

WAGING TOTAL PEACE

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, Javier Perez de Cuellar, warned the organisation's General Assembly last month that the world is 'perilously near to a new international anarchy'. The UN's failure to prevent war in the South Atlantic and the Middle East, to stop conflicts between Iraq and Iran and within Central America, and to enforce the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan and the Vietnamese from Cambodia, were all signs, he said, that 'we are embarked on a dangerous course'.

A year which has seen mass demonstrations for peace in Western Europe and the United States, and the stirring of peace movements in the East, has not shown any marked improvement in mankind's ability to solve conflicts by peaceful means.

The present debate centres on nuclear armaments. But peace itself may centre on something else—the readiness of individuals to struggle to build it. Arms limitation and nuclear disarmament can only, at best, prevent the most devastating form of war. War itself must be eradicated at source—in the human heart.

'If only you had known the way that leads to peace!' Christ wept over a doomed Jerusalem. The way that leads to peace has nothing to do with maintaining the status quo. It is the road of radical change on all levels to eliminate injustice and division. The peace-maker's work of reconciliation presupposes a willingness to admit where one's own side has been wrong and to create the conditions in which peace can survive. Among these conditions is the creation of a just international order which outlaws mass starvation and poverty.

In this issue we carry contributions from people who differ in their standpoints on the arms debate, but are united in their determination to be peace-creators in the fullest and most radical sense of the word. ■

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What all sides of the arms debate want to avoid. But what will ensure peace?



Nick Oakes (IFL)

Peace-marchers protest against the siting of missiles at Greenham Common

NOT JUST THE ABSENCE OF WAR

by James Hore-Ruthven

I LIVE IN THE HEART of London with my wife and children aged nine and five. I would be less than human if I did not often wonder as I see the children asleep or at play whether they will live useful lives to a ripe age or whether their little bodies will be frizzled by an atom bomb.

Some people just do not like to think about the issues raised by nuclear weapons. They say, 'We can't do anything about it, so let's get on with life.' Others go on to the streets and demonstrate for disarmament. Still others, just as sincerely, believe that peace will only be preserved, anyway in the short term, by having the strength to deter a potential aggressor. That is my personal view.

The fact is, however, that none of these options is going to secure peace for the coming generation.

Peace, after all, is not just a precarious absence of war. Peace means nations, communities, families and individuals living harmoniously—not necessarily agreeing on everything but mature enough to respect others' opinions and open to rethinking their own.

This maturity involves a recognition of the force of evil. Who has not at some point experienced the power of evil—temper, sadism, lust, addiction, dishonesty—taking over his life and felt helpless in the face of it? Such forces can take over countries too.

I have recently read Martin Gilbert's book on Churchill in the Thirties, *The Wilderness Years*. Surely one of the lessons of that period is that if we in Britain had been more realistic about the force of evil arising in Germany, millions might have been saved from the concentration camps and battlefields?

Peace must be built on solid foundations. Fear is the worst possible foundation. Henry Kissinger wrote, 'The root dilemma of our time is that if the quest for peace turns into the sole objective of policy, then fear of war becomes a

weapon in the hands of the most ruthless. It produces moral disarmament.'

Both the unilateralists and those who want to strengthen our nuclear forces tend to build their case on fear. One group say, 'If the arms race goes on, someone will press the button sooner or later.' The others say, 'If we do not have adequate protection, the enemy will walk over us.' Both have a point—but what a shadow to live under year after year!

We in the West need to face what shaky foundations peace has in our own society. Can we expect to have more peace in the world when we have more war in our families? Can we hope to see fewer murders in Cambodia, Ethiopia or on our own streets when in Britain alone we murder 140,000 unborn children each year? Is it not hypocritical to blame the Russians for fomenting conflict all over the world when we in Britain are all too ready to perpetuate class division?

Everyone wants peace. Everyone wants freedom. Yet we all want more and more of our own way. **We cannot have all three.** Morals, peace and freedom are indivisible. Absolute moral standards are the foundation stones of any peace worth having.

Only honesty can create trust. Only honesty with unselfishness can lead to justice.

Take Ireland, for instance. If we English could only be honest about ourselves, we would see that our unjust policies over the centuries lie at the root of the conflict there. The Pope, speaking in Ireland in 1979, warned, 'Do not cause or condone or tolerate conditions which give excuse or pretext to the men of violence.' Selfishness of one kind or another is always the reason for injustice.

Peace does not just fly in through the window like a dove, as anyone with a family knows. Peace-making has to be learnt.

Jesus said in the Sermon on the Mount, 'Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God'—not the peace-lovers, the peace-marchers, the peace-keepers, but the peace-makers. Peace-making—the art of turning enemies into friends—is the most important work of all and builds on solid foundations when we live what we talk about. It is the task of all who long for peace. ■

FACING THE CONSEQUENCES

by Howard Grace

SOME 20 YEARS AGO I was a student in London, specialising in nuclear power. Seeing how it was going to be used led me to oppose nuclear bombs and to speak at Hyde Park Corner in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

About two years ago, I took a teaching job at Newbury in Berkshire. One week later, it was announced that the main cruise-missile base in Europe would be at Greenham Common, just two miles from the school and from my present home.

Nuclear weapons pose a dilemma. How can it be right even to be prepared to use such weapons? Yet how can it be right to expose our country and other friendly countries to the risk of being subjugated by an ideology that we emphatically do not want?

Although in principle I support the unilateral cause I believe that it is not right or wrong in itself but depends on the reasons a person has for adopting that stance.

The debate about unilateralism seems to me to be confused by a lack of understanding of the difference between true non-violence and appeasement. Of course not all unilateralists believe in non-violence—but I am concerned here with nuclear disarmament as a step to more far-reaching disarmament.

Perhaps the most devoted exponent of non-violence was Mahatma Gandhi. For him a person's motives were paramount. He wrote, 'Non-violence is not merely a negative state of harmlessness but a positive state of love. It is not a cover for cowardice but it is the supreme virtue of the brave. Exercise of non-violence requires far more bravery than that of swordsmanship. But swordsmanship is any day superior to passive, effeminate and helpless submission.'

Build anyway

I believe that the highest moral stance on the nuclear disarmament question is unilateral disarmament, but it needs to be taken with a realistic acceptance of the possible consequences. A true non-violent approach with its associated quality of life may not stop an aggressor, but it could be a powerful weapon to reach his conscience. Unilateralism from an appeasing, well-meaning standpoint is much worse than maintaining a deterrent—it just plays into the hands of those from outside who want our country run their way.

It is often claimed that Christ's life and message is one of non-violence. We are also told, often by the same people, that disarmament will lead to peaceful co-existence. Yet a consequence of Christ's life was death on the cross, and since then many of his most devoted followers have been thrown to the lions. Unilateralism may be right, it may be in line with Christ's teaching, but we are deceiving ourselves if we think it is the likely way to peace.

Christ told Peter to put his sword away. He was prepared to face the consequences. If we are prepared to face the consequences, I believe we should disarm unilaterally. It would however be totally wrong to do so from a misplaced trust in human nature. At root it is not the fact that we have

or do not have armaments that leads to war—it is the way we live.

We must take a unilateral stand for goodness, living every aspect of our lives in such a way that God can work through us to bring a new spirit into human affairs. Each person can do that whether or not others go along with him. We should do it not just because we hope it will benefit us, but because deep in our guts we know that is how we are meant to live.

The sort of stand I mean was well summed up in *The Silent Revolution* by Kent M Keith when he wrote, 'Honesty and frankness make you vulnerable—be honest and frank anyway. What you spend years building may be destroyed overnight—build anyway. The good you do today will be forgotten tomorrow—do good anyway. Give the world the best you have and you'll probably get kicked in the teeth—give the world the best you have anyway.'

A life centred on finding and doing God's will is often instrumental in creating peace, but sometimes it leads you into conflict. It is what I am committed to, either way.

I believe that those of us who stand for unilateral nuclear disarmament should do so only in conjunction with a commitment to a fundamental moral change in every aspect of our life. ■

The common enemies

by Gordon Wise

SOME INCENTIVE is needed for the change of motivation world-wide which is an essential ingredient of peace. Though the world had varying views of Britain's military response to the Argentines' invasion of the Falklands, within Britain it undeniably provided the incentive for a temporary laying-aside of internal squabbles.

What common goals could East and West unite on? Some common enemies are world hunger, ill-housing and multi-dimensional misery. Could all who hate war and love peace hammer away at establishing their elimination as a global goal?

The potential exists to abolish these evils. Countries which can conquer outer space can make the earth's empty spaces productive. Countries which can proliferate tanks for export can mass-produce and export low-cost housing. Countries which have reached near-saturation in consumer goods could be challenged to pay the necessary taxes to help build factories and farms in the poor countries, so that their basic needs are satisfied. Our young unemployed might find fulfilment in a vast scheme of service overseas.

Could the democracies, which are based on the principle that all men are brothers, commit themselves to caring for the whole human family? Could the West say to the East, 'We will put all the money which we currently spend on nuclear weapons into the global fight against poverty if you will do the same'? The East might respond for they too claim to have the interests of mankind at heart.

Today's generation could be remembered for reversing the sequence of man's historic follies and proving that war is not inevitable. ■

HUMAN LINKS IN THE PEACE CHAIN

by Kenneth Noble

SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II there have been about 150 wars, according to those who keep account of such things. Wars are easier to start than peace. Yet peace has broken out in many situations—a fact worth holding on to when hope seems dim.

Peace does not follow war by magic, as in the fairy tale where a wand does the trick. The causes of peace are, of course, many—both sides may decide to cut their losses; one side may achieve total victory; or someone may lean heavily on the trouble-makers—yet there is another approach to peace-making which is often under-rated. It begins with someone, somewhere, facing where he has been wrong and deciding to put it right.

Pre-independence Morocco provides a famous example. In 1955 the world press reported 'the Pasha's bombshell'—a dramatic change in attitude by the conservative Pasha of Marrakesh. Till then the Pasha had opposed the pro-nationalist policy of his rightful overlord, the Sultan of Morocco. He had even persuaded the French government to outlaw him.

Bombshell

Less well-known is the fact that the Pasha's change of heart followed a series of individual acts of conscience. It started with a French settler taking the trouble to thank a Moroccan agricultural officer for saving his farm from a plague of locusts. The agricultural officer, a nationalist who hated the Pasha, later attended a Moral Re-Armament conference. There he was shaken by the thought that he was as far from God as from the person from whom he felt most divided. On his return to Morocco, the nationalist went to the Pasha and apologised, not for his views but for his hatred. He suggested that the Pasha might change his attitude towards the Sultan as the best way of bringing peace to the country. The Pasha, moved by his sincerity, asked the French for the Sultan's return and for his country's independence—the 'bombshell'. A few days later the Pasha

made a public apology to the Sultan. In the face of the united demand of both the Pasha and the nationalists, France agreed to independence, bringing to an end the unrest in the country. The Sultan became King of independent Morocco.

The resolution of Sudan's 17-year civil war between Arab north and African south can partly be ascribed to military stalemate and political concessions. Yet in 1980 the Sudan Minister of Information said, 'Personal relationships between individuals on both sides were of cardinal importance.' He was referring to such men as Buth Diu, former cabinet minister from the south, and Dr Murtada, a northerner who heads the Department of Labour and Employment. Buth Diu felt the south had grievances but himself renounced hatred of the north. Dr Murtada felt the north had a case but gave up personal arrogance towards the south.



Strong

Buth Diu from Sudan who helped draft the basic principles which guided the peace agreement

Over a period of years, during the worst fighting, they worked together to pass on to many others *this spirit of forgiveness* and their vision of what a reconciled Sudan could contribute to Africa.

When both sides were war-weary in 1971, Buth Diu and Dr Murtada met to work out possible peace terms in the light of God's guidance. Next morning they submitted a memo to the Minister of the Interior. 'A year later the points of that memo became the basic principles which guided the eventual agreement between north and south,' said Dr Murtada.

Dr Murtada was made responsible for drawing up a national strategy for social and economic development. In the south was designated a priority area. This aroused questions in the press and elsewhere. Dr Murtada's answer was that the north had not only to ask the south to forget the past but to make practical restitution, even though it involved some sacrifice.

The consolidation of the accord between north and south has continued through many subsequent difficulties.

Zimbabwe experienced the benefits of a group of people of all backgrounds and political persuasions meeting regularly during the violent pre-independence years. They met to seek God's will for the country above any sectional considerations. Dubbed 'the Cabinet of Conscience', this group intervened at decisive moments to build bridges between opposing factions within and outside the country, playing a significant part in the achievement of a peaceful settlement.

In the midst of recent tensions they have resumed their meetings and are again at work building bridges and seeking ways to answer fear and hate and deal with issues vital to Zimbabwe's future.



Two Moroccans who were part of the peace-chain: Ahmed Gessous (left), a nationalist agricultural officer, with Pierre Chavanne, a French settler

Europe, as well as Africa, has seen peace come in troubled areas—the reconciliation between France and Germany, for example, made possible the common administration of the two countries' coal and steel industries within a few years of the end of World War II. Robin Mowat's book, *Creating the European Community**, describes private individuals' work for reconciliation between the two countries. He comments, 'Such personal decisions and actions, costly and difficult as they were, played their part in preparing the ground for the political decisions which made it possible for the statesmen to carry through on another level the work of reconciliation, and open a new way towards the future of Western Europe.'

Similarly, in the South Tyrol, personal reconciliation was an element in peace-making.

During World War I, at about the time of the secret diplomacy that contributed so much to the current divisions in the Middle East, Britain, France and Russia secretly agreed to hand over to Italy the South Tyrol region of the old Austrian Empire. This was ratified at the Treaty of Versailles in what Arnold Toynbee described as 'one of the most inexcusable violations of the principle of self-determination in the 1919 Peace settlement'.

This led to considerable tension between the German- and Italian-speaking communities within the South Tyrol. By 1968 there were bomb-explosions and killings. That year a delegation attended an MRA assembly in Caux, Switzerland. It included members of the Provincial Council of the South Tyrol from both communities, as well as Members of Parliament. An Indian journalist's challenge—that India with her 600 languages could have little hope if they could not sort out the South Tyrol's difficulties—helped them find a new perspective.

Armando Bertorelle, Italian Vice-President of the Provincial Council said, 'For the last 20 years we have been searching for an answer to the conflict but each was defending his own interests and his group's interests without being concerned for the whole situation.'

A German-speaking MP, Karl Mitterdorfer, apologised for jealousy to a rival within his own party. This strength-

**Creating the European Community* by R C Mowat, published by Blandford Press, London 1973.



Channer

Prince Charles arriving in Zimbabwe for the country's independence. Unofficial initiatives contributed to the peace-process.

ened party unity. Mr Bernardi, an Italian MP who was part of the delegation, introduced Mitterdorfer and a few of his friends to a leading Christian Democrat. This man's subsequent apology in Parliament for the Italians' failures towards the South Tyrolese changed the climate of relationships. When the Italian Government offered the province autonomous government, the German-speakers' new-found party unity was a crucial factor in making agreement possible.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote in December 1968, 'One feels that a new climate prevails in South Tyrol. No more bombs, no more terrorism. Since the summer, blood has not been shed. It seems that the troubled period of the last ten years has come to an end.'

In fairy tales, everyone lives happily ever after. In real life reconciliation is not always permanent. Yet any experience of creating peace, whether or not it stands the test of time, is a pointer to how conflicts can be resolved. ■



Bolzano in the Italian South Tyrol where a new climate prevails

Channer

MOMENTS OF SHOCK

by Charis Waddy

SOMETIMES THE WHOLE WORLD is shaken by a shattering revelation of the depths to which humanity can descend. The shock may not last long. The mechanisms of dissociation, of self-justification and blame take over. But in the depth of each human heart there is a moment of horror-stricken silence, the recognition of naked evil stripped of all pretence.

Such a moment came for me in June 1945, when the first eye-witness reports appeared from the Allied troops who discovered the Nazi extermination camp at Belsen. In those days our sensitivity had not been dulled by the nightly visual impact of violence and death on television. Even at the end of six years of war the horror struck with full force. I was exhausted, taking a short break from the London cellars where my war-work held me. Victory was near, but hope receded. The evil was too much. It revealed depths in human nature which no 'victory' could cure or even guarantee to contain. Through the years of conflict I had nurtured my faith in a better future and determination to be ready for it. Now this seemed pointless. I lay facing the wall and gave way to the despair which calls God powerless.

'Out of crisis comes commitment. New life begins, with a quality that weaves the fabric of a new society.'

Slowly other images came into my mind. The many terrors of war. The bombing which we in London had endured—and inflicted. The words of a psalm of David, first uttered perhaps three thousand years ago and echoed by the dying Jesus—'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?' A Roman crucifixion could match any twentieth century atrocity.

In a flash of fresh insight I saw that faith is held in the face of the worst man can do—not a refusal to face evil or to admit its fatal power, but the defiant assertion that it does not hold the future, that life is greater than death, resurrection than corruption. I made my own commitment to a life of a quality that could serve in rebuilding the ravaged post-war world.

The pictures of Sidon, Beirut and Chatilla have brought this experience vividly to mind. The casualties are not just the maimed and mutilated bodies of Palestinians, Lebanese and Israelis. The reputations of three great religions lie in the dust. 'Muslim' and 'Christian' have become meaningless political tags. The Jewish dream of security has turned into a nightmare of violence.

Another set of beliefs lies in the rubble too: the cult of violence that believes that it is a road to advance. Millions willingly or unwillingly worship at its shrine. But the blood-drenched war in Lebanon could teach us that it is death, not power, that comes out of the barrel of a gun.

It is essential that the travesty of Judaism, Christianity and Islam held up to the world during the agonies of the past months be removed. For deep in the reality of their



Weeks

Charis Waddy

common beliefs may lie the cure for present wounds and the hope of future rebuilding.

The claim that retribution belongs to God, not man, lies close to the roots of all three faiths. 'Vengeance is Mine' is the teaching of Moses, echoed by St Paul. Repeatedly in the Quran, God is the Master of retribution. If followers of Moses, Jesus and Muhammed sometimes usurp that Divine prerogative it does not mean that they have any right to do so. Blame and vengeance tie the wronged, as well as the wrong-doer, to the past. The possibility of advance in human relationships may depend on the willingness to be done with them.

One of the survivors of the prisoner-of-war camps in the Far East during World War II was Laurens van der Post. In spite of his terrible sufferings, he was utterly opposed to war trials. 'Villains undoubtedly do exist in the wide world without,' he wrote. 'But they do so in a mysterious interdependence with the profoundest failures and inadequacies in ourselves. It is almost as if the villain without is a Siamese twin of all that is wrong in ourselves. If war had had any justification at all, it should leave victors and vanquished free for a moment from the destructive aspects of their past. (This moment) if seized with imagination could enable us to build better than before. To go looking for particular persons and societies to blame seemed to throw men back into the past, and to deprive them of the opportunity they had so bitterly earned to begin afresh.'

'Faith is... not a refusal to face evil... but the defiant assertion that it does not hold the future, that life is greater than death, resurrection than corruption.'

His prison experience led him to the astonishing claim that 'the spirit of man is naturally a forgiving spirit'. Without forgiveness, he wrote, we become members of 'the chain gang of mere cause and effect from which life has laboured so long and painfully to escape'. If this fact was accepted, it would be followed by the recognition that 'men could no longer change the pattern of life for the better by changing their frontiers, their systems and their laws ... but only by changing themselves'.

If religion is to regain the credibility it deserves, those who speak in its name must deal with such fundamentals. These months have seen a massive, many-sided investment in violence in the Middle East—with the increase in hatred and despair which goes with it. A massive investment in trust, co-

operation and reconstruction is needed to match it.

In the history of this war-torn century it can be discerned that out of crisis comes commitment. New life begins, with a quality that weaves the fabric of a new society, however desolate—or however apparently sheltered—the circumstances. Such commitment can and must be ours. ■

Out of Lebanon's agony

'I GREW UP IN THE AGONY of Lebanon,' a student told the MRA conference in Caux, Switzerland, this summer. 'I have seen death strike before my eyes and I have seen my home destroyed. I have seen young men whose hair was going white at the age of twenty pushing two-year-olds aside to hide in the lift-shafts when the bombs began to fall. I have spoken to people whose souls were beginning to be corrupted. And I have not seen all the misery.'

The student was one of several from Lebanon attending the conference. 'I came here to forget,' she went on. 'I did not realise that I was coming to a meeting with God and that in the depths of myself I was searching for Him. I came with a vision of Lebanon in ruins and I leave with a vision of a new Lebanon built on solid foundations.'

Leila Tannous, a well-known Arabic broadcaster, described how she had spent two weeks in the crossfire of the Israeli invasion, often sharing a shelter with neighbours from Lebanon's Sunni and Shia Moslem, Druse, Maronite and Orthodox communities. 'Perhaps no country in the world is as divided as mine, but we found we all shared a faith in God and a common concern for unity in the family,' she said.

The devil caught Lebanon unawares, Mrs Tannous said, blaming the 'greed, selfishness and corruption on the part of some of us, the lack of awareness and caring on the part of the rest of us Lebanese that led to this unbelievable tragedy'.

Fire

A Christian lawyer described how at the outbreak of war seven years ago he had joined the militia in defence of his community. 'Later I met a poor man from Syria, a Muslim,' he went on. 'The Syrians were supposed to be our enemies. This man showed me a picture of his family. Three of the children in the picture were about the age of my children—and they were blind, not from birth, but because of disease and lack of medical care. That night I was troubled. I said to myself, "If my children had been his children they would be blind now." I realised then that there is a much bigger battle than that of defending my community—God's battle for all His children in the Middle East.'

The lawyer described how this experience had inspired him to give up his military gun and later to cross the dividing line to visit Muslim friends from whom the war had separated him—to listen to them and to express where we Christians have been wrong and apologise for that'.

'War makes us appreciate peace and security and makes us awaken everybody to conserving peace for ever,' commented the student. 'Peace is a little like a fire—it must be prodded and nourished into permanence.' ■

NEWSBRIEFS

YOUNG PEOPLE FROM ZIMBABWE'S rival political parties attended a seminar at the MRA centre in Gweru last month to discuss how they could work to unite their country.

Zimbabwe's *Sunday Mail* described the seminar as 'highly successful'. 'Ex-Zanla and Zipra combatants worked together as Zimbabweans,' it reported.

The seminar was organised by young people from the Shona and Ndebele communities. One of them, Harare student and ex-combatant Sekayi Murombedzi, told the newspaper, 'If all the youths of our country could unite then we could challenge the leaders and determine the future of our country based on love for one another and unity. We found that we could unite by each looking at our own responsibility for what has gone wrong and by deciding to change on the basis of what, not who, is right.' ■

'**FREEDOM**', the African film about the challenges of independence, was shown recently to the Mayor of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, councillors and others from the city. The film, already available in Shona, is now being translated into Ndebele, and is much in demand. ■

YOUTH CAMPS have also taken place recently in Canada and Taiwan.

In Tainan young Chinese from the Republic of China and Hong Kong took part in the fourth of a series of youth training programmes initiated 18 months ago. 'I have blamed many foreigners for misunderstanding my country,' commented one participant. 'But I have learnt that you must care for other races and cultures before demanding their care.'

In Canada young people from eight cultural backgrounds took part in a week's conference on 'Adventures in Faith'. They spent the first two days in Calgary meeting Sarcee and Stoney Indians on two nearby reservations, and the next five days living as a community on a farm near Edmonton. ■

THE AUDIO-VISUAL *Build on Solid Ground*, a story of reconciliation and rehabilitation from the shanty towns of Rio de Janeiro, has been shown during the summer to 1,861 of the personnel of eight supermarkets of the Paes Mendonca company. The showings took place in Salvador, capital of Brazil's northeastern state of Bahia. ■

EUGENIO CUTOLO, Italian Catholic professor and author of over 80 books, has just published a pamphlet about the MRA centre in Caux, Switzerland, which he visited this summer with a group of Italian personalities.

Caux, hope and reality of a new Christian life describes Caux as the embodiment of the 'no' with which the consciences of people of goodwill reject distorting and divisive ideologies and the emphasis on armaments at the expense of human solidarity.

Referring to the practice of seeking God's direction in silence, which lies at the heart of MRA, Professor Cutolo comments, 'The important thing is to prepare ourselves to receive, freely, a light which will pass from our hearts to the outside world for the good of our fellowmen who are attacked morally by hatred, bitterness and the slogans of propaganda...' ■

THE NORWAY THE WORLD CAN AFFORD

by Jens Jonathan Wilhelmsen

'THE GOOD OLD DAYS ended on 6 August 1945,' declared the Norwegian author Helge Krog. On the day the atom bomb fell, war ceased to be the continuation of politics by other means and became a full stop.

Of course we must protest against the insanity of the arms-race. There is a ray of hope when such protests bear fruit. But if we want to increase the efficiency of our work for peace, we must take the field against the allies of war within ourselves.

Most people think that it is others who need to change their attitudes—the other camp, the other party, competitors, neighbours, wife, husband, young people. The deadlock only begins to break when we ourselves, as individuals and nations, deal with the injustices at our own door, rather than living in a fantasy world where others' faults get more attention than our own.

Bitterness and aggression are dangerous forces in the human psyche. We see their destructive potential in Northern Ireland. Hitler played upon them to lead the Germans to a fate they did not want. They operate in the most intimate human relationships and on the political level, and the two spheres have an escalating effect on each other.

To the extent that these forces control us, our power of judgement is distorted. We become easy game for false prophets and demagogues.

The balance of terror must not be confused with peace. Nor must the graveyard quiet which results from surrender and capitulation. Peace is the result of victory in the battle between good and evil, between the divisive and uniting forces in mankind. When we win that victory within ourselves, faith grows that the same can happen in others. Hope begins to take the place of resignation.

Chinese invitation

The Soviet Union nearly bled to death during the Second World War. The wounds are still not healed. Do her European neighbours have a care and vision for her peoples? Or are we more driven by fear and the wish to save our own skins?

A strong defence may be necessary to secure our independence and gain time. It can hold back aggression, but it cannot remove the fear and mistrust of an adversary. The possession of modern means of destruction is only justifiable if we use the time they give us to build bridges of trust. This is one of the great challenges of our time, and it is here that our need for new thinking and courageous initiatives is most acute.



Hunger—the greatest threat to future peace?

There is a lot of talk about removing mistrust. To create trust we must ourselves be trustworthy. The aims we pursue, the values we build on, the standards we respect will be decisive.

For example, a Norwegian tanker was discharging oil into a Chinese lighter in the port of Canton. The Chinese inspector thought the right amount had been transferred and signalled the Norwegians to stop pumping. But the Norwegian machinist pointed out that the Chinese were paying for 100 long tons and that he had only pumped 100 short tons.

This honesty made an impression. A report was sent to Peking. Next time the ship called at Canton, a letter was waiting for the crew from China Freight praising their honesty and inviting them out for dinner and a sight-seeing tour.

Sincerity and care still seem to make an impression. The offensive power of such attitudes is worthy of research. As we enlarge our spheres of contact, perhaps mankind can establish an area of common values which can be the basis of a better future.

At the same time, we must not let the confrontation of the super-powers blind us to the fact that the world is threatened in other ways. Brzezinski, President Carter's security adviser, said recently in Oslo that the gap between the rich and poor countries may result in increasing international anarchy and become the most serious threat to peace.

'Can the world afford Norway?' was a recent headline in an Oslo paper. We can have all the right ideas on peace, disarmament and foreign aid and still remain stuck in a wasteful lifestyle which widens the gulf between poor and rich and advances the chaos we fear. We take our high level of consumption for granted and gripe at anyone who suggests we ought to be satisfied with a little less. Then the howls of protest rise up from the North Cape to Norway's southernmost tip.

Warmongers, we? No. But apostles of peace? Hardly. ■

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