Springfield Teachers College, but Indian participation in SCA regional and national discipleship events after January 1977 declines.

<sup>139</sup> See Stanley Sher Archive: "Statement issued by the Christian community at Wits" (July 1976) and Interview: Peter Moll (28 April 2015).

<sup>140</sup> Interview: Richard Steele (6 May 2015).

<sup>141</sup> Telephone Call: Philip Le Feuvre (28 July 2015) cf. Peter Moll (28 April 2015).

<sup>142</sup> Photo Archive: 0231 Peter Moll's Memo: "The Social Responsibility Seminars" cf. Peter Moll (28 April 2015).

<sup>143</sup> Sher Archive: "Statement issued by the Christian community at Wits".

...we call on Christians to stand up and be counted; to be salt and light in our society. It is not unreasonable to expect Black people to make their own decisions about their educational requirements. Neither would a Black M.P. for education be particularly outrageous as an immediate step. Of course, nothing less than complete equality of opportunity and status for every human being can ever be an acceptable goal.<sup>144</sup>

Neither the SCA National Students' Executive under John Hewitson nor the SCA Council, issued a public statement in response to 16<sup>th</sup> June, according with SCA Council's strongly held assumption that public "political" activities or statements from SCA were not an option.<sup>145</sup> SCA students on the other hand wrote their "Response to the Cyara Declaration", which was approved by Council to be sent only to the SCM.<sup>146</sup> SCA students and staff apparently often turned a blind eye to Council's "political" taboos, as in the second half of 1976 when they circulated copies of the student "Response" to other student associations, requesting copies of other student responses to "The Cyara Declaration" in return; Deryck Sheriffs worked with Paul Germond, a Rhodes theology student, and two others on this second discreetly "published" version of SCA's "Response".<sup>147</sup> The result of this "unofficial" publication process was the National Student Executive's widely circulated second collation document: "Extracts From The Cyara Declaration Produced by 50 Evangelical Students and Graduates in July 1976".<sup>148</sup> This document summarized "The Cyara Declaration" and appended student statements of response, including that of the Reformed apologetics study group, The Loft, UCT's Anglican "Social Involvement Seminar" and students from the University of the Western Cape.

As this monograph focuses on SCA's theological reception, detailed analysis of the spirit and theology of the SCA students' "Response" to "The Cyara Declaration" is not possible here. All that can be undertaken is a brief summary description of the text with some observations about whether SCA's "Response" shows evidence of the new evangelicalism

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<sup>144</sup> Sher Archive: "Statement issued by the Christian community at Wits".

<sup>145</sup> When Bill Houston's position paper on "Social Involvement" was finally accepted by SCA Council in July 1982, to be sent to branches as part of NSE Vice-Chairman, Rory Prest's "Student Handbook" the Council would emphasize "a cautionary note [...] that the burning issues in society may easily side track the Association away from holiness of life and evangelism." They required Houston to include a covering letter sent with the Handbook presenting branches with guidelines as to its implementation and also to stress the importance of students consulting the National Director and Regional Committee before taking public actions or issuing public statements: A1.33, Council Minutes (January 1982) and A1.34, Council Minutes (July 1982).

<sup>146</sup> See Bill Houston Archive: "Response to the Cyara Declaration" cf. Council minute of A1.29 (July 1977). The full text of the "Response" is found in APPENDIX D on page 271-276.

<sup>147</sup> B6.2.1, Sheriffs Staff Report (October 1976).

<sup>148</sup> See B3.2.2.6, SCA National Students' Executive roneoed copy: "Extracts From The Cyara Declaration Produced by 50 Evangelical Students and Graduates in July 1976," (Johannesburg: SCA, 1976).

having been received and internalized by SCA's students, and three observations about the possible impact on SCM of SCA's "Response."<sup>149</sup>

Foremost, the SCA students' "Response" was a sincere engagement with SCM's "Declaration", laid out in two parts: [1] "a statement of the Biblical truth as we see it applied to ourselves and issues in South Africa," and [2] "a point by point response to the statements made in "The Cyara Declaration." The "Biblical truth" section was headed "Our Responsibilities as White Christians in South Africa," and began with the Apostle Paul's acclamation of cultural, racial and gender unity achieved by Christ, citing Galatians 3:27-28, which caused SCA students to "view with profound sadness the deep divisions in the South African church."<sup>150</sup> In contrast to "The Cyara Declaration" which started by affirming the missionary character of the Triune God, the SCA students' introduction focused largely on themselves – on everything required of them in "Obedience to God's Commands".<sup>151</sup> Their introduction also lacked a strong theological framework - no references to God as Creator, no direct reference to the Holy Spirit or mention of the Kingdom of God, repentance, or the eschatological present unfolding into the future.<sup>152</sup> Nevertheless, SCA's opening section noted the Bible's unequivocal call for racial unity and love of "even enemies", for "just laws" and just "economic structures", and, quite radically, SCA students "call[ed] on all Christians to protest and resist such unjust measures [...] breaking their pattern of obedience to the state" if the State contradicted "God's command."<sup>153</sup>

The second part of SCA's "Response" replied in sequence to each paragraph in "The Cyara Declaration" and demonstrated a remarkable congruency with it.<sup>154</sup> However, if a reading of SCA's "Response" is done in a posture of empathy for Phazamisa Mkhabela and the SCM executive as they received it, the spirituality and theology imbued in SCA's reply to "The Cyara Declaration" might be better understood. In other words, a reading of SCA's "Response" as part of SCM's history of theological reception, helps to interpret and

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<sup>149</sup> Significantly, Sheriffs reported reading Padilla's *The New Face of Evangelicalism* in the same staff report he mentioned working with students on SCA's *Response*. B6.2.1, Sheriffs' Staff Report (October 1976), 2.

<sup>150</sup> "Response," 1.

<sup>151</sup> "Response," 2.

<sup>152</sup> SCA students did once mention "God's holy nation" (1 Pet. 2:9-10) which may have alluded to The Kingdom, except that the students' used this reference to diminish the significance of national citizenship, something much easier for white Christians in 1976 to assert, being at the top of the apartheid structure, than for blacks who were at the bottom, without citizenship in the land of their birth. "Repentance" is mentioned once in the second section, but in the imperative sense, applied formulaically to all people, not in a confessional or contrite application to SCA.

<sup>153</sup> "Response to The Cyara Declaration," 2-3.

<sup>154</sup> SCA concurred with SCM that the "gospel is dynamic", relating to the "spiritual, inter-relational, economic, political, and social"; that "distortion" of the gospel results from being "wrapped in a western cultural package"; that "sin is individual, it is also in the very structures of society"; that "social reformation needs to be preached along with individual salvation"; and that "all cultures need to be transformed by the gospel". "Response," 4-6.

evaluate the spirit and theology of SCA's "Response", and to postulate its possible historical impact.

SCA's single-minded reply to SCM's climactic Paragraph 7 appeal in "The Cyara Declaration" for SCA and sister associations to reclaim Christian unity through a public break with apartheid laws and with apartheid heresy, read as follows:

We reject as unbiblical the implied assertion that Christian fellowship can be conditional. Our only basis for meeting together is our position in Christ as sinners who are justified in Him, and in accordance with His Lordship [sic]. It is impossible to base our fellowship on any other thing (such as a common condemnation of government or any ideology or plan).<sup>155</sup>

The SCA students' "Response" showed meager capacity to relate the doctrine of salvation to South Africa's real context, as Michael Green, Hans Bürki, or Yoder had, three architects of the new evangelism whom SCA students had recently met in SCA events. In other words, what Prof Jarvis had called "the wider implications of God's plan for the ultimate redemption of human society," in his advice about what should be taught in SCA about evangelism, had not yet been well understood or applied among SCA students.<sup>156</sup>

A second assertion in SCA's "Response" coldly rebutted SCM's statement that "a spirit of dividing" caused missionaries and the oppressive regime to pave the way for apartheid segregation, "making it difficult for Black Christians to have solidarity as a nation oppressed and discriminated against by the racist, oppressive ruling regime:"

[...] we oppose those forms of denominationalism that keep Christians apart. However, we reject completely Black solidarity as a motive for rejecting denominationalism, seeing this to be as sinful as a doctrine of White solidarity and as a product of a society based in racial identity.

Besides displaying a lack of understanding about South African mission history or the struggle for justice in the Church, or, of SCM students' keen socio-political analysis, the white students failed to see the fallacy and ideological captivity of their assumption that Black solidarity was a "doctrine". Instead, the SCA writers fell into the apartheid trap of maligning Black solidarity, instead of understanding it as a natural response to the real "doctrine" operative in South Africa, of white supremacy. In the hands of black students in SCM branches all over South Africa after the events of 16<sup>th</sup> June, these statements would have been received as grossly uncomprehending and rash, or as an equivocation, nullifying SCA's previous statements about rejecting discrimination and injustice.

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<sup>155</sup> "Response," 8.

<sup>156</sup> B4.1.4, Jarvis to Johnston (23 January 1975).



Two telling omissions in SCA's "Response" might also have determined its reception in the minds and hearts of SCM students, and demonstrate the true spirit in which it was written. Most importantly as we have seen, SCA did not mention or personalize *repentance*, as its freely chosen posture.<sup>157</sup> A second omission was SCA's failure to recognize and acknowledge the magnanimity of their black fellow students for *not calling* on whites to confess complicity with apartheid, preferring instead to stress Christian unity in "The SCM Declaration". Thus, despite the eye-opening events of June and SCA's invidious position of July 1976, SCA students missed a God-given invitation, not only to publically confess, as other white Christian students had, their very real guilt and complicity regarding apartheid, but also to hear the *cri de Coeur* of black Christians for white students to break cleanly from conformity to the status quo. Instead SCA audaciously, in light of the recent Pietermaritzburg events, called for "every opportunity to be together as Christians [...] at conferences and camps [...] in order that genuine relationships may grow."<sup>158</sup> And all but outrageously, SCA implied that SCM had confessions to make:

... the sins of paternalism, feelings of inferiority and prejudices can only be identified in face to face encounters and be removed by the work of the Holy Spirit of fellowship. We are all sinners in the process of being sanctified from the deep-seated 'fears, complexes, insecurities' and prejudices with which we enter the fellowship [...] we must speak the truth in love to one another, face to face, and seek freedom from our sinful attitudes and patterns of behaviour ...<sup>159</sup>

In view of the dearth of official contact between students of the sister associations since the Michaelhouse Resolution, and the current crisis, SCA's "Response" may have been received by SCM as insensitive at best, or as self-vindicating and provocative, at worst.

In the wake of 16<sup>th</sup> June and SCM's real plight in mid 1976, SCA's political naïveté, considering the clear call for evangelical "socio-political involvement" at Lausanne, is demonstrated in Council's decision to leave engagement with SCM at the level of the student theological conversation we have outlined above. Only after Moshe Rajuile's return to South Africa in the winter of 1977, to work with SCM staff, would any meaningful engagement between SCA and SCM Councils resume, and it would only be in July 1979 that further work resume on a public statement from SCA about the situation in South Africa, when the National Student Council requested Chairman, Peter Greenwood of UND to lead an exercise to produce a new response to SCM's "Cyara Declaration". The resulting statement, "The SCA Declaration", was presented to SCA Council in 1980.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> SCA's only statement in the *Response* that approximates repentance is: "We confess that whites are Christians in danger of failing to 'weep with those who weep' or to be angry with those who are righteously angry, let alone do anything about it." See "Response," 1.

<sup>158</sup> "Response," 6.

<sup>159</sup> "Response," 6.

<sup>160</sup> A1.32, Council Minutes: Item 12 b. (July 1980).

## Conclusion: Looking and not Seeing, Hearing and Not Understanding

When Bürki returned to South Africa for van Vuuren's October 1976 psychology conference, Ramaphosa was again incarcerated and SCM leaders like James Africa, Chikane, Mabasa and Ngakane had been serially detained, beaten and released, and members of their families harassed and tortured.<sup>161</sup> Johnston, in his closing months as General Secretary of SCA, faced opposition from the SCA Council and from The Christian League, for having published "The SCM Declaration," and for SCA's supposed "ecumenism" by inviting Michael Cassidy to speak at SCA's July Conference.<sup>162</sup> Evidently, the new evangelicalism that this study has described as emanating from all over the world until its first global voicing at the Lausanne Congress, and which was now being transformed into local and contextual expressions of evangelical theological production around the world, had not been evenly received into SCA.

This chapter has traced growing tensions between very different evangelical generations working together, at times antithetically, during the establishment of SCA's forming discipleship tradition of the mid-70s. What has emerged in the historical evidence is that, not only the conservative post-war generation of SCA, but the century-old pastoral myopia that limited the vision of most white Christians in the South African church, severely hampered SCA in June and July 1976 to answer unprecedented *kairós* invitations which arose in the wake of the 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976 conflagration, to practise the "holy deviance" of prophetic spirituality, and to embody the Gospel of Jesus Christ in a country increasingly brutalized by injustice and violence. In the following chapter SCA's maturing discipleship tradition will be described, from the Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly in December 1976 to the South African Christian Leadership Assembly in 1979, a period in which the Association took its first steps towards prophetic integrity.

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<sup>161</sup> Memory Work: Sydney Seolonyane and Griffiths Zabala (4 April 2014). Maurice Ngakane gave permission for these dangers to his family to be cited. Telephonic interview (24 April 2014).

<sup>162</sup> For example, B4.1.4, Johnston to Fivaz (19 July 1976), Rev. Fred Shaw to Johnston (11 September 1976), Johnston to Michael Higgs (27 September 1976).

## CHAPTER SIX

### Discipleship as Healing Transformation: Conversion or Cultural Accommodation.

“Especially as the millennium approaches, many Christians have succumbed to a nostalgic prescription for the future in which God, working through revival or renewal or re-evangelization will once again bring about a world that Christians can rule.” Alan Kreider <sup>1</sup>

[...] evangelical cockishness is a rather distressing phenomenon. John Stott <sup>2</sup>

The true prophet identifies himself with the sin and guilt of the church. David Bosch <sup>3</sup>

Chapters Four and Five of this study have identified *kairós* invitations to SCA in the theology and spirituality which the Association often welcomed or sometimes tacitly resisted in its forming discipleship tradition of the early 70s. These *kairós* invitations for prophetic integrity in SCA also arose during encounters with Black Consciousness and Black prophetic theology, and in response to the unsettling emphases of the new evangelicalism of Lausanne, all of which challenged SCA to approach justice and racial reconciliation in South Africa as integral to *conversion*. The remainder of this study will briefly narrate SCA’s challenge to work out a contextually responsive expression of evangelical discipleship in its now established annual programme cycle for tertiary students countrywide: January Discipleship Course, July Intersarsity Conference, and December Vac Missions, SCA’s mission-focused work camps and excursions. The time-frame for this narrative is the politically charged three-year period from December 1976 to July 1979, during which P.W. Botha’s administration succeeded B.J. Vorster’s, and began to exert an unprecedented degree of surveillance and military control over the apartheid regime, with divergent effects on the liberation movement and the churches.<sup>4</sup>

SCA’s tension between a doctrinaire, post-war evangelicalism and a new openness in the Association to relate Christian experience to social injustices, and to South Africa’s particular struggle for liberation, will be further described in this chapter as the lure of civic religion or cultural Christianity, versus the invitation to practise the spirituality of Christ which is necessarily eschatological and prophetic.<sup>5</sup> To this end, the cultural and pastoral myopia identified among white evangelicals regarding black Christians, which has been

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<sup>1</sup> Alan Kreider, *The Change of Conversion and the Origin of Christendom* (Harrisburg, PEN: Trinity Press, 1999), 100.

<sup>2</sup> John Stott, *What is an Evangelical?* (Roneoed copy of Stott’s presentation to the National Evangelical Anglican Congress in Nottingham held in April 1977): Stanley Sher Archive. For the Congress statement see <http://www.spurgeon.org/~phil/creeds/nott.htm> *The Notting Statement*, accessed 14 July 2015.

<sup>3</sup> David Bosch, “The Church as the Alternative Society, Part II” *IFES Review*, 1 (1979): 10.

<sup>4</sup> Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2001), 217-18.

<sup>5</sup> For example, for an introduction to Christian grief in the Beatitude (Luke 6:21, 25) as learning to share in Christ’s eschatological grief (Luke 13:31-35; 19:41-44), see Walter Brueggemann, *Hopeful Imagination: Prophetic Voices in Exile* (Philadelphia, PEN: Fortress Press, 1986), 43-47.

described all the way through this study since SCA's Andrew Murray days, will be viewed in this chapter through a more pathological metaphor, the image of the "sick society" which Chapter Five highlighted by accepting Tshifhiwa Muofhe's metaphor for SCA's accommodation to apartheid. As in the monograph as a whole, the purpose of this chapter will be to ascertain to what extent SCA moved closer towards or further away from prophetic integrity in its established discipleship tradition through increasing responsiveness to South Africa's violent, polarizing socio-political context. In other words, following the governing metaphor of this section, did SCA accept the diagnosis of being contagious in a desperately sick society, and actively seek as an association to receive and spread the healing transformation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ?

### **Reactionary Change or Transformative "New Reality" Before 1977**

The six months between SCA's Durban Council in July 1976 and mid-January 1977 heralded organizational changes throughout the Association. At the highest level of governance Prof John Jarvis handed over the reins as Chairman of Council in July 1976, to Murray Hofmeyr, a past UCT SCA Chairman, a businessman and member of the Church of England in South Africa.<sup>6</sup> At the staffing level Jim Stamoolis left the Association to further his PhD studies at Princeton University, Deryck and Del Sheriffs moved from Stellenbosch to Grahamstown to work in the Eastern Cape branches, and Bill Houston moved to the Johannesburg National Office to succeed Jim Johnston as National Director. Regarding SCA's operations and policies, these months were also a threshold of significant changes, most of which were tabled at a special Council meeting during SCA's Second Consultation in Port Elizabeth from 30<sup>th</sup> December 1976 to 4<sup>th</sup> January 1977. Significant name changes were approved: General Secretary became National Director and Travelling Secretaries became Staff Workers. Most importantly a decision to shift the Association towards regionalization meant that Regional Committees in four provincial centres, the Transvaal, Natal, Eastern Cape and Western Cape, under chairmen Dr Brian Hahn at Wits University, Nicky Grieshaber in Pietermaritzburg, Prof Derek Fivaz at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, and Rod Hewitson in Cape Town, would exercise closer oversight of staff workers and student ministry in their regions.<sup>7</sup> In all of these changes, including the names, the strengthening of SCA's hierarchical governance structure was intended, a development which this chapter will show, increased the "watch" of the conservative

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<sup>6</sup> Unless otherwise cited all details in this paragraph are taken from A1.27 Council Minutes (July 1976) and A1.28 Council Minutes (January 1977).

<sup>7</sup> The first woman chairperson of a region was Jane Asher in the mid-1980s, an exception to SCA's pattern of male dominated governance. Through most of the 1970s the Reformed influence on SCA's Council made the possibility of a woman chairperson for a Regional Committee remote or even unthinkable.

Reformed grouping in SCA's Council over SCA policy, staff and the Association's student ministry in branches.<sup>8</sup>

With regard to SCA's evangelical identity and organizational aims, Bill Houston's select committee in Cape Town set up in 1975, to re-evaluate SCA's Basis of Faith and associational aims, was ready to suggest modest changes to SCA's Basis of Faith and Aims and Objects documents, their working draft of which was discussed at the January 1977 SCA Consultation.<sup>9</sup> To the Basis of Faith they suggested adding:

The creation of man in the image of God with an intrinsic dignity and a responsibility to God, his fellow men and God's creation.<sup>10</sup>

To the clause on the "universal sinfulness and guilt of man since the fall, rendering them subject to God's wrath," the select committee proposed adding the clause, "yet through his Grace the object of his love," and, to the clause on the work of the Holy Spirit "leading men to spiritual rebirth," the committee recommended adding "repentance" which, significantly, had not appeared in SCA's Basis of Faith to date.<sup>11</sup>

All these suggested changes to documents safeguarding SCA's evangelical identity did not go as far as SCA students did in 1979 in their draft of "The SCA Declaration," to name and distance themselves from the injustice of apartheid.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, Houston, Jarvis and Bateman's suggestions evidently aimed to address [1] the Association's telling omission of the necessity of repentance in its Basis of Faith, [2] SCA's tendency toward theological pride, and [3] SCA Council's traditional reluctance to grasp such "political" nettles as racial injustice in South Africa and the glaring symptoms of widening economic inequality. In short, Houston's select committee was asking SCA Council to receive and officially endorse a mild version of the new evangelicalism. The response of Council later in 1977 would be to

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<sup>8</sup> This label of SCA's conservative "watch" for the Reformed grouping on the Council is used with deliberate caution, not to denigrate this grouping, but to describe their vigilant gate-keeping role, when at times, as the historical evidence in this study will show, they could become fiercely contentious. Examples of this conservative "watch" have been provided above with further examples to follow. Pertinent here, for the discussion during the year ahead of SCA's Port Elizabeth Consultation was the memorandum of a member of the Easter Cape Regional Committee who pointedly questioned the dispensation under Jim Johnston, where travelling secretaries reported only to the General Secretary, leaving Regional Committees with only administrative functions. The memo called for "collective accountability" of staff oversight "because Regional Chairmen are members of Council" and provocatively suggested that Regional Committees *replace* the oversight of the General Secretary. Bar the last outlandish suggestion, the gist of the memo was accepted at the Consultation in January 1977: B4.1.4, "MEMORANDUM ON REGIONAL COMMITTEE – STAFF WORKER RELATIONSHIP" (30 January 1976).

<sup>9</sup> A1.29, Council Minutes (July 1977).

<sup>10</sup> A1.29, Council Minutes (July 1977).

<sup>11</sup> Houston's committee also proposed adding a fifth, sixth and seventh aim to the four Aims of SCA, the fifth being to encourage among SCA students a "Christian worldview," the sixth "To stimulate responsibility of service to the community, social action and of sharing in concern for righteousness and reconciliation throughout human society," and the seventh to encourage full participation in the local church. See A1.29, Council Minutes (July 1977).

<sup>12</sup> See the discussion of "The SCA Declaration" below.

delay discussion of Houston's draft suggestions for SCA's Basis of Faith until 1978, when it would refuse any changes, even the inclusion of "repentance" in SCA's Basis of Faith.<sup>13</sup> With regard to augmenting SCA's Aims and Objects, the Council's conservative "watch" would delay any decision even longer.<sup>14</sup>

As these small organizational changes and larger theological changes were mooted and debated between June 1976 and January 1977, small signs at all levels of SCA, and bigger *kairós* moments of invitation arising inside and outside the Association, challenged the SCA Executive to respond to South Africa's social and political crisis, anticipating the possibility that the Association might develop a model of discipleship training that would become a uniquely South African response of evangelical spirituality, addressing Jesus' Good News to apartheid's critical conditions. In what remains of this chapter, the most significant of these developments will be described.

In the closing months of Johnston's term of office two letters reacting to SCANews articles about the momentous June-July SCM and SCA conferences crossed the desks of Hofmeyr and Johnston; the letters isolated SCM and Africa Enterprise as organizations open to infiltration by liberal, even revolutionary forces, with which SCA should not associate.<sup>15</sup> The poisoned-pens were in the hands of fundamentalist Christians, both of whom served in the Christian League of South Africa, a right-wing organization funded by Vorster's government to champion opposition in English-speaking churches to the WCC.<sup>16</sup> Fred Shaw, who founded the League, wrote a letter to Hofmeyr that amounted to a veiled threat:

Prof Peter Beyerhaus and others have seen in this organisation [Africa Enterprise] [...] a watering down of the true Gospel [...] While we do believe that there is a social outworking of the Gospel, we believe that it [...] cannot be something parallel with the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

There were quite a number of things in [SCA's] newsletter that disturbed me. I will be glad if you could discuss this with Bishop Bradley and use your influence to keep the SCA from corruption and from being infiltrated. [...] I do not consider the situation serious enough to come to any confrontation with these bodies at this stage [...] With kindest regards and may God bless you as you stand firm in the defence and affirmation of the Gospel.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> A1.30, Council Minutes (July 1978) Item 6.6.3.

<sup>14</sup> A1.30, Council Minutes (July 1978) Item 6.6.3. Instead of finally moving on Houston's suggestions the Council appointed Dr Robin Wells to convene a sub-committee including Derek Fivaz, Duncan Fraser and Johnston, who from 1977 represented Graduates Fellowship on the SCA Council, to decide on the final wording for approval at a later stage.

<sup>15</sup> B4.1.4, Shaw to Hofmeyr (11 September 1976) and (in reply) Johnston to Michael Higgs (27 September 1976).

<sup>16</sup> See Alan Brews, "Vulnerable to the Right: The English-Speaking Churches," *JTSA*, no. 69 (December 1989): 42.

<sup>17</sup> B4.1.4, Shaw to Hofmeyr (11 September 1976).

A remarkably similar missive to Johnston arrived from Rev Mike Higgs in Durban.<sup>18</sup> Higgs accused SCA of syncretism for associating with Dr Paul Khrishna, and liberalism, for sympathising with the anger of Coloured and Indian students at the controversial Pietermaritzburg conference.<sup>19</sup> These letters represent the right-wing theological opposite to Black Theology, the divergent perspectives of which increasingly polarized the South African Church by 1976.<sup>20</sup> Johnston's reply to Higgs, a former colleague and a friend of Dr Marjorie Scott from Johnston's Rhodes Evangelical Union days, illustrates Johnston's growing commitment to engage the South African political crisis:

The group that came from Belleville [...] felt that it was their Christian responsibility to have fellowship with white brethren and so, against intense opposition and at the cost of R400 which they raised themselves, they came. [...] Hence their sense of let-down when [...] they found that [...] at the conference, they were to be separated from those they were identifying with [...] I have great sympathy with them [...]. This issue which faced us at the conference, and which faces the church in South Africa, is one of loyalty to the gospel. It is not a case of worrying about such "little things while the souls of men are dying", it is at the very heart of the gospel. I take this from Paul's confrontation of Peter, recorded in Galatians 2. This was 'a small matter' of eating at a particular table, or not eating at a particular table, but the apostle accused Peter of "not being straightforward about the truth of the Gospel".

[...] What is your concern in writing this letter? Why the extremely negativistic approach? At a time such as this there is a 'gaping wound' in South Africa. Perhaps you don't know what is happening here in Johannesburg, where every day it becomes more difficult to speak with a "black" Christian [...] the young black evangelical is doubting the Christian faith of the white evangelical. They ask such questions as: Can he be a Christian and live at that level of affluence when there is such poverty alongside him? How can he be a Christian and not be concerned with justice? God is a God of justice. At present I know of four evangelicals in prison with no charges brought against them. These are known to their fellow evangelicals who look to their white brethren to let their voice be heard in these circumstances [...].<sup>21</sup>

In Johnston's theological rebuttal he took some responsibility for the racial injustice that had occurred at SCA's Pietermaritzburg conference and illustrates how some SCA leaders had begun to integrate the new evangelicalism with growing understanding of South African injustices and a new resolve to act on the prophetic aspect or social dimension of the call to conversion.

Signs of responsiveness to the South African context at SCA student and staff worker level, as we have seen, were evident in Cape Town, but also began to emerge in the Transvaal, at Wits University.<sup>22</sup> Louise Kretzschmar, Stanley Sher, Beverley Haddad and

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<sup>18</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to Higgs (27 September 1976).

<sup>19</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to Higgs (27 September 1976).

<sup>20</sup> An introduction to the ideological struggle involved in the apartheid State's attempt to counter growing church involvement in black liberation in South Africa, is Charles Villa-Vicencio's *Trapped in Apartheid* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1998), 93–126.

<sup>21</sup> B4.1.4, Johnston to Higgs (27 September 1976).

<sup>22</sup> A1.27, Council Minutes (July 1976).

Steve Truscott were transforming four “Action Groups” that students pioneered during 1975, into a string of discipline-specific small group Bible studies throughout campus, as a new discipleship methodology, and involving Dr Brian Hahn and other Wits faculty members.<sup>23</sup> Truscott and Johnston were also collaborating with Frank Chikane, Caesar Molebatsi, Nat Nkosi, Rex van Vuuren, Harold Le Roux of the Johannesburg College of Education and others, to present a Transvaal Summer School of the Bible in early 1977 on “The Gospel and Race,” whose programme would relate the theme of the Kingdom of God to issues of race and the “psychology of race prejudice”.<sup>24</sup>

Back in Cape Town, UCT SCA students presented a “Rich Man Poor Man Dinner,” a banquet simulating the economic inequalities of apartheid, which included a Tear Fund 16mm film and presentation by invited speaker, Dr James Leatt, Director of St George Cathedral’s Urban Ministry Project.<sup>25</sup> In Natal, Sheriffs’ frank discussions about conscientious objection and ecumenism at the July Theological Students’ Fellowship meetings continued with such robust debate that Reformed students felt it necessary to break away from the Pietermaritzburg branch.<sup>26</sup> In Grahamstown, Deryck and Del Sheriffs integrated an “encounter group” methodology into their ministry with students as well as lessons from the discipleship approach of P.T. Chandapilla of IFES in India, in his *The Master Trainer*;<sup>27</sup> their un-blinkered approach to programming, as in their invitation to Greg Lourens to present “Are Christianity and TM Compatible?” and their introduction of students to Christian meditation presented a more Bürkian style of learning, all of which would cause quite a storm on the Eastern Cape Regional Committee towards the end of their first year in Grahamstown.<sup>28</sup>

In December 1976, Hofmeyr, Johnston, Houston, Faure Louw, and Sydney Seolonyane and Abie Visagie of SCM and ACS, together with Caesar Molebatsi of Youth Alive, travelled to Nairobi, to attend the Lausanne Continuation Committee’s congress, the Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly and the IFES Pan African Fellowship of Evangelical Students’ Conference.<sup>29</sup> In the aftermath of 16<sup>th</sup> June, the challenges of getting travel

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<sup>23</sup> Sher Archive: Sher’s Chairman Report 1976-1977.

<sup>24</sup> A1.28, Truscott’s Council Report (January 1977).

<sup>25</sup> B4.1.4, Houston to Johnston (2 August 1976).

<sup>26</sup> A1.29, Vaughan’s Council Report (July 1977).

<sup>27</sup> P.T. Chandapilla, *The Master Trainer* (Bombay: Gospel Literature Service, 1974).

<sup>28</sup> A1.29, Sheriffs’ Council Report (July 1977) and B6.2.1, Sheriffs’ Staff Report (August 1977) cf. B4.1.4, Correspondence between E. Cape Regional Chairman, Derek Fivaz and Houston, September 77 to April 78.

<sup>29</sup> A1.28, National Council Minutes (January 1977). A comprehensive overview of the aims and programme of PACLA is <http://www2.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/GUIDES/172.htm> Billy Graham Center: Records of the Pan African Christian Leadership Assembly: Collection 172, accessed: 20 July 2015.



permits for South African black delegates to PACLA,<sup>30</sup> the racial tensions of travelling and living together as an interracial South African delegation in an independent African country, and the workshops and keynote addresses at the Congress, were such significant episodes of theological reception and contextual learning for SCA's executive leadership that the whole PACLA experience might be said to constitute another *kairós* invitation in SCA's reception of theology and spirituality - an invitation to authentic, and therefore prophetic evangelical spirituality.<sup>31</sup>

The strong message heard by the South African delegates at PACLA during Padilla's morning Work Groups, and in evening keynote addresses by Padilla, Bosch and Bürki, was a return to the eschatological theme of the Lausanne Congress - God's new humanity or community of faith, brought about in the world by the Holy Spirit - the Church living out the new ethics of Christ's redeeming love, responsive to the material, socio-political conditions of society.<sup>32</sup> In four workshops on "Unity, Diversity and Truth", "Marxism and Christianity", "Liberation Theology" and "The Class Struggle", Padilla again and again returned to this eschatological understanding of Christian identity: "...participating in the resurrection life - the life of the Spirit ...";<sup>33</sup> "...the hope of an *anakephalaioisis* [sic] in which all things will be brought together, under the lordship of Jesus Christ...";<sup>34</sup> a faith with "social implications" and a "material dimension"<sup>35</sup> in which "...both rich and poor have been called into a new community where their class struggle is replaced by loving concern for one another in their material needs (cf. Gal. 6:10; Heb. 13:6)."<sup>36</sup>

Similarly, David Bosch's keynote address on the third evening of the Congress, titled "Renewal of Christian Community in Africa Today", the only plenary address by a South African, reminded PACLA delegates that an eschatological understanding of conversion is the opposite of a Christian faith that accommodates itself to cultures based on social injustice and oppression. Bosch unsettled his audience, asserting that evangelicals, by trying "to keep the Christian message pure from all earthly things such as politics, social programmes and the like [have] accommodated to the existing structures of the societies

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<sup>30</sup> Charles Njonjo, the Attorney General of Kenya, whose wife was a close friend of Heather Johnston, advocated for black delegates to receive special travel visas at the last minute. See Interview: Faure Louw (17 November 2012).

<sup>31</sup> The narrative of PACLA in the following paragraphs has been composed from memory work interviews: Faure Louw (7 November 2011), Sydney Seolonyane (14 April 2014), Houston 3 (11 June 2015) and from Michael Cassidy and Luc Verlinden, eds., *Facing the New Challenges: The Message of PACLA* (Nairobi: Evangelical Publishing House, 1978).

<sup>32</sup> Houston wrote to Padilla soon after PACLA to thank him for his "Marxism and Christianity" workshop: B4.1.4, Houston to Padilla (March 1977)\*.

<sup>33</sup> Padilla, "Unity, Diversity and Truth" in *Facing the New Challenges*, 199.

<sup>34</sup> Padilla, "Unity, Diversity and Truth" in *Facing the New Challenges*, 200. Padilla here draws on New Testament theology derived from the rare verb *anakephalaíóomai*, which, in Paul's singular usage (Ephesians 1:10), means, "to bring to a conclusion", "to sum up", or "to recapitulate". See Kittel and Friedrich, *TDNT*, 430.

<sup>35</sup> "Marxism and Christianity" in *Facing the New Challenges*, 366.

<sup>36</sup> "The Class Struggle" in *Facing the New Challenges*, 377,

to which we belong.”<sup>37</sup> He then expounded the meaning of Paul’s description of the “new era inaugurated by Jesus when he referred to the church as a ‘new creation’ (2 Cor. 5:17; cf. Gal. 6:15; Eph. 4:24)”.<sup>38</sup>

In what followed the PACLA gathering heard about the “breaking-in of the New Age [...] by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit”, about the church as “a sign which men reject (Luke 2:34)” and “a truly alternative community”, as Bosch painted a compellingly earthy picture of the Church’s spiritual identity.<sup>39</sup> The Church’s “true liberation” said Bosch, came by “renouncing revenge” and through the “confrontation” involved in the “service of reconciliation”, during which “the running sores of society”, “the abscess of hate and mistrust and fear, between black and white, between nation and nation, between rich and poor, has to be slashed open!”<sup>40</sup>

Bosch’s provocative allusion to the wound imagery of the exilic prophets (e.g. Jer. 6:14, 8:11; Mic. 1:9) evoked a picture of both the pathological disease of South Africa’s racially divided church, and the glorious eschatological possibilities for South Africa of Christ’s “alternative community”. Bosch’s graphic message came out of the torrid experience of his struggle to practise a prophetic spirituality as a DRC pastor, missionary and church theologian, in a denomination that for the most part uncritically endorsed the apartheid ideology with its heretical theology.<sup>41</sup> Bosch also spoke out of the immediate experience of racial tension that was embittering relationships between many among the 80 South African delegates at PACLA, immediately prior to his presentation.<sup>42</sup>

Bosch’s bold application of biblical theology to present material conditions, namely the individual, familial, regional and national wounds inflicted by apartheid, came to a head in a now widely-known personal anecdote which he told from the podium, to a tearful Congress. He explained how the previous year, his wife Annemie “broke down and wept” during a difficult parting of a group of black Dutch Reformed ministers who were in painful disagreement after their visit to the Bosch home in Pretoria, only to have one of the ministers, Rev Ernst Baartman, return the following day with the words: ‘Your wife’s tears

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<sup>37</sup> David Bosch, “Renewal of Christian Community in Africa Today” in *Facing the New Challenges*, 93ff. Also see Bosch’s own reflection on PACLA in J.N.J. Kritzinger & W. Saayman, eds., *David J. Bosch: Prophetic Integrity, cruciform praxis* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 2011), 122-123.

<sup>38</sup> Bosch, “Renewal of Christian Community,” 94.

<sup>39</sup> Bosch, “Renewal of Christian Community,” 94-101.

<sup>40</sup> Exclamation mark added: Bosch, “Renewal of Christian Community,” 94-101.

<sup>41</sup> Just days after PACLA Prof Carel Boshoff, a colleague of Bosch at the University of Pretoria Missiology department, tried to convince the South African Missiological Society Conference in Cape Town of the “thoroughly biblical” integrity of the DRC’s policy of racially separate churches. See John de Gruchy, “The Civil Religion Debate,” *JTSA*, no.19 (June 1977): 4.

<sup>42</sup> See Kritzinger & Saayman, *Prophetic Integrity*, 123.

made all the difference'; Bosch related the story to iterate his point that genuine reconciliation "must be of God".<sup>43</sup>

Houston remembered the long, standing ovation given after Bosch's presentation, a poignant moment for black and white delegates alike, a moment of *kairós* invitation to SCA's Executive, to embrace the prophetic cost involved in becoming God's alternative community, and an invitation that Houston and Johnston would take up in their shaping of SCA's discipleship curriculum, during the following three years.

Two nights later, on Thursday 16 December, Hans Bürki's plenary address to PACLA, "Discipleship and Renewal", returned to the eschatological understanding of Christian identity, to be lived out in Africa's context of socio-political injustice, oppression and violence. Bürki introduced his eschatological theme when he described Peter's words:

"You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" as "... the awareness that "the Eternal had broken [in] in Jesus and that they were living in this new dimension, in this new age. They experienced the Eternal as the fullness of time in history."<sup>44</sup>

Bürki then presented the methodology by which Jesus "makes" disciples in the post-ascension age, which Bürki held, was identical to the "fourfold model" Jesus used in each "commission" of pairs of disciples *before* the ascension (Mark 3:14, 15; 6:7,13 cf. John 17:20). The four parts of Jesus' methodology were "firstly to be with him; secondly, to preach forgiveness; thirdly to heal the sick; fourthly to cast out demons."<sup>45</sup> This, Jesus' intentionally corporate method of making disciples, said Bürki, begins in "companionship" with Christ for the purpose of "Divine instruction"; it avoids "separating preaching from being"; and it culminates in "healing" and "authoritative liberation from all sorts of oppressive powers."<sup>46</sup> Bürki asserted that the *healing transformation* aspect of disciples' corporate identity through conversion and baptism, is evidence of:

the church [which] is meant to become an alternative society [...] a healing and liberating community of disciples, who are trained together by the Lord to love those who despise and hate them, to pray for those who are against them, to bless those who speak evil about them and curse them. Such communities of radical and open-faced discipleship shall by their way of life challenge the existing traditions and power structures more than anything else could do ...<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Hans Bürki, "Renewal of Christian Community in Africa Today" in *Facing the New Challenges*, 101 cf. Houston 3 (11 June 2015). Kritzingler also relates this story in his *Prophetic Integrity*.

<sup>44</sup> Bürki, "Discipleship and Renewal," 166.

<sup>45</sup> Bürki, "Discipleship and Renewal," 167. As a deliberate teaching emphasis Bürki referred to "the Lord's commission" but avoided any direct reference to "The Great Commission" of Matthew 28:19-20, and instead expounded the four fold movement of Jesus' Markan "commissions" relating these to Jesus' prayer for those who will believe in him 'through their word'" (ibid) in John 17:20.

<sup>46</sup> Bürki, "Discipleship and Renewal," 168, 170.

<sup>47</sup> Bürki, "Discipleship and Renewal," 171.

Bürki now reminded PACLA delegates of David Bosch's eschatological and medical imagery of two nights previously, only Bürki went further, in a memorable exposition of the all-encompassing healing transformation that only the promised Messiah could bring. "Sickness" in the understanding of Old Testament prophets, said Bürki, "is always related to conflict [...] we become sick if a conflict becomes unbearable [...] we carry embodied in us the oppressive structures of society"; and that the Church needs a "sober reevaluation [of the] ministry of exorcism [for] the 'making' and bringing of peace in the power of the Holy Spirit to all conflicts, personal, social and political".<sup>48</sup>

Bürki's grasp of the Good News as the eschatological fulfilment of long prophesied deliverance for all creation from the effects of personal and social sicknesses he expounded to the PACLA audience as an essential aspect of Jesus' "[d]iscipleship in renewal".<sup>49</sup> In closing Bürki said that the eschatological dimension of Jesus "forming disciples" would be a life-commitment that "will be costly because it involves change, but it will also bring *new reality*."<sup>50</sup> It would have been impossible for Hofmeyr, Houston, Johnston and other South Africans present to hear and ignore Bürki's compelling exegesis of both the gift and the cost of the "new creation" that enables authentic Christ following:

In our day we speak and write a lot about the social and political responsibility of Christians, about the relationship of evangelisation and social action. It seems that a careful consideration of the four fold dimension of the Lord's commission would provide a strong basis for the inescapable unity between personal and social ethics, individual and corporate change, inward and outward liberation, peace and justice. The two work together or they don't work at all.<sup>51</sup>

Houston learnt as much from the expositions and business of PACLA, as from a new friend made at the Congress, Anglican Archbishop Janani Luwum of Uganda, as they stayed the fortnight at Nairobi's Anglican Guest House, and as Houston helped Luwum repair his Peugeot 504 Station Wagon; within two months of their meeting at the momentous PACLA gathering, Luwum had been martyred "in the mayhem" of Uganda's Idi Amin regime.<sup>52</sup> Thus, for the purpose of this monograph, the whole of the PACLA experience may be seen as a challenge to the SCA Executive, at least to ponder the difference between reactionary or culturally accommodative *change*, and the all-embracing cost involved in Jesus' *new reality* - the healing transformation of the Gospel.

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<sup>48</sup> For the sake of brevity and clarity I have not used ellipses and have changed capitalizations at three places in this collation of quotations, to shorten Bürki's original while remaining faithful to the sequence and letter of his words. See Bürki, "Discipleship and Renewal," 170-171.

<sup>49</sup> Bürki, "Discipleship and Renewal," 164.

<sup>50</sup> Emphasis added. Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Bürki, "Discipleship and Renewal," 171.

<sup>52</sup> Interview 5: Houston (11 June 2015).

## The New Evangelicalism in SCA's Young Minds

The narratives of Chapter Five and Chapter Six have thus far validated Houston's view of the June and July 1976 events in South Africa, in SCM and in SCA, as "SCA's 'farewell to innocence.'" This, because 16<sup>th</sup> June and SCA's controversial July conference in Pietermaritzburg created a watershed in SCA's external relationships with Black, Coloured and Indian students, exposing SCA's part in white Christians' century-old pastoral myopia. The Association faced a choice. Either SCA could accept the diagnosis of its own pathology, or it could bury or try to conceal it, even from itself. For these reasons, the 1976 events created new tensions in the heart and soul of the Association. Some SCA people, mainly among staff and students, who were increasingly aware of the injustices of apartheid, gradually opened themselves as a result of these eye opening developments to the new evangelicalism, while a smaller but influential and reactionary grouping of SCA people, trapped in a contentious fundamentalism of the bygone post-war era, mainly but not exclusively in the Council, attempted to vigilantly perpetuate their uncompromising "evangelicalism" in the Association.

In his final report as General Secretary to SCA's Port Elizabeth Consultation of January 1977, Johnston succinctly described these growing tensions, as the challenge to bridge polar opposites within SCA of "anti-intellectualism in the charismatic movement on the one hand" and "judgemental and schismatic" behaviour arising from "theological/intellectual" attitudes of the "Reformed movement" on the other.<sup>53</sup> Johnston said that SCA's "creative tension" was to hold together strong differences contending between "fellowship versus constitution, staff versus council, students versus senior members, regional versus national, national executive versus Council, conserving and open."<sup>54</sup> Houston, who also outlined his goals as incoming National Director at the Consultation, named two issues around which many of SCA's imminent theological tensions in the coming years would pivot: [1] the Association's response to students facing military service in the SADF, and [2] increasing debate in SCA about which way to evangelize.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> A1.27, Annexure to Council Minutes: Johnston's P.E. Consultation Paper, "SCA Now" (January 1977) cf. B4.1.4 Houston to John Bowen (31 March 1977).

<sup>54</sup> A1.27, Johnston "SCA Now". In view of how heavy handed Mills and others in the conservative "watch" of Council had been with Johnston, regarding his fresh expression of evangelicalism and his conditions of employment in SCA, Johnston's gentle euphemism for the strain involved in bridging the poles of SCA's wooden, bureaucratic governance structure, was magnanimous.

<sup>55</sup> A1.28, Annexure to Council Minutes: Houston's P.E. Consultation presentation (July 1978).

Johnston's assessment of SCA's theological, bureaucratic and generational tensions and Houston's focus on the future challenges to SCA of militarization and evangelism, during the Port Elizabeth Consultation in January 1977, provide helpful parameters to understand how SCA would respond to the social, political and theological climate of the late 1970s in its discipleship tradition. In their respective sketches of SCA's future challenges yet another tension becomes immediately apparent, which is the theme of this chapter - the tension between SCA's accommodation in its recent history to a culture of racism, realized through reactionary bureaucracy, versus the social disruption of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as "surgery", to heal and transform a mortally "wounded" Church. The degree to which SCA embraced this call to healing transformation in the new evangelicalism, and took new steps to respond to *kairós* moments of invitation between 1977 and 1979, to break its longstanding accommodation to South Africa's culture of racial injustice, will be the theme to guide the last remaining narratives of this study.

SCA's three-week Discipleship Course at the Salvation Army campsite, Mountain Lodge near Magaliesburg, in January 1977, was attended by 27 students and facilitated by Johnston, (now full-time Elder at Bedford Chapel in Johannesburg), Houston, Truscott, Vaughan, Gow, Deryck Sheriffs, and Lynn Pedersen, the only woman on the SCA staff team at this time.<sup>56</sup> The course comprised a holistic programme on "The Kingdom of God" in Matthew's Gospel". SCA staff incorporated Bürki's blend of silent meditation on Scripture, exegesis, group discussion, physical exercise, group counseling and group or individual discipleship exercises, and IFES missionary Hank Pott, visiting from Rhodesia, encouraged SCA's developing use of daily small group manuscript Bible study. Students brought games and books for a free-time library.

SCA's tradition of theological integration and wide contextual engagement, which began in the days of the Maphumulo and Morija Maturity Courses, was exemplified at the 1977 Mountain Lodge Discipleship course, with two qualifications – unlike later Mountain Lodge Discipleship courses, no Black, Coloured or Indian students attended in the wake of 16<sup>th</sup> June, the "The Cyara Declaration", and the recent Maritzburg Conference, and no outreach visits into the local Magaliesburg community formed part of the course curriculum.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Unless otherwise cited, reconstructions of Discipleship Course events in this chapter are based on interviews and information from correspondence, promotional brochures, programme notes and student evaluations in file H2.1.10.2, of the SCO Archive. Interviews pertaining to the 1977 Course are Lynn Pedersen (10 April 2013) and Peter Moll (28 April 2015). NB. Only photographs of the 1978 and 1980 Mountain Lodge Courses could be obtained, rather than the 1977 and 1979 courses to be described in this narrative. See APPENDIX F on page 280 and 281.

<sup>57</sup> See H2.1.10.2, Trevor Gow's collation of student evaluations of the Course, and conversations with Pedersen and Moll. Sam Shokane was the only SCM student at the 1979 Discipleship Course. So, Email: Stephen Granger (13 March 2013). Two SCM students unknown to the researcher attended the January 1978 Course.

Regarding the moratorium on contact between SCM and white students, Keith Matthee, an SCA student and SRC Chairperson of UND in 1976, recalled the silence that fell between him and Eddie Mhlanga who was his co-SRC Chairperson at Wentworth Medical School:

What I realized was that the divide between whites and blacks was so great. It was quite a realization to me how divided things were because of Black Consciousness.<sup>58</sup>

The widening gulf of burdened silence between the sister associations after 16<sup>th</sup> June was further illustrated in late 1977, during a rare visit to Fort Hare by Sheriffs and Paul Germond, now Chairperson of the Rhodes branch, where black students quickly and angrily reacted to Germond, taking him for one of Kaiser Matanzima's secret police.<sup>59</sup> South Africa's context of repression and black students' suspicion explains the absence of black participants in the discipleship courses of 1977 and 1978, which meant that at Mountain Lodge in January 1977, points of reference in the programme and curriculum were limited to whites' circumscribed understanding of apartheid's fast multiplying injustices in black communities.

Despite cultural limitations on the curriculum at Mountain Lodge in January 1977 Johnston ignored new punitive laws about promoting conscientious objection and facilitated free-ranging discussion on the subject, during which Peter Moll related to fellow students his theological objections to military conscription, and his plans to object to the SADF later that year.<sup>60</sup> Sheriffs presented a discussion: "Looking Forward to Marriage" in which he laid out "Constructive and Destructive Patterns of Conflict", deepening students' understanding of conflict as a positive resource in relational creativity.<sup>61</sup> As in previous years, robust engagement with Bürki's "Ten Point Manifesto on Human Sexuality", Truscott's daily "contemplative movement" exercises on the lawns, and Vaughan's invitations to students to bring their personal experiences and imagination to the Bible text, complemented the more scholarly Bible expositions of Matthew from Sheriffs, and a more contextual approach from Houston.

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<sup>58</sup> See Interview: Keith Matthee (6 March 2013).

<sup>59</sup> Germond had introduced himself in Sesotho, which did not auger well, because the previous week's speaker to the Fort Hare SCM branch had been detained, by the Ciskei special branch. See interview: Sheriffs 2 (28 March 2014).

<sup>60</sup> SCA's commitment to help conscripts come to a decision of conscience in respect to their two-year compulsory military service would have come to the attention of Vorster's Special Branch, through the same anonymous sources in the Association who informed The Christian League about SCA activities. Who these sources were is not known, however, it would only be brought into the light in SCA Council on 9 July 1983, by Wits SCA students Ian Couper and Richard Maddern, that SCA Panel of Reference members were also members of the Broederbond. See A1.35, Council Minutes (July 1983).

<sup>61</sup> Lynn Pedersen Archive: 41.

As previously, news about “what happened” at Mountain Lodge in 1977 - SCA’s discipleship curriculum that integrated and embodied Christ’s Good News as an existential *kairós* event, travelled far and wide, evoking censure from the more conservative corners of SCA’s constituency. Ian Simms at the UND branch would write to Trevor Gow after the 1977 course:

Incidentally, our Easter weekend was abruptly cancelled for us by our 'far sighted' church leaders! Jim [Johnston]'s teaching on handling emotion and difficult church situations is now in the process of being stringently tested...<sup>62</sup>

SCA staff were ahead of their times in aspects of the new evangelicalism, which they had received and were now passing down through discipleship course methodologies. SCA had effectively introduced the first expressions of political awareness, devotional catholicity and robust engagement with psychology, into the twentieth-century story of evangelical spirituality in South Africa. By contrast, expressions of Reformed and Baptist spirituality in South African churches during the 1970s might be described as retroactive - a knee-jerk response to the psychedelic 60s, and too often clichéd, colourless and held in check by a formulaic, rigid theology.<sup>63</sup>

Having shown that SCA’s discipleship course tradition was tentatively broaching the contextual engagement of the new evangelicalism, the focus now returns to SCA’s responsiveness to society outside of the intentional community of Discipleship Course.

After a poor attendance at the January 1977 Transvaal Summer School of the Bible on “Race”, the rest of 1977, particularly at the Wits SCA branch, was marked by growing and creative evangelical engagement with the secular university.<sup>64</sup> A series of expositions on “The Kingdom of God” at Wits in February and March by Bill Houston was followed by Wits’ first April special interest camps, including a hike to the Drakensberg organized by Kretzschmar and Dieter Weinand of the Wits committee, with Truscott and Pedersen in support. In the second quarter Wits students went away as a branch to “consider different aspects” of Bosch’s PACLA address; the camp theme was “Being and Proclaiming the Alternative Society”. In May they welcomed evangelical neuroscientist and visual psychologist, Dr Donald MacKay of Keele University, to contribute in their open debate with Wits behaviourists in “an overflowing [Great] hall”, which was “memorable in the

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<sup>62</sup> B4.1.4, Simms to Gow (24 February 1977).

<sup>63</sup> Dr Monty Sholund at Rosebank Bible College and Dr Rex Matthee at the Baptist Union Bible College in Johannesburg are two exceptions, certainly among others, in the otherwise politically naïve and moralistic evangelical sub-culture of South Africa during the 1970s.

<sup>64</sup> Events in this paragraph were reconstructed from H2.5.1, Wits SCA committee minutes, B6.2.2, Truscott and Pedersen’s Staff and Council Reports (Jan-July 1977) and A1.29, Council Minutes and Reports (July 1977).



extreme”.<sup>65</sup> Wits and JCE students then accepted an invitation to attend the Graduates’ Fellowship for the first time, crowding out the Donald MacKay event with 65 participants. That June, Wits SCA hosted the multimedia evangelistic “Light Show”, *Let us Become Man* by Greg Lourens of the SACC, and in August the branch roped in Wits faculty members for a campus-wide evangelistic mission, “Transformation”, whose student focal point was a giant “walk-through” caterpillar on the Wits Piazza, designed by Lynn Pedersen and built by Wits SCA’s engineering enthusiasts.

Sher’s January 1977 invitation to Houston, a new face and voice in Johannesburg, to offer a series on “The Sermon on the Mount” in the Wits branch, shifted the pattern of theological reception at Wits SCA. The longstanding habit of inviting white, English-speaking graduates from pastorates or university or Bible College faculties around the city, to speak on selected once-off topics focused on the individual’s response to Christ, and linked to SCA’s Basis of Faith, was about to change.<sup>66</sup> Sher’s implementation of Houston’s idea that students “think through” Christian ethics at Wits SCA, in the form of a student-led “Alternative Community” camp, to study Ephesians 4:11-16, marks the historic shift in Wits branch programming because, for the first time students proactively explored the biblical basis of conversion as a communal, counter-cultural “alternative” reality.<sup>67</sup> Records of Wits SCA programmes after 1977 show that the tried and trusted pattern of invitations now changed to include speakers like Caesar Molebatsi of Youth Alive, Dr Rex Van Vuuren of Pretoria, Nat Nkosi of SCM, Rev Willie Dengler of Mayfair Baptist Church, and Dr Cliff Allwood of Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, to address subjects like “Christ and Effects on Campus”, “Social Action”, “Christians’ Social Responsibility”, “Stewardship”, “Problems of Drugs & Prostitution” and “Pastoral Care”.<sup>68</sup> Weinand’s new committee after Sher’s departure, in 1978, specified in their annual invitation to Dr Monty Sholund of Rosebank Bible College, that they wanted a three-week series on Peter “with reference to

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<sup>65</sup> A1.29, Brian Hahn’s Chairman’s Report (July 1977). For an introduction to MacKay’s work, see Donald M. MacKay, *The Open Mind and Other Essays: A Scientist in God’s World*, edited by Melvin Tinker (Leicester: Inter-Varsity: 1988).

<sup>66</sup> SCA’s orientation of branch exposition topics to the doctrines of SCA’s Basis of Faith in the late 1960s and early 1970s was replicated in Intervarsity theme choices in the same period. The Wits committee minutes between 1975 and 1978 repeated the longstanding pattern of Basis of Faith related topics, chosen evidently because presenters effectively grounded students in evangelical theology and spirituality. The following list comprises a selection of items from Wits Committee Minutes, of presenters invited to speak in the first half of 1978, from the First Term Programme Term Card for students: “What is the Gospel?”: Johnston, “Prayer/Quiet Time”: P. Holmes, “Doctrine of Christ: The whole Christian”: J. Reynders, “Authenticity of Scripture”: T. Lagerwey, “Christian Assurance”: W. Smith, “What is the Church?” Rev R. Bendixen, etc.

<sup>67</sup> Sher’s and Truscott’s prescient introduction of the new evangelicalism at Wits long predated Houston’s Kingdom of God series in February-March, 1977, so that by August 1975, when Martin Goldsmith spoke at Wits, Sher’s committee had requested him to speak on topics like: “Is the Missionary an Agent of Colonialism?” and “Is Revolution, Revolutionary Enough?” See H2.5.1, Wits Minutes (1975).

<sup>68</sup> H2.5.1, Wits Minutes (1977-1978).

the group aspect of discipleship”, a sign that the new evangelicalism was beginning to shape what students wanted to explore in Scripture at SCA’s biggest branch.<sup>69</sup>

The thesis question of this study pertains to this significant shift in the discipleship curriculum of SCA, and, related to the context of the late 1970s, this question might be restated as follows: *How far were SCA students around the country applying the theology and spirituality they had learnt in SCA programmes with prophetic integrity to the racial injustices, bannings, detentions and unrestrained violence by the State on the South African people, from the second half of 1977 until July 1979?* This contextual restatement of this study’s main question will now guide the closing narratives.

### **Welcome to Christ’s “Antibody”**

The July 1977 Intervarsity Conference at Cyara with David Bosch marked a healthy turning point towards contextuality in SCA’s national forum. For the next three successive annual July conferences, René Padilla, Ronald Sider, Prof Hugh Philpot and Dr Eddie Mhlanga of the Wentworth Medical School would be the respective invited Bible expositors, all of whom would challenge SCA to receive and integrate a much more contextual evangelical theology.

SCA’s contact with Bosch at UNISA originated with Sheriffs and Stamoolis who visited UNISA in 1974 and 1975 as part of their Theological Studies Fellowship faculty visits; they invited Bosch to speak on “Church as Alternative Society” at the July 1976 Theological Studies Fellowship track of the Pietermaritzburg conference, an invitation that Bosch was not able to take up.<sup>70</sup> Sheriffs then extended the invitation to Intervarsity Conference in July 1977, and this time Bosch accepted.<sup>71</sup> Houston and Johnston in the meanwhile, as has been shown, were inspired by Bosch’s theology and posture at PACLA. Six months later, Houston and John Hewitson, son of Rod Hewitson, and Chairman of SCA’s National Students’ Executive in July 1977, welcomed Bosch to the podium at Cyara for six consecutive days of 90 minute Bible expositions on “The Renewal of Christian Community Today: The Church as Alternative Community”; the conference again attracted only white students from Anglophone and Afrikaans SCA branches around the country, and delegations from Potchefstroom and the white Afrikaans Christelike Studente Vereeniging

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<sup>69</sup> H2.5.1, Wits Minutes (September 1978).

<sup>70</sup> See A1.27, Council Minutes (July 1976).

<sup>71</sup> B6.2.1, Sheriffs’ Staff Report (19 October 1976). Sheriffs also invited Gottfried Osei-Mensah to share the 1977 podium with Bosch.

in Pretoria and Stellenbosch.<sup>72</sup> Bosch's expositions, published later in 1977 in SCA Graduates' Fellowship magazine *Be Transformed*, were delivered on icy winter evenings under the wrap-around open-air veranda at Cyara.<sup>73</sup>

A summary of Bosch's historic SCA expositions was to be published in the *IFES Review* in 1978 and 1979, and after further reflection, Bosch himself published a revised synopsis of the lectures in 1982.<sup>74</sup> Subsequent scholarship of how Bosch's alternative community theology might be understood as a call to the Church to publically engage the injustices of society is extensive.<sup>75</sup> Robust criticism that Bosch's alternative community thesis was a form of idealism, a "Third Way", which would not relate to the poor because it emphasized the "otherness" or "uniqueness" of the church instead of the "church's prophetic function in society", has also been introduced by Anthony Balcomb, and has contributed to much argument as well as fruitful reflection.<sup>76</sup> Further, because the eschatological heart of Bosch's message at Cyara has been twice mentioned, in my introduction of *kairós* in Chapter One, and in the narrative of Bosch's PACLA exposition, and because I have elsewhere treated the significance of Bosch's Cyara expositions as an example of South African "Transformation Theology" in the late-twentieth century,<sup>77</sup> it is not necessary here to analyse his Cyara offerings. In what follows, only a summary of Bosch's theological outline will be sketched. The focus will then shift to how Bosch's ideas were received by SCA students, in particular, which kernels of Bosch's theology and spirituality were internalized by SCA students, on account of historical evidence of their reception.

Bosch meticulously constructed his biblical framework out of two New Testament perspectives - Jesus' ministry in the material conditions of Jesus' times, and Paul's discipleship and theology, in the material conditions of Paul's day. Regarding the first

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<sup>72</sup> The narrative of the 1977 Cyara National Students' Conference is reconstructed from Bosch's message as cited below and interviews with Sheriffs (11 and 28 March 2014), Houston 3 (11 June 2015), Pedersen (10 April 2013) and Rencken (7 August 2015).

<sup>73</sup> See David Bosch, "The Church: The Alternative Community," *Be Transformed: SCA Graduates' Fellowship* (Johannesburg: SCA, 1977).

<sup>74</sup> In the following textual analysis I have worked from David Bosch, "The Church as the Alternative Society Part I, II," *IFES Review*, 2, 1978 and 1, 1979.

<sup>75</sup> Two recent examples introduce the discourse: Willem Saayman, "Alternative Community and Antibody: A Dimension of David Bosch as Public Theologian," *Missionalia: The South African Journal of Mission Studies*, 39, 1/2 (April/August 2011): 5-17, and Cobus van Wyngaard, "The Public Role of the Christian Community in the Work of David Bosch," *Missionalia: The South African Journal of Mission Studies* 39, no. 1 and 2 (April/August 2011): 151-166.

<sup>76</sup> See Anthony Balcomb, *Third Way Theology: Reconciliation, Revolution and Reform in the South African Church During the 1980s* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1993), esp. 186-189. For introductions to the debates see J.N.J. Kritzinger & W. Saayman, *David J. Bosch: Prophetic Integrity, Cruciform Praxis* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2011), esp. 143-146 and Chris Sugden, "Placing Critical Issues in Relief: A Response to David Bosch," in W. Saayman & J.N.J. Kritzinger *Mission in Bold Humility: David Bosch's Work Considered* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), esp. 169.

<sup>77</sup> See my essay "A Theology & Spirituality of Restitution, and the Future of Peacemaking in Southern Africa," forthcoming in a publication of the Anabaptist Network of South Africa.

perspective, Bosch showed Jesus' way of life to be radically counter-cultural, an alternative to the "opportunistic accommodation to the establishment of the Sadducees, or the armed revolution of the Zealots, or the patient passive endurance of the Essenes and the Pharisees."<sup>78</sup> Jesus' way of living involved his founding of an "alternative community" based not on "family, race, people, language, culture, class, political conviction [...] etc." but distinguished by the love and inclusion of "the enemy".<sup>79</sup> And Jesus' life, said Bosch, is presented by the Gospel writers as Jesus' transformation of "the present" because in him prophecies about the Messiah were fulfilled - "the Kingdom of God has come."<sup>80</sup>

Regarding the second perspective, of Paul and "the early Christian church", Bosch showed that their awareness "that a radically new age was inaugurated by Jesus" was so strong, that they understood their corporate identity in Christ as the whole of creation turned upside-down: "a 'new creation' (2 Cor. 5:17; cf. Gal. 6:15; Eph. 4:24) [...] a new world [...] the borderline between the already and the not yet [...] a fragment of the world to come [...] God's colony in man's world, God's experimental garden on earth."<sup>81</sup> Out of this biblical framework of two perspectives Bosch then raised the central questions and key answer that he would expound in the Cyara presentations:

"How does one become a member of the new community? And how does one remain a member? By repentance and conversion."<sup>82</sup>

Thus the heart of Bosch's lectures expounded the meaning of conversion as that miracle of the Holy Spirit in tandem with human responsiveness, which encompasses all of the following transformations: a "turning *from*" as much as a "turning *to*", through the *whole* of the Christian life; a response to "God's moment" or *kairós* in the material conditions of history; a "transfer of loyalty or allegiance" to God's Kingdom; and self denial or "*losing oneself*".<sup>83</sup>

In the remaining narratives of SCA's discipleship tradition in this study, it will be seen that at least three theological emphases of Bosch's theology at Cyara were well received by students and staff in his audience, internalized and applied, with small but notable social impact. First, Bosch's allusion, as in his PACLA version of these lectures, to the "weeping sore" of sin-sick Israel in Old Testament pre-exilic prophecy, which Bosch applied to the white South African church, a wound which he said needed to be "slashed open" if true

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<sup>78</sup> David Bosch, "The Church as the Alternative Society" Part I, *IFES Review*, 2 (1978): 8.

<sup>79</sup> Bosch, "Alternative Society" Part I: 9-10.

<sup>80</sup> Bosch, "The Church as the Alternative Society" Part II, *IFES Review*, 1 (1979): 11.

<sup>81</sup> Bosch's emphasis: "Alternative Society" Part II: 13.

<sup>82</sup> Bosch, "Alternative Society" Part II: 3.

<sup>83</sup> Bosch's emphasis: "Alternative Society" Part II: 3-4.

reconciliation could take place.<sup>84</sup> Second, Bosch's reference to "selective conversion", which passes blame instead of embracing the guilt of structural evil: "The true prophet identifies himself with the sin and guilt of the church."<sup>85</sup> And third, Bosch's exegesis of the alternative community's attitude towards possessions and the poor – where, in a historic occurrence, Bosch twice referred to Catholic theologian, Albert Nolan's recently published *Jesus Before Christianity*<sup>86</sup> as a sound commentary on the "miracle" of getting a convert into the Kingdom, not "with all his possessions, but getting him to give up his possessions."<sup>87</sup> During the following two years after Bosch's expositions, key events in the Association would demonstrate that many in SCA among students and the staff had received, understood, and were beginning to live out what Bosch meant about the lanced "wound" and the prophetic expression of guilt, and about a freer attitude to possessions which is expressed in empathy with the abject poor, all of which Bosch had presented as integral to lifelong conversion into Jesus' alternative community.

In addition, a tiny fragment in Bosch's Cyara expositions which carried the crux of his message also appears to have been heard, noticed, understood, internalized, and then put into practice by some in Bosch's audience in July 1977. This was Bosch's extraordinary coupling of the New Testament's teaching about eschatological hope with Jesus' "salt of the earth" image in Matt. 5:13, to describe the vivifying miracle at work in the church's corporate expectations and intentions - that authentic Christian *life together* necessarily resists, transforms and heals the sin-sick structures of society.<sup>88</sup> Bosch said it this way:

We have to persevere in the hope that we are going to change things; we have to operate silently as an antibody, fighting evil consistently and relentlessly.<sup>89</sup>

Bosch's insight about conversion as an eschatological hope, a quiet yet determined, intentional, *corporate resistance* to the structural evils of society, by being so transformed in life together as to live "antithetically in the world",<sup>90</sup> will be recalled in the narratives

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<sup>84</sup> Significantly, the IFES Review edition of Bosch's lectures edits out this allusion in Bosch's lectures, however, evidence that students' clearly heard and understood Bosch as he made it, will be cited in the narrative below. Also, Lynn Pedersen's notes taken in the lectures, record Bosch at this point expounding: "Reconciliation presupposes an operation – a cutting to the very bone. Reconciliation presupposes a confrontation and an agonizing together." Lynn Pedersen Archive: 37.

<sup>85</sup> Bosch, "Alternative Society" Part II: 10.

<sup>86</sup> Albert Nolan, *Jesus Before Christianity: The Gospel of Liberation* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1977).

<sup>87</sup> Bosch's emphasis: "Alternative Society" Part II: 8, 12. In an equally historic moment for SCA's theological reception Bosch commended SACC Director, Desmond Tutu's theology of weakness, as a sure foundation for learning compassion and true empathy with "the poor, the blind, the lame, the lepers, the hungry, the sinners, those who weep, the sick, the little ones, the widows, et al." See "Alternative Society" Part II: 16 cf. 12.

<sup>88</sup> My allusion to Bonhoeffer's *Life Together* (London: SCM, 1954) is deliberate because Bosch was clearly familiar with it.

<sup>89</sup> Bosch, "Alternative Society," Part II: 16.

<sup>90</sup> Bosch, "Alternative Society," Part II: 9.

that conclude this monograph, and this kernel of Bosch's 1977 Cyara presentations will serve as the point of evaluation of the history narrated in this chapter.

Within two months of the Bosch conference B.J. Vorster's government closed in on South Africa's remaining internal black liberation movement activists, including Steve Biko of the Pan African Congress, who was detained in Port Elizabeth on 18<sup>th</sup> August; just over a fortnight later Biko was dead, after being severely assaulted at Walmer Police Station and transported in gross, inhumane conditions to Pretoria Central Prison, where he died on 12<sup>th</sup> September.<sup>91</sup> By mid-October Vorster's Minister of Justice and Police, Jimmy Kruger, had banned most black community organizations with links to Black Consciousness, like the Black People's Convention, SASO, Black Community Programmes and the *World*, the most widely read African newspaper.<sup>92</sup> Next, Beyers Naudé's offices at Koinonia House in Braamfontein were raided by Vorster's Bureau of State Security, after which Naudé was issued with an immediate five-year banning order; in the days that followed, 80 Black Consciousness leaders were detained without trial at Modder B Prison.<sup>93</sup> *Pro Veritate*, the Journal of the Christian Institute, was banned, newspaper editor Donald Woods and Christian Institute staff Peter Randall, Cedric Mason and Theo Kotze were banned, while Revd. David Russell, working with shack dwellers on the Cape Flats, was banned and placed under house arrest at weekends.<sup>94</sup> In the wake of the bannings, Roman Catholic Bishop Mandlenkosi Zwane gave a similar warning to that of Albert Luthuli two decades earlier – that black youth:

totally rejected God as revealed by what they saw as the white man's Christianity. For them the church in South Africa has been and continues to be part of the oppressive system. Christianity was used as a means to colonise, suppress and alienate the blacks [...] they [believe] that the white man does not understand the language of peace. They view every white man's institution as an instrument of oppression – his industry, his education and his Christianity.<sup>95</sup>

As the Vorster regime irrevocably drew ideological and physical lines of battle against the South African people, small steps towards a prophetic response in small corners of SCA were emerging, as we have seen in Sher's public statement, in the initial students' response to "The Cyara Declaration", and in Johnston's response to Higgs. In the Wits SCA branch a "multiracial-racial group" on Monday afternoons at Wits, which students asked Truscott to facilitate early in 1977, grew steadily prior to the Bosch conference, with a programme that included prayer, Bible study, fundraising for "needy [black] school

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<sup>91</sup> Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders, *South Africa: A Modern History, Fifth Edition* (London, MacMillan, 2000), 454.

<sup>92</sup> Davenport and Saunders, "South Africa: A Modern History," 452-453.

<sup>93</sup> C.F. Beyers Naudé, 'My Seven Lean Years', *JTSA*, 51 (June 1985): 5.

<sup>94</sup> John de Gruchy, "Church Struggle," 109.

<sup>95</sup> Peter Walshe, *Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995), 19.

children”, a “work camp” to help a Soweto primary school replace broken glass in classrooms “damaged last year”, and interracial tennis.<sup>96</sup>

On 1 October 1977, fourteen days before Kruger’s “Black Wednesday” detentions and banning orders, which dealt a blow to Black Consciousness organizations, Steve Truscott attended an interracial conference organized by the Independent African Ministers’ Association of South Africa, at which Bosch and Naudé presented.<sup>97</sup> Truscott’s formative exposure to Black Theology at the IDAMASA conference; the death of Biko, Vorster’s new gamut of bannings and detentions reminding Truscott of Ramaphosa’s imprisonments during 1975 and 1976 that brought a sudden end to their contact and friendship; the banning and house arrest of Naudé on Black Wednesday; and the threat to the safety of a friend of Truscott’s at the *Weekend World* after the *World* newspaper was banned, combined to impress on Truscott the need for a more meaningful response to the deepening crisis.<sup>98</sup> Working with Pedersen, Weinand and the Wits branch, they involved 110 students in bringing the “Rich Man Poor Man Dinner” from UCT to Wits during October 1977; this was not as great a step for Truscott towards contextual involvement, as meeting up again with Frank Chikane after his release from prison,<sup>99</sup> or securing an interview with Naudé, now under house arrest, during which Truscott conversed face to face with him about his theology, so interwoven with his costly discipleship.<sup>100</sup> Remembering this momentous period of ministry, particularly the exigency of responding with integrity to Ramaphosa in the trauma of the apartheid clampdown, Truscott reflected:

I felt very guilty that I never made much effort to visit him in prison, even though, as I later discovered, I would not have had much chance of seeing him, but my sorrow was I never really tried.<sup>101</sup>

Truscott’s remembrance of guilt, like the guilt openly expressed by Sher at Wits and by Moll, Steele and others in the Christian students’ statements after 1976, are notable exceptions in the narratives of this study, in an Association that too often confidently believed it carried the biblical solutions instead of seeing itself as an expression of the biblical problem of racial separation and injustice in the South African Church. Such momentary experiences and expressions of guilt, as Bosch had taught at Cyara from prophetic precedents, are in fact momentous for the narration of this story of spirituality because they demonstrate evidence of true reception and appropriation to South Africa’s context of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Hidden contrition about race abuse in SCA was really

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<sup>96</sup> B6.2.1, Truscott Staff Report (May 1977).

<sup>97</sup> B6.2.1, Truscott Staff Report (October 1977).

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Interview: Sheriffs 1 (11 March 2014).

<sup>100</sup> B6.2.1, Truscott Staff Report (October 1977).

<sup>101</sup> Email: Truscott (3 August 2015).

the seed of repentance. If such seeds were planted, as hidden acts of resistance like those of Sher's, Johnston's, Moll's and Steele's, might they lead to the growth of truly prophetic responses in SCA to the social injustices that white Christians in South Africa had passively abetted for so long? As we have seen, even the mention of repentance in SCA's Basis of Faith was anathema to the most influential group in the SCA Council. Yet without this good seed, prophetic integrity in the Association, at such a time of injustice, would not be possible.

Thus, the first steps towards prophetic involvement in the South African crisis by Johnston, Truscott and other individuals in SCA during the late 70s may be interpreted as just that - individual and private in capacity, because no evidence is yet apparent that anyone in the lower levels of SCA governance corporately confronted the conservative "watch" on SCA's Council, for the Association to take up public theological engagement and oppose Vorster's regime. In other words, up to this time, it might be said that SCA failed to boldly embody Bosch's corporate eschatological expression of conversion and Christian hope, in which the Holy Spirit uses the church as an alternative community to play its healing transformation role as "antibody". Only the determination of a new generation of students with leadership from Martin Oosthuizen at Stellenbosch in 1978, Peter Greenwood at UND, Wilma Jakobsen at UCT in 1979 and Rory Prest at UCT in 1980 would temporarily dismantle the SCA Council's muzzle on the Association's public theological engagement.<sup>102</sup> SCA's failure to publically distance itself from the apartheid regime at this moment is a sobering testimony to the evangelical tradition's "privatization" of faith at a low-point for the Church in the South African struggle for truth, justice and peace.<sup>103</sup>

### **God's Gift of Surgery**

Since SCA constituted its National Students' Committee in 1968, on which Eric Bateman at UCT served as the first student "missions secretary", SCA students had proactively encouraged branches to establish relationships with missionaries and mission agencies, and to send SCA members on work-camps which later became Vac Missions.<sup>104</sup> As discussed in Chapter Four, Vac-Missions were initially planned at Kentani on the Transkei coast and at Roma, Lesotho, to complement SCA's annual discipleship curriculum cycle of

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<sup>102</sup> A1.32, Council Minutes (July 1980): National Council tabled a Third Draft of the students' SCA Declaration deemed it "a responsible document worthy of consideration but which required amendments." As will be seen below, Hewitson would only give final approval for publication in 1981.

<sup>103</sup> My analysis thus accepts the spirit of Kretzschmar, Balcomb and Walker's consensus about privatization or dualism in South African evangelicalism, as introduced in Chapter One. See p. 7.

<sup>104</sup> H 2.1.1, Bateman's Report to NSC (July 1969).



Discipleship Course, Intervarsity Conference, and regional, branch and special interest camps.<sup>105</sup> We also saw in Chapter Four that the first signs of transformation in SCA's understanding of mission were expressed in Johnston's discomfort with the name "Mission Safari" for the students' first Lesotho Vac Mission in 1972. We noted in Chapter Five Houston's instructive role in shaping SCA's mission awareness and involvement after his attendance of the Lausanne Congress. In addition, this chapter showed how PACLA engaged the SCA Executive in the challenge of racial and interpersonal reconciliation, which is at the very heart of Christian mission.

Yet another development of SCA's growing commitment to involve students in contextual mission, after PACLA, was when Truscott, Pedersen and Haddad partnered with Faure and Rita Louw of the Dutch Reformed Church mission hospital at Tshilindzini in Venda, from December 1977. For five consecutive summers, SCA's annual Venda Vac Mission introduced Tukkie's, JCE and Wits SCA students to rural development, primary health care, and the social, political and cultural context of political crisis unfolding between Venda's brutal secret police and leaders of the banned Black People's Convention and other grass roots resistance movements.<sup>106</sup>

In 1978 a number of newer factors converged to further transform SCA's awareness of possibilities for student involvement in mission. In January, J. Andrew Kirk, the British theologian working alongside René Padilla to establish a Latin American Evangelical Theological Association, visited South Africa and stirred Houston with news of the Latin Americans' development of an autochthonous "theology in the third world".<sup>107</sup> Houston had also registered for a UNISA module in missiology in January 1978.<sup>108</sup> New insights from Bosch in this module, in conversation with insights from Kirk, motivated Houston in correspondence with René Padilla ahead of the 1978 July Intervarsity Conference, that Padilla should emphasize *student involvement in mission* in the theme for the conference: "Knowing God and Making Him Known":

On "Making Him Known" the challenge of *world* mission on six continents, the whole church taking the whole gospel to the whole world, or the church crossing frontiers, would be good [...] Thus, the contents of evangelism (the whole gospel) and the contents of mission [...] <sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> H2.1.10.1, NSC Missions Report (June 1969).

<sup>106</sup> H2.5.1, Beverley Haddad Circular to Branch Mission Secretaries (31 August 1977) cf. A1.31 Council Reports (July 1979). I attended the last of these Vac Missions, with staff workers Steve Truscott and Jane de Kock, in December 1981, a fortnight after Tshifhiwa Muofhe's "death in police custody" at Sibasa Police Station. Two weeks after we left Venda, Faure and Rita Louw were deported in 24 hours, for their pastoral support of Muofhe, Tshenuwani Farisani, and other Venda leaders of the banned Black Peoples' Convention: Interview: Faure and Rita Louw (17 November 2012).

<sup>107</sup> B4.1.4, Houston to Padilla (1 May 1978).

<sup>108</sup> B6.2.1, Houston Staff Report (February 1978).

<sup>109</sup> Houston's emphasis. B4.1.4, Houston to Padilla (1 May 1978).

Just ahead of the 1978 July conference, Houston, who was now stand-in editor of “Be Transformed,” published a first edition after a three-year gap, titled “Liberation Theology”, which included papers by Padilla and Dr A.J. Van Wyk of Turfloop, and formed the basis for searching discussions between students and Padilla during the Theological Students’ Fellowship track at the conference.<sup>110</sup> The July conference was attended by 200 students. Seminar presenters included Hank and Cathy Pott of the University of Rhodesia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, whose seminars widened white South African student horizons to situations beyond South African borders.<sup>111</sup> Two U.S. students on Intervarsity’s short-term Students in Mission Programme, Larry Bell and Sue Markley, attended the Conference, and had lengthy discussions with Houston and Gow about the curriculum of their U.S. short-term missions training.<sup>112</sup> In response to SCA’s missions thrust at the July 1978 Intervarsity Conference, Gow and Houston felt the time was right to approach Council for SCA to start its own cross-cultural short-term missions’ programme, SCAMP, in 1979.<sup>113</sup> The SCAMP programme sent off its first group of short-term missions students at the end of 1979, and would become one of SCA’s truly contextual discipleship programmes by the mid-1980s.

It has been seen that only a few individuals in SCA could respond to the *kairós* invitations of the bannings and detentions of 1977 by taking first steps towards prophetic integrity. The itinerary of René Padilla’s visit to South Africa, from 1<sup>st</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> July 1978 might be seen as yet another *kairós* invitation that sounded loud and long throughout the Association, inviting students, staff, graduates and Council, through Padilla’s written challenge in “Be Transformed”, and through his Bible expositions and regional seminars, to rediscover the life-transforming liberation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.<sup>114</sup> Besides his appointment at the Cyara conference, Padilla spoke at Pretoria, Johannesburg, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, Stellenbosch and Cape Town SCA branches, and in regional Graduates’ Fellowship meetings. Before returning to Buenos Aires he was hosted in Cape Town by Houston and Duncan Fraser, newly elected Chairman of the Western Cape Region, to facilitate a Graduates’ Fellowship seminar titled, “The Contextualization of the Gospel”.

<sup>110</sup> B4.1.4, Houston to Padilla (1 May 1978) cf. Padilla, “Liberation Theology,” *Be Transformed*, 2, 1 (July 1978).

<sup>111</sup> B6.2.1, Houston Staff Report (February 1978).

<sup>112</sup> B4.1.4, Gow to Stamoolis (July 1978).

<sup>113</sup> See Interview: Houston 3 (11 June 2015). “Missions thrust” is a term I recall hearing and using myself, common SCA parlance in the early 1980s, especially following Gow and Houston’s example. The metaphor typified SCA’s language about evangelism and mission, and identifies the Association’s self-understanding within the Christendom paradigm of mission. Examples from the mid-70s, among many are: B6.2.1, Vaughan, Travelling Secretary’s Newsletter (1 October 1974): “Met three Hindu students interested in Christianity [...] please pray for these students and for the continued evangelistic thrust of this group in a difficult situation”, and Houston Staff Report (March 1977): “The thrust of the SCA Branch is easily dissipated...” Emphasis added.

<sup>114</sup> This paragraph is constructed from Gow’s letter to Sheriffs, finalizing Padilla’s forthcoming itinerary in the Eastern Cape. See B4.1.4 Gow to Sheriffs (2 May 1978).

Evidence for SCA's reception of Padilla's theology and spirituality has been difficult to find. A letter of thanks from Houston<sup>115</sup> and mention of a student paper called "Contextualization of the Gospel" about the "biblical rationale" for contextualization presented by Peter Moll at SCA's Chairperson's Conference in Port Elizabeth in December 1978, which was inspired by Padilla's Cape Town Graduates' presentation, are the only sources found.<sup>116</sup> Therefore, my historical hunch that Padilla's ministry constituted a *kairós* invitation to SCA rests on three fragments of evidence. Firstly, on Houston's high praise:

Words are an inadequate medium for conveying our gratitude to you for your life and ministry among us over 4 weeks [...] Reports have been coming in from different parts of the country concerning your ministry and they have all been favourable. I saw Nico Smith last weekend in Cape Town and he particularly appreciated what you said at the Seminary...<sup>117</sup>

Secondly, the controversy which Moll's paper on a biblical rationale for contextualizing the Gospel apparently caused at the Port Elizabeth Chairperson's Conference, suggests healthy debate as students negotiated their reception of Padilla's ideas.<sup>118</sup> Most substantially, my assumption that Padilla's SCA visit was a *kairós* invitation rests on the remarkable content of Padilla's Cape Town seminar, which was addressed to SCA Council members, graduates, staff and students, the full text of which was later published.<sup>119</sup> What follows is an appraisal of Padilla's provocative message to representatives of all levels of SCA in the seminar.

Padilla wanted SCA to be challenged by the meaning of Jesus' incarnation for the task of spreading the Gospel, particularly the way Jesus' ministry modelled congruency between [1] hermeneutics - interpreting Scripture, [2] contextual communication - carrying the Gospel message into a geographical, cultural situation, and [3] contextual enculturation - how those transformed by Christ appropriated his message into their everyday experience. In each of these sections of his seminar Padilla's ideas may have been discomfiting for more than a few in the "conservative seats" of the audience. This same group may easily have recognized themselves in Padilla's description of the "common ordinary Christian" who believes knowledge of God is "communicated directly from the

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<sup>115</sup> B4.1.4, Houston to Padilla (18 August 1978).

<sup>116</sup> B4.1.4, Martin Oosthuizen's "Summary of Talks Given at Chairperson's Conference" (3 December 1978), 3-4 cf. Interview: Moll (28 April 2015).

<sup>117</sup> B4.1.4, Houston to Padilla (18 August 1978).

<sup>118</sup> NSC Chairperson, Martin Oosthuizen, decided not to include a summary of Moll's paper, nor proceedings of the workshop, along with his summaries of all other parts of the Chairperson's conference. He mentioned that "no consensus" was reached in Moll's workshop, and invited any chairperson to write to him for a copy of Moll's paper. See B4.1.4 Oosthuizen, "Summary of Talks ...," 4.

<sup>119</sup> See C. René Padilla, "The Contextualization of the Gospel," *JTSA*, no. 24 (September 1978): 12-30 cf. Photo Archive: 0245 Gow to Padilla (Itinerary).

mind of God to the human mind through the sacred writings”, without involving the hearer’s pre-existing theology, cultural assumptions and emotional life experience.<sup>120</sup> Disconcertingly, Padilla challenged a view of Gospel reception governed by reason. Even more disconcertingly, he was careful to mention only British and American evangelicals as his sources, to the almost exclusively white Cape Town audience:

God’s Word reaches us through our worldview, understanding, culture, or not at all [...] the Word of God cannot be understood apart from the cultural and linguistic situation in which it was originally given [and, mentioning and quoting Robert Blaikie] the Cartesian divorce between subject and object which characterises Western epistemology [...] has resulted in “secular Christianity.”<sup>121</sup>

Padilla fleshed out what he meant by the rational hermeneutics of this “secular Christianity” by simply quoting the American evangelical, Arthur F. Holmes:

The Knowledge of God is personal and therefore inseparable from life in community. No one knows God in isolation from his neighbour [...] The fullness of the message of Jesus Christ is not the private property of one segment of the Church [...] it belongs to the totality of the Church [...] The knowledge of God [...] involves the emotions as well as reason [...] The knowledge of God [...] takes place in the context of our bodily existence in the world.<sup>122</sup>

In his deliberately British-North American referencing Padilla would have ruffled no small number of SCA graduates who had contended tooth and nail in the 1960s over each doctrinal point of SCA’s Basis of Faith, and who had quietly or not so quietly opposed Johnston, Houston and Sheriffs’ integration of Bürki’s “encounter” approach to Scripture in SCA’s now indigenous discipleship course curriculum.<sup>123</sup> More provocative still, was Padilla’s next section of the seminar, in which he challenged SCA to transform its understanding of evangelism and mission, and embrace the Bible’s call for contextualized communication:

The whole Bible is an eloquent witness to God’s purpose to meet man and to converse with him in his concrete historical situation [...] Without a translation that goes beyond the words to break into the raw material of life in the receiving culture, the Gospel is fantasy [...] To contextualize the Gospel is so to translate it that the lordship of Jesus Christ is not an abstract principle or a mere doctrine, but the determining factor of life in all its dimensions, the basic criterion by which all the cultural values that form the very substance of human life are evaluated [...] [and] because intercultural communication

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<sup>120</sup> Padilla, “The Contextualization of the Gospel”: 13.

<sup>121</sup> Padilla, “The Contextualization of the Gospel”: 14-15. See Robert J. Blaikie in his *Secular Christianity and the God Who Acts* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1970).

<sup>122</sup> Padilla, “The Contextualization of the Gospel”: 17-18.

<sup>123</sup> B4.1.4, One of these Council members, writing a letter of complaint about the ministry of Sheriffs and Germond to Bill Houston in March 1978, and copying Robin Wells and Murray Hofmeyr, wrote a note to Hofmeyr in pen on Hofmeyr’s copy: “Deryck and Paul are products of the Discipleship Course; can we infer that that course is leading to a preoccupation with personal experience etc.? It doesn’t seem to be encouraging an outward and vigorous approach. Perhaps the shadow of Bürki still hangs over us!? I will keep you in the picture.”

includes the “sum total of human differences [...] evangelization cannot be reduced to the repetition of literally translated doctrinal formulae, whose success has been demonstrated in other latitudes.”<sup>124</sup>

Unbeknown to most in the SCA audience, Padilla, in July 1978, was nearing the climax of a heated debate across the evangelical world which would be consequential for his career in IFES – a debate about which way to evangelize; he, Escobar, Kirk and others, as we have seen in Chapter Four, unabashedly opposed the extremely influential theologians at Fuller Seminary’s School of Missions, who subscribed to the homogeneous unit principle of church growth.<sup>125</sup> In Cape Town, in the midst of this international debate (hidden to nearly all South Africans in the audience), Padilla audaciously invited a homogenous, white, evangelical Association to permit the Gospel to turn SCA’s understanding of its own identity and its methods of mission upside down - to be re-imaged by the culturally incarnate Christ into a more African, cross-cultural Association, in order to be true to the task of cross-cultural mission that lay ahead.

In his section on contextual enculturation of the Gospel, Padilla went on to describe *three consequent symptoms* from his Latin American experience, of what he called the “endemic theological anaemia” of “Third World” evangelicalism. He focused on these symptoms, apparently hoping they would be recognized in the South African evangelical experience, especially in SCA. As it happens each of his points would be apt: [1] The Latin American Church has no autochthonous theology, which means “it has no theological reflection of its own”;<sup>126</sup> [2] Like the homogeneous Church Growth theologians, Latin Americans have separated evangelism from theology, worship and life;<sup>127</sup> and [3] The consequences in Latin America are: [a] a decontextualized, cultural Christianity whose theology and spirituality are a “Xerox copy of theology made in Europe or North America,” [b] The church is unable “to withstand the ideologies of the day”, and [c] The Church loses its second and third generation Christians.<sup>128</sup> If many in the seminar were not seeing themselves and SCA more clearly in the mirror held up by Padilla, their hearts and minds were elsewhere, absent to God’s *kairós* moment in their midst, transforming the time.

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<sup>124</sup> Padilla, “The Contextualization of the Gospel”: 19. In his final assertion, Padilla cited David J. Hesselgrave, the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary missiologist.

<sup>125</sup> This debate was to reverberate through both the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> General Assemblies of IFES in 1975 and 1979 respectively, at which Padilla presented his controversial papers, respectively, “What is the Gospel?” and “The Contextualization of the Gospel”. The climax came in November 1979 at the Second Latin American Congress of Evangelization where the Latin Americans declared evangelization to be inseparable from a prophetic Christian response to social and political liberation, poverty, corruption and power abuses in society. See Padilla, “Mission Between the Times,” viii-ix and Daniel Salinas, *Latin American Evangelical Theology in the 1970’s: The Golden Decade* (Leiden, Brill, 2009), 163-187. I am also grateful to Vinoth Ramachandra for his insights, shared by email, into Padilla’s consequential IFES deliberations.

<sup>126</sup> Padilla, “The Contextualization of the Gospel”: 21-23.

<sup>127</sup> Padilla, “The Contextualization of the Gospel”: 24-25.

<sup>128</sup> Padilla, “The Contextualization of the Gospel”: 26-28.

Padilla closed with his challenge about how to contextually acculturate the Good news. Disquietingly perhaps for some present, he employed the surgical metaphor of his close colleague and fellow pioneer of the new evangelicalism, Hans Bürki:

The first decisive operation of the Gospel in confronting culture-man with God is to cut him free from his cultural umbilical chord.<sup>129</sup>

Padilla's conclusion was that only in relating "the Word of God" to the "context [which] is the concrete historical situation" in "obedience to Christ" would the surgical excision of God's Spirit transform Christian spirituality which has accommodated itself to an unjust culture and society, into the counter-cultural Christian interruption that is the mark of God's new creation:

The truly indigenous Church, is the one that through death and resurrection with Christ embodies the Gospel within its own culture. It adopts a way of being, thinking and acting in which its own cultural patterns are transformed and fulfilled by the Gospel. [...] The contextualization of the Gospel will not consist of an adaption of an existing theology to a given culture. [...] The contextualization of the Gospel can only be a gift of grace granted by God to a church that is seeking to place the totality of life under the lordship of Christ in its historical situation.<sup>130</sup>

Padilla's arresting use of the image of endemic theological anaemia and Bürki's visceral image of surgical delivery, during the Cape Town seminar, echo four of SCA's recent *kairós* invitations – Tshifhiwa Muofhe's diagnosis of a "sick society" in 1975; "The SCM Declaration's" identification of the demonic and South Africa's need for deliverance; Hans Bürki's invitation for a modern reevaluation of the ancient ministry of exorcism at PACLA, and Bosch's incisive application of Israel's "weeping sore," in his July 1977 challenge at Cyara. In this way Padilla's presentation, astutely theological as it was, can be understood as yet another *kairós* invitation to prophetic integrity. It was a prayerful, masterfully executed clinical examination of SCA, in the hope that the Association might hear, see and understand that the endemic theological anaemia of Third World evangelicalism diagnosed SCA's spiritual and theological pathology. Like Bosch and Bürki at PACLA, and less obviously, the SCM students before them, Padilla was gently offering a prescription to the Association to make a clean break from any cultural accommodation to apartheid's injustices, in an culturally authentic, prophetic, visible expression of Christian conversion.

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<sup>129</sup> Padilla, "The Contextualization of the Gospel": 29 cf. Hans Bürki "The Gospel and Human Culture" in *IFES General Committee 1975* (Lausanne: IFES, 1975): 8-9.

<sup>130</sup> Padilla, "The Contextualization of the Gospel": 29-30.

## New Evangelicalism in Student Hands

The second half of 1978 was a political watershed for South Africa. On 28<sup>th</sup> September B.J. Vorster's administration crumbled in the political tsunami of the Information Scandal, and Parliament elected the Nationalist Government Minister of Defence, Pieter Willem Botha, to the Prime Minister's office.<sup>131</sup> Botha immediately appointed General Magnus Malan, previously in charge of the South African Defence Force, as Minister of Defence.<sup>132</sup> Malan, who had graduated from a U.S. military academy and served briefly in the Algerian war, seconded to the French army, where he had proved his training in French, Israeli and Taiwanese counterinsurgency strategies, would introduce into Nationalist Party circles the idea of "total strategy", to match Botha's idea of "total onslaught".<sup>133</sup> This ideology would drag South Africa closer to the brink of anarchy in the next eleven years, as the military occupation of Black Group Areas and state violence against ordinary South Africans became Botha and Malan's signature to counter the ANC military wing's intensifying armed liberation struggle. In 1978 Vorster's secret Bureau of State Security was dismantled and Botha reinstated a parliamentary committee called the State Security Council, which he had previously chaired, but which the Vorster administration had prevented from convening; the Council, chaired by a general in the SADF, would gradually circumvent parliamentary decisions, even cabinet advice, and wield increasing power, especially outside of parliamentary season, to authorize military support for police in the townships or cross-border military "raids".<sup>134</sup>

The situation in many Churches in the second half of 1978 was equally fraught. That October, the Synod of the DRC responded to an invitation from its three "daughter" denominations to reconcile, with a blank refusal to break with racial divisions of the past.<sup>135</sup> In response, Beyers Naudé terminated his membership of the DRC and joined the Black Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika.<sup>136</sup> Naudé exemplified the vicarious guilt of the prophet; at the same time Naudé took up a prophetic identification with the outcast, the poor and the weak.

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<sup>131</sup> Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2001), 217.

<sup>132</sup> Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 217.

<sup>133</sup> See Richard Dale, *The Namibian War of Independence: Diplomatic, Economic and Military Campaigns*, (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, 204), 101.

<sup>134</sup> Rodney Davenport and Christopher Sanders, *South Africa: A Modern History, Fifth Edition* (London, MacMillan, 2000), 460. Also see Peter Vale, "Pretoria and Southern Africa: From Manipulation to Intervention," *South African Review*, 1. (1983): 13.

<sup>135</sup> Naudé, "My Seven Lean Years": 13.

<sup>136</sup> "I could no longer, with peace of mind, and with a clear conscience remain a member of a church which had deliberately rejected the plea of the fruit of its own mission to unite into one non-racial confessional church across all the boundaries of racial and ethnic disunity." See Naudé, "My Seven Lean Years," 13.

By contrast, in the July SCA Council of 1978 a new debate about participation in SACLA had arisen in response to the Reformed grouping's knee-jerk "ecumenical *gevaar*" argument.<sup>137</sup> Disquiet in the conservative "watch" of Council about SACLA's insufficiently strong statement about the authority of Scripture and the absence of a clause on "atonement and justification by faith" in its "Aims and Basis," heated the arguments.<sup>138</sup> The real point at issue in this corner of SCA, as we have seen since 1973, was the Reformed group's longstanding, unfounded contention about the "ecumenism" of Michael Cassidy and Africa Enterprise, and, seeing that the SACC and Bishop Desmond Tutu were co-organizers of SACLA, their renewed agitation is unsurprising.

Bill Houston had been involved since more than a year previously in David Bosch's planning committee, conceptualizing the student leaders' "track" of SACLA.<sup>139</sup> Houston, anticipating controversy in SCA Council, had secured permission from SCA's National Executive, provided he contributed to SACLA in his "private" capacity.<sup>140</sup> Council debate, like before the 1973 Congress of Evangelism and Mission, must have generated more heat than light, showing that too many in the Association's highest decision making body had not yet comprehended the new evangelicalism of Lausanne and PACLA regarding co-operation in evangelism and mission. Their dogmatic stance can be deduced from the strong assumption in documents emerging from the SCA Chairperson's Conference at Vital Link, Port Elizabeth in December 1978, that student participation at SACLA did not have the official blessing of SCA Council.<sup>141</sup> After lengthy discussions with Chairpersons at Vital Link, NSC Chairman, Martin Oosthuizen wrote to the Council to address the matter. He acknowledged what SCA Council called "shortcomings of the SACLA Basis", promised to "obviate the dangers" by ensuring that only a "judicious choice" of students would be sent, and promised to prepare "students theologically so that the [SCA Council's anticipated] challenges to the SCA Basis of Faith will not catch them unawares".<sup>142</sup>

Divergent opinions between the students at the lowest level of SCA governance and the Reformed members of Council at the top are evident in two outstanding sets of statements in Oosthuizen's 1978 Chairperson's Conference Report and Memo to Council. These statements show that young leaders in the Association were beginning to internalize Bosch's challenge at Cyara, to understand and work out the eschatological dimension of conversion, and to prophetically challenge SCA Council to address the social,

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<sup>137</sup> A1.30, Council Minutes (July 1978) refer to arguments being "fully ventilated".

<sup>138</sup> A1.30, Council Minutes (July 1978) Item 78/21.

<sup>139</sup> B6.2.1, Houston Staff Report (February 1978).

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> For example: Photo Archive: 387: Oosthuizen to SCA Council (3 December 1978).

<sup>142</sup> Oosthuizen to SCA Council (3 December 1978). Martin Oosthuizen's theological acumen would have been shaped as strongly by his theological formation at Stellenbosch University, as by his leadership and experience in SCA.



political injustices of South Africa's current crisis. First, Oosthuizen included a summary report of a workshop on "Social Action" facilitated by UCT Chairperson, Bruce Moles. The workshop had presented robust biblical theology of social engagement, related boldly to "unjust structures" in South Africa, particularly to "not having blacks in the churches and apartheid so embodied in law"; Moles came to some gentle yet, for an SCA student, radical conclusions:

Our understanding of the gospel lies at the heart of the problem. We divide and compartmentalize [...] Look at the life of Jesus, what He *said* and what He *did* [...] What role has the Christian or SCA in particular in involvement in structural changes in society? [...] We should point out the situations that are contrary to Scripture and tell the relevant folk that we're praying they'll realize that and show the right way by our example [...] Our responsibility is to inform the Church [...] about the stand we make.<sup>143</sup>

Second, as Martin Oosthuizen persuaded the Council of all the good reasons for SCA students to be at SACLA in July 1979, more evidence of internalization by students of Bosch's invitation to corporately embody the gospel of reconciliation is evident:

We regret deeply the *rifts between SCA, SCM, VCS and ACSV*. SACLA, we feel, could help us work towards our aim of having one evangelical student body in South Africa [...] We note that the church in South Africa is split along doctrinal lines. That is unfortunate. However, there is another, possibly more unfortunate division, namely that along racial lines. This is not "Kingdom stuff"; rather, it is South African society in microcosm. And if a racially fractured society is bad, *a racially fractured church* is doubly bad [...]

For too long we have been cheerfully dispensing cheap grace by glossing over differences and conflicts between black and white. *The time has come for costly grace – reconciliation* which presupposes an agonizing together, a confrontation, an operation, a cutting to the very bone without anaesthetic. As David Bosch says, the infection is not just on the surface – the abscess of hate, mistrust and fear between black and white, nation and nation, rich and poor, has to be slashed open.<sup>144</sup>

Not only had Oosthuizen applied Bosch's wound image to the sick state of the South African Church, and SCA within it, but in a historic event in SCA's theological reception, he introduced the Council to a contextual application of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Cost of Discipleship*, foregrounding for many, perhaps for the first time, the idea that God's grace might be "cheapened".<sup>145</sup> In the final argument of his letter, Oosthuizen showed he had more than pondered Bosch's understanding of *kairós* - the Kingdom of God breaking into time to reconfigure converts to Jesus Christ into God's new creation:

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<sup>143</sup> Oosthuizen, "Summary of Talks," 6.

<sup>144</sup> Oosthuizen's emphases. Oosthuizen to Council (3 December 1978).

<sup>145</sup> See Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (London: SCM, 1967). The only other mention of Bonhoeffer retrieved in the archival selection for this study was Rolf Stumpf's inquiry of Johnston in February 1976, whether Johnston had read *Cost of Discipleship*. Johnston replied, "I have not read "Cost of Discipleship" although it has been on my list of books to read for some time. Your comment has given me fresh incentive to get hold of it [...]" See B4.1.4, Johnston to Stumpf (23 February 1976).

We are much moved by passages like Ephesians 2 and Galatians 3 which show Christ breaking down enmity. We of SCA desperately need to live in that “new world” (2 Corinthians 5:17), which means, as Bosch observes, that the church is the only community on earth that belongs to that new order where “justice is at home” (2 Peter 3:13). “God’s kingdom of justice” (Matt. 6:33) is not yet sufficiently evident in our midst and it is for these profoundly scriptural reasons that we aim for a wholehearted yet sober involvement in SACLA.<sup>146</sup>

Oosthuizen, contrary to Balcomb’s later critique that Bosch’s alternative community theology was idealistic rather than prophetic,<sup>147</sup> drew clearly prophetic conclusions from Bosch’s eschatology. Oosthuizen also transformed Bosch’s conclusions into one of the rare prophetic *kairós* invitations ever made to SCA’s reactionary Council. The biblical truths that SCA’s conservative “watch” could either receive or reject in Oosthuizen’s memo would also have pleased René Padilla, as an example of culturally authentic, contextual theology, proclaiming God’s in-breaking kingdom to the ailing condition of SCA, in the critical material conditions of South Africa, at the end of 1978.

If the Council had not heard of the new evangelicalism by now, they were offered a first taste in these two sets of statements from the younger generation of evangelical leaders in their midst - Moles’ challenge to prophetic social action in his workshop and Oosthuizen’s theologically inspired commendation of the value of SACLA, which arose in the same spirit as many previous *kairós* invitations documented in this study. Poignantly, in the right hand margin of the copy of Oosthuizen’s memo are two handwritten words in blue ballpoint pen, which may aptly summarize a cerebral, heartless response by many on the SCA Council to the Oosthuizen’s appeal for SCA to open itself to God’s gift of spiritual, emotional, cultural and political surgery and to the work of the Holy Spirit that is required for prophetic integrity. The handwritten words uncomprehendingly judged Oosthuizen’s paragraphs - “Emotive language”.<sup>148</sup>

SCA student priorities emerging from the 1978 Chairperson’s Conference reveal a new generation of young SCA leaders increasingly determined to engage with “political” matters in general, and to bridge the silence from SCM and broach the subject of unity with all SCA’s sister associations in particular, and to gently yet determinedly “take a stand” together for truth and justice vis-à-vis SCA’s obdurate governors. During 1979, new such initiatives by like-minded staff and students were to draw the association closer towards a discipleship-training curriculum that might foster prophetic integrity.

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<sup>146</sup> Oosthuizen to Council (3 December 1978)

<sup>147</sup> Anthony Balcomb, *Third Way Theology: Reconciliation, Revolution and Reform in the South African Church During the 1980s* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1993), esp. 186-189.

<sup>148</sup> Oosthuizen to Council (3 December 1978).

Moshe Rajuile's return to South Africa from St John's College, Nottingham in June 1978, to work as an SCM staff worker in the adjoining offices with SCA and Scripture Union at Leisk House, Harrison Street, Johannesburg, was one of the factors that contributed to a thaw in relationships between SCA and SCM students. While Black Consciousness still held sway among SCM students and brutal police action against black students' freedom of political association made the SCM student executive suspicious of agreeing to subscribe to IFES' evangelical Basis of Faith, there was growing contact between students on the ground in Johannesburg and Soweto, as we have seen, and in the Eastern Cape, encouraged by new friendships between SCM and SCA staff.<sup>149</sup>

A brief survey of SCA's key moments of theological reception during 1979 in SCA's established discipleship tradition is an apt way to close the in depth narrative of this Chapter. In January 1979, after SCA's annual Staff Conference, the Association presented its first January "Campus-by-the-Sea", a Bible teaching fortnight held at the Kalk Bay Bible Institute in Cape Town, presented by Jim Stamoolis who had returned to SCA from Princeton, Deryck Sheriffs, who now lectured with Prof Albert Geysler at the Wits Department of Religious Studies,<sup>150</sup> Penny Cooper, and SCA Cape Town Graduates like John Child. At the same time the Association presented its three-week January 1979 Mountain Lodge Discipleship Course in the Transvaal.<sup>151</sup> The diverse streams of Christian theology and spirituality that have been identified in this study were now being channelled into SCA's expanding discipleship curriculum.

The January Discipleship Course at Mountain Lodge welcomed new SCA staff, Kevin and Kathy Garcia from Intervarsity Fellowship in the United States and Andy Judge, who was recently back from Oriel College Oxford. Lynn Pedersen, Hank and Cathy Pott, Houston, Truscott and Johnston completed the leadership team.<sup>152</sup> This was the first Discipleship Course since Maphumulo in 1973 without Stuart Vaughan, who had left South Africa to study theology at Regent College, in British Columbia. Unlike the previous two Mountain Lodge Discipleship Courses in 77 and 78, one black student participated, in the person of SCM's NSC Vice-Chairperson, for the full three weeks.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> A1.30, Council Minutes (July 1978). Houston, Johnston, Rajuile and their families would defy the Group Areas Act and meet in Soweto or the Johannesburg suburbs regularly. See Interview: Eunice Rajuile (19 June 2014).

<sup>150</sup> A1.30, Council Minutes (July 1978), 78/9. Houston's idea for Campus-by-the-Sea originated with an August 1977 visit from Clive Sinclair of the Scottish IVF, now working with Scripture Union in Zambia, who told Bill about Scotland's two-week Bible School. Bill passed on Sinclair's ideas in a Memo to Staff, and discussions for a similar programme began. See B4.1.4, Houston's Memo to Staff (August 1977).

<sup>151</sup> A1.31, Council Reports (July 1979).

<sup>152</sup> The 1979 Mountain Lodge Discipleship Course narrative is reconstructed from records in H2.1.10.2, and Interviews: Stephen Granger (12 March 2013) and Richard Steele (6 May 2015).

<sup>153</sup> A1.31, Council Minutes (July 1979), 79/12.5

Johnston taught Christian meditation and the programme included a daily manuscript study in Mark's Gospel facilitated by Hank Pott. Input from all the staff touched on the usual themes of identity, home background, embodiment and sexuality, race, the insight into following Jesus in Chandapilla's *The Master Trainer*, and the current South African crisis. Truscott facilitated his regular movement slot and Johnston's pair-exercise on embodiment of "power" in relationships helped students to ground an otherwise cerebral concept in their experience. Robust "dialogue sessions" between Johnston and Reformed student Jeremy Ive opened "meaty" debates around a central theme of the course – the interplay between reason, intuition and the sub-conscious, between the supernatural charismata and the material conditions of family, culture and society.<sup>154</sup> In these ways, SCA's goal to integrate the personal and corporate dimensions of Christ-following by learning from the Gospel-as-*kairós* event, had now become the hallmark of the Discipleship Course tradition, as the following memories of senior UCT students, Stephen Granger and Richard Steele affirm:

[The course] ground[ed] my spirituality in something solid which has stood the test of time, including critical and intellectual doubts and debates [...] and seeing the shadow side of faith [...] what I got was really grappling with Scriptures [...] in order to get to the meat [...] Discipleship Course [...] has given me tolerance and understanding that there are so many different ways. I certainly have a tendency to embrace ecumenism and to work with other faiths. But the joy of learning from Jewish, Muslim traditions, I think, is what Jim [Johnston] was telling us. That different people have different things to offer. I guess that was teaching us humility, instead of pride. Perhaps the most important lesson is the importance of prayer.

Stephen Granger

The Discipleship Course was significant for me because of the integration of the emotional, psychological, political and social.

Richard Steele

That Ron Sider, the Anabaptist Scholar and founder of *Sojourners Magazine*, was invited to present five Bible expositions on "Simple Lifestyle" with many references to his published *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger*, at the Cyara Intervarsity Conference of July 1979, demonstrates the responsiveness of the staff and students in SCA's Executive, Martin Oosthuizen and Bill Houston, to David Bosch's challenge in 1977, to engage the affront of affluence, and work out the implications for discipleship of Jesus' preferential companionship of the weak, dispossessed, marginalized and poor. Sider's spirituality and theology had a mixed reception in SCA, ranging from radical openness to transformed thinking among most students, to gentle or more dogmatic scepticism.<sup>155</sup> But many

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<sup>154</sup> See Granger (12 March 2013).

<sup>155</sup> Scepticism towards Sider arising from exposure to the raw poverty of Cape Town's "squatter" communities led Steele to conclude: "I remember the front cover of his book, with him standing with his foot on the front bumper of his Volkswagen Beetle, in front of a row of an inner city tenement buildings – an example of "simple living" in the American context, but a

students were engaged by Jesus' call to a social as well as personal conversion. Stephen Granger recalls the significance of Sider for this group:

It was serious times. Boys on the border were fighting killing people. People were facing a year or two in jail. Our friends were in the process of doing that, for not serving. Aidy Patterson and myself both faced court-marshals and court cases. Ron Begbie was also in our community house [...] Mark Swilling was actually at that SCA conference at Cyara, a Wits student, very bright who also hung on Ron Sider's words, and on social justice issues.<sup>156</sup>

Conscription, and recent participation in the SADF's follow-up "camps" to national service by Andy Sieborger of Smuts Hall, UCT, and Andy Judge, both visible SCA leaders, on the one hand, and the public stand of equally prominent Moll and Steele at UCT, who were C.5.54 court-martialled for refusing military service, on the other, made 1979 a lively year in SCA circles for debate about accommodating or resisting apartheid culture.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore, SCA students' increased readiness to contextualize the Gospel is reflected in the co-option of Richard Steele onto the National Students' Executive of SCA in July 1979, to promote "Jubilee Groups" among students, "simple lifestyle" workshops and SCA's "Rich Man Poor Man Dinners" throughout the Association, and to work with Paul Germond to prepare Bible study materials based on Ron Sider's July Conference expositions. In addition, SCA staff, Keith Matthee and Kevin Garcia in Natal reported to Houston that students like Trevor Gorven in Pietermaritzburg wanted Sam Bhuti, Alan Boesak, Stanley Magoba or Desmond Tutu to be invited to SCA's 1980 Conference as speaker.<sup>158</sup>

Resistance to such ideas in the Council would be counterbalanced by a growing openness to engage social issues, and plans for welcoming SCM to the 1980 conference meant that a compromise had to be reached. Thus, invitations were extended to Baptist missionary physician, Hugh Philpot, and Dr Eddie Mhlanga of Wentworth Medical School, to speak at Cyara in July 1980.<sup>159</sup> These very mixed responses in different sectors of SCA to new initiatives to engage South Africa's spiralling socio-political crisis, showed that Sider's

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display of wealth in any other context!" Interview: Steele (6 May 2015). A more dogmatic scepticism typical of many in the more Reformed quarters of SCA is illustrated in correspondence between a past member of SCA staff and a member of Council in 1982, looking back on the Ron Sider conference. On 31 February 1982 the former staff member sent a gift copy of David Chilton's *Productive Christians in an Age of Guilty Manipulators* with the following note: "Dear [...] I saw this book and it reminded me of some of the conversations we had." To which the Council member replied, "I should like to thank you most sincerely for your kind thought and generosity in sending me a copy of the book [...] I know I shall read it with great interest as it would appear at first sight to do something to restore the imbalance created in many circles as a result of Ron Sider's writings ...," B4.1.5.

<sup>156</sup> Granger (12 March 2013).

<sup>157</sup> So B4.1.4, Andy Sieborger to Houston (19 October 1976)\*, B6.2.1 Judge's Letter to Staff (March 1978) cf. Interviews: Steele (6 May 2015) and Moll (28 April 2015).

<sup>158</sup> B6.2.2, Garcia Staff Report (July 1979) Garcia ended his report about Gorven's ideas with the challenge "Are we in SCA, ready to let black Christians have the floor for five days?"

<sup>159</sup> H2.1.1, NSC Minutes (July 1979).

theological challenge to the Association had at least been received and was now being appropriated for action, with often reactionary results.<sup>160</sup>

Evangelical students' strengthening resolve to engage the prophetic implications of Jesus' Good News in 1979 is further illustrated by Martin Oosthuizen's welcome to Mbuyiseli Deliwe, the student Chairperson of SCM from Fort Hare, who was a member of the PAC, to SCA's NSC meeting at Cyara.<sup>161</sup> Deliwe had been sent by SCM to officially break the silence that had ensued from SCM since "The Cyara Declaration" in 1976, and Deliwe "strongly encouraged SCA to re-read "The Cyara Declaration" and understand it", a point which gently conveyed SCM's understatement that the SCA "Response" had not well comprehended the theology nor the popular endorsement by SCM of the "The Cyara Declaration".<sup>162</sup> Deliwe's invitation would be taken up by SCA's incoming student Chairperson, Peter Greenwood, who was tasked by NSC to write a second draft of SCA's "Response", which was again edited before presentation to Council in July 1980 - "The SCA Declaration".<sup>163</sup> After requiring the students to proscribe the message of the document by changing its title to "The SCA Students' Declaration," the Council agreed that Johnston, Houston and Germond should oversee Council's discussed "amendments", after which it could be "released to SCA and SCM".<sup>164</sup> The story of exactly why and how students and staff of the Association circumnavigated this 1980 SCA Council resolution, and published "The SCA Students' Declaration" internationally, as one of SCA's rare examples of constructive public theology, remains to be told.<sup>165</sup>

In so far as "The SCA Students' Declaration" illustrates students' integration of the new evangelicalism, and their consequent openness to move towards prophetic integrity, two brief observations suffice. "The SCA Students' Declaration" was historic, because for the first time in SCA, a public (if not theologically coherent) rejection of apartheid was

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<sup>160</sup> In the 1982 correspondence cited anonymously above the same Council member decried the aspirations of Paul Germond who had been appointed to SCA staff in 1981: "It is a great sadness to me that Paul Germond has decided to follow a strongly political approach in his work, and I believe this is tending to distract S.C.A. from its main function as a Bible-based and Bible-believing movement. In this we have missed very much indeed your own steadying influence and maturity in dealing with matters of this nature." Another example of SCA students wrestling through issues raised by Sider is Penny Cooper's report of Nico Smith's address to a Tygerberg SCA "Rich Man Poor Man Dinner" late in 1979. See B6.2.1, Penny Cooper Staff Report (September 1979)\*

<sup>161</sup> H2.1.1, NSC Minutes (July 1979) cf. Interview: Keith Matthee (6 March 2013).

<sup>162</sup> H2.1.1, NSC Minutes (July 1979).

<sup>163</sup> A1.32, Council Minutes (July 1980) 12.80 b.

<sup>164</sup> A1.32, Council Minutes (July 1980) 12.80 b.

<sup>165</sup> SCA's infrequent attempts at public theological production during the 1970s had too often been fraught with theological and socio-political contention. See for example the letter of Rev. Brian Brown of The Christian Institute and SCA's response in *Be Transformed* 1, 2 (July 1975): 3-4. In the case of "The SCA Students' Declaration", contrary to SCA Council Minute 12.80b of July 1980, the document would be published internationally as "Students' Christian Association Students' Declaration 1980," *JTSA*, no. 36 (September 1981): 64-69. In the discussion that follows, this 1980 draft of "The SCA Students' Declaration," published in the *JTSA*, will be referenced.

communicated, with biblical warrants to denounce “the present political system of Apartheid as fundamentally unjust and indefensible in terms of Christian ethics.”<sup>166</sup> In this, white students might have surprised Deliwe and SCM because SCA came very close to answering their invitation to “condemn” South Africa’s status quo as demonic. Second, like its predecessor of July 1976 - SCA’s “Response”, “The SCA Students’ Declaration” advocated that Christians “alleviate suffering and injustice” and even “openly, not secretly [...] break their pattern of obedience to the State in favour of God’s command [...] if the will of those in authority is irreconcilable with the will of God.”<sup>167</sup> Here again, SCA students demonstrated their growing understanding of what prophetic integrity in the prevailing material conditions of the struggle for justice in South Africa would demand. For these reasons “The SCA Students’ Declaration” must be acknowledged as a milestone in SCA’s slow walk towards prophetic integrity.<sup>168</sup> The prophetic dimension of Christian witness which Johnston and Houston had been challenged by in the theology of Manas Buthelezi, Hans Bürki, Michael Green, René Padilla and Samuel Escobar during 1973 and 1974, and with which SCA students had engaged in the visits to SCA of John Howard Yoder and David Bosch in 1976 and 1977, had begun to take root in SCA, because the first signs of prophetic integrity were appearing in SCA’s contextually responsive theological production, out of the soil of SCA’s distinctive discipleship tradition.

The participation of 60 SCA students at the South African Christian Leadership Assembly, at the Pretoria Showgrounds immediately after the Ron Sider Conference, signifies SCLA as a significant event in SCA’s history of theological reception. However, because this monograph has documented SCA’s responsiveness or resistance to *kairós* invitations to practise the prophetic spirituality of Christian baptism, it is not necessary again to search out *kairós* invitations during the SCLA events. One point to note, before drawing some conclusions, is that yet more evangelical student initiatives for socially responsive and contextual discipleship arose during SCLA. Not least among them was further contact with Deliwe and the SCM executive, which would lead to an invitation for the SCM and SCA NSCs to convene at Cyara in 1980.<sup>169</sup> Another student initiative, which David Bosch joined at one lunchtime during SCLA,<sup>170</sup> was “GAP” - a group including SCA students highlighting the “social issues GAP” in the SCLA programme, and protesting the

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<sup>166</sup> “The SCA Students’ Declaration”: 67. In paragraph 3.5 the students also specified apartheid laws as unjust, like those pertaining to racially separate Group Areas, the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act.

<sup>167</sup> Word order in the original has been rearranged to fit the present syntax. See “The SCA Students’ Declaration”: 66 and 68 respectively.

<sup>168</sup> A close reading of *The SCA Students’ Declaration* shows that like SCA’s 1976 “Response”, considerable theological weaknesses and naïve assumptions about reconciliation almost subvert the impact of the document’s momentary prophetic leanings. Such a close analysis will reward further research and understanding.

<sup>169</sup> A1.31, Council Minutes (July 1979).

<sup>170</sup> Interview: Bev Haddad (6 June 2014).

Assembly's unqualified welcome of Apartheid beneficiaries like the "homeland" leader of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. The GAP initiative at SACL A led directly to the formation of the Students' Union for Christian Action, SUCA.<sup>171</sup>

### **Conclusion: A Way to Be Christ's Wounded Healers**

In May 1979 David Watson, British evangelist and writer, together with a British student drama team, visited UND and UCT for evangelistic missions that were jointly hosted by SCA, the YMCA, the Anglican, Methodist and Kolbe societies, during which 40 UCT and 30 UND students made professions of faith in Christ.<sup>172</sup> This and other reports of commitments to Christ in SCA activities during 1978 and 1979 show that Houston's encouragement and training of SCA staff since the early Tendele and Kloofwaters staff conferences, was now bearing fruit in the Association, and placating those in the SCA Council who were convinced that evangelism in Association was in decline.<sup>173</sup>

What has been evaluated in this chapter is the extent to which disciples of Jesus in SCA acknowledged and turned away from their willing or tacit accommodation to apartheid's insidious, racist and coercive culture, and intentionally resisted that culture in the hope that they could bring healing transformation to their society. Between PACLA in December 1976 and SACL A in July 1979, during South Africa's violent cultural metamorphosis into a security state under the Botha regime, as the struggle for justice in the Church was more meaningfully engaged in some parts, and more tenaciously resisted in others, did SCA accommodate itself to the status quo, like so many followers of Christ in Germany during Hitler's Reich, praying for the state, but not creating ways for quiet, intentional resistance to a state committing one of history's greatest crimes against humanity?

The heart of this chapter explored this question by considering Bosch's 1976 and 1977 challenges to SCA - that Jesus' and Paul's understanding of Christian identity overturns a status quo-type faith which Bosch compare to that of the Pharisees and Sadducees -, and Jesus invites an interruptive kind of Christian spirituality that quietly, "antithetically" resists social illness, bringing the surprising transformation which Bürki described at PACLA, as "new reality". The chapter also discovered in SCA's story rare seeds of prophetic repentance, which took root, causing some student leaders and staff to take steps towards public prophetic resistance. Others in the Association evidently were uncomfortable about the necessity of Christian repentance. The historical surprise of this

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<sup>171</sup> See Interview: Granger (12 March 2013).

<sup>172</sup> A1. 31, Council Reports (July 1979) and B6.2.1, Andy Judge Staff Report (May 1979)\*

<sup>173</sup> Other examples of fruitful evangelism were commitments made to Christ on several of Pedersen and Truscott's Drakensburg hikes, and after Wits SCA drama productions. H2.5.1, Wits SCA Minutes (1978-1980).



narrative was that prophetic integrity burst out of South African soil in the evangelical spirituality and theology of a conservative evangelical student association. The young “apprentice prophets” were students who, with the inspiration of Bürki, Bosch, Padilla and Sider, quietly yet publically adjured SCA’s intransigent elders to “break the cultural umbilical chord” with apartheid. The conclusion of this monograph’s study of prophetic possibility in the evangelical discipleship tradition of SCA will show that in the closing months of 1979, as in the coming years of South Africa’s new decade of political repression, SCA would remain in need of God’s painful but liberating gift of surgery.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### The Prophetic Discipleship of Eschatological Imagination

The primary commitments of our culture to *security, ideology, technology, certitude* and *commodity* constitute a system of hopelessness. Walter Brueggemann<sup>1</sup>

... overcoming poverty is not a gesture of charity. It is an act of justice. Nelson Mandela<sup>2</sup>

“We are invited to live as interruptions not because we have supernatural power to change the world, but because Jesus has already interrupted the world with his birth, life and ministry, death on a cross, and resurrection.” Emmanuel Katongole<sup>3</sup>

This monograph has reconstructed from archival sources, secondary literature and oral memories, a history of the Students' Christian Association, a narrative of different streams in evangelical spirituality from their sources in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which converged in the mid-twentieth century with all the turbulence and crosscurrents that might be expected in a metaphorical young river, traversing yet also helping to create the precipitous spiritual topography that would become apartheid's economic, social and political injustice in South Africa.

The purpose of this final Chapter is threefold. Firstly, a summary of the history constructed in this dissertation will be presented. Secondly, to contextualize SCA's mid-twentieth century history from the vantage point of subsequent developments, the discussion will present a brief overview of preceding socio-political events in South Africa, related developments in the church struggle for justice, and some parallel developments in SCA's discipleship programmes during the 1980s and 1990s - a period which continued to present SCA with *kairós* moments of invitation for prophetic witness. In the same way that Chapter Two functioned as a contextual historical introduction, by tracing the historical sources of different streams of Protestant theology and spirituality prior to this monograph's period of study (1965-1979), the second part of this Chapter provides a briefer retrospective glance of the period of study. The third and concluding part of the chapter will identify three characteristics of prophetic integrity in Christian spirituality which are illustrated in three prominent themes in SCA's history of theological reception during the Association's developing discipleship tradition. Insights from Trinitarian, biblical, narrative and Black

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Brueggemann, *Mandate to Difference: An Invitation to the Contemporary Church* (Louisville, KEN: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 99.

<sup>2</sup> Nelson R. Mandela "Make Poverty History Speech" 3 February 2005, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/4232603.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/4232603.stm), accessed: 28 October 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Emmanuel Katongole, *Mirror to the Church: Resurrecting Faith After Genocide in Rwanda* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009), 154.

Theology, theological ethics and Anabaptist post-Christendom scholarship will be drawn on in this section to briefly consider these themes. The monograph will close with a brief reflection about SCA's theological reception and practice of Christian spirituality from 1965-1979, as it speaks to the possibility of new *kairós* moments for prophetic integrity unfolding in the Church today, is the contemporary church struggle in South Africa for political and social justice.

### **Findings of the Monograph in Summary**

This monograph has identified the sources of Protestant theology and spirituality that found their confluence in the Students' Christian Association in the mid-twentieth-century, to ascertain the fruit of their meeting, considering the urgent need for prophetic Christian witness by the church in the face of South Africa's culture of structural violence under apartheid. The streams of theology and spirituality received into SCA were identified simultaneously as the Puritan heritage, as of Jonathan Edwards in the seventeenth century, the Wesleyan experience of salvation in eighteenth century British revivalism, and the Protestant voluntarism and missionary fervour from Britain and North America during the nineteenth century as these were received in South Africa, after the revivals of the 1860s in Queen Victoria's Cape and Natal Colonies and the two independent Boer Republics.

What became immediately apparent was that Protestant evangelicalism among white Christians, since its earliest reception in South Africa, bore responsibility for some of the earliest incidences of legal racial segregation in South African history, in the colonial churches at worship and communion, as English-speaking churches followed in practice what the Dutch Reformed church in the Cape Colony Synod legislated after 1857. Thus, at the origins of SCA in 1896, Afrikaans and English-speaking founders of the Association, like Dr Andrew Murray, Miss A. P. Ferguson, Prof N. J. Hofmeyr and those who succeeded these leaders to guide SCA at the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, practised a pastoral myopia that was endemic to white Victorian colonial society. It was seen that two of the underlying features of this pastoral myopia were a belief in the "chosenness" of the colonial race, and a patriotic commitment to Queen and Colony, especially the economic success of British interests in South Africa, through colonial rule. This meant that from the very beginning in SCA white members, with the exception of leaders like Oswin Bull, saw "natives" in South Africa and in SCA, as colonial society did, through the diminished lenses of the much-deliberated "Native Question", rather than as equals in Christ. It also meant that African resistance to colonial attitudes, categories and laws, in the struggle for political and social equality, led by Protestant Christians like Solomon

Plaatje, was equally necessary and concerted in SCA through the first half of the twentieth-century.

Evidence in SCA's development from 1900 to 1965 showed that all too often the Association mirrored, rather than countered, the slow evolution of a culture of racial segregation in South Africa, especially with the Association's gradual acceptance of a *modus operandi* of racially or linguistically separate "Divisions", and the consequent decision of 1951 - the Winkelspruit Resolution - to alter SCA's constitution and formally delineate separate racially or linguistically defined "Sections". It was shown that SCA mirrored apartheid culture, such as racially separate salary scales, and included some of the architects of apartheid's heretical theology among its highest office bearers, like Gerdner, which partly explained the Association's tendency to comply with morally repugnant apartheid policies during the 1950s. At no point in the narratives up to 1963 was evidence found for open dissent to this tendency in the Association by its English-speaking members. On the contrary, voices of opposition to the SCA's compromise with apartheid came first and foremost from black members, inspired as they were by African evangelical role models like Albert Luthuli, although critique may have been heard from dissenting Afrikaners in SCA like B.B. Keet and Beyers Naudé.<sup>4</sup>

The Sharpeville Massacre stood out as a watershed for South Africa and SCA, leading directly to the initiative of SCA's African Section to invoke a constitutional Extraordinary General Meeting (EGM) with the purpose of reviewing the 1951 Winkelspruit Resolution in order to rescind it and unify SCA. What was most significant about the African Section's motivation for their invitation for *toenadering* was their desire for an uncompromised gospel ministry to all South African students. The narratives demonstrated how the African Section initiative was manipulated to the hidden purposes of the Afrikaans Section, to call an EGM for the opposite reason - of dissolving SCA and reforming it into four separate, racially and ethnically based associations.

A complex interplay of [1] Broederbond and DRC Church pressure to cede Afrikaans youth work to the church, [2] the English-speaking Section's longstanding assertiveness for an evangelical Basis of Faith, and [3] lone opposition to both DRC pressures and the English-speaking Section's Basis of Faith aspirations by Calvin Cook, dominated the narratives of the early 1960s. The narratives which reconstructed SCA's final split on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965 concluded that white members of the Association were wrong to propose and effect such a separation, as this compromised the message of the Gospel - that is the reconciliation

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<sup>4</sup> New evidence of resistance in SCA by English-speaking and Afrikaner members to grand apartheid might yet be found to nuance or even alter the sobering conclusions of this study.

won in the sending, life, crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. The English-speaking Section's choice not to contest the split, nor change the hierarchical and bureaucratic constitution prepared for it by the Afrikaans' Section's Federal Study Commission, were shown to be two consequential sources of the new SCA's recurring organizational difficulties and interpersonal harms during the 1970s.

The narrative focus of the 1970s described the reception of theology and spirituality in the new SCA as it constructed its discipleship training tradition, describing the Association's first encounters with the contemplative theology of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox traditions, Black Theology and Black Consciousness, and the slow reception of the "new evangelicalism" which emphasized the eschatological, social implications of Jesus' resurrection, after the Lausanne Congress for World Evangelization in 1974. Jim Johnston's welcome of Maurice Ngakane, Cyril Ramaphosa, Frank Chikane, Sydney Seolonyane and other leaders of SCM into SCA discipleship events, and Johnston and Bill Houston's subsequent welcome of some of the architects of the new evangelicalism into SCA before and after Lausanne, resulted in the confluence of all these streams of theology and spirituality into SCA.

The mid-seventies were characterised by turbulent resistance to these theological currents by what was reluctantly called a conservative "watch" in SCA, the more Reformed group, who neither stemmed the theological confluence nor silenced the *kairós* invitations that came in the wake of the new evangelicalism, for SCA to counter South Africa's peculiar social injustices with prophetic resistance.<sup>5</sup> Two moments of opportunity for greater maturity in SCA's evangelicalism, which were missed in the mid-70s, were [1] the Council's telling initial indifference to Houston and Jarvis' suggested changes to SCA's Aims, and outright rejection of their suggestion to include "repentance" in SCA's Basis of Faith, and [2] Bürki's prescient letter in mid-1976, exhorting Jim Johnston to familiarize students with Yoder's *The Politics of Jesus*, and to develop from it, training in non-violent resistance to the increasing brutality that would imminently engulf South Africa.

The conflagration of 1976, followed by the uneasy silence between SCM and SCA until 1979, highlighted the extent of racial estrangement caused by the traumatic social and political upheaval of 16<sup>th</sup> June 1976. It was seen that SCA struggled to come to terms with *kairós* invitations to prophetic discipleship elicited by the initiative of black theologians like Manas Buthelezi, Tshifhiwa Muofhe and "The Cyara Declaration," because black initiative called into question whites' economic entitlement afforded by statutory apartheid

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<sup>5</sup> My caution for describing the influential Reformed group on SCA council as a conservative "watch" is explained at footnote 8 on page 181.

privileges. It was also understood that blacks' experience of SCA as actively supporting petty apartheid, such as during the 1976 Pietermaritzburg Intervarsity Conference, compromised SCA's integrity, widened racial divides and deepened distrust.

The theology and spirituality of Hans Bürki, Michael Green, David Bosch and René Padilla in the later 70s was uncomfortable for many in the Association. Yet the new evangelicalism was as influential in SCA's discipleship curriculum of the late 70s as encounters with Black Theology and spirituality had widened SCA's perspective in the early 70s; each awakened the Association to the possibility for prophetic resistance to cultural accommodation of apartheid. The monograph posited that by 1979 sustained critique of cultural Christianity in South Africa by these theologians, combined, for any who had eyes to see or ears to hear - a stark diagnosis of SCA's spiritual pathology after more than a century of pastoral myopia in the South African Church. Bosch's allusion to the Old Testament exilic metaphor of the incurable wound and his surprising counter-image of the Church as healing "antibody," Padilla's allusion to Hans Bürki's call for a surgical cutting of the cultural umbilical cord, and Padilla's challenge to re-evaluate the need for the ancient practice of exorcism, were the final and related *kairós* invitations of the 1970s that pointed to SCA's and the South African Church's sore need for divine surgery. At the heart of these invitations was the challenge to embrace the grief of *metánoia* - the only way that the Association might turn way from complicity with apartheid towards healing, newness and integrity.

Chapter Six showed that the possibility of profound transformation in SCA during this dark period was anticipated by Johnston's uncompromising rebuttal of criticism from The Christian League of South Africa. Further signs of hope then concluded the historical narrative as the "new evangelicalism" found good soil in small corners of SCA, germinating in the kind of repentance that leads to transformed action. The possibility of SCA becoming Bosch's "antibody", a healing agent in South Africa's desperately sick society opened up, and new dissenting voices and small acts of resistance challenged SCA's reactionary Council members at the close of the decade. Steve Truscott, Stanley Sher, Martin Oosthuizen and Bruce Moles, whose spirituality was ready to resist injustice, embodied the fruit of SCA's theological reception in discipleship since 1969. The efforts of these students and staff to foreground the compromise of accommodating injustice in South African culture in their publication of "The SCA Students' Declaration", would inspire a new generation of staff and students in the 1980s to briefly but decisively challenge SCA's long tendency toward pastoral myopia and tacit acceptance of South Africa's culture of economic injustice.

## Excursus - SCA's Mid-Twentieth Century History in Retrospect

The narrative of SCA's Discipleship tradition has been constructed and interpreted not only by understanding the antecedent roots of evangelical faith and the socio-political history of colonial society in South Africa, but also from the historical vantage point of developments in SCA and South Africa subsequent to 1979, the close of this monograph's period of study. Therefore, to fully situate the historical findings of this monograph, continuities between SCA's mid-twentieth century story and subsequent history, in the two decades following the period of study, will now briefly be introduced.

In the broadest political context the 1980s and 90s included an intensification of the ANC's armed struggle; an attempt at electoral "reform" in the National Party's internationally maligned Tri-cameral Parliament; the launch of the United Democratic Front, a new phase of opposition to apartheid; the honing of state propaganda to make South Africans more receptive to the militarization of society,<sup>6</sup> two states of emergency which maintained South Africa under military occupation and police surveillance from 1985 to 1989; the advent of covert "death squads" commissioned by Botha's State Security Council, which systematically orchestrated assassinations of many anti-apartheid activists;<sup>7</sup> the SADF's defeat at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola in 1987 leading to the demise of Botha's administration in 1989;<sup>8</sup> Nelson Mandela's secret initiative to commence negotiations between the ANC and F.W. De Klerk's government; Mandela's release with political prisoners, prisoners of conscience and the return of exiles after 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1990; Umkhonto weSizwe's suspension of the armed struggle and<sup>9</sup> the signing of the National Peace Accord on 20<sup>th</sup> September 1991; and the lead-up to the inauguration of South Africa's first democratically elected government on 27 April 1994.<sup>10</sup>

This period witnessed the zenith of the South African police state and the starkest contrasts of apartheid history; South Africa lurched from espionage, repression, civil strife

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<sup>6</sup> For an analysis of the sophisticated propaganda of SADF chaplaincy publications for the "boys on the border" and how these contributed to the militarization of South African society, see Gordon Mitchell's "A Theology of Militarism in the Chaplains' Service of the South African Defence Force," *JTSA*, no. 65 (December 1988): 38-46.

<sup>7</sup> See Peter Walshe, *Christianity and the Apartheid Struggle: The Prophetic Voice Within Divided Churches*, in Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., *Christianity in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997), 392-393. Examples of assassination are the Cradock Four: Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Fort Calata, and Dr David Webster at Wits, by the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Davies, "South African Regional Policy Before and After Cuito-Cuanavale," *South African Review* 5 (1988): 166.

<sup>9</sup> For an account of the secret talks and of the 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1990 proclamation of release, which also marked the return of exiles and freedom of prisoners of conscience, from Mandela's point of view, see his *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Johannesburg: Macmillan Purnell, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> See Rodney Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History, Fourth Edition* (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1991), 428-437 and Anthea Jeffery, *Chasing the Rainbow: South Africa's Move from Mandela to Zuma* (Cape Town: South African Institute of Race Relations, 2010), 1-7.

and unsurpassed suffering of the oppressed majority in the late 1980s into a period of equally violent uncertainty during the negotiated settlement, and then stumbled into the relief and euphoria of a peace embraced by nearly all South Africans during the structured disarmament process and the rainbow outcome of the 1994 elections. The first real tests of South Africa's new democracy came in two developments in 1999. First, with the traumatic revelations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of 1998 and 1999,<sup>11</sup> painful truths which laid the foundations for restitution and true reconciliation in the country, and second, in the controversy surrounding the Mbeki government's corrupt arms deal in 1999.<sup>12</sup>

The narratives of SCA's theological reception have given more attention to the influence on the Association of its British, North American and Latin American parachurch relations and of Black Consciousness and Black Theology, than to influences on SCA of developments in the Dutch Reformed family of churches or the English-speaking denominations. Certainly, the continuing church struggle in the face of apartheid's final clampdown during the 1980s would have influenced the Association's Methodist, Baptist, CESA and Church of the Province of the Southern Africa office bearers, especially regarding issues like race legislation, conscription and conscientious objection,<sup>13</sup> Vatican II and the resulting closer co-operation between the Roman Catholic Church and the English-speaking churches,<sup>14</sup> and especially the controversy in the churches caused by the charismatic movement.<sup>15</sup> Further inquiry into these denominational influences in SCA could be potentially fruitful for future research. For the purpose of this retrospective glance at SCA's discipleship history, a few pertinent developments in the church struggle of the 1980s need to be listed.

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<sup>11</sup> For a perspective on the TRC from one of the Commissioners, see Antjie Krog's *Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa* (New York: Random House, 1998). The TRC Website containing the full Report of the Commission is "Truth: The Road to Reconciliation - Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, Volumes 1 to 7" <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/>, accessed: 27 October 2015. For Archbishop Desmond Tutu's autobiographical reflections on the proceedings see Desmond Mphilo Tutu, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (New York: Doubleday, 1999). On the wider social and political implications of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, see James Cochrane, John W. de Gruchy and Stephen Martin, eds., *Facing the Truth: South African Faith Communities and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> The literature on Mbeki's arms deal procurement scandal is prolific. A good introduction is Paul's Holden's *The Devil in the Detail: How the Arms Deal Changed Everything* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2011).

<sup>13</sup> For analysis of the responses of the English-speaking churches to the militarization of state and society in the 1980s see Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Theology & Violence: The South African Debate* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1987).

<sup>14</sup> A brief introduction is found in Joy Brain and Philippe Denis, eds., *The Catholic Church in Contemporary South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 1999), 235-240.

<sup>15</sup> In the first quarter of 1978 a third draft of SCA Council's policy statement "SCA and the Charismatic Movement" was sent to branches for comment. This, at the height of debate in the Association where CESA stalwarts like Bishop Stephen Bradley on the Panel of Reference and many CESA members of Council wanted the Association to teach a dispensational approach to the charismata, whereas Bishop Bill Burnett on the Panel of Reference and many on SCA staff were keen to teach the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Because SCA could not function as a local church, the Association's policy steered a conservative course on the practice of charismatic gifts, and argued for balance and sensitivity in regard to branch teaching. See H2.5.1 Wits Minutes (April 1978).



In the English-speaking churches this period elicited increasing public engagement with apartheid through vigorous public theology and open debate, a process that challenged the SCA Council in its reversion to its earlier stance of non-engagement with socio-political issues after Hugh Philpot's term as SCA chairman ended in 1983; nevertheless, the public theology of the churches increasingly engaged some SCA staff and many students.<sup>16</sup> Key moments in this process of on-going struggle in the churches were: the 1980 Hammanskraal gathering of SACC member churches to discuss racism in the church;<sup>17</sup> the formation of the Institute for Contextual Theology in 1981 to develop an autochthonous South African theology of liberation;<sup>18</sup> Allan Boesak's role in the August 1982 World Alliance of Reformed Churches' resolution declaring apartheid a heresy and suspending the membership of white Dutch Reformed Churches;<sup>19</sup> the Belhar Confession draft of September 1982 unmasking the theology underpinning apartheid as heresy;<sup>20</sup> the SACC's "Harare Declaration" pledging support to the liberation movements to unseat the apartheid regime;<sup>21</sup> Africa Enterprise's<sup>22</sup> National Initiative of Reconciliation (NIR) in September 1985, proposing a "Third Way" to end apartheid's injustices;<sup>23</sup> *The Kairos Document*, published by Soweto pastors and the Institute of Contextual Theology in 1985, which increased and polarized South African Christians' awareness about the complicity of the Church and its theology in support of South Africa's illegitimate government;<sup>24</sup> the *Evangelical Witness in South Africa* document of 1986, a declaration of repentance and

<sup>16</sup> A succinct overview of this phase of the churches' struggle for the demise of apartheid in the 1980s, up to the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's findings, is found in John de Gruchy's *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice* (London: SCM, 2002), 31-43.

<sup>17</sup> John de Gruchy, "Grappling with a Colonial Heritage: The English-speaking Churches Under Imperialism and Apartheid" in Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social & Cultural History* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997), 167.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Walshe, "Christianity and the Anti-Apartheid Struggle: The Prophetic Voice Within Divided Churches" in *Christianity in South Africa*, 392. An introduction to the development of contextual theology in South Africa is Philippe Denis' "The Journal of Theology for Southern Africa and the Emergence of Contextual Theology in South Africa," *JTSA*, no. 146 (July 2013): 6-22.

<sup>19</sup> The Belhar Confession was adopted by the NGSKA in 1986. See Johan Kinghorn, "Modernization and Apartheid: The Afrikaner Churches," in *Christianity in South Africa*, 153. A comprehensive treatment of the historical, theological background to the declaration of apartheid as heresy was published in John de Gruchy and Charles Villa-Vicencio, eds., *Apartheid is a Heresy* (Cape Town: David Philip 1983).

<sup>20</sup> "The Afrikaner Churches," 153.

<sup>21</sup> John de Gruchy, "The Church and the Struggle for South Africa" in Ithumeleng Mosala and Buti Tlhagale, eds., *Hammering Swords Into Ploughshares: Essays in Honour of Archbishop Desmond Tutu* (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1986), 197.

<sup>22</sup> Africa Enterprise changed its name to African Enterprise early in the new millennium.

<sup>23</sup> Proceedings of the September 1985 NIR were published in *JTSA*, no. 54 (March 1986). Also see Klaus Nürnberger and John Tooke, eds., *The Cost of Reconciliation in South Africa* (Cape Town: Methodist Publishing House, 1988). For introductory analysis of the NIR see John de Gruchy, "The Church and the Struggle for South Africa", 198 – 206. Analysis of the NIR's assumption about political neutrality is found in Anthony Balcomb, *Third Way Theology: Reconciliation, Revolution and Reform in the South African Church During the 1980s* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 1993), esp. 86 – 91.

<sup>24</sup> *The Kairos Document: Challenge to the Church* (Braamfontein: SACC, 1985, Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1986). A vital evangelical perspective on *The Kairos Document*, with which SCA may or may not have engaged, is James Torrance's sympathetic response in "The Kairos Debate: Listening to Its Challenge," *JTSA*, no. 55 (June 1986): 42-45. Further inquiry into SCA's awareness of Torrance's commendations will bear fruit.

commitment to counter injustice by a group of 131 "Concerned Evangelicals";<sup>25</sup> two conferences in March and August of 1988 organized by the SACC's Department of Mission and Evangelism about the biblical foundations and necessity for *Confessing Guilt in South Africa*;<sup>26</sup> the defiance of Archbishop Tutu of Cape Town, Roman Catholic Archbishop Naidoo, Boesak, Rev Mgojo, President of the Methodist Church of South Africa, and Chikane, now General Secretary of the SACC, against Botha's new state of emergency restrictions on funerals in 1988;<sup>27</sup> and the public endorsement by church leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement's public defiance of security laws during 1989, in marches which drew up to 80 000 people at a time.<sup>28</sup>

Negotiations towards a new constitutional framework finally secured elections for 1994 and the legal reconstruction of apartheid's instruments of oppression - the tri-cameral parliament, the army and the police force.<sup>29</sup> During this period leading to 1994, the reality of the church's complicity in the advent and maintenance of apartheid was engaged publicly by 230 representatives of 97 denominations, at a National Initiative of Reconciliation Conference in Rustenburg in December 1990.<sup>30</sup> Resolutions from this gathering and its call for "repentance and practical restitution" in the areas of "health care, psychological healing, education, housing, employment, economic infrastructure and especially land ownership" voiced the need for socio-economic restitution by white Christians, a theme that would be engaged, contested or ignored throughout the decade until the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission echoed this call to restitution in 1999.<sup>31</sup>

### **A Fracture Line of Contradictions in the 1980s**

SCA's development of student ministries in the 1980s is a story of increasing strain between [1] Council members who felt SCA would depart from its prime purpose of

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<sup>25</sup> *Evangelical Witness in South Africa: Evangelicals Critique Their Own Theology and Practice* (Dobsonville: Concerned Evangelicals, 1986). For a retrospective analysis see Louise Kretzschmar and Moss Ntlha, eds., *Looking Back, Moving Forward: Reflections by South African Evangelicals* (Johannesburg: The Evangelical Alliance of South Africa, 2005).

<sup>26</sup> Conference proceedings and findings are found in *Confessing Guilt in South Africa: The Responsibility of Churches and Individual Christians* (Johannesburg: SACC, 1988). See also John W. de Gruchy, "Confessing Guilt in South Africa Today in Dialogue with Dietrich Bonhoeffer," *JTSA*, no. 67 (June 1989): 37-45.

<sup>27</sup> See "Christianity and the Anti-Apartheid Struggle", 394.

<sup>28</sup> During 1989 I participated in two of these marches, one of which took place after the funeral of Prof David Webster, from St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg.

<sup>29</sup> Jeffrey, *Chasing the Rainbow ...*, 1-2.

<sup>30</sup> See Louw Alberts and Frank Chikane, eds., *The Road to Rustenburg: Looking Forward to a New South Africa* (Cape Town: Struik, 1991) and John W. de Gruchy, "From Cottesloe to Rustenburg and Beyond: The Rustenburg Conference in Historical Perspective," *JTSA*, no. 71 (March 1991): 21-34.

<sup>31</sup> See Desmond Mphilo Tutu's *No Future Without Forgiveness* (New York: Doubleday, 1999) and James Cochrane, John W. de Gruchy and Steve Martin, eds., *Facing the Truth...*, 1999).

evangelism if it aligned itself with public opposition to apartheid, [2] staff who stood between the Reformed grouping at the core of SCA Council and increasingly politicized students, and [3] SCA students in the maelstrom of protest on university campuses during South Africa's most pitted decade of resistance.<sup>32</sup> This tumultuous period was to foster deepening contradictions in SCA, a decade that will reward future in-depth research and a monograph of similar interest as this study. All that is possible here, to retrospectively contextualize this study's historical narratives of the 60s and 70s, is to briefly identify the focus of SCA's discipleship curriculum during the 1980s, and the streams of theology and spirituality that continued to be received or resisted in SCA's now fully developed discipleship curriculum, and to mention the most important developments in SCA during the 1990s.

In 1979, Houston's previous focus on staff training<sup>33</sup> now turned to the training of SCA students, as he edited and published a student-training brochure for branches called *Guidelines: A Useful Compendium of Papers for SCA Branches*.<sup>34</sup> The materials Houston collated, which were expanded between 1981 and 1983 by National Student Executive Chairman, Rory Prest, into SCA's branch training manual, illustrate SCA's Eurocentric theological orientation - evidence that SCA continued to look mainly to North America and Britain for theological grounding.<sup>35</sup> The loss of contact in the late 70s with Seolonyane, Ngakane, Ramaphosa, Chikane and other black Bible expositors, on account of the detentions and forced exile of Christian activists, and the cultural boycott against South Africa, partly explain why SCA limited itself to speakers from the Global North during the

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<sup>32</sup> H2.1.1, NSC Minutes (July 1984) Two motions of Willem Hanekom of the Tygerberg branch of SCA were unanimously accepted by SCA students [1] that "the theological justification of apartheid (a fundamental ideology underlying a socio-political and economic system based on racism and class differentiation) amounts to a heresy i.e. a distortion of the truth as revealed in Jesus Christ [...]" and [2] "We also confess that [...] we adopt and do not actively oppose the values inherent in the apartheid ideology; thus [...] we share in the guilt of those who propagate its functioning [and] we recognize the need to apply our beliefs practically as a step in true repentance." Whereas SCA council endorsed a summary of Hanekom's statement in 1984 as its official stand, the Association remained unaligned to any public opposition to apartheid, whether the NIR or the ecumenical struggle for justice throughout the decade.

<sup>33</sup> In her report to Council in July 1978 Lynn Pedersen exemplified the fruit of Houston's concentration on staff training since 1976: "Through SCA work I have seen marked growth in myself over the past two years in the areas of training, organization, planning and giving talks and teaching. Trained, more confident and equipped as I now am, I feel I should stay on in SCA for at least another year to use these gifts God has given me for His glory." A1.30, Pedersen, Report to Council (July 1978).

<sup>34</sup> This in response to the Association's desire to match training to a distinct SCA discipleship curriculum. Kevin Garcia voiced this idea at the July 1979 Council as follows: "I would like to see us develop a national policy of training that anyone anywhere could point to and say, 'That is where SCA stands.'" In this area several things come to mind. First, we could work toward a goal of the co-ordinated production of training materials, pulling together what we already have available, weeding out the out-dated and redundant, looking at the gaps and encouraging SCA staff, GF members, faculty people, etc. to work on contributions to fill these gaps." A1.31, Garcia, Report to Council Report (July 1979).

<sup>35</sup> H2.1.1, NSC Minutes (December 1981) cf. Photo Archive 0175: Rory Prest, "Branch Resource Manual" (Cape Town: 1981). The cultural and tourism boycott against South Africa made visits from African Bible expositors North of the Limpopo difficult to arrange. Nevertheless, IFES Regional Directors for Africa; Dr Isaac Zokoue from Central African Republic, T. B. Dankwa from Ghana, and Rev J. Gichinga from Kenya, made brief visits to SCA in 80s.

80s. IFES author Ada Lum, U.S. missionary, David Howard, British New Testament Scholar Dick France, British church planter, Michael Eaton, David Watson, Michael Green and Martin Goldsmith were SCA's key presenters, with the exceptions of Jorgé Attiencia from Colombia and Chua Wee Hian of Singapore.<sup>36</sup> Only in the 1990s would black expositors like Phineas Dube of Africa Enterprise and T.B. Dankwa and Femi Adeley of IFES come to disciple SCA students.<sup>37</sup>

Established differences in SCA between SCA's older, more conservative office bearers in Council, and the younger generation of evangelicals, increased during the early 1980s because the Association was now appointing past SCA students as staff workers, students who had been exposed to Bosch, Padilla and Sider in the late 1970s. Unsurprisingly, this new generation of SCA staff favoured social engagement and an integral spirituality, relating following Jesus to the injustices of apartheid society, liberation theology, the environmental crisis, sexism and women's leadership, homosexuality and conscription. Keith Matthee, Paul Germond, Beverley Haddad, Sally Welch of Rhodes, Wilma Jakobsen, Jane de Kock from Wits, Brian Harris from UND, Bruce Moles and Mike van Graan from UCT were among them.<sup>38</sup> The deepening polarities in SCA in the early 80s were fostered by the Association's choice to keep its oldest, most conservative leaders closest to the Association's reins of power in governance. Thus Houston, with the blessing of the National Executive, "co-opted" Prof Rod Hewitson as a member of NATEX in 1980 to assist with the first-time convening of the "liaison committee" envisaged in the old SCA's dissolution decision of 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965, for dialogue, and hopefully unity, between SCA, SCM, ACS and ACSV.<sup>39</sup> As a member of SCA's highest executive body, Hewitson was then elected to succeed Prof Hugh Philpot as Chairman of the SCA Council in 1983. This, after three years of Philpot's term as Chairman during which "social concern" and fresh engagement with SCM had been emphasized in SCA.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Attiencia and Wee Hian appear to be the only Bible expositors from the global South to have engaged SCA students in discipleship formation during the decade, at the 1986 Intersivity Conference. H2.1.7.2, 1986 Conference seminar records. An exception to this Eurocentric trend was the leadership and content of the SCA Missions Programme, SCAMP, the Association's smallest discipleship programme, which will be treated below.

<sup>37</sup> H2.1.1, NSC Minutes (July 1991).

<sup>38</sup> The list is ordered chronologically according to the first year of the staff worker's appointment, as listed in the Council Minutes of 1980, 1981 and 1982. One of the first responsibilities taken up by Keith Matthee in 1980 was to support Charles Yeats through his application as conscientious objector to the SADF - this after Matthee himself had refused to serve. Interview: Matthee (6 March 2013).

<sup>39</sup> See A1. 32, Council Minutes (July 1982) cf. B4.1.5, Houston to Hewitson (24 July 1980). Houston also annually re-invited Dr Marjorie Scott to be part of SCA's Panel of Reference. Dr Scott had resigned from the SCA Council in 1979 "with a troubled heart" because of what she called SCA's "gradual drift away from the strong accent on Biblical doctrine ..." B4.1.5, Scott to Murray Hofmeyr (12 June 1979).

<sup>40</sup> A1.35, Council Minutes (July 1983) cf. A1.32, Council Minutes (July 1980). At the July 1980 Intersivity Conference, held jointly with SCM, the official standoff between SCM and SCA since the Michael House Resolution of 1974 ended and Mbuyiseli Deliwé and Rory Prest were tasked with facilitating dialogue at student executive level, with Houston and Rajuile

A corollary of the multiplication of SCA staff who were keen to relate their discipleship to the moral conflict at the heart of South African society was a new generation of white SCA students in the early 80s, whose leaders, mostly in SCA's English-speaking university branches,<sup>41</sup> were politically aware. They were also keen to integrate the traditional emphases of SCA - Bible engagement and one to one evangelism - with Kingdom ethics to address the spiritual, moral impasse of apartheid. Engaging ideologies, addressing discrimination against women, creating the possibility for civil disobedience to apartheid laws as in conscientious objection, and social engagement with the poor and marginalized, were what Wilma Jakobsen (NSC Chairperson, 1980), Dave Gammon from UCT (1981), Rory Prest (1982), Caroline Abernethy of Cape Town Teachers' College (1983) and Ian Couper from Wits (1984) found themselves focusing on as leaders of SCA's National Student Executive, and they proved to be the most socially engaged student leaders in SCA since 1965.<sup>42</sup> What this generation of students hoped to achieve in SCA is illustrated in February 1983 when Ian Couper's Intervarsity Conference planning committee for the forthcoming Martin Goldsmith Conference on "Stewardship" met in the Wits SRC's newly named Neil Aggett Room.<sup>43</sup> Couper's committee minuted:

*The theme of stewardship should be covered at macro level - stewardship of world resources, and micro level - stewardship of personal resources. Topics to be covered could include education, time, materialism, value systems and lifestyle; clear biblical exposition in the main plenaries is desired, and should be earthed in the South African context. All students must be exposed to this application (i.e. it must not only be dealt with in voluntary seminars or mini plenaries). Recommended SA speakers to supplement Martin Goldsmith - could include Allan Boesak and Bishop Tutu, Caesar Molebatsi, Martin Oosthuizen.<sup>44</sup>*

Aspiring to this level of dialogue about apartheid with black South African Christians of different theological backgrounds in SCA, at a national discipleship event, would not be approved by the SCA Executive in 1983, nor by the Council throughout the decade, and would become a source of tension for staff like Matthee, Germond, Garcia, Haddad, van Graan, Welch and Moles who wanted to actively engage South African students of all races

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at staff level. Thus began the long process towards the amalgamation of the associations in July 1994. See B4.1.5, "JOINT SCM SCA STATEMENT" (July 1980).

<sup>41</sup> Willem Hanekom at Tygerberg, as Martin Oosthuizen at Stellenbosch before him, were the exception to the rule in the Afrikaans speaking branches of SCA.

<sup>42</sup> A repository of documentation reflecting this generation of student leaders' combined achievements in changing student attitudes throughout SCA is found in H2.1.7.3, reports and proceedings of SCA's 1983 Consultation at Vital Link, Port Elizabeth. See for example Rory Prest's position paper for the Consultation proposing SCA branch involvement that would result in "growing identification with the poor and dispossessed in South Africa", and, the NSE's considered response to SCA Council member, John Child's "SCA Programming" position paper. Notable achievements of this student generation will be introduced in what follows.

<sup>43</sup> Neil Aggett, detained without trial, died in an induced suicide on 5 February 1983 after 62 hours of torture: <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-11-28-history-stalks-the-torturers-who-drove-neil-aggett-to-suicide>, accessed: 19 March 2014.

<sup>44</sup> H2.1.1, NSE Minutes (February 1983).

and diverse theological persuasions in the students' challenge to follow Christ into South Africa's traumatic material conditions.<sup>45</sup>

One of this new student generation's first successes resulted from Lynn Pedersen's pioneer discussions about women leadership during the late 1970s.<sup>46</sup> At the NSC National Consultation in December 1982, Rory Prest, with the theological oversight of Paul Germond and Brian Harris, prepared the students' "Statement on Sexism and Leadership in SCA" which was presented to SCA Council in July 1983 and approved at SCA's National Consultation in Port Elizabeth in December 1983, a policy document which was to become one of SCA's rare instances of theologically excellent public theology.<sup>47</sup> Part of the "Statement on Sexism" document's provenance was a lengthy but very congenial debate with one of the Reformed group in Council's only theologically trained members, John Child, the former Rhodes ECU Chairman and SCA Literature Secretary, whose contrasting paper, "Women in SCA: A Few Exegetical Notes", argued systematically from St Paul's Epistles for disallowing women executive leadership altogether in branches of SCA.<sup>48</sup>

Another student success, as seen in Chapter Six, was their publication of "The SCA Students' Declaration" in 1982, and then their new draft of this document, to include a condemnation of apartheid as heresy, presented to Council by Ian Couper in July 1984; Couper also incorporated into the text of the new draft, the students' appeal to SCA to adopt "The Declaration" as an official statement of SCA's position on the political situation in South Africa, especially the final paragraph: "A Call to Reconciliation".<sup>49</sup>

This introduction to developments in SCA during the 1980s shows that the Association's theological reception was to be no less contested, moving forward than it had been during the 1970s. A key difference between SCA in the 1970s and the 1980s, was that the tensions of the 70s had remained *just tensions*, whereas now they delineated into a fracture line by 1986, pointing to widening underlying contradictions.<sup>50</sup>

On one side of this forming fracture line was the influential Reformed grouping on SCA Council, increasingly committed to "the primacy of evangelism" as SCA's priority, a theological position as shown in Chapter Five and Six, that was championed by

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<sup>45</sup> Interview: Sheriffs (11 March 2014).

<sup>46</sup> Pedersen left the Association to pursue a career in social work in 1980.

<sup>47</sup> National Students' Committee Conference Report – December 1982: "Statement on Sexism and Leadership in SCA". SCA's policy was published internationally as "Women in SCA - On Leadership And Authority", *IFES Review*, no. 19 (October 1985).

<sup>48</sup> Photo Archive 00149 – 00151, John Child, "Women in SCA: A Few Exegetical Notes".

<sup>49</sup> Photo Archive 00152 – 00158, "The SCA Students' Declaration: 1984".

<sup>50</sup> The choice of metaphor here is intentional to describe a forthcoming breach in relationships, not as much between SCA staff as between a particular staff worker and students, as will become apparent.

conservative British and North American evangelicalism. The Reformed group in SCA were apparently unaware of increasing agreement between David Bosch, Padilla, Escobar, Stott, Green, Vinay Samuel, Chris Sugden, Andrew Kirk and others to theological refute the ideologically unaware "church growth" movement which championed this "primacy of evangelism" idea.<sup>51</sup> For Hewitson, Wells, Scott, Bradley, Fivaz, Hofmeyr, Clive Tyler at Kalk Bay Bible Institute and others, who argued strongly that SCA was failing in evangelism, the "primacy of evangelism" theology was seen as a remedy for what they saw as SCA's deficiency. The influential women and men in this circle also viewed early efforts in the 1980s to pursue unity with SCM as "issue-focused" and as obstructing SCA from its true purpose - one-to-one evangelism.<sup>52</sup>

In 1985 when South Africa was more socially splintered than ever before, after Botha's draconian state of emergency laws, a fracture line also cut across SCA after a new decision to appoint a British staff worker at Wits who was ebulliently a "primacy of evangelism" man, who was vocally *uninterested* in the South African church struggle for justice, and who did not see SCA's past history with SCM as a priority.<sup>53</sup> This appointment resulted in no small number of new tensions arising among staff, and then caused a breach between the new staffer and the students, mainly in the Wits branch. Among different consequences there developed a partnership between conservative students at Wits SCA and a Reformed grouping of students in the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU), which became so divisive, that the Wits SCA branch briefly ignored national SCA policy and appointed its own staff workers from CICCU, with the support of Britain's Proclamation Trust.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> The debate emerged into international evangelicalism at the Lausanne Continuation Committee's Pattaya Conference in Thailand in December 1980, which Orlando Costas documents in his book *Christ Outside the Gate: Mission Beyond Christendom* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers: 2005). The following year: "The First Conference of Evangelical Mission Theologians held in Bangkok, Thailand, [...] provided the basis for theological reflection free from Western constraints, with the participation of people from Asia, Africa, and Latin America." Interview: C. René Padilla (30 September 2015). This debate was crucial for a biblical understanding of church and mission and continued to be polarized between First World, Third World points of view through the 1980s. An introduction to it by David Bosch, who boldly stepped into the debate in 1987, is David J. Bosch, "Church Growth Missiology," *Missionalia* 16, no. 1 (April 1988): 13-24.

<sup>52</sup> In one of his letters about the unity talks with SCM, Rod Hewitson promoted North American church growth theology as expressed in the latest issue of *Christianity Today* magazine, attempting to draw Houston away from "too much" dialogue with SCM: "All major denominations have separate Hispanic congregations and ministries. This is not apartheid in the misrepresented sense but action in the real situation – different culture, language etc. And I sense that too much of our getting together is simply for the sake of getting together!" B4.1.5, Hewitson to Houston (11 October 1980).

<sup>53</sup> H2.1.1, NSC Minutes (1985-1987) and A1.37-38, Council Minutes (July 1988-89). It remains to be established why SCA Council Minutes from July 1985 to July 1987 were not are lodged in the SCO Archive.

<sup>54</sup> H2.1.7.2, 1987 Conference records and N2.1.1, NSC Minutes (1987). My last year in the Wits branch (1985) was at the beginning of the steady polarization in this process, so I witnessed some of the initial changes in the Wits branch – the first of which was the estrangement of Richard Maddern, the branch Chairperson, by the new staff worker. The brief, divisive partnership between Wits and CICCU was to be initiated after July 1987.

On the other side of the fracture line developing in SCA up to 1986, were staff workers increasingly dedicated to costly discipleship, in the cross hairs of South Africa's increasingly homicidal culture - extreme militarized forms of racism, political surveillance, proliferating assassinations and brutal oppression. Two of these SCA women and men, Welch and Houston, because of their contact with David Bosch, were aware of John Stott's global consultations with Padilla and others from the "Radical Discipleship" group at Lausanne, to prophetically challenge the "homogeneous unit principle" of church growth and reclaim a more biblical, eschatological, holistic and integral understanding of Christian mission.<sup>55</sup>

The result among this grouping on SCA staff was that they increasingly designed discipleship training opportunities that were as biblical as they were radically contextual, such as when Houston, Matthee, Garcia, Haddad, de Kock and Harris led the 1983 Discipleship Course students for two days with Peter Kerchhoff of PACSA,<sup>56</sup> to Roosboom, Madadeni, Mathiwane's Kop and Ekuvukeni near Ladysmith - to meet communities which had either recently been forcibly removed by the apartheid regime, or, which were facing imminent forced removal.<sup>57</sup> Or, when Sally Welch was appointed to succeed the late Trevor Gow to lead the SCAMP Programme in 1986 and "progressed the theology" of the SCAMP curriculum as a result of her growing dialogue with African and Black Theology, with the Anabaptist, Alan Kreider, and in widening consultation, with Moss Ntlha of Concerned Evangelicals, Mvume Dandala of the South African Methodist Conference, Philip Nkabinde of SCM, and David Bosch and Klippies Kritzinger of UNISA - three of whom joined SCAMP's first non-racial leadership team.<sup>58</sup> Welch increasingly welcomed black students into the SCAMP training year, creating a student training opportunity that embodied what she was learning from Black Theology, Kreider, Dandala, Bosch and Kritzinger, moving from "the primacy of evangelism" paradigm to "holding in creative tension" all dimensions of Christian discipleship that witness to the whole Gospel.<sup>59</sup> Thus

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<sup>55</sup> Interview: Sally (Welch) Longley (5 June 2014) cf. Interview: C. René Padilla (30 September 2015). Padilla was invited by Stott to three of these early global consultations on integral mission: "What really helped Samuel [Escobar] and myself and others who were in agreement with us to go on with our type of approach, was John Stott's role as the Chairman of the Lausanne Theology and Education Group (later renamed Lausanne Working Group), set up by the Lausanne Movement to promote reflection on issues related to the Lausanne Covenant. He opened doors for us. After Lausanne I, I was invited to several of the conferences that he organized, such as the Consultation on the Homogeneous Unit Principle (Pasadena, June 1977), the Consultation on Gospel and Culture (Bermuda, January, 1978), the Consultation on Simple Lifestyle (Hoddesdon, March, 1980), and the Consultation on Evangelism and Social Responsibility (Grand Rapids, Michigan, June 1982), 4.

<sup>56</sup> For an introduction to PACSA, especially Peter Kerchhoff's role, see Lou Levine's *Hope Beyond Apartheid: The Peter Kerchhoff Years of Pacsa, 1979 – 1999* (Pietermaritzburg: PACSA, 2002) and PACSA's 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary volume: *Journeying for Justice: Stories of an Ongoing Faith Based Struggle* (Pietermaritzburg: PACSA, 2013).

<sup>57</sup> Part of my discipleship formation was being part of this course in 1983 as a Wits student.

<sup>58</sup> Longley (5 June 2014).

<sup>59</sup> Welch had studied missiology with Bosch. She consciously drew not only on Bosch's *Witness to the World: The Christian Mission in Theological Perspective* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1980) in which Bosch first voiced his idea of mission as "holding" all aspects of discipleship "in creative tension", but increasingly involved Kritzinger face to face with SCAMP students, as the new curriculum of SCAMP was put in place. See Interview: Longley (5 June 2014) cf. *Witness to the World*,



the SCAMP programme between 1986 and 1989 became SCA's radical and uniquely South African expression of cross-cultural partnerships in mission in Southern and East Africa.<sup>60</sup>

Similar questions to those guiding this monograph might be asked about SCA's development in the 1980s: Did *kairós* invitations to SCA for a response of prophetic discipleship continue to arise? Could the seeds of prophetic discipleship, which had germinated in SCA in 1979, take root, mature and bear fruit? Was discipleship among SCA students marked by eschatological awareness and corporate commitment to defy apartheid, as an integral part of proclaiming the gospel of Jesus Christ?

Moments during the 1980s which might reward research as possible *kairós* invitations to SCA for new prophetic responses are: Dr Eddie Mhlanga's presentation at the 1980 July Conference, revealing his decision not to join Umkhonto weSizwe and the armed struggle;<sup>61</sup> the 1982 arrest and admission-of-guilt fine of Paul Germond and Ron Begbie of UCT in Gugulethu, for breaking apartheid Group Areas laws,<sup>62</sup> Ian Couper and Wits law student, Richard Maddern's alert in July 1983, that there were Broederbond members on SCA's Panel of Reference;<sup>63</sup> SCM's decision to adopt the IFES evangelical Basis of Faith,<sup>64</sup> the decision initiated by Rory Prest's National Student Executive at Port Elisabeth in December 1983, to make formal approaches to SCM, ACSV and CSV to reunite into a single student movement,<sup>65</sup> a letter from Keith Matthee on 19 January 1984 to Clive Tyler on SCA Council, to express concern about the unfairly meagre salary of Victor Gumede, SCA's administrative assistant and office messenger;<sup>66</sup> the suicide of Trevor Gow in April 1985

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17, 228. For a retrospective in depth reflection about how the "primacy of evangelism" debate of the 1980s was ultimately eclipsed by Bosch's new holism in missiology, see Klippiess Kritzing, "'Mission as... ' Must We Choose?'" *Missionalia* 39, no. 1/2 (Apr/Aug 2011): 32-59.

<sup>60</sup> Further research in "integral mission", and SCAMP's role in pioneering South African expressions of integral mission in the mid-80s will yield rewarding insight.

<sup>61</sup> Interview: James Stamoollis (9 April 2015).

<sup>62</sup> Sheriffs (11 March 2014).

<sup>63</sup> Couper and Maddern received the 1983 NSC meeting's support for this motion: "We [...] urge council in the name of Christ and for the sake of His Kingdom to take a firm decision that no member of the Broederbond or other comparable secret society, may be permitted to maintain any formal links with SCA which may require him/her to sign the Basis of Faith". Bill Houston finally confronted Dr Paul Bremer and Ds Johan Heyns at the University of Pretoria, in mid-1986, requesting their immediate withdrawal from the Panel of Reference. So H2.1.1, and A1.35, NSC and Council Reports and Minutes (July 1983) cf. Houston to Bremer (13 August 1986). Houston confirmed in an email that Heyns was the second *Broeder*.

<sup>64</sup> A1.36, Council Minutes (June 1984). Moshe Rajuile reported to the SCA Council that SCM's decision had been taken. Questions that might be pursued in further research regarding SCM's decision for the IFES evangelical Basis of Faith are: Was SCM's decision for formal assignation to an evangelical basis of faith written on paper, a departure from its former African evangelical identity and contextual theology of the 1970s, shaped as these were by Black Theology, or was SCM's decision a profound theological continuity? Was SCM's spirituality of prophetic struggle of the 1970s which birthed *The Cyara Declaration* changing in its essence towards becoming a Third Way Theology, as it let go of previous commitments to meet its white counterpart? Were black evangelicals' deep roots in Black Theology and Black Consciousness ultimately to be lost in the 1990s, when SCM merged with SCA, with what effect on the future of evangelical witness to Jesus Christ?

<sup>65</sup> H2.1.7.3, Rory Prest "Consultation Position Paper on Social Issues".

<sup>66</sup> B4.1.5, Matthee to Tyler (19 January 1984).

after his long struggle for acceptance and integrity in his homosexuality,<sup>67</sup> the news at the 1987 Intersivity Conference, that the 7 year old sister of one of the Namibian students in attendance had been killed by South African soldiers in the Namibian "operational area",<sup>68</sup> and SCA and SCM's first joint NSE meetings at the Evangelical Lutheran Centre in Soweto in July 1989, and their ELCSA Declaration jointly committing them to actively pursue the goal of a merger.<sup>69</sup>

SCA's further development through the 1990s included the appointment of Rory Prest as Western Cape staff worker in 1992, then as General Secretary in 1994, after which unity talks with SCM gathered pace, leading to the merger of SCA with SCM in July 1997 at Fort Hare; here the Students' Christian Organization (SCO) was founded with Rory Prest as first National Director.<sup>70</sup>

An insightful point of view which complements this brief introduction of the 1980s, is Anthony Balcomb's analysis of Third Way theologies in the same decade, especially their tendency in the face of social injustices to unwittingly adopt the economic and political allegiances of philosophical liberalism, particularly regarding the "the individual", "privacy" and "personal freedom".<sup>71</sup>

Balcomb holds that philosophical liberalism infused South African Christianity through the mid-twentieth century, becoming something more like a transfusion of liberalism through Third Way Theologies in the 1980s. The Liberal ideology built into Protestant and evangelical faith and spirituality in South Africa, says Balcomb, eventually achieved ascendancy as the philosophical cement of the negotiated settlement between the ANC

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<sup>67</sup> Gow's copious SCA correspondence and official memoranda to staff after 1977 reveal an increasingly burdensome workload and clear signs of what the post-millennium workplace twenty years later would recognize as severe stress-related fatigue. Among other factors contributing to Gow's burden was a struggle he shared with a handful of SCA people - to accept his homosexual orientation and be accepted. Interviews: Sheriffs (11 March 2014), Dieter and Judy Weinand (25 May 2014) and Haddad (6 June 2014). Gow's struggle would have been well underway when he received a letter from Hugh Wetmore, Chairman of the Association of Evangelicals of Southern Africa (AESA), late in 1978, which included a report of the Evangelical Alliance of Great Britain's "Official Statement on Homosexuality," reproduced in *EvangeLENS*, AESA's Spring 1978 newsletter edition. The British statement and Wetmore and AESA's affirmations of it in the newsletter, would have communicated to Gow officially that a monogamous homosexual relationship was anathema for all signatories and affiliates of AESA, which included SCA. See B4.1.5 Wetmore to Gow (22 November 1978). Gow wrote an instruction on this copy of *EvangeLENS* to Houston to return it after Houston had read the newsletter. For a compassionate appraisal of the Bible texts about homosexuality, see Pauline Hoggarth's Chapter, "Offensive Word," in her monograph, *The Seed and the Soil: Engaging the Word of God* (Carlisle: The Global Christian Library, 2011), 63-82. A searching presentation of the pastoral dimensions in hospitality, to gay, lesbian, bisexual and transsexual people in the church, from an Anabaptist perspective, is Sarah MacDonald's essay, "Opening Safe Space," *Vision: A Journal for Church and Theology*, 9, 2 (Fall 2009): 75-81.

<sup>68</sup> Interview: Ros Irlam (10 March 2013).

<sup>69</sup> H2.5.1, Wits Minutes (July 1989).

<sup>70</sup> Andiswa Flatela, "A Tribute to Rory Prest", *Information* (February 2002): 4. For more on SCO's subsequent story see [www.sco.org.za](http://www.sco.org.za)

<sup>71</sup> See Anthony Balcomb, "Third Way Theologies in the Contemporary South African Situation: Towards a Definition and Critique," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 68 (1989): 41-60.

and the apartheid regime, resulting in a hegemony of liberalism in South African society by 1994 over Afrikaner and Black nationalism in civil society, and over the Black Consciousness ideas, prophetic theology, African, Black and liberation theologies of the church struggle during the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>72</sup>

The evidence Balcomb presents is convincing.<sup>73</sup> Although Balcomb's analysis applies specifically to South African interdenominational developments in the 1980s it also relates to this monograph's identification of secular liberal notions which infused SCA Council decisions about public engagement from the 1973 Congress of Evangelism and Mission onwards. Robust dialogue with Balcomb will be necessary if fruitful new questions about prophetic integrity among evangelical Christians may be asked and researched to bring fresh insight to South African evangelicalism since the 1990s.<sup>74</sup>

Such questions, borrowed from the focus of this monograph, but relating to SCA, SCM and SCO's confluent history since 1990, might be phrased as follows: Did prophetic discipleship characterise SCA by the early 1990s? Was SCM attracted more to SCA's prophetic allegiance to Jesus Christ than to the pull factors in SCA of economic power and privilege, during merger proceedings? Were SCM's autochthonous, Trinitarian and missional expressions of Black Theology in the mid-1970s gradually displaced by a more dualistic, privatized evangelicalism, shaped by powerful economic ideologies and liberal individualism in the early 1990s? Was the new SCO responsive to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission process, to embody a theology and spirituality of reconciliation by 1999, grounded on the unconditional forgiveness of Christ, the truth of whites' past economic and political complicity with apartheid, and a freed posture, again mostly among whites, for economic and relational restitution in South Africa? Or was what Hans Bürki would have called "cultural Christianity", with little reference to the material, social and

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<sup>72</sup> This is my broad description of Anthony Balcomb's thesis in *Third Way Theology: Reconciliation, Revolution and Reform in the South African Church During the 1980s* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1993). A succinct record of Balcomb's whole project in the book is found at *Third Way Theology ...*, 216-218.

<sup>73</sup> Balcomb's contribution is part of a robust evangelical theological tradition highlighting the systematic erosion of corporate and communal identities and aspirations in modernity by the liberal ideology of "the freedom of the private individual". See for example, David W. Clements, "Bonhoeffer, Barmen and Anglo-Saxon Individualism," *JTSA*, no. 54 (March 1986): 15-24 and Stanley Hauerwas, *Christian Existence Today: Essays on Church, World, and Living In Between* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 1988), esp. 171-186. These evangelicals, in turn, appeal to Karl Barth who re-awakened the Christian world to the transcendent *relational and interpersonal* nature of God, after more than a century of liberal theological notions of God's immanence in individual human experience. Barth thus returned Christian reflection, after three centuries since John Owen and Jonathan Edwards, to the mystery of the Trinity. For an introduction to Barth's departure from theological liberalism see Stanley Grenz and Robert E. Olson, eds., *20<sup>th</sup> Century Theology: God & The World in a Transitional Age*, (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1992), 65-77.

<sup>74</sup> Deciding if SCA had a distinct theology of its own in the 1980s, or if it exemplified a Third Way Theology, or if the Association was really a parochial expression of conservative evangelicalism, and then describing SCA's relationship to philosophical liberalism, nationalism and the liberation struggle at the apogee of apartheid and into SCA's unity talks with SCM in the 1990s, might be a rewarding field for future research.

contextual dimensions of conversion most formative for SCO, with stark consequences for its future theology and spirituality? These questions and others about the 1990s, like those of the 1980s, remain, inviting new avenues of inquiry into the more recent developments in evangelical theology and spirituality in South Africa after the turn of the millennium.

### **Epilogue - Three Themes from SCA's Twentieth Century Discipleship**

Having concluded the historical component of this dissertation it remains, by way of epilogue, to highlight three characteristics of a prophetic Christian spirituality in three outstanding themes of SCA's story. Thereafter, brief closing reflections will be offered about how these characteristics of prophetic discipleship might resonate with the church struggle for justice in South Africa today.

#### **Theme 1 - Prophetic Allegiance Images the Trinity**

SCA's history of faith, compromise and internal struggle between 1965 and 1976, and nascent prophetic integrity by 1979, returned repeatedly to the theme of allegiance - Christians' primary loyalty to Jesus Christ in his cruciform life and message of reconciliation. The prophetic community's calling to a loving mutual interdependence, which at the same time radically abandons its own sovereignty, in trust and allegiance to God's sovereign purpose, is thus the first trait of prophetic Christian spirituality that is thematic in SCA's story.

The consensus of historians like de Gruchy, Villa-Vicencio, Cochrane, Elphick, Stanley and others that there has been a conflict of allegiance in the South African Church, between a primary loyalty to Christ and the gospel, and competing allegiances, such as to the economic prosperity of Victoria's colonies in South Africa in the late nineteenth century, or to the economic, social and political agenda of the apartheid nation-building project, has been pertinent to SCA's history, from 1896. This monograph has shown that SCA's history mirrors the history of the South African church in the Association's accommodation of and resistance to this conflicted allegiance.

Such division of loyalties also relates directly to the concerns of Anabaptist historians and theologians discussing *post-Christendom*, who have recently reminded the church how the church's position of hegemony from Constantine to the Enlightenment, that is, the Church's position of power and privilege in society not only changed and compromised the early church's way of being the church, but also reflected a profound change and dilution

of the earliest Christian understanding of *conversion*.<sup>75</sup> Much of this study has illustrated this theme in SCA's story of negotiated and sometimes contested theological reception, playing out mostly in SCA's hierarchical and bureaucratic structures, which it was shown, were designed and implemented in apartheid's hegemonic style of liberal democratic, secular governance. The conflict of interest between such liberal democratic assertions of sovereignty in governance, and the personal and corporate laying down of sovereignty that marks true prophetic spirituality, thus found many historical examples in this study.<sup>76</sup>

Calvin Cook emerged almost pre-eminently in the narrative of the 1960s, as a voice directing SCA to the radical discipleship that mirrors Jesus' complete abandonment of sovereignty, with unswerving trust in and allegiance to God. Another way of understanding Cook's role in SCA's narrative was that he clearly pointed the Association to corporately mirror the relinquishment of hegemony and sacrificial love at the heart of the self-sacrificing, other-serving Trinity.<sup>77</sup> Cook's recurring question about where SCA's true allegiance lay, during the telling events leading to SCA's compromise of January 1965, and his abiding concern for racial unity, was grounded in a profound theological understanding of this mystery - that Christians are remade by the Holy Spirit for life together in the Church, to image the mutual, sacrificial self-giving in communion of the Trinity.<sup>78</sup>

Cook's emphasis on the significance for Christian community and witness of the mutual corporate self-donation of the Trinity would disappear from focus in SCA's Discipleship curriculum almost entirely in the period of this study, only to reappear as a focal point in the SCAMP training curriculum in 1979.<sup>79</sup> The dearth of intentional focus and systematic reflection on the significance of Trinitarian communion and mission in the theology and spirituality received into SCA's discipleship curriculum was manifested starkly in the SCA

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<sup>75</sup> See Alan Kreider, *The Change of Conversion and the Origin of Christendom*, (Harrisburg PA: Trinity Press International, 2009) and Alan Kreider and Luke Beck, "Mennonite Ethics and the Ways of the World: Rethinking Culture for Renewed Witness," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, LXXXVI, no. 4 (October 2012): 465-92. Also see Jonathan Bartley's chapter "The Changes in Christendom," in his *Faith and Politics After Christendom: The Church as a Movement for Anarchy* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006), 32-52.

<sup>76</sup> Hauerwas and Willimon allude to the resolution of this conflict, in the ethics of the community founded by Christ and most clearly described by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount: "... what the church asks of people is difficult to see by oneself. Christian ethics arise, in great part, out of something Christians claim to have seen the world has not seen, namely, the creation of a people, a family, a colony that is a living witness that Jesus Christ is Lord." Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon, *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony; A provocative Christian assessment of culture and ministry for people who know that something is wrong* (Nashville: TEN, 1990), 72.

<sup>77</sup> See for example Cook's words to Vic Breidenkamp about the imitation of Christ's learnt renunciation of "sovereignty," on page 87.

<sup>78</sup> An introduction to the scope of correspondence between the Trinity and the Church is Miroslav Volf's *After Our Likeness: The Church as the Image of the Trinity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), esp. 191-220. A systematic exposition of fellowship in the church as the image of the Trinitarian communion is John Zizioulas' *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985).

<sup>79</sup> James Irlam Archive: SCAMP Training Weekend I Notes: The first training weekend focus of the SCAMP training, on the Biblical basis of mission, foregrounds the source of mission in the economic Trinity.

students' 1976 "Response" to "The Cyara Declaration." A lack of robust teaching and reflection on Trinitarian communion might also explain SCA's inability to question and thereby to transform or even slightly change its liberal-democratic statesmen-like way of being an Association. A want of disciplined teaching and reflection on the Triune God of grace in SCA also explains the aptness of the *kairós* invitations of the 1970s, inviting the Association to prophetically contend apartheid's many racial exclusions.

## **Theme 2 - Prophetic *Metánoia* Turns From Exclusion to Embrace**

SCA's unfortunate history of exclusions had prevented the "embrace" which is a sign of the peculiar freedom "for the other" in Trinitarian communion. This corporate ability to reach out beyond self-groundedness, in joint solidarity with the weak is a second trait of prophetic Christian spirituality thematic of SCA's history of discipleship. Jesus' and his disciples' strong identification with women, children, foreigners, outcasts, the abject poor and the dispossessed, like the prophetic communities of Moses, Hosea, Obadiah, Amos, Jeremiah, Micah and nearly all the prophets before Christ, epitomises the prophetic spirituality of counter-cultural fellowship. Such a prophetic spirituality was asked of SCA in its *kairós* invitations of the 1970s to oppose apartheid's race laws and identify itself publically with the black struggle for justice, and theologically with the black theologians, as the Christian Institute had. Thus, SCA's withdrawal from the Christian Institute in 1973, and its policy of public disengagement in favour of personal and private responses to politics, was a telling indication that the Association tended to exclude rather than embrace South Africa's prophetic Christian community of that time.

SCA's *kairós* invitations of the 1970s were thus not unlike arresting moments of God's reckoning with humanity for the practice of "exclusion" in many biblical narratives - as in Yahweh's implication that Cain is "his brother's keeper" (Gen. 4:9),<sup>80</sup> or when Christ subverted conventional understandings of retributive justice and prescribed peacemaking (Matt. 18:15-22), inviting the estranged into the "embrace" of a peculiar community that images Trinitarian communion because the Kingdom community loves enemies as part of loving God, neighbour and self (Matt. 11:30-31 cf. Matt. 5:43-48).<sup>81</sup> It was this radically antithetical spirituality of peacemaking that Bürki presciently commended to Johnston and

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<sup>80</sup> See Miroslav Volf's incisive exegesis of this story in his *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness and Reconciliation* (Nashville, TEN: Abingdon Press, 1996). Volf interprets the story in the tradition of Claus Westermann, for whom says Volf, "the intention of [the] primal history is to underscore that every human being is potentially Cain and Abel, just as every human being is Adam and Eve," 93 cf. 92-98.

<sup>81</sup> See Stanley Hauerwas' exegetical exposition of these texts with a strong Anabaptist resonance in his essay: *Peacemaking: The Virtue of the Church*, which is part of his collection: *Christian Existence Today: Essays on Church, World, and Living In Between* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 1998), 89-100.

SCA, in 1976, in anticipation of the grim events that catapulted South Africa's brutal history of exclusions to its zenith.

It was seen that SCA's most influential echelon of governors too often embodied the self-grounded individualism common in the political and philosophical liberalism of the mid-twentieth century. The inability of the most influential of these councillors to relate the doctrine of "repentance" to South Africa's material conditions, by including mention of this in the Association's Basis of Faith, reflected secular liberal self-definition rather than a costly commitment to corporate baptismal identity, shared by all whom Christ has joined in the new covenant bonds of the Kingdom.<sup>82</sup> By contrast, narratives of SCA's discipleship among students showed at least some SCA people beginning to embrace the hope and challenge of what corporate eschatological repentance meant in their South African context, and what love of enemies *as* love of God and self might cost. Tentative steps taken by these students and staff workers towards confronting their complicity with apartheid, close to the acme of the regime's hegemony in 1979, ended this monograph, with narratives of hope and possibility describing the surprising agency in SCA of subversive corporate prophetic integrity.

### **Theme 3 - Prophetic Communities Submit to Divine Surgery**

A third trait of prophetic spirituality which relates thematically to the history of SCA's discipleship tradition is the way in which prophets and their prophetic communities cannot escape the effects of their society's woundedness - the social sickness that is the result of the interrelated human and divine agencies of history - disobedience, social hubris, injustice and divine judgement (e.g. Ps. 38.5; Jer. 51:52, Lam. 2:12).<sup>83</sup> By accepting Tshifhiwa Muofhe's diagnosis of South Africa's "sickness" as the pathological prejudice at the root of apartheid culture - a culture from which SCA was unable to free itself - this study was able to identify a climax in the symptoms of the pastoral myopia which had gradually infected SCA's culture of ministry through the twentieth century.

During the Intervarsity Conference of 1977, David Bosch's allusions to the exilic prophets' "incurable wound" which had to be "slashed open" if it could be healed, and to the prophetic community's vocation to share and express a nation's guilt and repentance, and

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<sup>82</sup> A lively introduction to the essentially corporate nature of the covenantal relationship is Walter Brueggemann's *The Covenanted Self: Explorations in Law and Covenant* (Minneapolis: MIN, Fortress Press, 1999).

<sup>83</sup> "Wounds speak not only of God's judgement but also of his sovereign power. The writers of the OT make plain that any wounds God inflicts he can also bind up (Job 5:18; Hos. 6:1). They serve as a reminder of our contingent existence in [God's] hands." See Leland Ryken, James C. Wilhoit and Tremper Longman III, eds., *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1998), 973.

submission to what God might require as restitution - as God's divine surgery - are close to the heart of what this thesis brought to light from its primary sources of historical evidence. It was seen that one of the most painful aspects of this "surgery" for white Christians in South Africa, was to contextually apply the social and economic implications of repentance, which humbles the powerful from the pedestal of paternalism that determines their condescending posture of charity, to a posture of solidarity, service of the common good and the cause of justice.<sup>84</sup>

SCA's acceptance of this prophetic vocation, to the extent that it was perceived, received and appropriated by a few members in the Association who demonstrated prophetic integrity, is the central theme of this study - the costly hope of prophetic and eschatological imagination. The painful passage of socially appropriate repentance and economically appropriate restitution, among white South Africans, the no less painful exigency of embodying and offering forgiveness by black South Africans,<sup>85</sup> and the invitation to embody received forgiveness by whites,<sup>86</sup> is a hopeful pilgrimage inspired by a corporate, prophetic and eschatological imagination, that still needs to be walked by evangelicals and Christians of all persuasions in South Africa today, which brings this discussion to its closing reflection on what God's *kairós* for the Church in South Africa might look like today, twenty-two years after the democratic transition in South Africa, and fifteen years after Archbishop Desmond Tutu's release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report.

### **From Realism to Hope: A Way of Remembering for Holy Defiance**

One of the guiding factors in this study's reflections has been the church historian's concern of how best to remember *kairós* moments in the past, in light of what the Holy Spirit is saying to the church today. This is what guided this study's initial reflections on White, English-speaking delegates' votes at the Extraordinary General Meeting in Bloemfontein on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965.

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<sup>84</sup> A Scriptural example of such repentance and restitution is Zacchaeus of Jericho (Luke 9:1-10). For more on how a theology and spirituality of restitution might be imagined in the South African context today, see my essay "Towards a Theology and Spirituality of Restitution, and the Future of Peacemaking in South Africa," forthcoming in a publication of the Anabaptist Network in South Africa – [www.anisa.co.za](http://www.anisa.co.za).

<sup>85</sup> On the dangers of describing for communities affected by structural injustices how their forgiveness might be embodied, see L. Gregory Jones' chapter, "Is this a story to pass on?" in his *Embodying Forgiveness: A Theological Analysis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 279-302.

<sup>86</sup> For a searching presentation of the social dimensions of repentance, forgiveness and restitution, see L. Gregory Jones' "The Cost of Forgiveness" in *Embodying Forgiveness*, 3-33.



As shown in Chapter Four, the financial unviability of amalgamating "the new SCA" with the Coloured and African Sections of the "old SCA", was a subtext in SCA's will to survive financially after January 1965, and was one reason out of many for regarding the idea of unity with the other Sections as *unrealistic*.<sup>87</sup> Herein lies the crux of this history - the difficulty of practising the *unrealistic* kingdom economics of restitution that makes reconciliation possible.<sup>88</sup> In the same way that English-speaking Christians were unable to challenge colonial infringements on the political and human rights of the "Natives" at the origins of SCA in 1896 because of prior economic allegiances to the economic success of colonial rule, the primacy of the "new SCA's" financial survival immediately after January 1965 "blinded" SCA people to their "private" economic allegiances and to a much greater forgotten allegiance, to the Gospel, which had they truly understood and remembered it, as Calvin Cook had admonished them to, may have motivated them to take the costlier road of restitution, reconciliation and unity with the African and Coloured Sections.

The narrative of this study created from archival evidence and oral memories, to identify prophetic integrity in SCA's discipleship tradition between 1965 and 1979, represent a fundamental challenge to the realism and pragmatism that caused SCA's partition on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1965, and which characterised SCA decisions at so many other points until 1979, not least in moments where the new SCA felt it held realistic and unique solutions to solve the problems created by 1965. Such realism, pragmatism and instrumentalism, wherever they were expressed, were proofs of self-groundedness rather than of radical abandonment to the Triune God of grace, in prophetic hope.

A posture of prophetic hope is necessarily antithetical to any social forces that diminish other human beings. It is a posture of radical faith, relinquishing human guarantees in an unflinching commitment to God, and embracing the interpersonal, economic and political costs of discipleship defined not by "the free individual", but in a prophetic community that images the Trinitarian bonds reflected in the old covenant and effected in Christians' corporate baptism into Jesus Christ. Like the prophetic communities that passed down narratives of the exilic prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah, to Judaism and Christianity, in the face of the ancient world's superpowers, the South African church, if it is to become a prophetic community, first has to relinquish all guarantees of influence on South African

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<sup>87</sup> "Discussion Between Revd. S. Hudson-Reed and Dr R.J. Wells...", p.4. In his description of the events around 1965 Hudson-Reed described the dire financial outlook after the split as the main reason he volunteered himself as first elected Chairman of SCA in September 1965: "I understand that some of the high ups in the Afrikaans SCA didn't expect us to last for more than a few months after the dissolution." The "new SCA's" will to survive financially was driven in part by this post-war generation of realists and pragmatists.

<sup>88</sup> For more on the biblical foundations of a theology of restitution see my forthcoming paper in *Missionalia*, "A Theology & Spirituality of Restitution and the Future of Peacemaking in Southern Africa."

society, or even of survival in South Africa, before it may recognise and receive its *kairós* invitation for today.<sup>89</sup>

Do Christians in South Africa have cause for euphoria or contrition twenty-two years after democracy and fifteen years after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission findings? Another way of asking this question could be: Is South African Christianity newly arrived in Canaan or still on banks of the Red Sea? Or yet another set of metaphorical narratives can be related to South Africa's current context to ask: Is the South African Church only now facing the Chaldeans at the gates, or is South African Christianity triumphantly rebuilding the walls of a new Jerusalem? These sets of questions hint at inversely opposite approaches to the South African Church's current self-perception, and its current relationship to civil powers. How should the South African church relate to Jacob Zuma's administration on the one hand, which is apparently fixated on self-interest, and the susceptibility to the power of violence and anarchy of millions of South Africa's poor who remain "dispossessed", on the other? Thus it is not difficult to conclude that SCA's story of the 1970s resonates strongly with South Africa's contemporary situation of creeping authoritarianism and explosive social violence, whose combination Isobel Frye of the Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute has aptly described as "a ring of fire".<sup>90</sup>

What this monograph has shown about Christian discipleship is that the call to follow Jesus is never private and socially neutral, but is as necessarily corporate, socially visible and antithetical to social injustices as Jesus' "life together" was, with his first disciples.<sup>91</sup> Identifying, welcoming, integrating, embodying and teaching a new generation of students a theology and spirituality that participates in this "life together" - the counter-cultural citizenship of Jesus' eschatological Kingdom, is the history of Christian spirituality that this monograph hoped to find, and has identified in part of SCA's story, a history that speaks directly to the challenges of the South African church today.

A new chapter in South Africa's struggle for justice and peace began with the call for restitution at the churches' Rustenburg Conference in 1990, which unfolded dramatically in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission findings of 1999, and deepened with the shock of the Mbeki Administration's arms procurement deal, and which continues from day to day in the Zuma government's callous treatment of advocates for justice, like Moses Tatane,

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<sup>89</sup> On relinquishment and receiving in the narratives of Jeremiah see Walter Brueggemann, *Hopeful Imagination: Prophetic Voices in Exile* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 14-17.

<sup>90</sup> Sakhina Khamwendo. "Forum@8: Can Inequality be Eradicated?" <http://www.safm.co.za/sabc/home/safm/features/details?id=daf75271-1262-45cb-b89a-13e3156be628&title=Dealing%20in%20inequality>, accessed: 6 October 2015.

<sup>91</sup> My allusion to Bonhoeffer's *Life Together* (London: SCM, 1954) is deliberate, to emphasize his point, and also the premise of Anabaptist ecclesiology, that Jesus' Sermon on the Mount is normative for church life in every age.

and "the man in the green blanket" who brokered for a peaceful solution to the Marikana drillworkers' strike,<sup>92</sup> and in the Zuma government's increasingly unabashed alliance with opportunistic monopoly capital, global tycoons and criminals.<sup>93</sup> Like the *kairós* moments of invitation, which arose for SCA in its temptation to accommodate itself to apartheid during the 1970s, the current situation in South Africa constitutes a *kairós* invitation to the contemporary South African church, and highlights a stark choice. South African Christians may tacitly support an increasingly unjust economic system that increases inequality, through a primary allegiance, which secures wealthy Christians financially and economically for the immediate future. Or, followers of Christ can rediscover the radical discipleship of the early church, which David Bosch described to SCA in 1977 as the "Alternative Community" - the church living antithetically to the world's socio-economic allegiances that diminish and marginalize so many in the world. In the paradigm of the post-Christendom historians, the South African church's choice is essentially Constantinian in scope and importance - between maintaining a position of power, influence and privilege in society, as many Christians chose under Hitler in the 1930s, or becoming a community that is itself a "social strategy," as with Bonhoeffer and Niemöller's attempts to form a "confessing church" in costly solidarity with the marginalised Jewish, black and Romany populations of Germany and Europe during the 1940s.<sup>94</sup>

James Torrance, whose British identity and classical evangelicalism would have been highly valued in any SCA discipleship event during the 1970s, took a decision in 1985 to support the spirit if not the letter of the *Kairos Document* in its prophetic challenge to apartheid.<sup>95</sup> At the very height of Botha's intransigence in 1986, Torrance put aside any theological scruples he may have had with the Kairos Theologians' thesis and stood in solidarity with

<sup>92</sup> See Nick Davies' article about Mgcineni (Mambush) Noki, who volunteered to be the "shuttle diplomat" between the riot police and the Marikana strikers before he was apparently targeted, then shot multiple times in the Marikana Massacre. See "The Savage Truth Behind the Marikana Massacre,"

<http://mg.co.za/article/2015-05-21-the-savage-truth-behind-the-marikana-massacre>, accessed: 11 September 2015.

<sup>93</sup> On the implication for social justice of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission see James Cochrane, John W. de Gruchy and Stephen Martin, eds., *Facing the Truth: South African Faith Communities and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1999). A lead into research on Tatane's murder can be found in Richard Pithouse's, "On the Murder of Andries Tatane," South African Civil Society Information Service, <http://sacsis.org.za/site/article/655.1>, accessed: 6 October 2015. Rehad Desai's documentary film, *Miners Shot Down* introduces the issues surrounding the Marikana massacre. See "Miners Shot Down", <http://www.minersshotdown.co.za/>, accessed: 6 October 2015. The press is awash at present with evidence of collusion and corruption in the Zuma administration. See for example, Mondli Makhanya, "Nkandla, How it Happened: A Monument to Corruption", <http://www.biznews.com/leadership/2015/09/11/nkandla-how-it-happened-a-monument-of-corruption/>, accessed: 11 October 2015, or Sarah Evans, "Madonsela Defends Independence of Nkandla Report", <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-11-11-madonsela-defends-independence-over-nkandla-report>, accessed: 11 September 2015).

<sup>94</sup> Stanley Hauerwas and William Willimon's apply these stark choices of the German Church to the North American Church in 1989 in their: *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony: A Provocative Christian Assessment of Culture and Ministry for People Who Know that Something is Wrong* (Nashville, TEN: Abingdon Press, 1990), 43 ff.

<sup>95</sup> James B. Torrance, "The Kairos Debate: Listening to Its Challenge," *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 55 (June 1986): 42-45. John de Gruchy took a similar decision

them, as a fellow Christian, as an expression of prophetic community. So, a well-known Scottish evangelical stood in agreement with Black and Liberation Theologians from the opposite side of the world. Why? Because apartheid invited a response of prophetic integrity. What Torrance wanted published at this moment of solidarity with the South African poor and oppressed is apt to conclude this study:

[The Kairos Document] is a call to the churches of the world not to sit on the fence as some kind of “third party” between the oppressor and the oppressed, but with the mind of Christ to *listen* to the cry of the oppressed, as God did to Israel in Egypt, and to be willing to participate in the struggle for love, justice and liberty – using the weapons of the Gospel, the Word of the Cross. How can we fight for justice and freedom while recognising the need to love our enemies and unconditionally forgive one another? We all, the oppressor and the oppressed, live by God’s forgiveness, under the judgement of the Cross. All self-righteousness is excluded. How do we relate justification by grace alone to justice? They are not divorced in the New Testament. Nor must they be in our witness.<sup>96</sup>

What Bosch called the “alternative community” or the “Church as antibody”, what the post-Christendom historians understand as the radical relinquishment by the Church of civic guarantees for power and influence, an eschewal that frees disciples of Jesus Christ *corporately* to interrupt or obstruct civic injustices, or what Black Theologians have referred to as “prophetic theology”, a costly readiness to stand in solidarity with the poor and oppressed, this is the South African church’s only option today. This choice of walking with Christ who heals the lame, the deaf and the blind, is antithetical to the individualism, realism and primary economic allegiances of a liberal democratic society, and mirrors the economy of self-donation between the Persons in God who is Trinity. This eschatological option is Jesus’ present *kairós* invitation, to repent, because his time continues to be fulfilled, for a South African following in the way of his Cross.

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<sup>96</sup> Torrance, “The Kairos Debate...,” 44.

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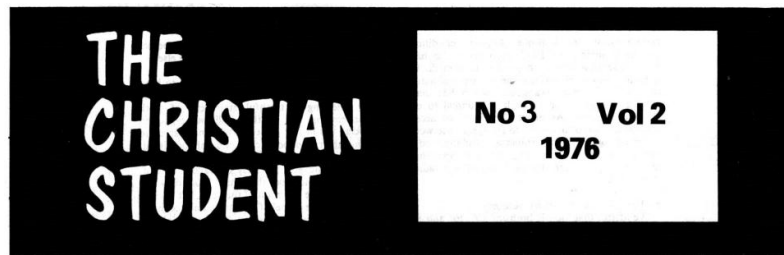
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 October 2015.

Date	Person	File	Title	Note One	Note Two
690730	Williamson, Maureen	H2.1.1	God's Men From All Nations to All Nations	NSC Report	Obtained and sent to all Missionary secretaries.
690925	Truscott	H2.5.1	Evangelical Belief	Wits Minutes	Requested to be read before 1st committee meeting of
721026	Houston	B4.1.4	The Cost of Discipleship	Houston staff application details	
730100	Child, John	H2.1.3.3	Reading list - 155 titles under sub-headings: General int., Art, Bib. Theological Studs, Bio. Sciences, Ecology, Education, English, Evolution - 34 titles: anti-evolution - quoted Abraham Kuyper's indictment of evolution. 31 Titles - Geol., Hist., Law, Phil. 10 Titles - Politics - Kuyperian Neo-Calvinist genre; Psych., Soc. Anthro., Sociol. "I strongly urge the student to study <i>By What Standard?</i> " about philosophy of Dr Cornelius Van Til by J Rushdoony, Presbyterian and Reformed.	Recommended Rachel Carson <i>The Silent Spring</i> (Penguin), and <i>Pollution and the Death of Man</i> , F. Schaeffer, as well as <i>Ecology Crisis</i> by J. Klotz.	
750219	Sheriffs	B4.1.4		Talk at Rhosed university branch	entitled: "Whose World?"
750513	Gow	B4.1.4	Doubt: Os Guinness	Memo informing of stocks at Nat Office	
750517	Houston	B4.1.4	Sharing the Good News with Marxists	Letter from David Bosch	Thanked Bill for Kristensen's article in IFES Review.
750710	Gow	B4.1.4	His Magazine: IVP	Letter From His Magazine	12 copies quarterly
760616	Houston/Goven der	B4.1.4	100 Yr. History of Cambridge CU	Houston's motivation: "I was impressed by the strategic nature of the student work. In the late nineteens 50% of the C.U. members went out as missionaries. The IVF today produces one third of the candidates fo r the Anglican ministry. Cambridge has alumni such as John Stott, Oliver Barclay, Sir Fred Catherwood, Michael Griffiths, Archbishop Donald Coggan, Professor J.N.D. Anderson etc."	
760707	Gow/Stamoolis	B4.1.4	We Believe in Creation not Evolution: Fred Meldau	2	TG requested Stamoolis to bring a copy from the US
760730	Gow	B4.1.4	Words of Fire, Rivers of Tears: Howard, Dave	2	TG requested Stamoolis to bring a copy from the US
761101	GLS Bombay	B4.1.4	The Master Trainer: Chandapilla		10 copiesinvoiced for 761101 order.
770308	Sheriffs/Gow	B4.1.4	He is there & is not silent: Francis Schaeffer	8 copies sold	
770308	Sheriffs/Gow	B4.1.4	The God who is there; Reaching into Silence - John Leax	7	
770525	Johnson, Ashley	B4.1.4	Student Power in World Mission: Howard	Mid Term NSC report	
770700	Gow/Hewitson	B4.1.4	David Bosch Tapes	6 sets	Thanked him for the sets and made payment- Conference talks
770700	Cyara 77	B4.1.4	Religious Groups at the Time of Jesus: David Bosch	Cassette: Letter requesting copy	Alternative Community: 1
770700	Cyara 77	B4.1.4	Christ's View of Community/True Conversion: David Bosch	Cassette: Letter requesting copy	Alternative Community: 2
780000	Gow	B4.1.4	Essentials - Burki, Starting Right, Master Trainer, Jesus: One of Us, Creative Bible Studies.	Memo informing of stocks at Nat Office	
780000	Gow	B4.1.4	Third Way Magazine	Thirty press - a positive biblical approach to the complex problems of today's secular society, responding to social and cultural issues by evangelicals, study and action groups: Ron Sider et al.	
780000	Gow	B4.1.4	World Vision Christian Leadership Magazine	Letter to WorldVision	2 extra copies, for new staff, Derek, and Lynn
780200	Simms/Houston	B4.1.4	Communicating the Gospel: Burki Cassette: Letter requesting copy	... happened to allude to thoughts in the tape while in discussion with our Pastor and a deacon, they didn't think I was quite sane, I want to check to see that I am reflecting accurately what Dr. Burki mentioned, as well as to let others hear he had to say. (Pinetown)	
780400	Weinand	H2.5.1	The Master Trainer: Chandapilla	Minutes: Committee Devotions	Weinand introduced committee by leading from the MT.
780709	Houston	B.6.2.2	TC Companion to the Poor:		Reviewed it for TSF

Date	File	Title	Person or Event	Genre
1968	H2.1.7.2	IFES and SCA ORGANisation	NATCONF UPE 68	Seminar
1968	H2.1.7.2	Conviction and Co-operation - SCA-UCM	NATCONF UPE 68	Seminar
1968	H2.1.7.2	Holiness and Separation	NATCONF UPE 68	Plenary
1968	H2.1.7.2	Missionary Involvement	NATCONF UPE 68	Seminar
1968	H2.1.7.2	Christian Morality	NATCONF UPE 68	Seminar
1968	H2.1.7.2	Fellowship	NATCONF UPE 68	Seminar
1968	H2.1.7.2	Social and Political Involvement	NATCONF UPE 68	Seminar
1968	H2.1.7.2	Vocation	NATCONF UPE 68	Seminar
1968	H2.1.7.2	Person and Work of the Holy Spirit - Dr. J.N. Jonsson	NATCONF UPE 68	Plenary
1968	H2.1.7.2	Theology of Evangelism - Jim Johnston	NATCONF UPE 68	Plenary
1968	H2.1.7.2	South African Scene - Needs and Opps. For Gospel - Dr. P.M Bremer	NATCONF UPE 68	Plenary
1968	H2.1.7.2	Doctrine of the Word in Evangelism Dr. J.N Jonsson	NATCONF UPE 68	Plenary
1968	H2.1.7.2	Bible Readings by D. Robin Wells - Five sessions	NATCONF UPE 68	Readings
1969	H2.1.7.2	Responsibility to God	NATCONF 69	Plenary
1969	H2.1.7.2	Responsibility to Myself	NATCONF 69	Plenary
1969	H2.1.7.2	Responsibility to Society	NATCONF 69	Plenary
1969	H2.1.7.2	Responsibility for Mission	NATCONF 69	Plenary
1969	H2.1.7.2	The Christian in Education	NATCONF WILGESP 69	Seminar
1969	H2.1.7.2	Conviction, Co-operation and Action - SCA-UCM	NATCONF WILGESP 69	Seminar
1969	H2.1.7.2	Christian involvement in Politics - nationalism, politics of state	NATCONF WILGESP 69	Seminar
1969	H2.1.7.2	Christian Responsibility in Relationships	NATCONF WILGESP 69	Plenary
1969	H2.1.7.2	Christianity and Science	NATCONF WILGESP 69	Seminar
1969	H2.1.7.2	Modern Missionary Thinking	NATCONF WILGESP 69	Seminar
1969	H2.1.7.2	Christian Standards of Behaviour	NATCONF WILGESP 69	Seminar
1970	H2.1.7.2	What we communicate about: God, Jesus Christ, Man, Reconciliation	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Exposition
1970	H2.1.7.2	Evening TSF conf topics: The SA students' scene, Personal Communication, Communication between cultural groups, Audio-Visual Communication.	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Seminar
1970	H2.1.7.2	Politics - Mr P. Mehlape	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Seminar
1970	H2.1.7.2	Art and Man's Need - Peter Eliastam	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Seminar
1970	H2.1.7.2	The Relationships of a Believer Ephesians 5 and 6 - Rev. W. Bohlmann	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Seminar
1970	H2.1.7.2	Christianity and the Problems of Society - Miss H. Borthwick	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Plenary
1970	H2.1.7.2	Missionary Principles - Mr A Harwood	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Seminar
1970	H2.1.7.2	The Christian in the World of Men and Women - W.E.R Wells	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Seminar
1970	H2.1.7.2	Science and Faith - J.T.H. Roos	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Seminar
1970	H2.1.7.2	Why the West is Looking East - Dr P.M. Krishna	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Seminar
1970	H2.1.7.2	New Theology - G. McIntosh	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Seminar
1970	H2.1.7.2	The Christian Application of Psychotherapy - A Temple	NATCONF70 MAPHUMU	Seminar

1972	H2.1.7.2	Students and the Churches - Compilation of Student Interviews	CONF 1972 - MAPHUMU	Booklet
1975	H2.5.1	Stewardship - The management of life - general theme	TVL-NATAL 1975- CYARA	
1975	H2.5.1	Missions Today - David Evans	TVL-NATAL 1975- CYARA	
1975	H2.5.1	Possessions - Hannes Fehrsen	TVL-NATAL 1975- CYARA	
1975	H2.5.1	Hinduism and Jesus - Greg Dennysschen	TVL-NATAL 1975- CYARA	
1975	H2.5.1	Healing Today - Dr Mary-Jean Scott	TVL-NATAL 1975- CYARA	
1975	H2.5.1	Stewardship II Reg Codrington	TVL-NATAL 1975- CYARA	
1975	H2.5.1	Psychiatry - A Christian Perspective - Dr Kroon	TVL-NATAL 1975- CYARA	
1975	H2.5.1	Conscience - Monty Sholand	TVL-NATAL 1975- CYARA	
1975	H2.5.1	Jewishness and Jesus	TVL-NATAL 1975- CYARA	
1975	H2.5.1	Stewardship III Time - Wendy Leith	TVL-NATAL 1975- CYARA	
1976	H2.1.7.2	The Christian and His Social Involvement - Lot Mamabolo	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	The Will of God - Prof J. Heynes	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Material Responsibility - Alistair Walker	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Pleasure: Distraction or Necessity - Marijke van Vuuren	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Pollution and the Death of Man - Peter Furniss	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	The Role of Women - Lynn Pedersen	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Ethics of Sex - Rex Van Vuuren	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Family Relationships - Jim Johnston	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	History: A Christian Interpretation - John Snyman	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Morality, Communication and the Media - Greg Lourens	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Sharing the Life Within You - Peter Eliastam and Jon Jacobson	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Plenary
1976	H2.1.7.2	The Christian and His Culture - Harold Le Roux	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Music and The Church - George King	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Religion - Reality or Substitute? - Prof Du Toit	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit - Peter Eliastam	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar

1976	H2.1.7.2	Getting to the Top of your Profession - Mr. Agar, Ron Rundle, Rod Laburn	REG CONF TVL 76 CYARA	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	The Christian and the Media - Dave Hotchkiss	NATCONF 76 UNP	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Campus Strategy - Bill Houston	NATCONF 76 UNP	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Growing Spirituality - Vic Pearce	NATCONF 76 UNP	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Christian in the Teaching Profession - R. Aitchison	NATCONF 76 UNP	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Caring and Counselling - Sue Barnett	NATCONF 76 UNP	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Missionary in the 1970s - Norman Hoyte	NATCONF 76 UNP	Seminar
1976	H2.1.7.2	Organizing Yourself - Jeffree James	NATCONF 76 UNP	Seminar
1977		Some Notes on;"Fundamentalism" by James Barr	UCCF Reprint	Reading
1978	H2.5.1	Prayer Quiet Time - P Holmes	NATCONF CYARA 78	Seminar
1978	H2.5.1	Doctrine of Christ, the Whole Christian - Jan Reynders	NATCONF CYARA 78	Seminar
1978	H2.5.1	Authenticity of Scripture - T Lagerwey	NATCONF CYARA 78	Seminar
1978	H2.5.1	Relevance of Scripture - T Gow	NATCONF CYARA 78	Seminar
1978	H2.5.1	Christ and Effects on Campus - Caesar Molebatsi	NATCONF CYARA 78	Seminar
1978	H2.5.1	Fruit of the Spirit - Bill Houston	NATCONF CYARA 78	Seminar
1978	H2.5.1	Christian Assurance - W Smith	NATCONF CYARA 78	Seminar
1978	H2.5.1	What is the Church - Rev R. Ben Dixon	NATCONF CYARA 78	Seminar
1978	H2.5.1	Suffering - Rev. J. Spyker	NATCONF CYARA 78	Seminar
1978	H2.5.1	Sovereignty of God - Harry Le Roux	NATCONF CYARA 78	Seminar



# S C M

# DECLARATION

## PREAMBLE

We, members of S.C.M. from different Black universities and colleges, participants in the annual S.C.M. inter-college and varsity conference at Cyara, accept and believe the fact that Christians all over the world have the same message of salvation to preach to the world and that the Gospel is God's Good News for the whole world and also that this Gospel is dynamic enough to suit all situations, needs and circumstances of man, be they spiritual, economic, political and social. We feel challenged by the Holy Spirit of God to be true disciples, that is, hearers and doers of the word.

That in our case in South Africa, the Black Christian finds himself in an unjust, racist and oppressive society to which he has to relate the message of salvation; also that the Black Christian finds himself in a predicament because he being the oppressed, has first to relate to his situation while at the same time trying to reach the oppressor who is both reluctant and unwilling to change his ways.

These circumstances impede the promulgation of the Gospel while at the same time they strain relationships of Black Christians and Christians of other colours and races. That the Black Christian in South Africa finds himself greatly alarmed by the continuance of institutionalized violence in the country and also incredibly shocked by the whole South African status quo. We therefore unanimously accept the following Declaration, July 1976:

### 1. The authority and power of the Bible

We affirm the divine inspiration of the whole Bible and therefore adopt it wholly as a measuring rod for our faith and our social conduct.

While accepting this truth, we regret the part played by the churches in compromising and distorting the Bible to suit their own personal and denominational needs. We therefore feel that although our State is said to be a Christian State, it has failed to practice such vital Scriptural issues as freedom, truth, justice, and reconciliation, or to create platforms for their development thereby

making the whole Biblical message of no effect. We are deeply repentant because we have also failed to proclaim the whole truth of the Gospel. As a Christian body, we accept the Biblical prophetic message and we pledge to tell the Scriptural truth in prosperity or in adversity. We also feel that a Western interpretation of the Bible is both irrelevant and uncalled for in the explosive situation of South Africa. We therefore call for a faithful and radical re-interpretation of the Scriptures by the whole Church.

### 2. God's Plan for man

We affirm our belief in the one eternal God, who governs the Universe according to His purpose. We believe that the Eternal God has a plan for all races including Blacks. We therefore register our detestation of the distortion of God's plan among Black people in South Africa. Many missionaries prevented them from seeking God's plan in their history, and the Government has denied them the possibility of following God's plan by rendering them useless and incompetent in the decision-making structures of their God-given country.

### 3. The uniqueness and universality of Christ

We affirm that there is only one Saviour and only one Gospel although there is a wide Scriptural diversity of evangelistic approaches. We reject the presentation of a Western-robed Jesus who has been preached by some missionaries to the detriment of the God given Black dignity and presenting Blacks as sub-human, second grade creatures of God. So because of Christ's universality and uniqueness, we affirm that Christ has a unique way of approaching the Blacks as He has in approaching the other races of the world.

### 4. Nature of evangelism

We uphold our apostolic belief that all have sinned and thereby become objects of God's judgement and wrath; we accept the commission of our Lord to bring the message of salvation to the whole human race. We believe that the Gospel is directed to the whole man. We therefore accept our Christian social

responsibility to improve human conditions especially among our Black fellowmen who have been made sojourners in the land of their birth. We denounce with no reservation the unscriptural nature of much missionary evangelism which has made Biblical evangelism so difficult and unreal to our Black community. As Black Christians, we accept the commission of our Lord to evangelize the world as something of first importance and feel the need to break away from the traditional order of evangelism in order to pluck and harvest fruits of our radical discipleship.

#### 5. The Christian Social Responsibility

We affirm that God is both the Creator and the Judge of all men and consequently we should share His concern for justice, freedom, truth and reconciliation throughout the whole world. We affirm that since man has been created in the image of God, every man regardless of his colour, race, culture, sex or age has an intrinsic dignity and value because of which he should be respected and not exploited or eliminated. We assert that in South Africa this has not been the case, so we feel it is our Christian responsibility and duty, in the name of Jesus, the Son of God, to condemn the status quo as unchristian, anti-God, demonic and anti-man. This is our responsibility as prophets according to God's way.

#### 6. Evangelism and black culture

Because man is God's creature, his culture reflects godly aspects in a limited way, no matter the degree of its differentiation, and therefore no culture can be wholly condemned as evil. But because man has fallen, these cultures are spotted, tainted with evil and subject to God's reproach. Our black culture should be transformed by the Gospel just like it does in other cultures and Black Christians themselves should be instrumental to this transformation.

#### 7. Unity in evangelism

We pledge to seek the deepest and most meaningful unity in the light of Scriptures. As Black Christians we know that genuine unity has been hypocritically practised with colour bars which we are not ready to accept. If there is to be any continuous fellowship and unity in evangelism, we feel the following terms should be met:

- (a) We should meet as equals free of fear, complexes, suspicion, and insecurity and we should be truthful as we all reflect the image of God.
- (b) Such a unity should be mutually beneficial to all Christian groups irrespective of their colour and race.
- (c) Conscious and unconscious paternalism which for a long time has been a common feature in such meetings and fellowships should completely be done away with.
- (d) Such a unity should be Biblically based and

genuinely practised here in South Africa before we can think of practising it anywhere else.

- (e) Other Christian groups who will want to have fellowship with us should show their sincerity by releasing a truthful statement of faith condemning the existing political evils and social sins in our present government so as to make their standpoint clear and unhypocritical.
- (f) They should also sincerely endeavour to continually stand for the truth not only by preaching the salvation of the soul, but also by preaching the gospel of liberation and reconciliation i.e. showing concern for the social and political position in this land.

#### 8. Church unity

We abhor the spirit of dividing that unity for which Christ had to die, as perpetrated and forced by some western missionaries for their own selfish ends. This spirit is presently making it difficult for Black Christians to have solidarity as a nation oppressed and discriminated against by the racist, oppressive ruling regime. We therefore, pledge ourselves to the dogma of ecumenism, that through God's help we shall endeavour to achieve this glorious ideal and bring the demon of denominationalism to its knees.

#### 9. Our concern for the future

(a) Whereas we Christian students realize that the future coming together of Christians of all races and colours is natural and inevitable, we maintain that this coming together or fellowship should be under perfectly normal conditions and circumstances, and should be realistic and practical, even if it be against some institutions and churches. That the importance of this fellowship should be genuinely practised within the country.

(b) We also realize that the Christian Church in South Africa can never be consolidated unless the Church in trying to meet man's spiritual needs should also condemn and transform the social evils and political sins existing in our country so as to have the same dynamic message of salvation for the South African people.

(c) That without realizing the importance of the recommendations of this declaration the future is too ghastly to contemplate.

#### 10. Conclusion

We, members of the Church of Christ, participants in the Inter-college and Varsity Conference held at Cyara, as delegates from our various universities and colleges, feel from this day, bound to live and toil to propagate the Christian message according to this declaration. We also call upon all other Christians of conscience to pledge and commit themselves equally with us in this noble course.

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RESPONSE TO CYARA DECLARATION

## I

We, White Christian Students who met in ad hoc groups in the different regions of South Africa, welcome and wish to respond to the SCM students on their Cyara Declaration which not only seeks communication between the Black and White groups but also calls for a statement of our commitment to one another as members of the one Body of Christ. We regard the Declaration not merely as a statement worthy of our critical analysis but recognize it as representing the thinking of fellow Christians and accept the views expressed as a valid Christian attempt to articulate genuine grievances.

We recognize that this declaration reflects the frustration, the hurts and deep concerns of black brothers and sisters in Christ as they experience life in South Africa.

We do not question the depth of these emotions and the daily affront to human dignity of racialistic attitudes and traditions and discriminatory laws which are characteristic of South African society. We confess that white Christians are in danger of failing to "weep with those who weep" or to be angry with those who are righteously angry, let alone do anything about it.

Our response is in two parts: a statement of the Biblical truth as we see it applied to ourselves and issues in South Africa today and a point by point response to the statements made in the Cyara Declaration.

WE SEE THE FOLLOWING AS OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AS WHITE CHRISTIANS  
IN SOUTH AFRICA

I. The Nature of the Church.

"For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." (Gal 3.27-28)

We affirm - and shall continue to do so - the unity of God's people, and view with profound sadness the deep divisions in the South African church, divisions of race, class and language group which are only too clearly a carry-over from the wider society. We believe that the outstanding love and mutual concern among Christ's disciples (John 13.34-5) will cause them to seek to close the gaps of fellowship that exist at present: if we - both black and white - are to suffer together and to rejoice together (I Cor 12.25-6), then we must needs live together in the church. The voice of the South African church is likewise divided: in general, whites have emphasised missionary work while black voices have been raised on social issues. We believe that the church, black and white, should be speaking with one mind and voice (Phil 2.2) to the pressing problems of our times. Further, the gifts of God to the church are given according to his sovereign will (I Cor 12.11) for the common good (I Cor 12.7). Unless the church in South Africa purposively makes opportunities for all who share in the same Spirit to build one another up, it will never discover its rich variety and beauty. We long for white Christians to minister to blacks from a position of servanthood (Mark 10.43-5) and to receive ministry from their black brethren.

We recognise that there are many obstacles to this free fellowship. One major impediment is the widespread attitude of racial discrimination within the church, which is forcefully rejected in the teaching of James 2.1-7 and Gal 3.27-8.

Since such discrimination is disobedient to plain scriptural teaching, clear preaching and teaching on this attitude must be made effective by disciplining church members who persist in it. (I Tim 5:20-21) The second major impediment to such fellowship is the preventive measures imposed through state legislation such as the Group Areas Act. This aspect needs to be tackled positively in each particular situation, taking into account the opportunities presently available, and the question of civil obedience (see below). What we oppose is the passivity and inactivity into which the church so often falls when faced with restrictions such as these: we believe that such passivity is playing havoc with a consistent witness to the reconciling power of Christ. Another pressure on the church at present comes from various forms of nationalistic thinking. Christians, as individuals and as congregations, must face this crucial question: with which group - black or white, Afrikaans or English - am I being tempted to identify, to give my first loyalty? We believe that, in the midst of increasing polarisation between whites and blacks in South Africa, the need is more pressing than ever for black and white Christians to demonstrate unequivocally and concretely that their first loyalty is to Christ's Body. While we realise that geographical factors, as well as language and cultural differences, make integrated fellowship no easy matter, we feel bound to call on all Christians to go out of their way to achieve this. Only this would be faithfulness to our reconciling Lord.

## II. Obedience to God's Commandments.

### 1. Love of neighbour.

We affirm the call of the Gospel to all followers of Christ to love their neighbours as themselves (Matt 22.37-40); we recognize that even enemies are to be treated as neighbours - loved and prayed for - since this is the nature of the love of God: it is towards all men, just and unjust alike, without discrimination (Matt 5.43-48). As white Christians in South Africa, we must ask ourselves: what does practical obedience to the command to love our neighbours imply in our country?

Among other things, it means wanting for our neighbours what we hold dear ourselves, for example, the following practical issues which affect the quality of day-to-day life:

1. freedom to worship where and with whom I choose;
2. freedom to marry whoever God chooses for me;
3. education and security for my children;
4. freedom of association and friendship, implying staying in one another's homes;
5. freedom to travel and visiting on holiday;
6. freedom to buy a house where I choose;
7. public amenities such as water, sanitation, electricity, transport and recreational facilities;
8. freedom to choose my vocation and job matching my abilities;
9. a just wage congruent with my qualifications and enabling me to support my family;
10. unbiased and equally administered laws which uphold my human dignity as one who bears the image of God;
11. the right to vote for those who make laws affecting me and my daily living;
12. assurance that the governing authorities will act as God's servants to do me good (Rom 13.4).

We believe that Christians should be the pioneers in working towards these conditions. Inevitably there will be problems to be faced, but the call of God is plain and must not be refused.



## 2. Justice, Law and Order.

We recognize the proper purpose of law - to approve good conduct and to punish wrongdoing (Rom 13.3-4; I Pet 2.13-4) - and believe that God's will for society is not anarchy, but a peaceful, ordered existence (1 Tim 2.1-3). Yet we believe that the enforcement of law and order must be based on just laws. (Deut 16.18-20; 2 Sam 23.2-4), since only these fulfil God's demand for justice, law and order. It is possible for a godless totalitarian state to have law and order without the faintest sign of justice. We regard legislation such as Pass laws and the Immorality Act as grossly unjust, and believe that the enforcement of such laws is actually working contrary to God's will for society. Hence, we call on all Christians to protest and resist such unjust measures.

## 3. Materialism.

We acknowledge the biblical condemnation of the rich who live off the fat of the land while the poor who are part of their everyday lives, struggle without let-up to keep at the level of mere subsistence (Amos 2.6-7; Luke 16.19ff; James 5.1-6). We also draw attention to the scriptural warnings concerning the enslaving power of wealth (Luke 18.23-5; Matt 13.22; I Tim 6.9-10). Many white Christians in South Africa have accepted as normal the unbelievably high standard of living and material comfort of the wider white sector, and seem to have been more concerned with upholding this standard of living than with God's righteousness, despite the searing poverty of many of their countrymen and the debilitating effect on all race groups which the increasing emphasis on material values has brought. We call on white Christians to reconsider their uncritical identification with the economic status quo, to take seriously the need for a much simpler and uncluttered lifestyle, and the call to care for the poor in intelligent and identifying ways (Luke 3.10-11; I John 3.16-17; James 2.14-17). This, we believe, includes the planning and working for social and economic structures which will ensure a more equitable distribution of our country's wealth.

## 4. Nationalism

We affirm the New Testament teaching that Christians belong to a 'new nation' (I Pet 2.9-10) which is their primary group loyalty. We recognize also their citizenship of their land of birth (or choice) and understand it to be a responsible and peaceful participation. However, there are times when a nation's way of life has become corrupted and shot through with injustice, and the disciples of Christ come under pressure to conform to what is happening by appeals to patriotism. Such, we feel, is the South African situation. We remind Christians that contemporary nationalisms - black and white - are the areas of power-grabbing and power-wielding (cf. Mark 10.42-5), and that the church is being pushed into moulds - black church, white church, Afrikaans church, etc. - by the polarizations in the wider society. We call on all Christians to reject a blind loyalty to their country "right or wrong", and to live rather by the principle, "Righteousness exalts a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people" (Prov 14.34).

## 5. Civil Obedience

We affirm the biblical call to Christians to live in submission to the institutions of society which carry authority for the good of man (Rom 13.1; I Pet 2.13-5), since this is also part of obedience to God. At the same time, the disciple of Christ will not conform himself to worldly patterns but to the will of God (Rom 12.2) and has a mandate to expose evil (Eph 5.11). When Christians are faced with irreconcilable wills - the will of authorities vs. the will of God - they may have no option but to break their pattern of obedience to the state in preference for God's command (Acts 5.29). We call South African Christians to take this teaching to heart, realizing that any contravention of the law is not to be taken lightly, but after careful consideration needs to be done openly, not secretly, since it is an act of obedience and witness; any suffering this may entail is meant to be borne with patience (I Pet 2.20).

Conclusion

We acknowledge that the problems of South African society are highly complex; at the same time, we affirm that this complex social reality is rooted in spiritual reality - in faith, apostasy and unbelief, in the dimension of powers and principalities. "For though we live in the world we are not carrying on a worldly war, for the weapons of our warfare are not worldly but have divine power to destroy strongholds." (2 Cor 10.3-4) Hence, we maintain that merely juggling with social structures - adjusting, destroying and replacing them - does not constitute redemption. The faithful in South Africa are pitted against cosmic powers (Eph 6.10-12; Rev 13.7).

For this reason, we urge Christians to pray for those who bear authority in the land (I Tim 2.1-2), since the powers of darkness gravitate in their direction. We also urge that the endeavours of those in authority who are seeking justice should be strengthened and encouraged.

We affirm that God is calling his children to be peacemakers (not simply peacekeepers) in troublous times (Matt 5.9) and are fully aware that those who follow Christ must expect to be misunderstood, hated and rejected as he was (Matt 5.9, John 15.18-21). This is their blessing, their happiness as sons of God.

RESPONSE TO CYARA STATEMENT

## II

Our immediate response to the Cyara statement was to welcome it as communication to us from our black brethren. We had however reservations about the extravagance of some of the language used. The meaning of some of the statements were not clear to us and we relied on the interpretation of some SCM members in making our response. Also some of the terms used had different connotations to different groups. In the Declaration their appears to be a blanket rejection of the government, status quo and missionaries. While we recognize the need to be prophetic, we see also that such statements should be specific and such work as is done in truth and justice, in keeping with God's will should be acknowledged and upheld.

We too affirm that the Gospel is God's Good News for all men and that it is dynamic enough to suit all situations and needs of man including the spiritual, inter-relational, economic, political and social, and believe that the message of 'the gospel of the Kingdom' has lost credibility among Blacks as white Christians have failed to work for justice or even to listen to the cries of the distressed.

We understand the term 'institutionalized violence' to refer to physical and psychological coercion used in enforcing unjust laws. It is biblical for laws to be enforced (Rom 13.4) and for criticism to be levelled at the enforcement of unjust laws. Any unjust enforcement of law is subject to the judgement of God's law.

We must also reject the use of violence to counter this 'institutionalized violence'. The way of the sword is opposed to the way of the cross. We desire to identify with those who suffer as a result of both forms of violence.

PARA. 1

We affirm with the Cyara Declaration the divine inspiration of the whole Bible and therefore its authority as a measuring rod for our faith and social conduct. We are challenged to pledge with the SCM Students to speak and live Scriptural truth in prosperity and in adversity. We take "western interpretation of the Bible" to refer to the preaching of the gospel only in its verticle dimension of salvation without the horizontal dimension of love, the reconciliation of man to man and the

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transforming of society. We would also call for a serious re-examination of Scripture and faithful application of Scripture, to our whole lives by the whole church.

PARA.2

We affirm the sovereignty of God over all nations and that he has a purpose for all peoples. In this section of the Cyara Declaration as well as in paragraphs 3 and 8, missionaries are severely criticised. We recognise the weaknesses of many missionary endeavours, their distortion of the truth and their holding on to power. But we must acknowledge that many of them were the messenger's of God's Good News, bringing Christ's salvation to Africa, even in their weakness, and that they were used by God to plant His church in Africa.

PARA.3

We affirm that there is one Saviour and one gospel but that Christ approaches individuals and different cultures uniquely. Therefore the presentation of the gospel, to the extent that it has been wrapped in a western cultural package, has distorted the meaning of becoming a Christian. We also do not accept that God's gifts should be contained within separate sections of the church (e.g. Black or White) but that they are given for the enrichment of the whole church. We look forward to a time when Black theologians and missionaries can expound the gospel to Whites.

PARA.4 & 5

The message of the Bible is God's Good News for all men and for the whole of man, and the only means whereby we can be saved. We need to be communicating to all nations that Jesus Christ's substitutionary death has dealt with all our sins. As much as sin is in individuals, it is also in the very structures of society that men build. Therefore social reformation needs to be preached along with individual salvation. If either dimension is not taught and worked at, it is a truncated gospel that we preach.

Individuals need to come to a point of repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. Societies and the social structures need to experience the healing changes which the application of God's truth will bring.

While all societies are distorted by sin, no society or culture can be condemned as wholly evil. We feel therefore that "un-Christian, anti-God, demonic and anti-man" is too sweeping a judgement on South African society as a whole. We would seek rather in a truly prophetic role to highlight the specific areas which come under condemnation from God's Word, and to subject policies of not only the government but all political and other pressure groups to examination in the light of scripture.

PARA. 6

We affirm that all men, though fallen, still bear the image of God, however distorted, and all cultures to some extent reflect godly aspects so no culture can be condemned wholly as evil. All cultures need to be transformed by the gospel.

PARA. 7

We thank those who drew up the Cyara Declaration for their pledge "to seek the deepest and most meaningful unity in the light of the Scriptures." However we reject as unbiblical the implied assertion that Christian fellowship can be conditional. Our only basis for meeting together is our position in Christ.

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as sinners who are justified in Him, and in acceptance of His Lordship. It is impossible to base our fellowship on any other thing (such as a common condemnation of government or agreement on any ideology or plan). The multiplying of conditions for fellowship from either side can simply be a means of escaping the pain involved in honest encounter in Christian fellowship.

We are dismayed at the severance of communication at all levels between Black and White Christians. Apartheid makes it easy for white Christians to live at ease in ignorance of the suffering of their Black brethren. We would therefore ask that black Christians, despite frustrations that they feel at the insensibility of whites, see their mission as not only to blacks but also the whites.

We believe that we should seek every opportunity to be together as Christians, whether inside or outside the country. We desire to meet not only at conferences and camps but also to explore the many ways in which it is possible to meet socially within our country in order that genuine relationships can grow and true communication take place. We recognize and accept the pressure and persecution involved in such a visible expression of fellowship.

The sins of paternalism, feelings of inferiority and prejudices can only be identified in face to face encounters and be removed by the work of the Spirit of fellowship. We are all sinners in the process of being sanctified from the deep-seated 'fears, complexes, insecurities' and prejudices with which we enter the fellowship. Within the fellowship we must speak the truth in love to one another, face to face, and seek freedom from our sinful attitudes and patterns of behaviour together in the Holy Spirit.

#### PARA. 8

We stand for the unity of the church of Christ. Though recognizing that the variety of forms of worship and organization do contribute positively to the Church as a whole, we oppose those aspects of denominationalism that keep Christians apart. However, we reject completely Black solidarity as a motive for rejecting denomination-ism, seeing this to be as sinful as a doctrine of White solidarity and as a product of a society based on racial identity. We recognize cultural identity as valid but we affirm a higher identity and citizenship in the Kingdom of God. (2 Pet 9,10). Wherever Black or White nationalism destroys church unity we call on all Christians to affirm their primary identity.

We also feel that it is inaccurate to ascribe disunity in the Black churches only to the work of missionaries (as denominations have proliferated within the Black independent churches outside spheres of missionary influence).

#### PARA. 9

We affirm that it is the biblical norm for all Christians to be in true fellowship with one another. However, because of man's sinfulness this is not 'inevitable' but has to be worked at with patience and mutual forgiveness.

We also have a deep concern for the future. We can see so many wrongs yet do not presume to think we have all the answers. We need all to humble ourselves before God, for unless he is merciful to us we believe we shall face "a future too ghastly to contemplate". We Christians need to grasp all the opportunities that there are in this country where there is still a recognition of God, to speak prophetically, to work at reconciliation and to pray for those who hold power.

Began	Ended	Event and Venue	File	Theme	Attend.	Organizers and Notes
690712	690718	NAT CONF Wilgerspruit	H2.1.7.2	Christian Reponsibility		Rev. P. Akehurst - Director of Church Expansion for Diocese of Bloemfontein. Mrs. Akehurst extrav sec with Inter-Varsity Fellowship in UK.
690716		NSC - Wilgerspruit	H2.1.1			Kevin Tait
691126	691217	VM KENTANI			16	Ammi Saayman/Graham McIntosh
700708	700714	Nat Conf Maphumulo	H2.1.7.2	Communication: Talmage Wilson	270	Truscott, Johnston, Mr and Mrs Hofmeyr
701130	701216	VM MURCHISON HOSPITAL	H2.1.10.1			
710706	710711	Nat Conf Maphumulo	H2.1.7.2			
711120	711211	VM KENTANI/BUTTERWORTH			50	
720209	720219	VM ZULULAND VAC MISSION		Sunbury and Inyoni Clinics	15	Basil Marais
720701	720707	NAT CONF 72 MICHAEL HOUSE	H2.1.7.2	Rev. David Kingdon <i>The Church</i> Readings: Rev David Cook, <i>Revolutionary Revelation</i>	230	Tait - Johnston
720709	720714	VM Mission "Safari" - Zululand	H2.1.10.1	Beryl Eksteen/Linda Roodt		At NSCm JJ cautioned students on use of "Safari" to describe their trip. Permits needed for Indian, African, White students in Zululand.
721118	721209	VM KENTANI	H2.1.10.1	Rob Sieborger, Det Prozesky	102	
730100	730100	Maturity Course/Morija			65	Johnston, Truscott
730207	730217	VM PISGAH NATAL	H2.1.10.1	Rob Sieborger		
730703	730709	NAT CONF 73 ROMA	H2.1.7.2	Mission	360	Michael Griffiths, Allan W. Adam, Michael Green
730709	730716	VM MISSION TOUR LESOTHO	H2.1.10.1			Jow Johansson, Dr. T. Germond
731117	731208	VM KENTANI/BUTTERWORTH	H2.1.10.1	Helen Sieborger	70	
731120	731210	VM Morija, Lesotho	H2.1.10.1	Joe Johansson	9	Joe Johansson, Alan Busanitz, Andy Judge
740102	740106	Counselling Course - Koinon.		Staff, potential staff, lecturers, wives	22	Hans Burki
740107	740114	Mat. Course A: SCA YMCA		The Truth Shall Make you Free	35	JJ, Andy Judge and Pete Twycross, Alison Oettle. Dave Smith of YMCA led the course.
740114	740125	Maturity Course B	42			Jim Stamoolis, Alan and Marabeth Busanitz (ex IVCF Staff), Stuart Vaughan, Steve Truscott
740120	740214	VM NEWHAVEN-Swaziland				Alfons Mauchle/Andy Judge
740205	740215	VM EBENEZER - Swaziland			12	
740629	740705	NAT CONF 74 Michael Hous	H2.1.7.2	The Lordship of Christ		Herbie Carson, Stuart Vaughan, ACSV, CSV attended with SCM. It was decided to form SAFES.
740705	740715	TVL Natal Combined Conference	H2.1.7.2			Dr. Bob Young
740707	740713	WP Regional Conference CT	H2.1.7.2			
741118	711208	VM KENTANI	H2.1.10.1			
741122	741129	Tendele Staff Conference				JJ, HJ, TG, Judith Hopley, BH, JH, Jstam, ST, SV, and Caroline Byrne
750100		TSF Conference - NP	H2.1.1		50	One day TSF conference SV and JS and visit UNIZUL at the invitation of Moshe Rajuile and Sidney Seolonyane, SCM travelling secretaries. Houston, Vaughan, Truscott, Johnston, Pott
750100		Disciple Course Morija		Christ's Training of His Disciples	20	
750207	750217	VM Bethel KWAZULU	H2.1.10.1	Natal Varsities	15	
750627	750703	SCM Conference at Amanzim.		Victorious Christian Living		Brian Stanely from Surrey UK
750704	750710	Nat Conference CT	H2.1.7.2	Discipleship	180	Martin Goldsmith, formerly of OMF, now at ANCC

770400		4 Day Hike Blyde River Canyon	B6.2.2		12	Truscott, Pedersen
770600		Wits Mission		Metamorphosis		Weinand, Pedersen, Truscott et al.
770701	770707	NAT CONF Cyara		Church as Alternative Society		Houston, Truscott, Pedersen, David Bosch
770800		UPE Camp	B6.2.1	Loving God's Children		D Sheriffs and Susan Markley
770808	770812	Drakensburg Hike			16	Bill Domeris, Pedersen
770900		Natal Regional Training	B6.2.1		35	Dave Henson
771000		Richman Poorman Dinner	B6.2.1	Wits	110	
771000		E.P Regional Training				Stuart Morgan and Deryck Sherrifs, with Tim Overett on Management
771100	771100	VM VENDALAND		Bev Hadad	4	Met up with 24 Tukkies Students in Venda
771114	771204	KENTAI/SEA CAMP/BUTTERWOR	H2.1.10.1		149	Tony Jelliman/Keith Filmer/Andre van Breda/ Stan Hansrajh/Sandra Immink
771229	780103	Staff Conference Kloofwaters	B6.2.2			
780100		JHB Summerschool of Ev			35	ST LP, Penny Cooper
780103	780123	DC Mountain Lodge		So Great a Salvation-Eph	38	Houston, Johnston, Pedersen, Truscott, Sheriffs
780200		Tvl B ST Leaders Camp				Speakers Elfriede Bremer, and Denise Ackerman, Herber Beerens 5 principles of Hermeneutics
780300		Meet the Peeps Camp UND				George Smith, Trev gow, Lawrence Dwyer, et al
780300		JCE Camp	B6.2.1		30	Pedersen, Domeris
780700		Nat Conference Cyara		Knowing God; Making Him Known		Rene Padilla
780804		Natal GF Dinner				Bill Houston Spoke
780811	780813	WP Mini-consultation	B6.2.1		71+	Campbell Tyler, Heather Booth and Martin Oosthuizen with Houston
780818	780720	tal Lions River Regional Conferen	B6.2.1			Rod Ellis>CHRISTChurch Addington, Judge, Garcia on pastoral care
781116	781210	VM KENTANI	H2.1.10.1		24	Andrew Sleborger/Garcia/Judge
781120	781126	VM UMZUMBE	H2.1.10.1		5	Frank Muller/Kevin and Cathy Garcia/
781124	781204	VM VENDALAND	H2.1.10.1		15	Pedersen, Truscott
790127	790202	Tvl Summer School of the Bible	B6.2.1			Steve Truscott and Derryck Sherrifs
790300		Stellenbosch Mission				Trevor Goddard and Bishop Burnett
790700		Nat Conference Cyara		Simple Lifestyle		Sider, Ron
790700		SACLA				



**December 1976 Kloofwaters Staff and Graduates' Training Course with Hans Bürki (front left) and Bill Houston, top centre**

Jim Johnston stands third from the top left, next to Rajen Naicker, Lynn Pedersen, Marijke and Rex Van Vuuren and Greg Lourens. From middle left, next to Bürki, are Joan Houston, Faure Louw, Philip Le Feuvre, Steve Truscott, Mariaan Lourens and Brenda Vaughan with Andrew Vaughan. From front left are Del Sheriffs with young Rachael, Penny Cooper, Trevor Gow. The other members of the group are not known to the researcher.



**Mountain Lodge Discipleship Course – January 1977 – Jim and Heather Johnston with young Mark Johnston stand to the left of Trevor Gow, in the top row, fourth from the left. Deryck Sheriffs is in front. Beverley Haddad, also in front, sits next to the Johnston children, Sarah and Emma. Andy Judge stands in the second to top row, second from the right. Lynn Pedersen stands third from the left. Steve Truscott stands in the top row, second from the right.**



**Discipleship Course at Mountain Lodge - January 1978** At the bottom right hand side, in the bottom and second rows, are Bruce Moles and Dieter Weinand. Jane de Kock kneels far left next to Truscott and Pedersen. Stuart Vaughan with young Andrew Vaughan is seated on the top step on the far left. Penny Cooper, Jim Johnston, Trevor Gow and Bill Houston, frame the right hand side.