The largest 'class' division of our times is not within Britain. It is the widening gap between the rich and poor nations, recently exposed in the report of the Brandt Commission. The report called for a new international economic order - not just for the sake of the starving, but as essential for the survival of the whole world.

This new order will call for new relationships within nations as well as between them. We cannot win the international war against poverty, while the national war of class goes on.

The barricades of the class war do not just run through industry. They run through most people's hearts. And whatever our background, when it comes to injustices, possessions, status and security most of us experience the reactions we so dislike in the other classes.

WHICH WAR WILL WE FIGHT?

MANY WOULD TRACE Britain's industrial troubles to her class differences. Patrick O'Kane, a trade unionist from Coventry, believes that these differences are not a problem but an asset.

One of 12 children of Irish parents living in Coventry, he got a job on a building site and was soon a shop-steward (union representative). 'I went into the trade union movement with high ideals,' he says. 'I wanted to make my contribution to building a better world.'

Soon, however, he was disillusioned with the men he represented. 'Though I had won

them better wages and conditions they didn't seem to appreciate it—especially when it was time to collect the union fees.'

His idealism vanished. Bitter over the way the manager was more interested in profits than in people, he was tempted to use the workforce to hit back. Then cynicism took over—'Why should I bother trying to help anyone when there is so much resistance?'

When he met people who challenged him to ask himself whether he was part of the world's problem or part of the answer, the effect was dramatic. 'I realised that change in the world started with change in me.' That

Keir Hardie where he belongs

DON SIMPSON portrays Keir Hardie in the play about the Labour pioneer which has been touring Britain. He writes of the latest performances:

THE SOCIAL CLUBS are the heart of the North Country community. The cast of *Keir Hardie—the man they could not buy* has played in 13 clubs in northern mining communities recently. It all seems so natural; it is the right place for the play.

The electric organ and bingo equipment have been cleared from the stage. Lights and sound, costume and props are all in place. The bar is closed, the lights go down and we are away.

This is the story of an illegitimate boy who worked in the mines from the age of 10. He taught himself to read by the light of his miner's lamp. Blacklisted and sacked for organising the miners to fight for better conditions, he became deeply bitter. Then he became a Christian and his attitude changed. He forgave his oppressors and instead of seeking revenge took his passionate fight for brotherhood to Parliament and around the world. 'My socialism,' he said, 'only comes out of a change of heart, and in peace, not in war.'

The play was presented twice last week for the miners in Lancashire. In St Helens the play was introduced by Malcolm Gregory, the Branch Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers for the Bold Colliery, Joe Gormley's home pit. 'Some of us saw this play in Liverpool,' he said, 'and we thought you should all see it.' Area and branch officials from other pits and representatives of management sat in the audience. After the performance a party of 11 councillors urged us to bring it back to St Helens.

It was the same story in the Leigh Miner's Institute at the invitation of the NUM in the Bickershaw Colliery. A group from the local Communist Party discussed the ideas of the play for over an hour after the final curtain.



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meant being as honest as he wanted his country to be—paying back £275 of unpaid income tax, and admitting a robbery to the police. Knowing in his heart that hatred would never cure anything, he wrote to the manager and apologised.

He began to read about the pioneers of the British trade union movement. Most of them, he realised, were men of faith, who were out for more than improved wages and conditions. 'They all had a vision of a new world, of a brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of God,' he says. 'And they lived a quality of life that gave them the authority to speak out against what was wrong.'

Castle versus struggle

He decided to work to restore to the labour movement the conviction that 'the way we fight is as important as what we are fighting for'. This he sees as the only alternative to war between the classes—'a war in which we are all losers'.

'Class is a reality,' he points out. 'It's more than just economic or social groupings. It's how we perceive and feel things.'

In the last century the workers, determined to get a fairer deal in society, formed trade unions and developed a 'struggle mentality'. The Establishment, feeling threatened, responded with a 'castle mentality'.

'The clash between these two mentalities in Britain is leading towards bankruptcy, mass unemployment and anarchy. On a global scale it could mean nuclear war. There must be another way.

'The answer will come, I believe, through taking on a task which needs the best of all classes. The workers must make their struggle for the brotherhood of man a commitment which takes in the whole world, especially the needs of the poorest. The Establishment must help preserve what is best in an age of rapid change.' As an example he points to the diplomacy and 'sense of fair play' of Lord Carrington in the talks which brought about Zimbabwe's independence.

'If Britain is inward-looking our class structure will destroy us. If we take on the task of creating a world fit for everyone to live in, then our class differences will complement each other.'

Breaking the spell

A FRIEND OF MINE who has a background of extreme poverty was brought up in a Dr Barnado's Home. One day a group of us were with Frank Buchman, the initiator of MRA. My friend talked about the sense of class grievance he had grown up with and how, through God's grace, he had been freed of it. 'I am no longer governed by class,' he said.

'What was that word?' Buchman asked. My friend said patiently, 'Class, Frank.' Buchman looked puzzled and said, 'I don't recognise that word. Would you spell it for me?' With continued patience my friend spelt it out. Buchman shook his head quizzically. 'I don't know the word,' he said.

We all got his point. Buchman's refusal to accept class as a concept did not spring from any unreality about the divisions in society. But he believed that everyone who decides to be governed by God's will instead of selfwill ceases to be governed by background.

Nor was he unrealistic about the hellishness of poverty. He himself, living on faith and prayer, seldom had any money to spare. But in India, where I was with him, he gave money generously to all the lowly-paid who served him, and encouraged us to do so too. He knew, however, that this was not enough.

Speaking to the Indian people he said, 'Before a God-led unity, every last problem will be solved. Hands will be filled with work, stomachs with food, and empty hearts with an ideology that really satisfies.' Unless the empty hearts of the 'haves' are fired by a passion to change things, the empty hands and stomachs may not be filled in freedom.

Heredity and environment do fashion us. But they need not decide how we live. I can be greedy, selfish and indulgent, whether born rich or poor. I can choose to have a warped, bitter, jealous and competitive outlook whether I come from a cottage or a castle. Or I can decide to let God come in and change my nature. Conscience knows no class barrier.

This puts in perspective the debate on what system of government is most effective. Any system will work if it is run by people who are themselves run by God—communism would cease to be communism and capitalism to be capitalism, in the sense that both concepts are unjust in application. But changing a system without changing the people creates new classes of privileged and under-privileged. Systems must serve people. Gordon Wise BILL TAYLOR was convenor of sheet metal workers for 10 years at British Leyland, Longbridge. He has recently retired. His brother, GEORGE TAYLOR, is an AUEW branch official at Reynolds Tubes, Birmingham, where he has worked for the last 40 years. JOHN LESTER asked them what they thought about the class war.

BILL TAYLOR BEGAN: 'Dad was a polisher. He and Mum raised us all in a little back alley house in working class Birmingham—one living room, a bedroom, an attic room, a cubby-hole for a kitchen, water in the alley.

'As well as Mum and Dad, there was Sam, Lil, John, me, George over there, Beat and Fred. Fred really came from the neighbours' family, but he lived with us until he married.

'In the Depression, Dad was out of work. We had newspapers for a table-cloth, coloured paper for curtains and jam for a treat. I used to clean the tomb stones in the local churchyards for a halfpenny. We didn't have much, but we shared what we had, and there were always smiling faces.

'Mind you the class war started young. We used to go to the clay pits to throw bricks at those who were socially "above us".

'Occasionally Dad would give us a penny for the pictures as a treat. One day a girl had lost hers and I helped her find it. She sat in a

RIGHT = VIABLE

One speaker at the fourth international industrial conference of MRA in Japan at the end of last month was JOHN VICKERS, Chairman of Benjn. R Vickers & Sons Ltd, Leeds. A full report of the conference will be carried in a future issue. Here we print Mr Vickers' speech:

OUR world is interdependent. It has nations with great populations and poverty, and nations with great stores of developed technology and wealth. Both groups of nations will continue to compete in the world's markets to supply goods and services. Yet wealth and expertise must be transferred on a massive scale from the rich to the poor.

This is true in spite of our problems in Europe. We are in recession. My company is selling 10% less than last year. We have inflation of 20% in England and growing unemployment. My products are oil-based, so we have all the problems of oil supply and oil prices.

Of the many qualities that will be needed in the years ahead, I feel three will be particularly important:

1 Commercial wisdom. We will have to supply appropriate products for different stages of development. In my firm, for instance, we still make traditional lubricants for slower textile processes which are labour intensive. But we have also had to design and supply lubricants which are suitable for high speed, automated, modern processes.

2 Human care. It will be necessary to make meeting people's needs an even higher priority than making a profit. That is easy to

say—but it means a revolution for capitalists.

In my firm this has meant that we have never dismissed any of our employees in a time of recession. In fact, on three different occasions, we have deliberately taken on extra people so as to create work for unemployed.

We have customers throughout Britain and in 40 countries overseas. We have never failed to supply the quantities of products they needed, even when there were strikes and when the flow of raw material supplies was disrupted. This was because we anticipated these disruptions and, at considerable cost, took steps to be able to deliver on time.

Our experience has been that what is morally right has always been economically viable. The key factor has been change in our own motives. This has enabled us to perceive what is the right thing to do.

3 Ideological understanding. Class warfare based on class attitudes is a fact in Britain. So is confrontation based on race. The bitterness in great numbers of ordinary people is often exploited so that they come to believe that industrial war, and even world war, is the only answer to injustice.

A resolute determination to put mutual interest before sectional advantage is growing in employers, trade union leaders and shop floor workers in many countries. It is proving to be an answering force, bigger than conflict. This approach began for me when I decided to be absolutely open and honest with my family—and to be resolute in following what God told me to do in my heart.

Best of both worlds

EVEN A SUPERFICIAL look at both the domestic British industrial situation, and the wider international scene, persuades us that we have to find a way of building a new society without first destroying everything that already exists.

On the domestic front we are faced with industrial decline brought on largely by our failure to be competitive. This results in closures and redundancies. One of the contributing factors to this decline is the industrial manifestation of the class war the excessive conflict and 'aggro' between boss and worker.

A British employer I know became so disillusioned with the performance of the South Wales steel industry that he 'couldn't have cared less whether Llanwern and Port Talbot were closed or not—I could always get my steel from Germany any way.' Recently BOTH WORLDS contd on p4

THE POLISHED TABLE AND THE ROCKING CHAIR

seat behind me and pelted me with peanuts. I got up to tell her off. We've been married now for 41 years.

'When I was 13 I left school and answered a notice: "Boy wanted to learn sheet metal work." They took me and sent me to Morris Commercial as an apprentice. I wanted to learn a skill so that I would always be needed. By 18 my battle had begun to improve working class conditions in every shape and form. By 22 I was a shop-steward.

'The way working classpeople were treated made me bitter. Through no fault of their own they had to live a life of squalor and struggle. When Dad was out of work we applied for help from the powers that be. When the officials saw that we had a polished table they said we must sell it before being given any help. That stuck in my craw.'

'Funny you should say all that,' chipped in George Taylor, 'because I don't feel like that at all. All you say about the family is true but I have never felt bitter. Home was a

marvellous place for character building, I thought. And, after all, thousands suffered like us and many came up and excelled in spite of it.

'I suppose my only regret is that I could not have higher education. But it's a long time ago. Now we've all got so much in comparison to what we used to have that there is no need for the class war.

'Mind you, I suppose that about 65% of workers feel like you, Bill, and fight the class war. Only it's all comparison now—status not poverty. The nurses said on TV yesterday, "We won't accept 14% because the doctors have had 19%." There's no logic in it. It's no longer "How much is my job worth and what's in the coffers." It's "I'm worth every bit as much as he is." '

'I suppose,' mused Bill Taylor, 'the only place I have not felt class war has been with other people committed to MRA. Then I don't think in terms of class. If it can be true there, perhaps it could be true everywhere—if only we could get rid of the bitterness and hatred caused by the experience of years.

Seeing is believing

'When I was first elected convenor ten years ago I asked the local supervisor for an office so that business did not have to be conducted on the shop floor. I had just met MRA.

'The supervisor burst out, "You have the audacity to come in here and ask for this when you've made my life hell? You've demanded things for the men and when I've not been able to give them you've taken the men out on strike. I've heard your attitudes are beginning to change but I want to see something before I believe it."

'So I said to him, "It's true that I have made your life hell, but my attitudes are changing. I'm sorry. I would ask you when you go home, to sit in your rocking chair and see if you have ever felt hatred for anyone."

'A few days later management gave me the office. The supervisor admitted that he had searched his conscience. He had been bitter too because management had given the job he wanted to a man from outside who knew nothing about building cars. He decided to go and put things right with the fellow.

'So perhaps I still think in terms of the class war, but I am learning to use it constructively.'

'I would like to say something about India,' said George Taylor. Both brothers were part of a labour and management group that visited India earlier this year. 'It widened my horizons. Until I went there I thought we would find the solutions here in Britain. Now I know that problems have to be settled world-wide.'

'We saw poverty in India much worse than anything we had ever known,' Bill Taylor added. 'It made me want to do something about it. Yet remarkably people were happy in spite of it. There seemed less class war there than here at home.'

'What I really believe is that the class war is outdated and will be put on one side to save the nation,' George concluded. 'We will start to pull together.'

Conservative calls for compassion

GO TO A MEETING at Tirley Garth, the MRA centre in Cheshire, and you leave with the certainty that class war need not be. That was my experience when I attended a meeting of 350 people there last Saturday.

Eight thousand jobs were lost in Liverpool in the first three months of this year alone. Alfred Stocks, the city's Chief Executive, told the meeting how the City Council is fighting back, building factory premises for smallscale industries and giving concessions on rents. This has been so successful that private developers are now taking on the building programme, freeing the city's money for other employment schemes.

Alfred Stocks had just received an honorary doctorate from Liverpool University in recognition of his services to the city. Each morning, he said, he took time in quiet to seek God's direction for his work and life. 'It has been a battling experience to find and follow God's guidance amidst the strong feelings that always accompany politics. But it is most satisfying to launch out into a day knowing that God has a plan for you and your work that day. I make many mistakes but this time of quiet has shown me the way back from their results.'

Richard Hawthorne, President-elect of the Nottingham Printing Industries' Federation, spoke about the dispute in the printing industry.'We employers have failed to provide an adequate answer to the underlying, and largely decisive, motivationsfear, power and short-sighted self-interest." he said. 'So much depends on whether we obey the real creative power in societywhat some people call the inner voice or God's guidance. It comes when we don't expect or recognise it, often when we don't want to listen to it. Yet the creation of employment opportunities and of new confidence in our industry may depend on whether we obey it or not.'

Pillar proud

'We are going to have to make the hard choice between higher wage increases and less jobs, or lower increases and more jobs,' said Ron Peacock, Convenor of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers for Greater Manchester. 'If we choose the latter it will mean a temporary fall in the living standards of many union members. But it could lead to a sharp fall in the rate of inflation. It will take courage and sacrifice, but will show in the end what can be achieved so that the rest of the world can benefit from it.'

'The Conservative Party comes across to many as uncompassionate,' said Lady Barbara Chapman, who is from a prominent Conservative family of North East England. She spoke of her fight to help the Government to 'show more compassion for every family' at a time when many were hit by unemployment. 'Meeting MRA gave me a new sense of responsibility. I realised that I had to change. The legacy of our background has been wrong attitudes—but they can be broken.' This has led her and her husband into working with labour leaders in their area on projects to help the community.

'Engineering is one of the pillars on which the wealth of this country is founded, and as a toolmaker, I'm proud to be part of it,' said a senior shop-steward from British Leyland. 'I was pushed into trade union work because I have certain moral standards, and I'm ready to fight to defend them. I am ready to fight injustice and to do what I feel is right even if it is unpopular. I'm not a Christian, but I believe we need an input of ideas such as I find here at Tirley.' John Bond

RETURN OF A GEORDIE

'WHAT WE CAN'T FETTLE ain't worth fettling!' This was the motto of a small Tyneside engineering firm whose foreman used to be a slow-speaking Geordie named Edmund Rutter.

To 'fettle' means to repair—anything from a child's pram to a locomotive. In Rutter's case, fettling refers not only to work on broken machinery, but also on the broken relationships which are such costly industrial overheads.

This month Edmund Rutter returns to Britain from India, where he has spent most of the last 12 years. He went there first in 1968, at a time when Western nations were becoming increasingly aware of the problems of developing nations.

Rutter took on the workshop at Asia Plateau, the MRA centre near Pune, where there is an experimental farm and conference centre facilities. In recent years a series of industrial seminars have taken place there, attended by workers and management from many parts of India. What impressed me when I saw Rutter there was the response he drew from skilled and unskilled workers and managers, on the job and at the seminars, at Asia Plateau or on his visits to other towns.

One morning, for instance, Rutter had taken a mini-bus into a garage for urgent repairs. When he called round in the afternoon to collect it, he was told that the mechanic responsible had vanished leaving the job half-done. After a search, Rutter found him. It was clear that the man was boiling with anger, but it was impossible at first to find out why. Was it anything to do with the minibus? Money? Health? Working conditions? Hours of employment? No complaints. What was it then?

Eventually it all came out. The mechanic's rage was directed at a superior who had refused a request. He was also worrying about troubles at home. It was a tricky situation because the superior, who came from a different area, was unpopular in the district and ran the risk of being beaten up by the mechanic and his friends. The trouble looked like spreading.

Rutter listened. Then he explained how he had let personal problems lead him to do foolish things in the past. 'Can't we agree to find out what's right?' he suggested. 'Not just who's to blame, but what in this difficult situation is fair and correct?' They got together with the man's superior and found that he too had been cantankerous because of family anxieties. The two men shook hands and what might have been an ugly incident was averted. The minibus ran again. And months later, when Edmund was leaving the area, all those involved in the quarrel came together to send him off and gave him a briefcase as a token of lasting friendship.

It had been the same story in Britain, I found. Rutter had the art of giving out the best from himself and drawing it from others. He was not just a peace-maker, but also a pace-setter—he kept the machines working and provided work for other people. The apprentices in his charge picked up his approach; and the same could be said of the Works' Director and many of the firm's employees.

Take Jake, for example, the firm's despatch clerk. He had been working for the firm for years and was inclined to be officious, which caused considerable irritation to all who had to deal with him. 'Now then,' he would say, 'are you going to take all night over those castings?'

'Coming! Coming!' Rutter would shout above the roar of the workshop.

'So is Christmas! The customer's waiting and so am I!'

Such encounters tended to slow work down rather than speed it up.

All-weather

'Then I did what I'd found before was a good idea when things were getting snarled up', says Rutter. 'I started listening to that voice each of us has inside of us, if only we'd bother to pay attention. I heard it say as clear as the bells of St Mary's, "Edmund, you think you're better than Jake because he's only a despatch clerk. That's why you're slow on the job. Tell him you're sorry and get a move-on."

'That's what I did. It meant swallowing a large helping of humble pie, but it changed the atmosphere in the shop. And Jake and I became good friends.'

Edmund Rutter is now over 70, and not long ago I asked him how he saw Britain's future. He went into one of those thoughtful silences of his, and then he said, 'As I look back over the years, I can see how consistent and reliable the Almighty has been in all kinds of weather. I long for everyone to try the experiment of saying 'Yes' to the voice inside which tells them what's right and wrong, what's wise and stupid for themselves and our country.

'As we build sane relationships with one another in the workshops, mines, docks, businesses, negotiating-rooms and homes it will help us to build new bridges between the nations of Europe and the world.'

Geoffrey Gain

Troubleshooting tea

'NOBODY HAS EVER talked to me like you have,' said the union leader to the government troubleshooter. 'Nobody has admitted before that there is something wrong on their side. I could almost weep.' He was talking to Narayan Dandeker who had been asked by the Indian Home Minister to help the Scyndia Steam Navigation Co., where he worked, out of its difficulties.

Mr Dandeker, who is a member of the Indian Civil Service and a former MP, has recently been in London. He spoke there of how he had applied what he learned from Frank Buchman in his work as Chairman of several Indian companies.

'There was a strike in Allbright, Morarjee and Pandit Ltd. The workers had submitted an enormous charter of demands which management could not possibly accept. The President of the union and 15 members of its committee asked for an appointment with me.

'After serving them tea I showed them the internal accounts of the company. I asked myself, "What in their demands is legitimate?" and explained that if their demands were met in full the company would go bankrupt. I told the men there wassomething else they should have asked for. Married and unmarried men have different responsibilities, and so I decided to grant a married and child allowance—some of which could be paid in kind.

'I didn't know how happy the men were until a week later. My wife and I were asked to conduct a puja (prayer ceremony) in the factory in praise of truth. In the seven intervening years there has not been a strike at that factory.'

BOTH WORLDS contd from p2

some friends and I arranged for this man to meet informally with some of the South Wales steelworkers away from the atmosphere of confrontation. 'Their responsible and statesmanlike attitude really impressed me,' the employer told us afterwards. Now he is working to save and create jobs in the South Wales steel industry by campaigning to win back steel orders that have been lost to other countries.

On the international scene Conservative Edward Heath worked with Social Democrat Willy Brandt to hammer out guidelines for a new world economic order. This is an illustration of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's positive alternative. 'What we need,' he said, 'is to get the best men in the socialist world and the best men in the capitalist world to work together.'

Dick Cosens

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