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THE OPEN SECRET OF MRA

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# THE OPEN SECRET OF MRA

*An examination of  
Mr. Driberg's 'critical examination'  
of Moral Re-Armament*

J. P. THORNTON-DUESBERY, M.A.  
*Master of St. Peter's College, Oxford*



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# I

PARTLY – AT LEAST I WOULD LIKE TO THINK SO – from a naturally peaceful disposition but largely, I fear, from less worthy motives, I have always shrunk from entering into controversy. As a Christian and a priest I could plausibly maintain that such an attitude is required of me by my profession and my faith. ‘If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, be at peace with all men,’ writes St Paul.

But superficial obedience to such directions can be the comfortable castle of a coward. At my ordination I undertook with God’s help ‘to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God’s word’. There are times when it is only by open battle that this obligation can be discharged.

Such a time is upon us today. A determined, world-wide attack is being made against the faith and morals upon which Christian civilization has been built. I am not referring to the advance of Communism, although no one but a fool would ignore its power or the God-less core of its ideology. I think rather of the equally ruthless, and less honest, materialism which is gaining control in those countries which have for centuries called themselves Christian.

Recent events in Britain have brought this issue into sharp focus. Scandals involving political leaders in which no party has a monopoly have shaken confidence

in our country. But more important than these scandals is the accompanying phenomenon that more and more leaders are arising who not only note that immorality is prevalent, but say that it is right. The standards which generations of loyal and patriotic men have regarded as healthful are now set aside as irrelevant, unimportant or even worthy of contempt. Conversely, what generations of loyal men and women have held as unhealthy and destructive of character, family and nation, is being whitewashed as progressive and even Christian.

The confusion is worse confounded when Christian personalities take action which encourages this trend. An article in the *Church of England Newspaper*<sup>1</sup> states: 'With Anglican Tom Driberg supporting the publication of *Fanny Hill* and Bishop Robinson of Woolwich describing Lady Chatterley's adultery as a kind of holy communion, the country is in urgent need of spokesmen who possess clear heads on the subject of common morality.'

Some clerical advocates of what is called the New Morality appear to give theological cover for much of this confusion. Yet it is not enough to condemn the 'new moralists'. The response to their writings reveals a need in the nation. 'We have struck an exposed nerve,' the Bishop of Woolwich once said – and it is certainly true that the desire is widespread for a religion which can live in secular surroundings, for a faith which interests young people and for a message which is concerned with the righting of social evils. That these needs are being expressed is a challenge to the whole Church – a challenge which will not be met

<sup>1</sup> February 21, 1964.

by merely standing on traditional ground, however necessary that is as a starting point, or by the employment of methods of evangelism once effective but now outmoded.

It is a moment of danger – and of opportunity. Encouraging signs are not lacking. Two of them are the quickening desire for Christian unity and the urge for such reform as will make the Church of England more mobile and militant, although there is far to go to achieve these reforms, and the reforms themselves will not automatically bring the world-wide Christian re-awakening which is needed.

I have, over the last forty years, seen much of the Oxford Group and Moral Re-Armament, and of the dedicated Christian men and women who make up the core of its leadership. I believe that they have vital experience to bring to the whole Church at this time. Their militancy is beyond question, and they have long united in action Christians of every church, race and nation. Their worst enemy will not deny that they have always had the power to attract and hold young people, and they have ever conceived their message as social as well as individual. The Church has already profited from their pioneer work with such modes of communication as house parties, films and plays. I believe they are what they have aspired to be – commando forces of the Church, pioneering where the larger body cannot always go, bringing back many alive to their allegiance to Christ and enlarging the name and claim of God in the world. Certainly, they are occupying some of the most exposed positions in the Christian battle-line.

If there is even a little in this belief of mine, it is essential that the service of these men and women should not, by any failure of theirs or ours or of anyone else, be lost to the Church. It would be a tragedy if these commando forces were cut off from the main body of Christ's army, for both would lose in effectiveness.

It is because I believe that Mr Driberg is, consciously or unconsciously, driving a wedge between these two parts of the same army that I have reluctantly decided to examine his pamphlet, *MRA – A critical examination*. This pamphlet – the most comprehensive and recent example available – is a fair specimen of his writing on this subject and was announced for sale at the World Book Fair on June 15, 1964, in connection with his forthcoming book. It includes most of the stock criticisms of MRA, which he has faithfully repeated with great regularity. It may therefore be that if I can dispose of his arguments, I shall go far to satisfy those who have, often unknowingly, adopted his objections.

History shows that where a vital Christian movement has been opposed by leaders of the Christian Establishment, it is generally the Church and not the movement which has suffered most. It is doubtful whether the opposition of virtually every English bishop did much in the long run to hamper John Wesley's work. But the damage to the Church is only now being repaired. I would not have it said in future centuries that the Church of England of our generation repented of its ancestors' injustice towards a Christian prophet of two hundred years ago, but failed to recognize men of God arising in its midst in our own day.

## 2

MR DRIBERG, AN ANGLICAN LIKE MYSELF, is presumably as committed to counteract the erosion of moral standards and to combat atheism as am I or any other Christian. So it is to a convinced Christian that I must write – and also to one who has addressed himself to an academic, or at least a semi-academic, audience. For his pamphlet ‘contains the substance of a lecture given at the students’ clubs of two Scandinavian universities’. So it must be examined not as a newspaper article written against time with a sub-editor clamouring for copy, but as the ‘critical examination’ of MRA which it purports to be.

A ‘critical examination’ is, according to the Oxford Dictionary, one that is ‘fault-finding, censorious’ – and here the adjective has been chosen with scholarly accuracy. But what of the noun? An examination means ‘an investigation by inspection or experiment, a minute investigation’. This is perhaps why Mr Driberg tells us that he attended ‘one of the Group’s “house-parties” ’ at Oxford in 1928.

I am perplexed about the date and place of this house party. A house party is a resident conference lasting several days, and no house parties were held at Oxford in 1928 or 1929. But granting that Mr Driberg did attend a house party – perhaps in 1930 or 1931 – it was probably the last Group house



party or MRA Assembly which he has attended. In the thirty-five years since then, he has been present at a few public luncheons where MRA was discussed and will have had various casual contacts; but he has not to my knowledge attended a major Assembly at Caux or Mackinac, nor conferred with recognized leaders of Moral Re-Armament.

Perhaps Mr Driberg's real claim to write as an expert is the fact that he gained his first triumph in Fleet Street by writing the first attack on the Oxford Group in a national newspaper, after attending one meeting in 1928. Mr Hannen Swaffer, in his colourful account of Mr Driberg's early career in *World's Press News*, explains how Mr Driberg joined the *Daily Express* in 1928. Under the heading 'His First Scoop', Mr Swaffer then adds, 'One day he got a scoop—the first story about the Oxford Group. "Oxford Undergraduates Share Their Sins", or something like that. It ran for three days!'<sup>1</sup>

The cuttings of these articles are before me. The first, that of February 27, 1928, states: 'The public confession of sins has been a frequent feature of the Sunday evening meetings. Such an ordeal naturally involves a violent emotional strain.' The second, that on February 28, states: 'Members of the new cult during the meeting hold hands in a large circle and, one after another, apparently "inspired", make a full confession of their sins.'

The articles do not state that the writer *heard* any such confessions, nor does he give a single name of anyone who so confessed or who claimed to have heard such confessions. No doubt, as a good journalist, he

<sup>1</sup> October 10, 1940; also *World's Press News*, November 18, 1955.

would have done so if he could. He could not because such things did not happen. I was present at virtually all these Oxford meetings, and no one held hands, nor were there any unsavoury or emotional confessions by undergraduates. Yet this – the first story written about the Oxford Group in the national press – went into the clippings library of every newspaper and was copied by other journalists.

In the article of February 28, 1928, Mr Driberg quoted unnamed 'American undergraduates' at Oxford as saying that authorities at Princeton University 'stopped it (the movement) as soon as they learned of its existence'. In fact, when rumours similar to those now being spread by Mr Driberg had been spread at Princeton about those trained by Dr. Frank Buchman, President Hibben appointed a Committee to ascertain the facts. This Committee, representing the Board of Trustees, the faculty and undergraduates at Princeton, had already issued its unanimous report on December 31, 1926, in which it said:

We have endeavored in every way to secure any evidence which would tend to substantiate or justify these charges . . . no evidence has been produced before us which substantiates or justifies them . . . Under these circumstances we feel that in justice we should state that in our opinion the charges are the result either of misapprehension or criticism without foundation.

The report spoke of the 'signal success' of the work and added, 'Many men of outstanding influence in undergraduate life have been brought into active co-operation in furthering Christian work on the campus.' Princeton

had been 'given a reputation for an efficient and fruitful Christian endeavor which is certainly not exceeded at this time by similar work carried on in any other institution'.<sup>1</sup>

It was the repetition of the 'confession' rumour which led a group of Oxford dons to write to *The Times*<sup>2</sup>:

A report has been widely circulated regarding the work of the groups in Oxford associated with the name of the Rev. F. N. D. Buchman, D.D. From what we have observed of the results of this work, it is our belief that this criticism has arisen from misunderstanding and unfounded rumour, and misrepresents the spirit of the work.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Chairman of the Committee was Edward D. Duffield, President of the Prudential Life Insurance Co. The Secretary was H. Alexander Smith, then Executive Secretary of Princeton University, who later served for fourteen years in the United States Senate. Senator Smith wrote later, 'Our report was a complete vindication and endorsement of the work that had been carried on.' On September 22, 1961, in a letter to the *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, he drew renewed attention to the Report of the Committee and wrote: 'We should all be deeply grateful for Frank Buchman and the great work that he has done.'

<sup>2</sup> June 23, 1928.

<sup>3</sup> This work was put in true perspective by Dr L. W. Grensted, the Oriel Professor of the Philosophy of the Christian Religion, in the introduction to *The Person of Christ* (Nisbet, 1933). He wrote: 'I owe much to the Oxford Group myself, and I have seen the effective power of God's grace working through it in many lives. It is inevitable that this experience, being so recent and so vivid, should to some extent have affected my presentation of a living Christianity. And yet I do not think that it has distorted it, for my own experience, with that of others, has been that so far from being led aside into something new and strange, I have found that the Bible and the Church alike have come to mean more and not less, and that the Gospel which I was commissioned to preach is a Gospel that is with power to heal and to save.'

The letter was signed by A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol; M. E. Sadler, Master of University College; W. B. Selbie, Principal of Mansfield College; F. R. Barry, Vicar of St Mary's University Church, and a number of others, including myself. Nevertheless the legend of 'public confession' persisted, and it still lingers today.

Dr J. W. G. Wand, then Dean of Oriel and later Bishop of London, wrote his impressions in *Theology*<sup>1</sup>:

There is no mincing matters about it (sin); and there are numerous recorded instances of Dr Buchman's marvellous success with individuals through bluntly revealing to them the actual sin in their own life. This, be it noted, is sin interpreted as widely as in the gospels. One hears more of selfishness, pride, ill-will than of anything else, and the charge that 'Buchmanism' is unduly concerned with sexual matters had better be dismissed as the merest nonsense.

Mr Driberg, in his pamphlet, denies that he is 'pursuing some sort of vendetta against Moral Re-Armament' (8).<sup>2</sup> But if MRA is what he says it is, he should be campaigning against it with every power at his command. As, indeed, he is. There is documentary evidence of seventy-one public attacks<sup>3</sup> made by him

<sup>1</sup> August 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Numbers in brackets refer to pages in Mr Driberg's pamphlet.

<sup>3</sup> Some of Mr Driberg's attacks are on personalities. He devotes nearly half of the foreword to his 'critical examination of MRA' to attacking the young Member of Parliament for East Aberdeenshire, Mr Wolrige Gordon. After stating that there were 'some prominent Conservatives in his (Mr Wolrige Gordon's) con-

(Footnote 3 continued on page 14)

upon Dr Buchman, the Oxford Group and Moral Re-Armament since that day in 1928 when he obtained his first big scoop in Fleet Street by attacking them. Of these, the present pamphlet is typical.

Before answering Mr Driberg's detailed criticisms, I must mention two characteristics of his controversial method which appear in this pamphlet and in some of his other writings.

First, there is his use of emotion-charged epithets as a substitute for argument. Some of those he applies to MRA in this pamphlet are 'McCarthyism', 'anti-democratic', 'totalitarian aspirations', 'non-Christian', 'irrational', 'a strike-breaking outfit', 'benevolent towards Nazis', 'an anti-Communist, anti-Labour enthusiasm'. Study of his writings and speeches, however, reveals that this same brand of epithet has done duty from time to time in his denunciations of many other people and bodies. Thus, the Radcliffe Report on Security is called 'a manifestation of McCarthyism'<sup>1</sup> and General

(Footnote 3 continued from page 13)

stituency who felt, rightly or wrongly, that he had been devoting too much time to MRA and too little to his duties as an M.P.', Mr Driberg states, 'In fact, Mr Wolrige Gordon's industry as an M.P. has fluctuated; he has attended Parliament more frequently since the trouble in his constituency began.' (5) Hansard records that in the two years leading up to 'the trouble' in his constituency, Mr Wolrige Gordon *in fact* voted in 76 and 73 per cent of all divisions respectively. During the same years, Mr Driberg voted in 48 and 57 per cent of the same divisions. Earlier, on November 16, 1950, *The Times* reported: 'The Parliamentary Labour Party decided yesterday that Mr Tom Driberg should be censured for gross neglect of his parliamentary duties. Mr Driberg returned to Westminster last week after a long absence abroad'.

<sup>1</sup> *Reynolds News*, April 8, 1962.

de Gaulle is 'fascist'.<sup>1</sup> In 1946 America is referred to as 'the barbaric thugs of Detroit and the Mammon Imperialists of Washington and Wall Street',<sup>2</sup> and in 1957 Britain is described as 'a police state, more or less'.<sup>3</sup> The philosophy of the Conservative Party 'is not essentially different from the Herrenvolk philosophy'<sup>4</sup> of the Nazis and Sir Alec Douglas-Home is 'a militant Cold War Warrior and anti-UN man'.<sup>5</sup> On October 9, 1960, he even turned his guns on the leader of his own parliamentary party, Mr Gaitskell, for saying that there were 'fellow-travellers', as well as pacifists and unilateralists, concerned with the Scarborough motion on nuclear disarmament, 'a reference', he writes, 'as inaccurate as it was offensive'. 'What is not certain', he concludes, 'is whether this was deliberately said to scare some Trade Unionists or was a "Freudian slip" revealing Gaitskell's personal phobia.'<sup>6</sup>

Second, he makes unsupported assertions which he proceeds to treat as fact. Upon these 'facts' he then builds accusations, impugning the good faith and integrity of fellow Christians. A most serious instance is examined on pages 37.<sup>7</sup> Here he asserts that MRA is mainly financed by certain people and organizations and then, without a word of proof, goes on to claim

<sup>1</sup> *Reynolds News*, May 18, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> Speech in House of Commons, November 14, 1946.

<sup>3</sup> *Reynolds News*, June 9, 1957.

<sup>4</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, September 30, 1958. The *Daily Telegraph* comments in an editorial headed 'Politics by Insult' - 'He (Mr Driberg) subordinates history to his own shrill hysteria.'

<sup>5</sup> *Sunday Citizen*, October 20, 1963.

<sup>6</sup> *Reynolds News*, October 9, 1960.

<sup>7</sup> See also pp. 30, 32-3, 34-5, 34 f, 37, 52, 68, 71-3.

that MRA has changed its fundamental purpose and policy to please the mythical backers of his own creation.

One further point. Mr Driberg has often complained that MRA is impatient of criticism (9, 15). And he seems outraged if anyone answers back. In August 1940, for example, ignoring the fact that hundreds of MRA men were in the forces – such men won almost every decoration for gallantry – Mr Driberg attacked MRA on four separate days in his *Daily Express* column, his theme being that MRA people were a danger to the war effort.<sup>1</sup> He particularly criticized their ‘100 per cent self-abasing, shake-hands-with-your-foe attitude’ and said that absolute moral standards ‘carried out logically, would at once involve Britain in the same grovelling expression of guilt and abandonment of Empire that extreme pacifists – and the Nazis – demand.’<sup>2</sup> But when many readers wrote him – privately, mark you – protesting and showing a little of the belligerency which he criticised them for lacking, he wrote, ‘It is not consistent with Absolute Unselfishness to wrangle furiously with anyone, even a journalist.’<sup>3</sup> In the same vein, in 1961, he complained on television of MRA’s ‘terribly sensitive, vindictive attitude towards those who criticize them’.<sup>4</sup> Yet it is a fact that never, during the thirty-five years since Mr Driberg has been bombarding them with insults, have

<sup>1</sup> Mr Driberg has also alleged that Dr Buchman was a hindrance to the American war effort. For American comment, see Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> August 14, 1940.

<sup>3</sup> August 16, 1940.

<sup>4</sup> ITV programme, *About Religion*, February 26, 1961.

MRA or Dr Buchman answered him in like manner. Moral Re-Armament does not shrink from honest, open controversy; but it does not choose to waste strength in time-consuming argument with those whose interest is to generate heat rather than shed light. It is only now, when he is about to publish a full-scale work on Moral Re-Armament, that I have broken precedent to contest and correct the main themes of criticism to which he has returned monotonously again and again.



### 3

WHEN, ALMOST EXACTLY a hundred years ago, Newman was attacked by Charles Kingsley, he found himself in a predicament similar to that which I face today. 'When I first read the pamphlet of Accusation,' he wrote in his *Apologia*, 'I almost despaired of meeting effectively such a heap of misrepresentation and such a vehemence of animosity. What was the good of answering first one point, and then another, and going through the whole circle of its abuse; when my answer to the first point would be forgotten, as soon as I got to the second? What was the use of bringing out half a hundred separate principles or views for the refutation of the separate counts in the indictment, when rejoinders of this sort would but confuse and torment the reader by their number and their diversity?'<sup>1</sup>

Newman came to the conclusion that all these so-called charges were in essence 'illustrations of one and the same great imputation' that he, Newman, was a liar. Mr Driberg's basic imputation is the same, that MRA is not what it pretends to be, that it is hypocritical, lying, a mask for big business and reaction. He implies that many, if not most, of those associated with it are doubtless innocent simpletons, but its leaders and not least Dr Buchman whom he pursues beyond the grave, are arch-deceivers out to promote

<sup>1</sup> *Apologia* (Everyman Library edition, 1955), p. 24.

their own wealth and comfort and power. He is too clever to put it quite so baldly in his present pamphlet, but fundamentally that is what he means. He has not scrupled to use the privilege of Parliament to call Dr Buchman 'this soapy racketeer'<sup>1</sup>, and has felt free to 'hint' – to use his own word – that all the responsible leaders of MRA would alter its policy in order to attract money.<sup>2</sup> One is reminded of Mr Driberg's own wise words when, in 1964, a colleague of his was attacked by a political opponent. He then wrote:

Even when such slanders have been corrected echoes of them linger on. Millions of people who don't read the papers carefully may always have floating in their minds a half-formed notion . . . That is why the technique of smear is so dangerous – and so useful to the unscrupulous.<sup>3</sup>

Newman found that the only sufficient answer to Kingsley's attack was to give a true account of his intellectual and spiritual development, so that people should understand what he really meant. In the same way, it seems to me, the only retort to Mr Driberg's basic imputation is to try to give a true picture of MRA as I saw and see it, its part in the purpose of God for the life of the world. I shall therefore attempt to do this, leaving the detailed replies to some of Mr Driberg's points – replies which would obscure the

<sup>1</sup> *Daily Worker*, May 3, 1946.

<sup>2</sup> Two other accusations – that Dr Buchman falsified his entries in *Who's Who* and that MRA used Mr Herb Elliott's name without authorization in an advertisement – are briefly dealt with in Appendix II.

<sup>3</sup> *Sunday Citizen*, March 8, 1964.

argument in the text – to Appendices. I shall then go on to a consideration of his more important themes.

It may reasonably be expected that I should give an indication of my own qualifications for this task. I went up to Balliol with a Classical Exhibition in 1921, three years before Mr Driberg went to Christ Church, but as I went on to take theology in 1926, as a second Honours School after Mods and Greats, we must have overlapped by two years, though I do not recall that we ever met. Neither my best friend nor my worst enemy could ever have placed me among the ‘athletes’ whom Mr Driberg so despises (14). I had perhaps fewer distractions at Oxford than he. Balliol saw to it that I worked and, being fortunate in a succession of stimulating tutors, I achieved results which opened the door to an academic life. Consequently, except for seven years from 1933 to 1940 when I was a headmaster in Jerusalem, I have worked in Oxford ever since, first on the staff and later as principal of an Anglican theological college, as a clergyman and chaplain and Fellow of an Oxford College, and now in my present position at St Peter’s.

Brought up in an Anglican vicarage, I had been blessed with the love and security of a splendid Christian home and, though like most adolescents I went through my periods of revolt and unbelief, my parents had laid a fire of Christian conviction and commitment to which Bishop Taylor Smith applied the match in 1922. It was a year later that I got to know Dr Frank Buchman, and I would confirm the physical description of him which Mr Driberg quotes (7). But I would add to it. His ‘cleanliness’ and ‘fresh-

ness' were not only of the body but of spirit and mind. Invigorating, challenging, he was like a keen wind off the sea. He had travelled great distances of the spirit and was travelling still, and you could travel with him if you were prepared to leave the safety, and maybe the squalor, of your own little personal harbour and spread your sails to the wind. And yet there was also a solidity about him. You could trust him. I found I could tell him things I had never told any other man and the years have taught me increasingly how deep his sympathy, how wise his counsel were.

That was forty years ago. I have never been a full-time worker in MRA, but I have attended many of its Assemblies, have observed and shared in its work, both in England and other parts of the world, and am privileged to sit on its Council of Management.

'Greats', if it taught me nothing else, drove into my very being the Platonic distinction between opinion and knowledge, and I am not without some powers of critical discrimination. There are imperfections in MRA. There were in Buchman, as he was himself the first to admit. MRA is no panacea for every human ill, though there *is* a panacea as we shall presently see. But my years of observation have steadily strengthened my conviction that, whatever its shortcomings, the Hand of God is upon it and in it, and that to miss the sight of this is to miss perhaps the most significant and hopeful feature of this critical time.

In developing this point I want to begin by quoting the first sentence of Mr Driberg's final paragraph: 'It is the primary job of the Church to help in the creation of the Kingdom of God – the just society – here on

earth.' This sentence contains one surprising mistake, but it is also feeling towards something of importance which, rightly understood, will help greatly to a true estimate of MRA.

The surprising mistake is the *identification* of the Kingdom of God with the just society. For this is to confuse the cause with its results, or at least with one of them, and a most important one at that. It would, of course, be unfair to expect Mr Driberg to possess a detailed knowledge of the work of New Testament scholars in the last sixty years. He could rightly reply that this may be my duty but is certainly not his. Granted. But it is commonly agreed among theologians since Dalman and Schweitzer at the beginning of this century that in the Gospels the Kingdom, the *Basileia*, is the rule or reign of God, the *fact* of His sovereignty, not the area or the subjects or the society over which the sovereignty extends. The establishment of the just society will be the consequences of man's acceptance of the sovereignty. The casual identification of the two is a remarkable instance of the kind of over-simplification of which Mr Driberg, wrongly as I hold, accuses MRA. His mistake is by no means original, but it is odd to find what scholars now regard as an error of late Victorian or early Edwardian thought echoed in the 1960s by a declared and prominent Anglican who is 'slightly to the Left of centre' (8) in the Labour Party.

But let us pass to the positive truth which he is trying to express. It is contained in Christ's comment in the Sermon on the Mount: 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God.' That is, make it your top priority that God be acknowledged and obeyed as lawful King in

every part of human life. I do not think that Mr Driberg and I disagree about the common obligation which this lays upon us as professing Christians.

I frankly admit, however, that for years I stopped short at a largely individualistic interpretation of Christ's command. I now realize why, from the earliest days of our acquaintanceship, Buchman had insisted that personal change meant and would result in 'social, national, racial and international change'. He frequently expressed such views in the 1920s. In 1934 he declared, 'The Oxford Group is a Christian revolution, whose concern is vital Christianity. Its aim is a new social order . . . World-changing will come through life-changing.'<sup>1</sup> A new world was his vision and to have a share in its remaking was, he believed, the destiny of every man, the fulfilment of every man's inmost and deepest aspiration, whether consciously understood or not.<sup>2</sup>

Mr Driberg returns repeatedly to the charge that both Buchman himself and MRA as a whole have over-simplified the problem, and I would grant that even such a realist as Buchman was on occasion over-optimistic. But he did not fall into the trap which often catches legislators and economic planners. He knew that you cannot *make* men good by legislation or economic improvement, essential though these are. After all, the story of Christ's temptation makes it plain enough. There are no short cuts. It was a diabolic lie to suggest that man's allegiance could be won and held by turning stones to bread or grasping

<sup>1</sup> *Remaking the World* (Blandford Press, 1961), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Caesar's throne. If you really want a new world which is worth having, then the longest way round is not only the shortest but the only way home. To deal first with the human heart is not 'nineteenth-century individualist tradition' (29). It is first-century Christian teaching.

There is, of course, nothing original in all this. It is what Christ and His Church have always said. What is, I believe, unparalleled in our own day, though there are earlier precedents in St Francis of Assisi and John Wesley, is the thoroughness with which Buchman worked out and applied his convictions, raising and training a disciplined world force – sharing his vision and committed to its realization.

Basic to this is one fundamental truth. Miracles happen today as they have happened in every age. First the miracle of the changed heart, and then the miracle of the things which God can show the man whom He has changed, and do through that man if he is ready to trust and obey. This, of course, is age-old Christian truth. Indeed it goes back thousands of years before Christ, for the Old Testament is full of it as well as the New. But it comes with the shock of surprise to an age like ours that has been dazzled by the splendid achievements of science and then conditioned to relativism and complacency.

Yet this too is nothing new. The external conditions were different, but St Paul was dealing with the same root characteristic of human nature when he wrote: 'A man who is unspiritual refuses what belongs to the Spirit of God; it is folly to him; he cannot grasp it, because it needs to be judged in the light of the

Spirit.' (I Cor. 2, v. 14, N.E.B.) Much of the misunderstanding about MRA springs from that fact.

Personal change and all that results from it is the work of God but men have their part to play. God does not use them as mere tools. He treats them as conscious persons. He will not force them. He has given them freedom of choice and He will not take back His gift.

'Our wills are ours, we know not how;  
Our wills are ours to make them Thine.'

Frank Buchman always said that anyone who gave himself wholly to God could do what he himself had been used to do. 'Each man,' he declared, 'has an immediate part to play. He can accept for himself a change of heart. He can decide to listen to God daily. He can start to build a hate-free, fear-free, greed-free world.'<sup>1</sup>

This begins with the decision to make absolute moral standards – absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love – your aim. Christ Himself is completely uncompromising about God's demands. 'You must be perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect.' (Matthew 5, v. 48. The immediate context relates to the necessity of an all-inclusive love.) The Sermon on the Mount has often been dismissed as 'impossible', 'perfectionist', 'Utopian'. So MRA, in insisting upon the same absolute standards, which Mr Driberg condemns as perfectionist (17), is in good company.

Indeed, as a convinced and lifelong member of the Church of England, I regret that MRA has so often

<sup>1</sup> *Remaking the World*, p. 104.



been more accurately estimated by my fellow-Christians of the Roman obedience than by some of my Anglican colleagues. Thus in his *Aktuelle Moralprobleme*<sup>1</sup> (Moral Problems of Today), Professor Werner Schöllgen, Dean of the Faculty of Catholic Theology in the University of Bonn, wrote as follows:

The great strength of Moral Re-Armament seems to me to lie in the fact that it is restoring tangible sociological effectiveness to the Christian moral code. It brings about this 'metanoia' (change) . . . not by toning down Biblical moral standards with clever and ingenious compromises but by taking them absolutely, as a child would do. To the horror of experienced, hard-boiled, practical men, Moral Re-Armament dares to call its summary of the Sermon on the Mount into four basic truths quite simply 'The Four Absolutes'.

Both Mr Driberg and the authors of the Report by the Social and Industrial Council of the Church Assembly<sup>2</sup> to which he so often refers, are at this point guilty of a *petitio principii* which is amazing. From the premise that MRA 'rightly sees' that 'Christianity sets the challenge of perfection' (17), the Report draws the false conclusion that because MRA aims at perfection its supporters therefore claim to have achieved it. Mr Driberg seems to have some doubts about the rightness of the aim. 'Even if it were right and sensible to claim to live by the four Absolutes . . .' he writes (17), and elsewhere he described these absolutes as 'a curious

<sup>1</sup> Patmos Verlag, Düsseldorf, 1955, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix III.

selection of virtues'.<sup>1</sup> But he arrived at the same conclusion: 'They (MRA) seem to claim arrogantly that they do actually succeed in living up to these impossibly absolute standards.'<sup>2</sup> Who has claimed it, and when?

I can understand, out of my own experience, that a man should be angered by an insistence upon the absoluteness of moral standards. To deny their necessity or even their existence is the natural, though not wholly satisfying, way of compensating for one's inevitable failure to attain them.

I can equally understand the honest admission of failure which is the first step on the way to victory, because it gives God the chance to do for me and in me what I cannot possibly do for myself.

What I cannot understand is that a Christian should defend the half-way compromising attitude which accepts moral standards but is happy to leave them as relative not absolute, discretionary not categorical.

If moral standards are relative, exactly how much dishonesty, for example, should one accept in a tradesman? How much homosexual practice should be allowed in a schoolmaster? To what extent should adultery be encouraged in a wife? What proportion of lying should pass muster in the public utterances of a judge, a bishop or a cabinet minister?

As for the charge of arrogance, I recall the saying of the Harvard philosopher, William Hocking: 'It is part of the strange shallowness of recent Western life that it should be deemed a conceit to recognize an absolute, and a humility to consider all standards

<sup>1</sup> ITV, February 26, 1961.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

relative, whereas it is precisely the reverse: it is only the absolute which duly rebukes our pride.<sup>1</sup>

Mr Driberg's reference to the 'impossibly absolute standards' of MRA, and the Social and Industrial Council's gloomy forecast that literal observance of them 'would lead to complete anarchy', reminds one of the complaint made by Bishop Gibson of London against the Wesleys. His principal charge was that 'they set a standard of religion so high that some would be led to disregard religion altogether'.<sup>2</sup> Yet it was the Wesleys who brought thousands to Christ, while Bishop Gibson enjoyed the patronage of a worldly court.

<sup>1</sup> *The Coming World Civilization*, by William Ernest Hocking (Allen and Unwin, 1958), pp. 166-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Times of John Wesley*, by L. Tyerman, Vol. I, p. 455.

## 4

HAPPILY FOR ALL OF US, God does not wait until we have achieved things before speaking to us and giving us the opportunity and the strength to work for Him and with Him in the performance of His purpose for the world. The guidance of the Spirit of God is an ancient experience, long known not only to prophets and seers but to ordinary men and women and children in Old Testament times, and then, with tenfold clarity, after Pentecost. 'God does not stop talking to us any more than the sun stops shining,' said the French priest, Père Gratry, a hundred years ago. Ignorance of God's promised gift or wilful refusal to use it may indeed shut out the vision of God as clouds shut out the sun. But that does not invalidate the promise or the reality.

Reliance upon the promise and experience of the reality are at the very heart of MRA. 'When man listens, God gives him ideas. And when man chooses to be governed by these ideas, he becomes a new type of man. It is an experiment which can be tested by anyone, anywhere, at any time . . . Every man, if he will, can listen to God.'<sup>1</sup> Frank Buchman made that possibility a reality for countless men and women across the world.

Mr Driberg has a bizarre conception of what is meant by guidance. Thus he writes:

<sup>1</sup> *Remaking the World*, p. 241.

It has always seemed to me extraordinarily presumptuous and also, indeed, superstitious – to be so certain that any stray thought, possibly prompted by any one of dozens of influences, from childhood memory, or something half-heard on the radio, to indigestion, is an infallible message direct from God (9–10).

What evidence can he offer for this grotesque travesty of what MRA means by guidance?

Equally absurd are his misconceptions about the ‘checking’ of guidance. ‘Always to be checked, in case of doubt, with MRA headquarters,’ (25) he writes. Again no evidence is offered for yet another unfounded assertion.

The nearest approach to evidence that Mr Driberg produces is ‘an eye-witness account by a lapsed Grouper’ of a Group meeting which he describes as ‘a collective guidance session’ (10), quoted from a book published by Dr Hensley Henson in 1933.<sup>1</sup> The author of this account, whom I knew, was an unstable young man who spent some months with the Group and whose subsequent history casts further doubt upon the accuracy of his report. As will be seen from Appendix IV, Dr Henson himself seems to have recognized this and abandoned the use of his ‘evidence’ at a later stage.

Dr Henson’s picture of ‘checking guidance’ is contested by an equally great contemporary Anglican scholar, Dr B. H. Streeter, then Provost of The Queen’s College, Oxford, whose evidence is based on close personal observation. Dr Streeter attended many

<sup>1</sup> *The Group Movement* (O.U.P., 1933).

Group house parties and met all its leaders, things which Dr Henson explicitly refused to do. In his Warburton lectures, 1933-35, *The God Who Speaks*,<sup>1</sup> Streeter examines the theory of Divine guidance at full length in the light of his own profound study of psychology and history as well as of the Bible. I can only give one quotation here:

The Bible itself is a monument of the principle that the validity of individual intuitions must be checked by the conscience and insight of the religious community. Clearly, then, the individual's conviction of guidance or the dictates of his conscience cannot be accepted forthwith as the authentic voice of God without some similar testing and sifting process . . . It is strongly emphasised by the Oxford Group . . .

One criterion of inspiration is found in the moral content of the message given. An easy-going religion is unlikely to be true . . . A second is the ethical quality of the life of the reputed prophet. Wickedness separates from God. Therefore an evil character cannot be a vehicle of a Divine communication . . . There is a final criterion, 'By their fruits ye shall know them. (Matthew 7, verse 16.)'

Professor Schöllgen confirms this observation in his *Aktuelle Moralprobleme*:

Moral Re-Armament expressly teaches its friends to listen to the Voice of God within and to test all manifestations of the conscience before God in the so-called 'quiet time'. All the obvious objections

<sup>1</sup> *The God Who Speaks*, by B. H. Streeter (Macmillan, 1936), p. 169.

about subjectivism, the possibility of deception, are allowed for in advance. A set of criteria ('tests of guidance') teach how to make careful tests of inner inspirations and decisions. They should be tested by the four basic principles, by the individual's own Christian convictions which he has from his Church, and finally by the friendly sharing in the circle of a team, just as in the traditional Catholic teaching on '*discretio spirituum acquisita*' ('the acquired discernment of spirits') subjective deceptions are to be disposed of by analogous means.<sup>1</sup>

Thus what Streeter saw and expressed so clearly thirty years ago is equally recognized by an eminent Catholic theologian today.

It is apparently upon the word of the unstable young man mentioned above that Mr Driberg makes one of his commonest and most fantastic accusations. He writes:

There is widespread evidence that one of the axioms most frequently repeated in MRA circles was the axiom (quoted at the end of that description of a collective guidance session) that 'Frank's guidance is always right'. This seems to me horrifying and blasphemous, and a form of practical idolatry (28).

To what 'widespread evidence' does he refer? The unsatisfactory nature of the evidence on the 'collective guidance session' has already been mentioned and was tacitly recognized by Dr Henson, who originally gave it publicity.<sup>2</sup> But just because this young man did use

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix IV.

this phrase about an alleged happening in New York in 1932, does that constitute 'widespread evidence' that this was 'one of the axioms most frequently repeated in MRA circles'?

Actually, of course, Mr Driberg relied on the statement in the Social and Industrial Council's Report: 'We may recall the statement commonly repeated in the Movement, "Frank's guidance is always right."' <sup>1</sup> When the Report made this allegation, the Oxford Group promptly challenged its authors to produce their evidence. The Group wrote<sup>2</sup>:

It need hardly be said that no such statement is or ever has been 'commonly repeated' in the Oxford Group or Moral Re-Armament. Certainly in twenty-five years' work at the heart of the Oxford Group and MRA the present writer has never heard it. On this misleading and imaginary remark the writer of this chapter of the Report builds up his theory of an 'essentially autocratic body', for which no evidence of any kind is or could be given.

In spite of the failure to produce any evidence, Mr Driberg has now repeated the statement and based upon it allegations as wild as theirs.

When this statement was brought to Dr Buchman's attention, he remarked with tolerant good humour, 'I do also reserve the right to be wrong.'

Frank Buchman, when he was alive, did not regard

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Some Comments by the Council of Management of the Oxford Group on the recent Report of the Social and Industrial Council of the Church Assembly*, pp. 12, 13.



his 'guidance' as infallible. Nor do his friends today so regard theirs. They rely on the specific promise of Jesus that the Holy Spirit will guide and direct, which promise, they believe, increases not lessens the duty to think. They know, with St Thomas Aquinas, that 'the Holy Spirit enlightens the mind and strengthens the will to act'. And they know too, in Streeter's phrase, that they will always be imperfect 'vehicles of Divine communication'.

His travesty of what is meant by guidance is the basis of Mr Driberg's delusion that MRA people neglect the duty to think and are averse from reason. There are few groups of people whom I know who think harder or more constructively. They believe that the receiving of God's direction is the highest function of the human mind and heart: but that to receive it and carry it out, a man needs every gift and energy of mind and heart which he possesses, plus the light of God to which Oxford University, in its motto, gives precedence. But they do not worship human intelligence, because they know that cleverness by itself is no guarantee of good.

Yet, even as he admonishes MRA for being averse from reason (13-14), Mr Driberg demonstrates how his own reasoning can go awry. He starts from the false premise that MRA people neglect 'the duty to think'. As his only evidence he makes the untrue assertion that most MRA men enlisted in the Universities are athletes.<sup>1</sup> Then he really throws caution to the winds:

<sup>1</sup> The statement that those working with Dr. Buchman from English universities 'seem generally to be drawn from among those who are renowned for athletic rather than academic prowess'

*(Footnote 1 continued on page 35)*

Especially in the present world situation, purely emotional reactions are the most dangerous of all, because those who only feel, and never think, are the most susceptible to any kind of propaganda – for instance, to Communist or anti-Communist sloganizing . . . Those who fall for them (slogans) are hardly worthy of the name of *homo sapiens* – they are more like Pavlov’s conditioned dogs (14).

In the next paragraph, Mr Driberg makes it painfully clear that he is here referring to MRA.

So, from two false premises, he infers that all in MRA are run by ‘*purely* emotional reactions’, ‘*only* feel and *never* think’, are sub-human like ‘Pavlov’s *conditioned dogs*’. It really is odd reasoning for one who accuses others of ‘neglecting the duty to think’.

It is true that not every *homo* is *sapiens*. Certainly, no one in MRA has an exclusive claim to be *sapiens* or would over-value his intellectual equipment. But it is an age-old experience that if men let Christ purify their motives and control their emotions, and if they dedicate mind, body and heart to God’s service, then their minds are not stifled or perverted, but are freed for constructive thought.

(Footnote 1 continued from page 34)

is another unchecked assertion. But what are the facts? During the early years in Oxford few ‘Blues’, as far as I can recall, associated themselves with the Oxford Group. But I can think of eight Firsts and three Doctorates gained in the first few years of the ‘thirties. Incidentally, all these men and women are still actively associated with Moral Re-Armament, which may be of interest in view of Mr Driberg’s assertion about the ‘heavy turnover . . . of converts’ (12).

## 5

A FURTHER FACT of Christian experience is that where God guides He provides, whether this provision is spiritual or material. Neither in His life on earth, nor now, has Christ ever given a man an order without also giving him the means by which to carry it out. The Apostles testified to this on the last evening of Christ's life. 'He said to them, "When I sent you out barefoot without purse or pack, were you ever short of anything?" "No," they answered.' (Luke 22, v. 35, N.E.B.) The Acts of the Apostles and numerous allusions in the Epistles of St Paul show that this was the constant experience of the primitive Church, and it has continued to be the experience of Christians ever since. It is not, therefore, surprising that God continues to honour His promises today, supplying His men and women with what they need materially and physically for His work, as well as giving them the qualities and vision, courage and perseverance without which the best material provision would be useless.

Mr Driberg finds this surprising and even incredible. There must, he is always hinting and implying, be some further explanation, and a sinister one at that. Once again he postulates a fiction of his imagination and then treats it as fact. Thus on page 24 we have the supposition: 'American industrialists, reading this broad hint, may well have reached thankfully for

their cheque-books', and then on the next page this possibility has become a 'fact': 'before you, too, hasten to send your *kroner*'.

This matter of American industrialists is very much on Mr Driberg's mind. Thus, in the present pamphlet, he three times 'hints' – and once states as a fact – that MRA's funds come from industry and, in particular, American industry. He speaks of 'rich backers – particularly the American industrialists who have contributed so generously to its funds' (22–23) and 'the possibility of further subventions from captains of industry' (26). In fact, as can be seen in Appendix V, only 1 per cent of gifts to the Oxford Group in Britain in 1961–62 and 1962–63 – and 5 per cent in 1963–64 – were from industrial firms, and no penny of that came from America. MRA in the United States in 1961–62 and 1962–63 only received .5 per cent of its gifts from corporations. I hope myself that contributions from both sides of industry will steadily increase.

In his article in the *New Statesman* of June 4, 1960, Mr Driberg adds the FBI and 'Mr Allen Dulles' Agency' to his list of supposed financial backers of MRA. No money has ever been received from either source.

Mr Driberg gives no single fact in support of his assertions, but proceeds to the scandalous inference that MRA has altered its aims and strategy on a world scale to please these mythical 'backers'. He writes:

The adoption of the strategy that I have analysed does not necessarily, in itself, reflect on the Group's integrity. But it would do so, I think, if the strategy had been adopted because MRA's rich backers –

particularly the American industrialists who have contributed so generously to its funds – had seen in it a convenient instrument for anti-Communist propaganda, or another ‘voice of America’ in the Cold War. That would indeed be to confuse means with ends, to *use* religion and God in a totally impermissible way, and to reduce what had begun, in intention, as a humane and ‘life-changing’ force to a mere quasi-spiritual McCarthyism (22–23).

I shall have occasion later to deal with Mr Driberg’s false theory of MRA’s development. Here I simply say that MRA has never been and never will be influenced in its policy by money given to it or withheld from it. In 1921, for example, when a well-known American philanthropist offered Dr Buchman a headquarters, paid staff and ample finance, Buchman refused, because he realized that the millionaire wished to use his money to control him.

This matter of finance is dealt with more fully in Appendix V, but I quote here an authoritative statement:

From its first beginnings the Group has advanced through the sacrificial giving of those who believe in its mission. People have given of their wages, their capital, their houses, their jewellery, their savings to the furtherance of the work. The whole-time workers receive no salary, bonus, pension or endowment from the Group. Each is dependent on his own faith and prayer and on those of his fellow workers – on the truth, tested in experience, that where God guides, He provides. The spirit of sacrifice at the heart of the work

has elicited a like spirit from those who have heard the Group's message. People have spontaneously contributed what they had—food, hospitality, time, talents, skill and experience, as well as money. Those who have received the gift of a new spirit in their homes, their business, their communities, have wanted to do all in their power with their material possessions, their mental and spiritual gifts and their physical vigour, to make this life-giving principle available for others.<sup>1</sup>

The names of those who contribute to MRA are not disclosed, because that would be a breach of confidence. Some donors have, however, declared themselves. When allegations similar to those of Mr Driberg were made in 1954, Mr F. A. Smith, the Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Leicestershire, told of the visit of an MRA play to their area: 'My area executive officially invited Dr Buchman to bring this play to the area and agreed to finance it. The cast was accommodated in homes. All the bills were paid by my union and amounted to over £200.' Sixty Labour Aldermen and Councillors wrote in *Tribune*<sup>2</sup>:

Moral Re-Armament has given new hope to thousands of workers in many boroughs throughout Britain. It has enhanced all the principles on which the Labour Movement was founded. This is why much of the leadership is drawn from working homes and why workers sacrifice to contribute to its finances.

<sup>1</sup> *The Oxford Group and its Work of Moral Re-Armament* (Oxford Group, 1954), pp. 56-57.

<sup>2</sup> November 27, 1953.

Individuals do, of course, occasionally give much larger sums: and the same conviction and sacrifice is involved here also. Thus in 1953, a British lady who received a large legacy gave the whole of it to Moral Re-Armament in order to transport a force of 200 to India, and sustain them there for six months.

Legacies are also sometimes large. Thus, in September 1957, the Rev. John Matthews, a Methodist minister not known personally to the Council of Management, died leaving the residue of his estate, amounting to £23,970 13s. 11d., to the Oxford Group.

Charitable status, or the equivalent, has been granted to Moral Re-Armament in many countries. In Britain the Oxford Group, the first 'object' of whose Memorandum of Association is 'the advancement of the Christian religion', was informed in April 1951 that the Revenue authorities accorded it charitable status, with its customary exemption from certain forms of taxation. This decision by the Revenue followed legal argument, first before the Special Commissioners, then before the High Court and then before the Appeal Court, during which time the finances of the Group were extensively examined. None of these tribunals adversely criticized any actual expenditure of the Group as being for other than religious charitable purposes. The tax exemption was withheld purely on the legal construction of the Group's technical powers which were held capable on the then wording of being exercised for wider than strictly charitable purposes. After this particular wording was revised, the normal tax exemption for religious charitable institutions was allowed in 1951.

In some countries, opposition to Moral Re-Armament has concentrated upon the attempt to invalidate such tax concessions. In Switzerland, on November 27, 1963, the Canton of Vaud announced that it intended to discontinue tax exemption for certain gifts to MRA within the Canton. This was announced in answer to a question by a Communist Member of the Cantonal Assembly. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (January 28, 1964) commented: 'If we look through the pages of the *Voix Ouvrière* (the Communist paper of Geneva), in the number of December 28, 1963, we find chalked up as the great successes of the past year the fanning-up of public opinion to remove the tax privileges of Moral Re-Armament . . .' On the other hand, the Canton of Zürich renewed MRA's tax privileges on April 24, 1964, after the redrafting of its statutes underlining the religious purpose of the MRA Foundation.

In Denmark, the Copenhagen City Court ruled on July 4, 1964, that Danish citizens have the right to deduct covenanted financial donations to MRA from their taxable income. The Ministry of Finance had argued that since MRA might have some political implications, it might not be entitled to these exemptions. The Court ruled that MRA was entitled to these exemptions. The Ministry of Finance was ordered to pay the costs of the case. This tax concession is in addition to the normal exemptions accorded to any non-profit body in Denmark.



## 6

ALL THE SAME I sympathize with Mr Driberg's scepticism. He and I belong to a generation trained and conditioned to doubt. And I agree entirely with his condemnation of credulity and his insistence upon evidence, even though his pamphlet does not itself observe the strict standards which it demands from MRA. Scepticism and credulity are in fact the obverse and reverse of the same coin. I personally find it all too easy on the one hand to say, or at any rate privately to think, 'That could not possibly have happened,' and then on the other hand, by reaction and the swing of the pendulum, to accept something too readily and to exaggerate it in repeating what I have been told. When I or anyone else in or out of MRA have done any of these things we have been wrong, we need correction and should welcome it.

But the criticism that MRA makes unwarranted claims of results has missed the point. It is not claiming results for itself. It regards all that happens positively and constructively for the good of the world and its inhabitants as the work of God, whoever His agents may be. In speaking of such happenings it quotes responsible men on the spot who know the facts. Even at the risk of appearing to blow its own trumpet, it dare not underestimate God's work. But it knows that no human being can take the credit for it. Buchman himself said

frequently and sincerely, 'I do nothing. God does everything.' It was this conviction which made him impatient with those who understated verified results. For he regarded this as dishonouring God.

It would be extraordinary if there had never been instances of people in MRA exaggerating results. A literal-minded person might say that St Luke was guilty of it in Acts 19, v. 10, when he wrote: 'This continued by the space of two years; so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus,' and Father Ronald Knox has pointed out that Wesley, who frequently instructed his men not to exaggerate, himself exaggerated the numbers attending his meetings<sup>1</sup>. But it would be equally inaccurate to conclude that St Paul and Wesley were not used by God to do great things.

Mr Driberg seems to fall into this kind of inaccuracy. In the present pamphlet he gives three examples of what he describes as exaggerated claims – Cyprus, the Congo and South Africa. Cyprus, alas, is, as I write, in a state of turmoil. This does not alter the fact that there exist forty statements made at the time by leading Greek and Turkish Cypriots paying tribute to MRA's part in making possible the Cyprus Agreement in 1959. MRA has never gone beyond reporting what these men have said. The tragic fact that Cyprus is once more the scene of fighting does not invalidate what these men said at the time. It is a misconception of the eternal struggle between good and evil to say that one is exaggerating a past work of God if the situation later takes a bad turn. In all warfare fortunes ebb and flow.

<sup>1</sup> *Enthusiasm* by Ronald Knox (O.U.P., 1950), p. 460.

There are setbacks as well as triumphs and there are forces both human and supernatural who work that there shall be setbacks.

In what he writes about South Africa and the Congo Mr Driberg does not state what he maintains that MRA has claimed, so it is hard to assess the factual accuracy of his complaint. On South Africa he writes:

It is more than ten years since MRA went there in force, presenting the play *The Forgotten Factor* and contacting – in accordance with the familiar MRA strategy of getting hold of key-men – the leading South African politicians. A number of these, too, were taken to Caux and on a tour of Europe, to see MRA in action; some of them even paid tribute to its influence for inter-racial harmony in South Africa. What has happened there since then? Far more severe applications of the wicked doctrine of Apartheid, intensified pass laws, the breaking-up of families, the jailing of innocents, the horror of Sharpeville.

Of course we cannot blame MRA for these evils ... (19).

Why, then, bring them up?

Even Mr Driberg has admitted that 'MRA has been creditably free from racialism'.<sup>1</sup> MRA has held twenty-six inter-racial assemblies in South Africa in recent years. Antony Quain described one of them in the *Johannesburg Star*<sup>2</sup> as 'the most impossible party –

<sup>1</sup> *Sunday Citizen*, September 1, 1963.

<sup>2</sup> April 24, 1962.

impossible because it could never happen in South Africa'. The 'unthinkable' guests included 'an Afrikaans judge of the Supreme Court, the elected African spokesman of some 600,000 Africans who live round Johannesburg, an eminent Coloured leader in the Transvaal, a leading State prosecutor in the treason trial, some leaders of the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, a cross-section of the most rugged "revolutionaries" – members of the executive council of the A.N.C. women's league – eminent White leaders of Johannesburg commerce and industry, Basutoland chiefs'. It went on for 'four days, with the guests having their meals together – 400 at a time – everyone oblivious to the colour of the skin of his neighbour'.

Of course, MRA tries to alter the living and thinking of politicians, professors and clergy in South Africa as in other countries. Some have responded; others have reacted into opposition.

On March 20, 1962, for example, the South African Trade Union Council agreed by 83 votes to 10, at its conference in East London, to admit non-white trade unions. Shortly before the debate on this measure, the conference had been addressed by German miners in South Africa with an MRA force. Three speakers in the debate referred to the miner's speeches, as the basis on which the decision had to be made and the *Daily Despatch* commented that day in its editorial: 'They [the MRA miners] greatly impressed the delegates by their forcefulness and fluency, and by the emphasis they placed on the rejection of fear as an influence in policy making. If more people on both sides of the colour line

heeded this conviction and acted upon it, Africa would be a much happier and much more prosperous continent in which to live.<sup>1</sup>

It was to this MRA force that Chief Albert Luthuli spoke at his home in May 1962:

I have reports of your work throughout South Africa. You are sowing a good seed. It will germinate. It is hypocrisy to expect good in the world if it is not in you. I am troubled at the growing tendency to go beyond hating evil to hatred of the white man. Your visit, projecting these moral principles, will be beneficial not only to our movement but to the African peoples.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of the Congo, Mr Driberg also confined himself to vague innuendo. 'Glowing tributes were obtained from leading Congolese politicians, many of whom were taken to Caux for training.' Then he writes: 'We should all be happier today if MRA really had saved the Congo from the terrible events of the past year or two' (19). MRA has never claimed to have 'saved the Congo'. Congolese from President Kasavubu downwards have expressed gratitude for its work. A typical statement was that of the then Minister of Information and National Defence, Mr Jean Bolikango, in New York on October 21, 1960:

Without the action of Moral Re-Armament in our country we would have suffered an even more terrible catastrophe.

<sup>1</sup> The first multi-racial conference of the TUC was held in 1963 (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 2, 1963.)

<sup>2</sup> *MRA Information Service*, May 12, 1962.

Dr William Close, the New York surgeon who resigned his appointment to work full-time with Moral Re-Armament in the Congo, was the only white surgeon to stay in Leopoldville after the mutiny in 1960. He immediately went to the 1,800-bed Congolese hospital there to help, and was for nine months the only surgeon there, averaging 350 operations a month. In 1962, he was appointed Medical Director of the National Congolese Army, and, throughout, his work for Moral Re-Armament was as valued as his surgery. He resigned his appointment in May 1964.

MRA differs sharply with Mr Driberg on his estimate of the abilities of African leaders. He speaks of leaders of the newly independent countries 'who may not have sufficient sophistication, and sufficient experience of western ways to see through' MRA (20). Gabriel Marcel, the distinguished French philosopher, on the other hand, writes:

Thanks to it (MRA), a number of leaders from the young countries of Asia and Africa are evidently rediscovering unity between morals and politics – whereas in our aged and palsied world this unity usually seems a will-o'-the-wisp . . . It is always arguable that these statesmen from the young countries will soon become mere politicians . . . This is one of the supreme cases where it is our duty not to try to anticipate events . . .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Fresh Hope for the World* (Longmans, 1960), p. 10. English translation of *Un Changement d'Espérance à la Rencontre du Réarmement Moral*.

# 7

MR DRIBERG ACCUSES MRA of having 'no radical social critique' (25). But what is a radical social critique?

The revival of religion initiated by the Wesleys had vast social effects. Among the reforms and movements which most authorities trace in large measure to the Evangelical Revival are the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, factory and prison reform, and the fact that the British Labour Movement grew up through the nineteenth century with a mainly Christian, rather than a Marxist, philosophy.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is doubtful whether Wesley was, in Mr Driberg's sense, a profound social thinker. Mr Driberg, if he had lived while Wesley was active, might have said that 'there is no radical social critique here.' Yet he would have missed the most radical social critique of all. Wesley, and those who followed him, changed men. Overton writes of Wesley's faith 'which made the selfish man self-denying, the discontented happy, the worlding spiritually-minded, the drunkard sober, the sensual chaste, the liar truthful, the thief honest, the proud humble, the godless godly, the thriftless thrifty'.<sup>2</sup> Such changed men become the foot soldiers of reform.

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Bready's *England Before and After Wesley* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1938) is a convenient summary of the evidence for this statement.

<sup>2</sup> *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century* (Longmans, 1886), J. H. Overton, p. 131.

But what of the leaders? It was the change in Wilberforce's life which made him attempt the abolition of the slave trade. Where before, 'my own distinction was my darling object', afterwards he exclaimed, 'God Almighty has set before me two great objects, the suppression of the slave trade and the reformation of the manners of England.'<sup>1</sup> In twenty strenuous years he achieved this reform, which was a pattern for the other great reforms of the early nineteenth century. He – and Lord Shaftesbury – could have said what Keir Hardie, the founder of the Parliamentary Labour Party, said of his own incentive: 'I myself found in the Christianity of Christ the inspiration which first of all drove me into this Movement and has carried me on in it.'<sup>2</sup>

Many observers believe that Buchman has done in his day and age as profound a work for social change as Wesley, and certainly the full social effect of Wesley was not visible until many years after his death. Thus, the distinguished Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the University of Tübingen, Dr Karl Adam, wrote:

Since the year 1921, when Dr Buchman came to Oxford an unknown man and began to scatter his seed among small groups of people, he has built up his movement into a world-wide offensive. It is not merely dreamers who follow him but prominent intellectuals, world-famous statesmen and politicians, industrialists and workers' leaders, trade unionists, dockers and miners, men of all conditions from

<sup>1</sup> *Wilberforce* by Sir Reginald Coupland (Collins, 1923), p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *J. Keir Hardie* by William Stewart (Cassell, 1921), p. 303.



cabinet ministers to cooks. They all have one aim, to solve the toughest political, economic, social and cultural questions in the light of the Gospel. And it is amazing, it is wonderful, how, time after time, it is always the simple, clear concepts of the Sermon on the Mount which throw light on the most involved political and economic problems.<sup>1</sup>

MRA has never, as Mr Driberg and the Social and Industrial Council's Report imply, denied the need for detailed thought and study of economic, social and other technical problems by experts. What it condemns is the pretence that everything is so complicated in the modern world that the Sermon on the Mount is out-of-date and that no simple person can make any contribution to the solving of social problems.

M. Gabriel Marcel, whom even Mr Driberg can hardly describe as a shallow thinker, here makes an important distinction. In his introduction to his book, after speaking of how, in Tokyo, he had found 'irrefutable proof of an extremely important fact, namely that the movement had now a direct impact on the political life of various countries in the Far East, and that statesmen . . . were being directly influenced by it', he writes:

To my mind simplicity is a positive quality – the value of which goes almost entirely unrecognized in a world like ours that is on the verge of losing itself in its own complexity. One ought, really, to think

<sup>1</sup> From an article entitled 'Moral Re-Armament and Christianity in the West' in the Tübingen *Theological Quarterly*, Spring 1952.

out carefully which are the spheres where complexity is inevitable and the price of any real progress – and where it is literally disastrous and could even be said to checkmate itself. Wherever technique is supreme – and I am thinking especially of the technique needed to help forward man's operations on nature – it is hard to see how one can avoid complexity; indeed complexity seems to be the only way to achieve the ever greater precision that is necessary. This complexity applies both to the calculations and to the instruments that are made possible and efficient by these calculations. But the extraordinary thing, which very few people realize, is that the moment you enter the realm of the *human* everything becomes different . . . The moment you say this . . . you cease to think of a man as a machine. You will realize the importance of this if you recall that for my friends [i.e. in MRA] the fundamental experience is one of change, not just a subjective change, but a radical change of the personality.<sup>1</sup>

M. Marcel, in his book, gives many illustrations of the fact that this change of personality has brought an answer to problems of human relationships in various parts of the world – and also has been instrumental in paving the way to solutions of complicated technical problems. MRA does not think that every problem in the world is *automatically* solved by the changing of men. But it has proved that many problems are solved more quickly when those involved decide to test their motives by Christ's moral standards, to open their minds to

<sup>1</sup> *Fresh Hope for the World* (Longmans), pp. 4–5.

the guidance which He has promised, and, then, to use their minds and all the knowledge they have or can acquire to reach a wise and just solution.

Mr Driberg himself shows a considerable power to oversimplify when he describes MRA's work in industry. He speaks in passing of this 'splendid spiritual strike-breaking outfit' (25) and describes what he supposes happens when MRA 'intervenes' (*sic*) in an industrial situation. He writes:

Disputes, between nations and between men, are settled, MRA claims, when men 'change' and submit to 'guidance' (always to be checked, in case of doubt, with MRA headquarters). In practice in an industrial dispute, this means merely that the workers modify what has seemed to them a just claim, while the employer, perhaps, treats them a little more benevolently – not a bad thing in itself, I agree – but remains still firmly in control of the business. There is no radical social critique here, no examination of the possibility that the whole structure of ownership and management in an industry may be unjust and inefficient and may need recasting – as, for instance, the coal industry in Britain was transferred from private to public ownership . . . (25–26).

Of course, this is sheer supposition. It does not convey what takes place when men of experience decide to seek the solution of an industrial problem under the direction of God. Men and circumstances vary – and God Himself can be unexpected.

A leading French trade unionist, M. Maurice Mercier,

General Secretary of the Textile Workers' Federation CGT-FO, has given a detailed account of the kind of thing which actually happens. M. Mercier describes his prominent part in the Communist trade unions and the Resistance movement and how, shortly after the war, he left Communism and reconstructed the Federation within the *Force Ouvrière*. Then he writes:

In 1950 I made the acquaintance of Moral Re-Armament. We were discussing our national collective wage agreement. The employers of the north of France were proposing to us special arrangements for their region. Thinking it was better to have the discussions in a more favourable atmosphere, they asked us to come to Caux. We accepted this proposition.

At Caux I was deeply astonished to see hundreds of people able to live together without strife, with one common aim, and to discover the existence of such an ideology. I spent three days at Caux . . .

I had observed that the employers of almost all countries, transported into this atmosphere, were reconsidering their original, out-dated points of view and were more easily becoming conscious of their responsibility as men and as employers in front of the problems with which the national and international situation faced them.

My friends of Moral Re-Armament saw me frequently and I accepted an invitation to go to another assembly which took place in Mackinac, U.S.A., where I got to know Frank Buchman. That is where I became aware of the opening of the

second revolutionary phase of my life. I caught a glimpse of the whole struggle that had to be carried on to bring unity back to my country.

On my return from Mackinac I put this revolutionary action to the test by going to see several dozen employers and inviting them to come to Caux with the technicians of their factories and union delegates of all tendencies. In this way more than eighty delegations from the textile industry came to the Caux Assembly in the summer of 1951.

It was not always easy, but an atmosphere of trust was created. It enabled us to lay the solid foundations which led to our famous agreements of 9th June, 1953. The spirit of Caux has developed absolute honesty in the relationships between French union leaders and the employers. The referendum of 28th September, 1958, and the events which preceded it, give to one of the sentences of our textile agreements an even greater relevance: 'The textile industry intends to make an economic and social experiment in the interest of the nation, in a spirit of service, with a social objective.'

This experiment has given, in spite of the economic difficulties, at least an 8 per cent wage increase per year to the textile workers. It has enabled the textile industry to support a third week of holidays with pay, the payment of five national holidays a year and the grant of an additional old-age pension for the workers. With the spirit of the 9th of June we were able to create an inter-union research bureau. With the help of this bureau we are making a permanent and honest inventory of the textile

professions. We keep a check on the labour charges and the different methods of remuneration. One thousand four hundred militant union men have passed through our trades union training school.

A labour-management social committee composed of at least sixty people discusses in detail the wage situation. The debates of these committees have often been held at the time of social and political crises in these past years. All these meetings have given results. Our profession is amongst those with the fewest recorded strikes since 1951. The results of our discussions apply to 8,000 factories and 525,000 working men and women of the textile industry. Our agreements of 9th June, their spirit and their results, cannot be separated from the action that Moral Re-Armament has carried on in France during these last years.<sup>1</sup>

Such an account puts Mr Driberg's imaginings into perspective. Would men of the calibre of M. Mercier and his opposite numbers in the French textile industry take kindly to the imagined rule 'always to check with MRA headquarters'? And would they have been helped better if they had been greeted on arrival at Caux by a study group determined to apply some preconceived nostrum to their industry?

Mr Driberg writes of MRA's 'anti-Labour enthusiasm' (26). An enthusiasm is not easily hidden. So it is all the more strange that Labour leaders of the reputation of Ben Tillett, Evert Kupers, Philip Murray, William Green, Abid Ali and Renzo Yanagisawa, to

<sup>1</sup> *Fresh Hope for the World*, pp. 123-125.

mention only a few, should have publicly endorsed MRA. Are these the 'guileless Trade Union officials' (18) to whom Mr Driberg refers as being duped? Actually, such men knew MRA intimately over a period of years and acted, here as elsewhere, with due deliberation. It was, for example, after studying it both in Germany and at Caux that Dr Hans Böckler, the first post-war Chairman of the German Trades Union Congress, wrote:

If men are to be free from the old and the out-moded, it can only happen as they set themselves a new goal, and place in the forefront humanity and moral values. I believe that Moral Re-Armament can bring about a definite improvement for mankind in many areas of life. When men change, the structure of society changes, and when the structure of society changes, men change. Both go together and both are necessary. The goal which Moral Re-Armament strives to reach is the same as that for which I am fighting as a trade unionist.<sup>1</sup>

Mr Driberg leans heavily on a report prepared by someone in the secretariat of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which does not seem to be based on such first-hand evidence. The anonymous author or authors state that 'the information we possess on Moral Re-Armament comes mainly from books, pamphlets and other publications of the Movement itself'.<sup>2</sup> Nine quotations from such publications are

<sup>1</sup> *Remaking the World*, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> ICFTU Information Bulletin, September 15, 1953, Vol. IV, No. 18(84).

given as the main evidence on which the Report is based, with the headline comment, 'MRA provided the proofs'. No less than seven of these are gross distortions of the originals.<sup>1</sup> In their original state they do not bear out the charges made in the Report, and these charges have been challenged by union leaders in the actual unions and factories referred to. For some charges there is no attempt at documentation. For instance, the Report accuses MRA of setting up 'yellow unions', but fails to give even a single example. In fact there is none to give.

Of the protests sent to the ICFTU headquarters from all over the world, I have only space to mention one here. Messrs James Haworth, Edwin Gooch and Cyril Plant, each a high official of a national union,<sup>2</sup> telegraphed from London:

Feel this misrepresents facts as they are known to thousands of trade unionists all over the world. It will be interpreted as undercutting the vital work being done in our common battle against negative attacks and for moral ideals of Labour. The implications are untimely, unjust and untrue.<sup>3</sup>

It should be noted that the British Trades Union Congress has never endorsed this Report. The British Labour Party made its attitude to MRA clear in a

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix VI for full documentation of this paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> They were, at the time, President of the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association; President of the National Union of Agricultural Workers; and Deputy Secretary of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation. For further comment by Mr Haworth, see Appendix VII.

<sup>3</sup> *Socialist Advance*, October 1953.



message to the Camlachie Constituency Labour Party which had passed a resolution asking the National Executive to investigate MRA. The *Glasgow Eastern Standard*<sup>1</sup> reported:

Stating that the Executive had considered the resolution, Mr Williams<sup>2</sup> goes on, 'The N.E.C. directed me to advise you that because of the Labour Party's traditional attitude to religion as a private and personal matter, and because it has no evidence of the M.R.A. impinging on the work of the Labour Party, it does not propose to investigate the activities of this movement.'

Mr George Woodcock, General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, in a letter to Mr Haworth dated April 28, 1964, comments upon this report:

The TUC does not proscribe organisations so there has been no attempt within the TUC such as that you describe within the Labour Party. As you know we keep clear of religious issues and we have never been party to comments or criticisms.

<sup>1</sup> April 2, 1954.

<sup>2</sup> Then National Agent of the Labour Party, now General Secretary.

## 8

A STRANGE FEATURE of the persistent accusations by some critics that Dr Buchman and MRA were – and are – pro-Nazi is their reluctance to mention the document which seven distinguished Englishmen stated had ‘finally dispelled the widespread misrepresentation which has been circulated about this Christian movement.’ Possibly Mr Driberg may mention it in his forthcoming book – perhaps to try gently to discount it – but he has not mentioned it on the many occasions when he has made his pro-Nazi accusation up to now.

This independent group of men, who wrote in a letter to *The Times* of December 29, 1945, included two heads of Oxford Colleges whom I have known well – Sir David Ross, then Provost of Oriel, and Sir Cyril Norwood, then President of St John’s. The other signatories were Lord Ammon, the Labour Peer; Harold Clay, then Chairman of the London Labour Party; Lord Courthope, then President of the Union of Conservative Associations of Great Britain; Dr Woods, then Bishop of Lichfield, and Sir Lynden Macassey, K.C. They described the discovery, during the Allied invasion of Europe, of a 126-page report, *Die Oxfordgruppenbewegung*, which had been prepared by the head office of the Gestapo. They wrote in part:

It (the document) denounces Dr Buchman and the Oxford Group for ‘uncompromisingly taking up a

frontal position against National Socialism' in that 'they encourage their members to place themselves fully beneath the Christian Cross and to oppose the cross of the swastika with the Cross of Christ, as the former seeks to destroy the Cross of Christ.' 'Frankly, the importance of the Group lies here,' the document continues. 'At the very moment when we (the Nazi Party) are making efforts to suppress Christian conviction of sin, which appears to us the first step towards the enslavement of the German, a movement is emanating from the Anglo-Saxons, who are racially related to us, which regards just this consciousness of sin as a basis for change in national relationships.'

The document further states that the secret police regarded the movement as 'the pacemaker of Anglo-American diplomacy' and as a force working 'to bring about new political and ideological conditions in the Reich'. 'The Group as a whole,' it says, 'constitutes an attack upon the nationalism of the State and demands the utmost watchfulness on the part of the State. It preaches revolution against the National State, and has quite evidently become its Christian opponent.'

The writers conclude their letter:

It is vital that we should understand the spiritual foundation of democracy as clearly as did our enemies, and that we should sustain with all our strength what they feared and hoped to destroy.

Two facsimile photographs of this Gestapo document appear with Appendix VIII. The document itself is too long to reproduce here. A verbatim trans-

lation of its final chapter, entitled 'Conclusions and Position We Take', is printed on pages 123-125.

*Time* magazine, in February 1947, chose to doubt the authenticity of this document. A member of the Council of Management of Moral Re-Armament, therefore, took the original document (which had been received from France, where it had been found in an abandoned Gestapo headquarters) to the War Office for checking against their files. A few days later he received the following letter from a lieutenant-general at the War Office:

28th February, 1947.

The enclosed document is authentic. It only goes up, in its historical survey, to 1939. It was published by the German Secret Service Agency who were responsible for S.S. publications.

You can rest assured there is nothing phoney about this document.

Mr Driberg has not only, up to now, ignored this Nazi document and *The Times* letter. He has also ignored the news items in the British press during the war which announced the Nazi instructions to suppress Moral Re-Armament in the occupied countries, and the reports of how Moral Re-Armament leaders had been imprisoned in Norway and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Among such instructions to German invasion forces was an order to seize Oxford Group headquarters in London.<sup>2</sup>

The fact, thus clearly established, that the Nazis

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Sunday Times*, December 29, 1940, and January 5, 1941.

<sup>2</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, November 20, 1945. cf. *Manchester Guardian*, September 18, 1945, under heading 'Nazi Opinions on Britain: Gestapo Orders to Its Agents'.

hated and feared Dr Buchman and MRA, does not, of itself, prove that Dr Buchman saw the Nazis clearly. But the facts above, at the very least, create a strong presumption that neither Buchman nor MRA were 'benevolent towards the Nazis' (27). I know from my own conversations with Dr Buchman that he did, in fact, assess Hitler clearly, though he never met him. He was prepared to do so, but was rebuffed. What his attitude to him would have been, had he met him, is suggested by the independent evidence of one of the best-informed foreign correspondents in pre-war Berlin, the Danish journalist, Jacob Kronika.

Kronika lunched with Buchman on August 14, 1936, the day he met Himmler, the only leading Nazi with whom Buchman ever had a personal interview. Kronika wrote in *Flensburg Avis*<sup>1</sup>, of which he was then editor:

We cannot help protesting when Communist and semi-Communist countrymen shout 'Nazi' at countrymen inside MRA! Do not let us forget that human beings can never fall deeper than our evil-possessed fellow human beings did who had been poisoned and possessed by becoming 'Nazi', or had been contaminated by any part of its nature.

During the Hitler years Frank Buchman, the founder of 'Oxford' and MRA, visited the Hotel Esplanade in Berlin. One day we ate lunch together with him. In the afternoon he was to have a conversation with the SS Chief Himmler who had invited Dr Buchman to come and see him.

The conversation, of course, became a complete

<sup>1</sup> January 2, 1962.

fiasco. Himmler could not, as he had intended, exploit the 'absolute obedience' of the Oxford people towards God, for the benefit of the obedient slaves of the SS and the Nazis.

Frank Buchman was then much burdened by the development in Germany under Hitler, for he was deeply attached to this land and this people.

He said during the meal at the Esplanade in Berlin: 'Germany has come under the dominion of a terrible demoniac force. A counter-action is urgent . . . We must ask God for guidance and strength to start an anti-demoniac counter-action under the sign of the Cross of Christ in the democratic countries bordering on Germany, especially in the small neighbouring countries.'

But the Hitler demonism had to spend its rage. Neither Frank Buchman nor any other person could prevent that.

It is perfectly senseless, however, for our Danish fellow-countrymen in Copenhagen and other places today to shout 'Nazi' at Frank Buchman's MRA.

Dr Buchman did, in fact, initiate such a 'counter-action under the sign of the Cross of Christ', as can be seen from the passages already quoted from the Gestapo document, which was published in 1942 but written in 1939. Early in 1936 the newspaper of General Ludendorff described the Oxford Group as one of the 'sinister supranational forces which wage a constant underground war against Germany'.<sup>1</sup> Permission to import Oxford Group literature was at

<sup>1</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, February 24, 1936.

this time refused by the Propaganda Ministry, and orders dated February 10, 1938, placed informers in local Group meetings in Germany and detailed methods for preventing the Oxford Group spreading in the Nazi party.<sup>1</sup> Later these instructions were repeated with regard to the army.<sup>2</sup>

Against this body of evidence, Mr Driberg puts an interview which appeared in the *New York World-Telegram* on August 26, 1936, a full six months after Ludendorff was complaining of Buchman's anti-Nazi action. Mr Driberg has many times quoted a sentence attributed in it to Dr Buchman:

I thank heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler who built up a front-line of defence against the anti-Christ of Communism.

Most democrats in the years to come were to realize the need to build a firm front against Stalin's Russia. Indeed, if President Roosevelt had taken notice of the second half of that sentence, he could have prevented the subjugation of Eastern Europe ten years later. The first half, we may agree with Mr Driberg, was – if it was in fact ever said – 'going rather far' about 'a dictator whose ways you concede to be wicked' (27). Here, however, Mr Driberg concedes his whole case. He clearly states that Buchman, in fact, considered Hitler's ways wicked. So all this – the branding as pro-Nazis of thousands of people, some of whom died in Hitler's concentration camps or on the battlefields,

<sup>1</sup> *Sicherheitsdienst RFSS, Oberabschnitt Süd-West (S.S. Security Services, South-Western Division)*, Stuttgart, February 10, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> *Heeresverordnungsblatt*, October 21, 1942.

while others won decorations fighting for the Allies – is based on what Mr Driberg admits to be *at worst* a loose phrase at variance with Buchman's real estimate of the man.<sup>1</sup>

Others who believed Hitler wicked were making statements at this time. Winston Churchill wrote in 1935:

We cannot tell whether Hitler will be the man who will once again let loose upon the world another war in which civilization will irretrievably succumb, or whether he will go down in history as the man who restored honour and peace of mind to the great Germanic nation and brought it back serene, helpful and strong, to the forefront of the European family circle.<sup>2</sup>

Lloyd George, in the *Daily Express* of September 17, 1936, called Hitler 'the George Washington of Germany, the man who won for his country independence from all his oppressors'. 'What Hitler said at Nuremberg is true,' he added. 'The Germans will resist to the death every invader of their country, but they have no longer the desire to invade any other land.'

Buchman held to the Christian principle of hating the sin, but seeking to save the sinner. He was Christian enough to believe that God could change any man.

Mr Driberg showed a certain effrontery in repeating this pro-Nazi myth in Oslo, but perhaps he was hoping that his student audience would be too young to

<sup>1</sup> For the full text of the article in the *New York World-Telegram* and the comments of Mr Peter Howard in the ITV Programme *Context*, see Appendix VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Great Contemporaries* (Collins), p. 261.



remember the war. Men who had fought in the Resistance would remember the MRA leader, Fredrik Ramm, whom the then Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr Koht, called 'one of Norway's greatest heroes'<sup>1</sup> and who died at the hands of the Nazis. They would also recall Bishop Fjellbu's sermon in St Martin-in-the-Fields on April 22, 1945, when the Bishop said: 'I wish to state publicly that the foundation of the united resistance of the Norwegian Churchmen to Nazism was laid by the Oxford Group's work.'<sup>2</sup> They would also have known of C. J. Hambro, then President of the Norwegian Parliament, who wrote:

The Germans decreed in Norway that the Oxford Group was a part of the British Intelligence Service and should be harshly suppressed – a most flattering and slightly ridiculous compliment to the British Intelligence Service. The Gestapo feared and hated the Oxford Group as they could never fear and hate the British Intelligence Service. They hated them as men hate and fear the ideals they have lost and prostituted, the faith they have betrayed. They feared them because instinctively they knew the Oxford Group was part of God's Intelligence Service preparing the way for an ultimate defeat of the principles of evil.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Everybody's Weekly*, December 11, 1944. See also *Fredrik Ramm* by Carl Frederik Engelstad (Land og Kirke, Oslo, 1946) pp. 6, 19, etc. and *Fem Normän* by Sven Stolpe (Rabén-Sjögren, Stockholm, 1942), pp. 179–197.

<sup>2</sup> See also *The Fight of the Norwegian Church Against Nazism* by B. Höye and T. M. Ager (Macmillan, 1943), pp. 15, 16, 59, 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Remaking the World*, p. 324.

## 9

IN HIS PAMPHLET Mr Driberg puts forward an extraordinary theory. In brief, he maintains that 'an old-fashioned revivalist movement' (which the Oxford Group never was) has become an 'instrument for anti-Communist propaganda', that 'what had begun, in intention, as a humane and "life-changing" force' has become 'a mere quasi-spiritual McCarthyism'. This, according to Mr Driberg, has taken place in order to please the Vatican, the Eastern religions<sup>1</sup> and the American capitalists. 'What if it [the movement] explicitly disavowed any intention of being a kind of church, and was concerned almost entirely to promote a "secular" ideology? . . .' he writes. 'This must have seemed to the MRA hierarchy, at some point a few years ago, to be the answer: the First-Century Christian Fellowship was out; an Ideology for Democracy was in' (21).

One flaw in this theory is that neither the First-Century Christian Fellowship, nor the Oxford Group, nor Moral Re-Armament, was ever a church or anything like one. Frank Buchman and others have made this clear since the earliest days, consistently and repeatedly. Nor is MRA a secular ideology. The most casual perusal of Dr Buchman's speeches would have clarified Mr Driberg on both points.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IX, statement by the Most Rev. Arabindo Nath Mukerjee, then Metropolitan of India, Burma and Ceylon.

Mr Driberg's theory has a slight plausibility because the word 'ideology' has, in this century, been associated almost exclusively with the materialistic ideologies of Nazism, Fascism and Communism. So people in the West think of ideology as necessarily bad – and as a contrast to faith. But the word 'ideology' is, in itself, neutral; it is the content of the ideology that matters. Why should not the Christian faith be lived with such fire and thoroughness that it would offer every man in the world an alternative to the materialistic ideologies of Left and Right?

Dr Buchman saw this as an urgent need:

'We say, we are democrats, we need no ideology,' he said in California in June 1948. 'We almost feel it is a sign of weakness to talk about an ideology. So we try to meet the united plan and passion of alien ideologies with talk and with lip-service to high ideals and with a last resort to force. And we hope to live as we have always lived – selfishly, comfortably and undisturbed . . . . An extreme of evil must be met with an extreme of good. A fanatical following of evil by a passionate pursuit of good.'<sup>1</sup>

Two years earlier, he had said:

We are in a global effort to win the world to our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ . . . There is your ideology. It is the whole message of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The message in its entirety is the only last hope that will save the world.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Remaking the World*, pp. 162–3.

<sup>2</sup> *Remaking the World*, p. 148.

Mr B. Lund Yates sheds light upon Dr Buchman's use of the word 'ideology' in his article 'Dr Buchman's Contribution to Contemporary Religious Thought' in the *Hibbert Journal*<sup>1</sup>:

An ideology is an idea (or, more strictly, a related constellation of ideas) which is allowed to inform the whole thinking and living of a man or a people. In the case of a Communist, for example, his Communism is not merely a political creed; it is an ideology which dictates his ethical code, his theories of economics and history, his foreign policies, his attitudes to marriage and family life, to education, art and religion. In so far as Communism is a complete ideology, it shapes his thinking in every subject and his behaviour in every field. For Dr Buchman, 'Moral Re-Armament' stands for faith carried to its full dimension so that it shapes and informs, as an ideology, every department of life.

Dr Buchman was not out to found a movement as such, but to get men to work for the moral and spiritual re-armament of the world. He said, from the earliest days of the Oxford Group, 'You cannot join. You cannot resign. You are in or out according to the way you live.' Similarly, right through his life, he stated his aim to be 'the greatest revolution of all time, whereby the Cross of Christ will transform the world'. This, obviously, was not something which could be achieved by any society or movement – it

<sup>1</sup> October 1958.

would be the action of God in the world through every man, woman and child who would give Him right of way. When Dr Buchman spoke of men being 'God-controlled' or of the world being 'governed by men governed by God', he meant *God*-controlled, not 'MRA-controlled', as Mr Driberg assumes when he substitutes 'MRA' for 'God' in such contexts (e.g. 17). Buchman had a vivid experience of, and faith in, God, which Mr Driberg apparently does not understand, and which he therefore assumes could not exist. This is well illustrated by the extraordinary lengths to which Mr Driberg goes to try and discredit Dr Buchman's experience of conversion at Keswick, an experience which bears all the marks of an authentic intervention of God in the historic Christian tradition.

Frank Buchman had trained for the ministry. More than once he spoke to me with gratitude and affection of those to whom he owed his theological foundation. To my certain knowledge, that firm foundation never shifted. It rested on rock, on the Living Rock, the Incarnate and Atoning Jesus Christ. At Keswick what had long been true for him academically became practically true as well, and remained so both academically and practically to the end of his life.

Some years ago, I wrote concerning MRA:

Its fundamental principles are those common to Christians of every century. It holds to the Vincentian canon of Catholic Faith – *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. With the breadth and simplicity of the New Testament it has remained true to the

classic Christian doctrines of God, human nature and salvation.<sup>1</sup>

Since this statement was vital to my purpose and argument, I was at pains to show it to Dr Buchman and ask him explicitly whether it was true of his own belief and of MRA as a whole. He confirmed unhesitatingly that it was. What I wrote in 1947 about the doctrinal foundations of Moral Re-Armament is equally true today.<sup>2</sup>

Mr Driberg takes strong exception to Dr Buchman's way of speaking and writing. Thus, in the pamphlet under review, he writes:

Dr Buchman himself was once asked to state in specific terms his '*programme*' for India: his programme, not his hopes and aspirations, which no doubt most people would share. He replied: 'Empty hands will be filled with work, empty stomachs with food, and empty hearts with an idea that

<sup>1</sup> *The Oxford Group - A Brief Account of its Principles and Growth* (April 1947), p. 6. I also quoted the words of the Primate of Denmark, Dr Fuglsang-Damgaard, in an interview in *Berlingske Tidende*, August 20, 1935: 'The Oxford Group seeks to be living Christianity. That does not mean that it has no doctrine. It builds on the accomplished work of Jesus Christ as set forth in the New Testament. Its aim is to bring to life and make real for each person the articles of faith with which his own Church provides him.' Nearly twenty years later, Bishop Fuglsang-Damgaard said at Evanston, in August 1954: 'The visit of Frank Buchman and the Oxford Group to Denmark in 1935 was an historic experience in the story of the Danish Church. It will be written in letters of gold in the history of the Church and nation. Whenever I go to London I visit Dr Buchman in his home, and our talk is all of the Cross of Christ, which is the centre of his heart, soul and faith.'

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix IX.

really satisfies. That is Moral Re-Armament for East and West.' That is not a programme: it is an incantation (13).

The twenty-eight words which Mr Driberg quotes from Dr Buchman are taken from a talk given in June 1959 at Mackinac.<sup>1</sup> There is no mention in this talk of Buchman having been asked to state his programme 'in specific terms'. That appears to be a Driberg interpolation, and indeed the words quoted from the 1959 talk are no more than a reference to the message given by Dr Buchman to the Indian press, at their request, when he and two hundred of his workers were in New Delhi over New Year 1953. This message reads:

Men are hungry for bread, for peace, and for the hope of a new world order.

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. That is what Moral Re-Armament is out for. It gives faith to the faithless, but also helps men of faith to live so compellingly that cities and nations change.

A nation where everyone cares enough and everyone shares enough, so that everyone has enough, will pattern a new social and economic order for this and all future generations.

A nation at peace within itself will bring peace to the world.

A nation which makes *What is Right* regnant in

<sup>1</sup> *Remaking the World*, p. 248.

personal, industrial, political and national life will pioneer the next historic step of progress and destiny for all mankind.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear from this message of 1953, therefore, that Dr Buchman's vision of hands filled with work, stomachs with food and empty hearts with an ideology that satisfies *was*, in fact, first of all an aspiration. 'That is what Moral Re-Armament is out for.'

So, Mr Driberg's argument collapses. But, of course, what Dr Buchman saw for India was, also, more than an aspiration. As always, his aspirations and plans were grounded in the changing of definite men so that they achieved a 'God-led unity' above the barriers of class, caste and religion.

Changes in specific people did in fact take place. The Archbishop of Trivandrum, the Most Rev. Benedict Mar Gregorius, assessed some results of such a change in Mannath Padmanabhan, the leader of the Kerala Liberation Movement, when he said on April 21, 1960:

History will record our permanent gratitude to Mannath Padmanabhan not only for having ousted the Communist regime in Kerala, but for creating the unity of all the communities following his return from Caux.<sup>2</sup>

The Archbishop appears to think that something more powerful than an incantation was at work.

Similarly I have myself watched the change which

<sup>1</sup> *Remaking the World*, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Remaking the World*, p. 262.



Dr Buchman under God was able to bring to one of the most remarkable young men I have met, in a lifetime of teaching, Rajmohan Gandhi, the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi. Speaking at Madras on March 15, 1964, Mr Rajagopalachari, the first Governor-General of free India, said of him:

Rajmohan Gandhi has inherited the spirit of his grandfather Gandhiji, and he does the right thing as quickly as possible. He has been led to save young India from the worship of mammon, atheism and the neglect of God in which they have been trained. And in this he is succeeding.<sup>1</sup>

Mr Driberg underestimated Dr Buchman's mind. His wide culture and delightful sense of humour are remembered by all who knew him well. His mind was not academic, but was of quite extraordinary speed and range, and had the quality of piercing immediately to the heart of a matter. It was this which drew great academic minds to him – this, together with his ability, which they envied, to communicate his ideas in simple, direct terms to ordinary people. I think particularly of his relations with those two great Oxford personalities, Dr B. H. Streeter and Professor L. W. Grensted.<sup>2</sup> There was between these men respect and understanding, based on the humility of the truly great mind, which realizes its limitations as well as its

<sup>1</sup> From a widely reported speech in the S.I.E.T. Women's College Auditorium. For full report see *MRA Information Service* (Bombay edition), March 28, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> For the impression he made on a French philosopher, see lines which M. Gabriel Marcel wrote for this book in Appendix X.

strength. This same humility was the quality which made all three appeal so strongly to young people. With Buchman, particularly, you felt that he was always ready to learn from anyone who had a fresh facet of the truth.

Buchman did not feel that it was his task – nor perhaps was he fitted – to probe into problems of academic philosophy or to produce books of scholarship or research. His style was individual; which appealed to many but naturally not to everyone. But no honest man can question that he was used of God ‘to bring multitudes of human lives in all parts under the transforming power of Christ’<sup>1</sup> and to inspire them to create in their own fields what he would never have claimed to be able to create himself.

How many academics can claim as much?

Mr Driberg betrays his failure to understand the man when he writes of Dr Buchman’s ‘evident powers of mass-hypnosis’ (29). Nothing could be further from the truth. Buchman was no mass orator. He spoke quietly. He did not use his personality to influence people. The power which worked in Buchman was the power of God. Buchman was not perfect, but he was a man of God. No other explanation meets the facts of his life and work.

That is why Mr Driberg’s question of what will happen to MRA ‘with the removal of the charismatic (*sic*) leader’ (28) is so superficial. Those who worked with Dr Buchman over a period of years understood that to him his most important work was to help

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Lang, in his message to Dr Buchman on the latter’s sixtieth birthday, June 4, 1938.

people to become dependent not upon him or any other man, but upon God. 'I live for one thing only,' he told a group of friends a few months before he died, 'to make Jesus Christ regnant in the life of every person I meet.'<sup>1</sup>

He worked for years to make himself dispensable. He taught men to live and work together free of jealousy and ambition, to seek the direction of God together and to fight together for the right as God gives them to see it. The atmosphere around him was a comradeship of equally dedicated men, each striving to learn to serve God better and to help the others to do so. Dr Buchman held no appointment, title or precedence amongst them, except that which his experience of life and of God conferred.

So, when he died, there was a gap, but no disruption. The ranks closed, and those who were left moved forward together as they had long been accustomed to do.

Shortly before he died, Dr Buchman remarked to a friend, 'I learn more about moral re-armament every day.' He did not regard it as his creation, but as a creation of God to meet the needs of this age. 'I have done nothing. I have been wonderfully led,' he said on another occasion. The future of his work – and perhaps of society – depends on the willingness of thousands of people, all over the world, to pay the price to be led by God as he was led.

<sup>1</sup> *Frank Buchman's Secret* by Peter Howard (Heinemann, 1961), p. 8.

## IO

MR DRIBERG IS AT PAINS to suggest that Moral Re-Armament is a mystery, and by implication a disreputable mystery – mysterious in its finances, its administration and its ultimate aims. The only mystery about MRA finances is that people want to give and make sacrifices for a cause they believe in. The only mystery about its administration is that those who have undertaken a big task gladly accept a certain discipline and authority in their common life together. The only mystery about a revolutionary aim to bring society under God's rule is that some people actually believe that by God's grace it can be done. There is no mystery about Moral Re-Armament in the sense that Mr Driberg implies. It is not a secret society. The names of its Council of Management are public property, its accounts have been filed and open for inspection for over twenty-five years, its Assemblies have been public, and its principles set out in numerous books and other publications.

Moral Re-Armament is no 'mystery' in the popular sense of the word. There is no skeleton in the cupboard, no awkward body to be hidden away. But the New Testament speaks of a mystery at once far more profound and more sparkling with hope; not something at which you put your finger on your lips, but something to be shouted aloud for all to hear. 'The Mystery

on which St Paul delights to dwell is the unification of humanity in the Christ, the new human hope, a hope for all men of all conditions, a hope not for men only but even for the universe<sup>1</sup>. 'Unto you,' said Jesus to His disciples, 'has been given the mystery of the Kingdom of God.'<sup>2</sup> The 'mystery' is 'God's open secret, long kept in silence but now disclosed'<sup>3</sup> to anyone who will stoop low enough to read it discerningly, the secret that the miraculous power of Jesus Christ is available for everybody, to transform the whole range of life.

From first to last Frank Buchman stood firm in the long line of good stewards of *that* mystery.<sup>4</sup> At the heart of Moral Re-Armament, making up its executive planning group, there has always been, as there is today, a body of men of various Christian communions, whose personal allegiance to Jesus Christ and whose steady thought for His purpose for the world have been the starting-point and the security of all they undertake. I speak of what I know at first hand. I knew Buchman well, and I know these men. Now it is for all of us – Mr Driberg, myself, MRA, the various Churches, everyone who in any sense knows anything of God's mystery – to share our knowledge with all men and with all human society so that they too may know in their own experience what it means, and God may truly reign.

<sup>1</sup> J. Armitage Robinson, towards the end of a long discussion of the word 'mystery' in *St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (Macmillan, 1904), pp. 234-240.

<sup>2</sup> St Mark 4, v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Romans 16, vv. 25, 26.

<sup>4</sup> I Corinthians 4, v. 1.

## APPENDIX I<sup>1</sup>

### *MRA in War-time America*

MR DRIBERG HAS ALLEGED that Dr Buchman was a hindrance to the American war effort.

The United States War Department Bureau of Public Relations (July 28, 1941) described his handbook *You Can Defend America* (two million copies of which were issued) as 'probably the most challenging statement of this nation's philosophy of National Defense that has yet been written'.

The United States Army Chief of Chaplains, in his bulletin to Army Chaplains, described the MRA revue of the same name:

*You Can Defend America* is a patriotic revue designed to combat false propaganda and ideologies and is based on the handbook of the same name. Offices of Civilian Defense, industrialists, labor leaders, national and civic leaders have recognized the value of this morale-building weapon and have sponsored its presentation in more than 20 states. Its philosophy is a call to battle against the divisive materialism which is our unseen enemy. Note the presentation of this excellent revue when it is scheduled for your locality. (War Department, Services of Supply Circular Letter No. 253, June 15, 1942.)

Colonel John D. Langston, war-time Chairman of the United States Presidential Appeals Board and Assistant

<sup>1</sup> For the compilation of the Appendices, as well as for help in the body of this pamphlet, I am indebted to Mr Garth Lean, M.A., whom I have known since his undergraduate days at Worcester College thirty years ago.

Director of the Selective Service System, wrote in a letter to Dr Buchman in May 1948:

Your work for the establishment of practical Christianity as the vital force in the defense of our democracy brought attack from the communistic press both during the war and since. Many patriotic citizens were misled by such attacks. I want you to know that it is my firm conviction that credence was never given by National leaders to these attacks during the war, even though broad National policy made necessary by critical demands of manpower procurement required some draft upon your personnel in common with drafts upon other effective Christian leadership. As Chairman of the Presidential Appeals Board, and as Assistant Director of the Selective Service System during the war, I had absolute confidence in the patriotic endeavours of the Moral Re-Armament forces.

I believe the millions of copies of *You Can Defend America* distributed by Moral Re-Armament early in the war and subsequent work of the group aroused America to put forth its greatest effort to co-operate in necessary production for the armed forces and to keep solidified the defense of Democratic ideals. I applaud your continuing efforts to revitalise the religious forces in the necessary fight to preserve civilization.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt commented upon the programme in a letter to his old headmaster, the Rev. Dr Endicott Peabody, which was published in *Peabody of Groton* (Coward-McCann, New York):

March 25, 1942<sup>1</sup>

Dear Mr Peabody:

I was delighted, as always, to have your fine letter and hope you and Mrs Peabody are having a restful stay in Florida. I was particularly happy that your plans permitted your participation in the anniversary service again this year.

What you write about the revue, *You Can Defend America*, which you saw in Orlando, interested me very much. We need more things like that to maintain and strengthen the national morale. I am informed that this revue has been organized by a group of volunteer actors on a non-commercial basis. This organization, as I understand it, goes from one community to another as arrangements are made for their appearance by some group active in national defense. From all accounts they are making a splendid contribution to patriotism and I hope a large number of communities will have the benefit of witnessing a performance.

If Eleanor were here she would join me in love to you and Mrs Peabody.

Affectionately yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

<sup>1</sup> This letter is dated six months after the date when certain opponents allege that the President had lost interest in MRA – an allegation made to offset the undeniable fact that Senator Harry S. Truman read a message from the President to the National Meeting for Moral Re-Armament at the Constitution Hall, Washington, on June 4, 1939.



## APPENDIX II

### *Two Ill-founded Rumours*

#### *Dr Buchman and 'Who's Who'*

MR DRIBERG ACCUSED Frank Buchman of having falsified his entries in *Who's Who* by stating that he 'studied at Cambridge University'.<sup>1</sup> He has said that if Dr Buchman could be shown to have attended University lectures there, the entry could be justified, but he asserts that he did not.

Buchman went to Cambridge in October 1920 and spent the Michaelmas Term 1920 and the Easter Term 1921 as the guest of Westminster College, the Presbyterian theological college in Cambridge. As he was at the time an extension lecturer at Hartford Theological Seminary in America, he was treated as a senior member of the College and appears in the College photograph dated 1921, seated among the dons, three places from the Principal, Dr Skinner. He attended, on the suggestion of Principal MacKenzie of Hartford Seminary, the University lectures of Professor John Oman whose cordial letter of invitation to his lectures still exists. He was not and never claimed to be a member of the University, but quite literally as stated in *Who's Who* 'studied at Cambridge University'.

He carefully revised the entry regarding Oxford so as to make clear that his presence there in 1921 was the stimulus to a work which was given that name only some eight years later and not at the time of his first visit. He could hardly be more precise than 'visited

<sup>1</sup> *cg. The New Statesman*, June 4, 1960.

Oxford in 1921 where in the following years the Oxford leadership grew’.

*Mr Herb Elliott*

A story has been spread<sup>1</sup> that Mr Herb Elliott, the Olympic miler, after appearing as a signatory of a full-page advertisement on Moral Re-Armament in *The Times* of February 16, 1961, later repudiated his signature. This story was first printed in the *Sunday Express* of February 19. It had been taken from an undergraduate newspaper and was apparently based on Mr Elliott’s desire to explain that he was not ‘a member of Moral Re-Armament’. On Monday, February 20, the *Daily Express* repeated the story.

On Tuesday, February 21, Sir Hamilton Kerr, the Member of Parliament for Cambridge, where Mr Elliott was then in residence, read out to members of the Press the following statement by Mr Elliott at his request:

I am shocked by the manner in which certain newspapers have twisted my well-intentioned statement in order to attack Moral Re-Armament. Though not a member of their organisation, I believe their ideas are good and because of this I stand by the page that was published in *The Times*.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. by Mr Driberg in *Reynolds News*, February 26, 1961.

## APPENDIX III

### *Social and Industrial Council's Report*

GREAT EMPHASIS is laid by Mr Driberg on the criticisms in a report of the Social and Industrial Council of the Church Assembly<sup>1</sup> which he says is 'an official publication of the National Assembly of the Church of England' (9), thus implying that its contents are the opinion of the Church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Fisher, denied this. Prior to its publication, he wrote: 'May I just underline that no kind of report from this working party will reach the press or be made public at all. It is an internal affair of the Social and Industrial Council.'<sup>2</sup> On the day that the Report was 'received' by the Assembly, the Archbishop said that the Assembly was making 'no declaration either for or against MRA' and added that 'to receive a report does not mean that the Assembly approves it'. The Assembly unanimously passed a motion saying that it 'does not desire to record any judgements either upon the merits or upon the demerits of this movement'<sup>3</sup>.

Mr Driberg states that the Report was drafted by 'twenty-five persons' (9) and was 'painstakingly objective' (12). It was, of course, drafted not by

<sup>1</sup> Church Information Board, 1955.

<sup>2</sup> Statement prepared by Sir Lynden Macassey, Q.C., in regard to the method of the making of the Report (Oxford Group, 1955), p. 18. Many facts and quotations in this Appendix come from Sir Lynden's Statement.

<sup>3</sup> *The Times*, February 17, 1955.

'twenty-five persons', but by a small 'working party' of the Council, with the Bishop of Colchester as Chairman, Canon Hudson as Secretary and Canon Wickham as a prominent member. The Bishop of Colchester and Canon Wickham were both long-time opponents of MRA, and both wrote letters to the *Daily Telegraph* criticizing MRA during the period when they were preparing their report.<sup>1</sup> Sir Lynden Macassey, Q.C., commented:

For them, while holding those positions of detachment, to step down from them and, while engaged in preparing their report, to write partisan letters to the public press condemnatory of what they had to inquire into, was quite contrary to all accepted principles applying to the conduct of any occupant of the positions they held. If they entertained personal opinions and prejudices as strongly as appeared, and wanted to ventilate them in the press before the Working Party of which they were members made their report, their duty was first of all to resign their respective positions on the Working Party. It would be difficult if not impossible to imagine a parallel action, even in the case of any unimportant 'fact-finding' committee, and certainly not in the case of any committee or tribunal which was engaged in forming a judgement on an important controversy that was intended to serve for guidance of a great body of people like the Church of England.<sup>2</sup>

So much for 'painstaking objectivity'.

Mr Driberg further states that this investigation was 'much more systematic than that of Dr Henson'

<sup>1</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, January 13 and 19, 1954.

<sup>2</sup> Macassey, p. 28.

(12)<sup>1</sup>. Maybe. Of the Working Party's methods, Sir Lynden Macassey wrote: 'It is difficult to imagine a more casual or haphazard way in which the evidence on MRA could have been gathered. There was no attempt to collect evidence which would portray the basis and methods of MRA, particularly its results, so as to give a fair, full and unprejudiced account. Their investigation, if it could possibly be called that, was in sharp contrast to the searching inquiries into MRA conducted by other Christian churches and bodies.'

Mr Driberg alleges (14): 'One puzzling handicap which these and other enquirers have encountered is the extreme reluctance of MRA to enter into any public debate or discussion, however impartially conducted, about its claims.' In support he quotes the Report as saying: 'We found them unwilling to confer except on terms that would have made free discussion impossible.'

What are the facts? The working committee did make one official approach to MRA. After a year's 'investigation' – in which time they had contented themselves with casual approaches to three individuals who felt unable to speak for MRA – they wrote suggesting that MRA representatives should meet the Council for 'friendly and informal discussion'. This letter arrived some weeks after the critical letters of the Chairman and of Canon Wickham had appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*. The Acting Secretary of the Oxford Group replied that the Group would welcome such a meeting, provided:

1. they could be supplied with a list of the matters on which information was required so that it could be got ready;

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IV.

2. they might bring with them a competent shorthand writer to take a verbatim note of the discussion. ('In view of what had been charged against MRA in the public press by the Chairman and also by a prominent member of the Working Party, a perfectly fair and reasonable request,' comments Sir Lynden.<sup>1</sup>)

Canon Hudson commented that this constituted 'a refusal to allow us to obtain information straight from the horse's mouth, so to speak, except under ridiculous and impossible terms.' Then the Secretary of the Council said that, under these circumstances, the meeting had better be postponed. The meeting never did take place.

The Oxford Group repeated their readiness to meet the Council on the two simple conditions stated. 'It is impossible,' commented Sir Lynden, 'to believe that the Social and Industrial Council could really have cancelled the meeting because of the insistence of the Group on these two conditions. Certain opponents of MRA on the Council obviously welcomed any grounds that could be devised for saying that the Oxford Group would not meet the Council.'

The *Church Illustrated* (April 1955) under the heading 'A Debacle' commented on the Report, and the debate in the Church Assembly upon the Report:

For the 'parliament' of the Church of England to let itself be manoeuvred into an official debate on the activities of other Christians was so stupid that one can hardly credit it . . . Surely, whatever one thinks of MRA, whether one admires it or loathes everything about it, one must writhe with shame at such patronising pomposity.

<sup>1</sup> Macassey, pp. 29-30 and 51-59, where all letters appear in full.

Professor Adolphe Keller, the distinguished Swiss churchman and pioneer of the ecumenical movement, commented upon the Social and Industrial Council's Report in a letter of February 8, 1955, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, a copy of which Dr Keller sent to the Council of Management of the Oxford Group:

Allow me to express my amazement at the statement issued by the Social and Industrial Council of the Church Assembly and its critical assessment of Moral Re-Armament. It is not so much the criticism of certain theological or social aspects of the movement which have struck me, but the lack of that ecumenical spirit under whose guidance we try to think and to work.

I am not a member of Moral Re-Armament and therefore claim an unbiased objectivity regarding criticism. Further, without restricting the right to criticise wherever it aids a sincere search of truth, my own desire for the rest of my life is to give up any mere polemics and to observe 'malice towards none and charity to all'.

I have to confess that I found more generosity, comprehension, respect for historic truth, readiness to forgive, repentance, in brief, more of a prophetic and charismatic spirit in a free and mobile force like Moral Re-Armament than I found in well-organised ecclesiastical institutions or in impeccable theological systems. I understand therefore why my friend Emil Brunner, seeing the lack of real fellowship in the church, the lukewarm piety or even open religious indifference of millions, speaks of a great misunderstanding of the church, and terms Moral Re-Armament the 'most important missionary movement of the present day'.

I realise how much the Christian world owes to methods and experiences which Moral Re-Armament has developed and which the churches themselves have in large part silently adopted as their own. The quiet time, the power of group thinking and of teamwork have been rediscovered for many of us and these valuable elements reintroduced through Moral Re-Armament's courage and spirit of adventure into the life and experience of the churches themselves.

Professor Keller, who lectured on ecumenical subjects at Geneva and Zürich Universities, was the first General Secretary of the Swiss Federation of Churches, and Vice-President of the World Alliance of Presbyterian and Reformed Churches from 1937 to 1948.



## APPENDIX IV

### *Dr Hensley Henson*

IF, AS HE SEVERAL TIMES STATES, Mr Driberg's concern is 'to be fair', it is strange that, after devoting three pages to the late Dr Hensley Henson's criticisms of the Oxford Group, he did not also quote the then Archbishop of Canterbury, the then Bishop of London, Dr Winnington Ingram, or Dr B. H. Streeter, all of whom held different views from the Bishop of Durham on this subject. Dr Lang, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, told his Diocesan Conference<sup>1</sup>:

The Oxford Group is most certainly doing what the Church of Christ exists everywhere to do. It is changing human lives, giving them a new joy and freedom, liberating them from the faults of temper, of domestic relationships, and the like, which have beset them, and giving them a real ardour to communicate to their fellow creatures what God has given them.

Dr Hensley Henson was, as Mr Driberg says, a considerable scholar, but he is also recognized as a man of vehement prejudices. In his autobiography, *Retrospect on an Unimportant Life*, he states that he started with a strong prejudice against the Oxford Group. He speaks of his 'almost physical repugnance' against the kind of movement which he conceived the Oxford Group to be, 'a repugnance which has betrayed

<sup>1</sup> August 1934.

me more than once into language which was unwise and probably unfair'.<sup>1</sup> He also makes it clear that he disapproves of Jesuits, Franciscans and Quakers, the last two as 'short-cut Christians.'<sup>2</sup> Under the date July 13, 1932, he writes:

Bishop Butler's brusque rejoinder to John Wesley has been much blamed, but it expresses very exactly my own feelings towards 'Frank': 'This pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Spirit is a horrid thing – a very horrid thing.'<sup>3</sup>

Dr Henson reveals that Churchmen – he mentions Dr Foss Westcott, the Metropolitan of India, and Bishop Linton Smith of Rochester – urged him that the only fair thing to do was to make first-hand contact with the Oxford Group and perhaps attend one of their house parties.<sup>4</sup> Dr Henson vigorously rejected this advice. Writing to *The Times*<sup>5</sup> he gave as his reason for this:

My temperamental dislike of 'spiritual exhibitionism' (sic) is so strong that I could not trust myself to be impartial towards proceedings in which it held so large a place . . . I was content to collect the evidence of trustworthy witnesses.

The 'trustworthy witness' on whom Dr Hensley Henson relied most heavily – both in this letter to *The Times* and in the preface to his book – was the 'lapsed Grouper', K., also quoted by Mr Driberg. He was an unstable young Oxford man, a theological student, known to the present writer. He was taken

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, (O.U.P., 1943), p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, pp. 252-254.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. II, p. 288.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. II, p. 335.

<sup>5</sup> September 19, 1933.

by a college friend to work with the Oxford Group in the United States for four months in the winter of 1932-33 in the hope of helping him. On leaving America he wrote Dr Buchman the following letter, dated February 28, 1933:

Again many thanks. My work in England will not only be richer but radically different because of this experience. It will be creative and constructive, instead of passive and defensive. With all good wishes, Ever your friend, K.

On arrival in England K. went to stay with Dr Henson, and before the year was out had supplied a great deal of 'evidence' for the Bishop's writings on the Oxford Group and had himself attacked Dr Buchman in *The Times*. Subsequently he was ordained.

The *Daily Express* of February 5, 1943, reports that K. was sentenced at Bow Street to three years' hard labour. Two weeks later K. lost his 'appeal against his conviction' but his 'sentence to hard labour was quashed and instead he was bound over for two years'.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note that Dr Henson omits all mention of this 'trustworthy witness' in the second volume of his autobiography, which was first published in 1943 just after K.'s conviction. Dr Henson, however, continued in this book to make the allegations based on K.'s evidence.

Dr Henson's autobiography abounds with evidence of his prejudice against Moral Re-Armament. Thus he complains bitterly against Archbishop Lang of Canterbury and Bishop Winnington Ingram of London for supporting the Oxford Group. The Metropolitan of India, Dr Foss Westcott, whom he in 1930 commends

<sup>1</sup> *Daily Express*, February 19, 1943.

as a man who 'always speaks with dignity, moderation and good sense', is regarded as childish immediately he becomes associated with the Oxford Group.<sup>1</sup>

He writes of Dr B. H. Streeter, when he identified himself with the Oxford Group, as 'curiously credulous and prone to adopt the latest religious craze', although he admits that as a critical scholar, 'I know none of my contemporaries that has a keener insight, a better balanced judgement or a more candid understanding.'<sup>2</sup>

For one who refused to have any first-hand contact with the Oxford Group it is odd that Dr Henson should protest at 'the patronage of eminent men' which had 'no apparent or probable connection with personal knowledge'.<sup>3</sup> He was particularly referring to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, who not only met Dr Buchman and others on numerous occasions, but who had extensive and official enquiries made into the Oxford Group before forming a judgment.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, pp. 277, 335.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, pp. 328, 349.

<sup>3</sup> Preface to Dr Henson's 'Charge', p. VI.

## APPENDIX V

### *MRA Finances*

THE FOLLOWING TABLE shows the origin of all gifts received by the Oxford Group, the legal name of the body conducting the campaign for Moral Re-Armament in Britain, in the years ending on March 31, 1962, 1963 and 1964:

<i>Amount of gift</i>	<i>Year ending</i> <i>March 31, 1962</i>	<i>Year ending</i> <i>March 31, 1963</i>	<i>Year ending</i> <i>March 31, 1964</i>
Total no. gifts ...	9,315	10,416	14,226
Less than £10 ...	7,907 (84.9%)	9,094 (87.3%)	12,962 (91.1%)
£10 to £99 ...	1,119 (12%)	1,100 (10.56%)	1,057 (7.43%)
£100 to £499 ...	223 (2.4%)	174 (1.67%)	168 (1.2%)
£500 to £999 ...	27 (.3%)	21 (.2%)	19 (.13%)
£1,000 or over...	39 (.4%)	27 (.26%)	20 (.14%)

The total gifts in 1961-62 amounted to £204,766 (of which £56,788 was specially contributed for work in South America); in 1962-63 to £119,614; in 1963-64, £119,889. In 1961-62, the only four gifts of more than £5,000 were from whole-time workers who had inherited money. In 1962-63 and 1963-64, only one gift of £5,000 was received.

The total contribution from industrial firms - all British - was in 1961-62, £2,278; in 1962-63, £1,284, a fraction more than 1 per cent of the total income through gifts in each year. In 1963-64, it was £6,561, a little under 5½ per cent of gifts.

The above analyses are typical of any average year. Special projects are financed on the same lines, and MRA finances in other countries are similar.

In 1962 and 1963 gifts from corporations to MRA in America were approximately .5 per cent of the total. In that year 64.6 per cent of contributors each gave less than \$100. In 1961, 85.2 per cent of contributors gave less than \$100 and 14.8 per cent more than \$100. Mr Henry Ford, who is cited in Mr Driberg's pamphlet and in his *New Statesman* article as a likely donor, never gave or left money to MRA.

The accounts of the Oxford Group in Britain are audited by Price, Waterhouse and Company, and are filed at the Companies Registry Department of the Board of Trade, where they can be inspected for the usual fee.

## APPENDIX VI

### *The ICFTU Report on Moral Re-Armament*

THIS REPORT was issued in July 1953 and reissued on September 15, 1953, as a supplement to the ICFTU Information Bulletin (Vol. IV, No. 18 (84)). Its introduction states:

The information we possess on Moral Re-Armament comes mainly from books, pamphlets and other publications of the Movement itself. We have also received valuable material from members of the ICFTU Executive Board and from affiliated organisations.

After an inaccurate historical survey, the Report puts forward its main evidence under the heading 'PROOFS OF INTERFERENCE IN TRADE UNION MATTERS'. It states:

We give below some extracts from MRA publications, which clearly demonstrate interference in Trade Union activities, as well as anti-Trade Union efforts, even to the extent of trying to found 'yellow' unions.

It then gives nine quotations, all either from *Caux News* or the *MRA Information Service*. These quotations are printed below, together with the original articles which they purport to represent. The comparison, as Sir Lynden Macassey noted in a letter to *The Times*<sup>1</sup>, reveals 'highly prejudiced editorial activity'. Facts in the originals which are detrimental to the Report's

<sup>1</sup> October 13, 1953.

thesis are suppressed. In particular, it will be noticed that the Report omits sentences or paragraphs which show:

1. that the attitude of management has been changed through MRA, resulting in concessions to the workers;
2. that the workers have benefited as a result of the application of Moral Re-Armament;
3. that a satisfactory alternative to the methods of class struggle has been successful in helping the settlement of an industrial dispute.

The purpose of this 'highly prejudiced' editing was to try to prove that MRA 'interferes in Trade Union matters'. The original, unedited texts prove exactly the opposite.

In every case, the initiative for applying moral re-armament was taken not by anyone from outside the industry but by a member of management or a Trade Union leader.

Not a single instance is given of the official Trade Union machinery being ignored or by-passed.

In at least three instances the workers gained substantial material benefits.

Study of these unedited texts, also, makes it clear that the author of the Report has been unable to produce a single instance of any attempt to found a 'yellow union'.

A comparison, in parallel columns, of the original and the edited texts now follows. Italics in the ICFTU text are theirs; italics in the originals are ours and are inserted to make plain some of the alterations made by the ICFTU editors. It will be noted that the ICFTU editors frequently cut the texts substantially,



while omitting to insert any indication that they have done so. The comments printed after each quotation are from trades unionists in the situations concerned. These were sent to the ICFTU, but have never been published by them: a suppression of fact which is hard to understand and impossible to condone.

Quotation No. 1 *Caux News*, July 1, 1952

ORIGINAL TEXT

'The first performance of *The Forgotten Factor* took place in Coventry in June. Hundreds of workers and representatives of management from the big car factories of Daimler, Jaguar, Humber, Standard, etc., came to them. Shortly afterwards, the application of the principles dramatized in *The Forgotten Factor* led to concrete solutions in two cases of disputes in big factories. In one case 20 *Works Council members* revoked a decision which they found, after a visit to the play, to be unjust. In another case a violent solution of a wage dispute was averted at the last moment.' (Translated from German edition.)

ICFTU TEXT

'The first performance of *The Forgotten Factor* took place in Coventry in June. Shortly afterwards, the application of the principles dramatized in *The Forgotten Factor* led to concrete solutions in two cases of strikes in big factories. *In one case 20 Works Councils revoked a decision which they found to be wrong after a visit to the play.* In another case, a violent solution of a wages dispute was averted at the last minute.' (Translated from German edition.)

Comment: Apart from leaving out an important sentence, the ICFTU editor changes '20 Works Council Members' (shop-stewards) into '20 Works Councils', and substitutes 'strikes' for 'disputes'.

ORIGINAL TEXT

*France-Soir*: 'Averting a Crisis in the Building Trade.' 'Eleven men - ten workers and Jean-Marie, the foreman - were sitting together that evening with their director, Jacques Hilst. Hilst, the head of a building firm in Roubaix, began to speak,' reports the Paris daily paper, *France-Soir*.

'You know we are going through a crisis which will last till February,' he began. 'We have no credits we can call upon. What are we to do? Other firms have laid off a third of their workers. I had already decided to do the same. But this morning I said to myself: Jacques, if you lay off even one worker, you are not fit to run this business. But then I found a way out: I shall get orders from other districts, even if that is a disadvantage for our firm, so that all the workers can keep their jobs.'

'There was dead silence for several minutes. Then one of the men said, "If you are ready to tighten your belt so as not to have to lay off any of us, I don't see why we too shouldn't make a certain effort." The men volunteered to work in other districts and to avoid travel expenses and suggested that for three months they would all like to work one extra hour per day without pay.'

ICFTU TEXT

'Checking a crisis in the Building Trade' (*France-Soir*): 'Eleven men sat that evening around Jacques Hilst, the head of a building firm in Roubaix: ten workers and Jean-Marie, the foreman. Hilst reported on the crisis in the building trade:

' "I will take on work in other districts even at a loss to the firm to keep the men on."

' . . . The men volunteered to work in other districts and forego travel expenses and suggested that for three months they should all work one extra hour per day without pay . . .'

'The results achieved in the firm of Hilst are an example of what happens when employers are inspired by Moral Re-Armament,' the French newspaper reports further. '*Hilst and the newly introduced works council in his firm* not only answered a threat of crisis, but also achieved the following:

1. The firm now has an insurance scheme operated by the workers themselves.
2. Every worker who has worked in the firm for 15 years has, when he is pensioned, the right to a gratuity of 1,300 francs.
3. The bonus for saving waste material had fallen to 2 per cent. It has now risen again to 3 per cent.
4. Every worker has the right to a holiday bonus of from 130 to 1,000 francs. This bonus is calculated according to the technical ability, the goodwill and character of the worker as well as the number of hours worked.
5. North African workers receive the same wages as French workers which is something unknown in any other firm.
6. Trade Union activities, which had slowly died down, have come to life again.' (Translated from German edition.)

The newspaper quotes some practical results of this new atmosphere in the Hilst building firm which have been achieved by an employer inspired by Moral Re-Armament: '*Hilst then set up a Works Council.*' (Translated from German edition.)

Comment by the Secretary of the Works Council at the Hilst plant and others:

We, the undersigned, wish to reply strongly to the accusations made recently in the ICFTU Bulletin concerning the results obtained by our firm.

First of all, let us establish clearly that the decision to create a Works Council, which the ICFTU Bulletin would have us believe was the work of our employer, Hilst, *was in fact taken by ourselves*. In spite of the crisis of last winter, *we succeeded in avoiding unemployment and kept all our men at work*.

We want to point out what a new spirit Moral Re-Armament has enabled us to achieve. These results have not been mentioned by the ICFTU Bulletin, *although they were explicitly brought out in the text of the MRA Information Service from which the argument against us was drawn*. (They then outline the results listed above and add:)

On this last point we would like to add that *before our visit to Caux there was no Trade Union activity in the firm*. At Caux we found that *we had to take our responsibilities in the Trade Union battle* in order to serve the interests of our comrades better. *We therefore joined the regular Trade Unions*.

We are young trade unionists who have decided to march along the road of loyal, active, and really free trade unionism.

JEAN MARIE DOUQUESNOY, Secretary, Works Council; Member, Force Ouvrière

ALBERT LOOS, Member, Works Council

RAYMOND DUQUESNE, Member, CFTU

GASTON DROULEZ, Member, Works Council

JEAN PREVOT, Member, Works Council

ANDRE JACOB, Member, CFTU

Quotation No. 3 MRA Information Service, August 30, 1952

#### ORIGINAL TEXT

'A Dockers' International.' 'Dockers from Genoa are among the portworkers from thirteen major ports who have sent invitations to their colleagues to form a dockers' international at Caux. They say in their invitation: "We dockers who come from all races and nations know that where there is an answer there is hope. Last year many dockworkers from ports in almost every country attended a World Conference for Moral Re-Armament at Caux and learned there is hope for a new world based on the principles of Moral Re-Armament.

"Although we are humble folk, our job as dockworkers is very important in linking the nations in friendship, co-operation and trade. To be able to do this we must be trained in an ideology that can remove the barriers of hate and mistrust and so bring about a better understanding in industry and benefits to all. . .

"Only by putting into practice the moral standards of Moral Re-Armament can this better world be built. Dockworkers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and the other great waterways of the world - create a true dockers' international and strive to rebuild the world!"

#### ICFTU TEXT

'A Dockers' International' 'Dockers from Genoa are among the portworkers from 13 major ports who have sent invitations to their colleagues to form a dockers' international at Caux.

' "Only by putting into practice the moral standards of Moral Re-Armament," they say, "can this better world be built. Dockworkers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and the other great waterways of the world - create a true dockers' international and strive to rebuild the world."'

ORIGINAL TEXT

'*The Ports of Europe*' 'The influence of Moral Re-Armament in the ports is growing steadily and has already become an international force among the dockworkers and shipowners.

'Last month training meetings took place in the ports of Hamburg, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Gothenburg, London, Liverpool and Bristol.

'Thirty British dockers, among them members of the executives of the Stevedores' and Dockers' Union, affirmed their conviction in a cable which they sent to Dr Buchman in India.

'"We portworkers belong to a world brotherhood, and our calling is the same in the Indian, Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Moral Re-Armament has strengthened these links between the nations and within our homes.

' "We are proud the great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, lived with us in London Dockland, the place where you launched Moral Re-Armament. We join with our brothers in the ports of the East in your fight to remake the world."

ICFTU TEXT

'*In the Ports of Europe*' '... The influence of MRA in the ports of Europe has already become an international force amongst the dockworkers and shipowners...'

Comment on Quotations Nos. 3 and 4 by a group of London dockers:

Apparently there was a misunderstanding of the words 'dockers' international'. What was meant was that the MRA spirit makes the world fraternity of dockers a real thing in all our hearts. *There is no question of forming any new organization.*

Many of us in common with brother dockers from ports all over the world know Frank Buchman personally. We like him. He speaks simply. He is a great man because he is a lover of his fellow-men. We reiterate the message Ben Tillett, the great dockers' leader, sent to him: *'You have a great international movement. Use it. It is the hope of tomorrow. It will bring sanity back to the world.'*

Frank Buchman is no dictator. *MRA issues no directives to trade unionists.* We would be the last men to tolerate dictatorship or directives from outside sources. But we will always fight *for the right of every man to follow the dictates of his own conscience.* That is why we dockers support Moral Re-Armament.

*We suggest that the ICFTU Secretariat has gone outside its province in attempting to interfere with our personal beliefs by issuing this report.*

TOM KEEP, President, National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers' Union, 1947-48

JACK MANNING, Branch Chairman, Docks Section, Transport & General Workers' Union

GEORGE KEEPER, Docker, Transport & General Workers' Union; Central Labour Party Delegate

TOM JONES, Docker, National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers' Union

MORRIS BENNETT, Docker, National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers' Union

GEORGE GRANT, Executive, Dockers' Section, National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers' Union

ALBERT EVANS, Stevedore, National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers' Union

DENNIS DONOVAN, Stevedore, National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers' Union

TOM HAM, Stevedore, National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers' Union

TED TARBARD, Stevedore, National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers' Union



ORIGINAL TEXT

'How MRA Creates New Leadership in the Docks.' 'In the Swedish port of Gothenburg the Gotaverken shipyards are a key factor. They employ 6,000 men and claim to have the third largest tonnage output of shipping in the world.

'The welding department has for a number of years been a focus of unrest in the yard, with numbers of slowdowns and strikes. The management found a tough man to master the situation as superintendent, who was nicknamed the "King". But things went from bad to worse. Two men headed up the opposition to him and tried to get him thrown out. The "King" had to go to hospital to rest and on his return was met by a sit-down strike.

'One of his workers interested the "King" in the Moral Re-Armament and in 1951 he went to the Moral Re-Armament conference at Caux for ten days. When he came home he was a different man. Many of the events that have happened in the yard since then go back to his change.

ICFTU TEXT  
'New Leadership in the Docks'

'The same year, the president of the Platers' Union went to Caux. Soon after his return there was an election for the board of the Unions in the yard. For the first time in ten years the Communists lost the election and the president of the platers, Nils Carlsson, was elected vice-president of the Union board.

'In January these two men persuaded the Company to send representatives to a management conference for Moral Re-Armament in Saltsjöbaden, Stockholm. On their return they created a team around themselves of men who were also fighting for Moral Re-Armament. This soon included the two men who previously led the opposition against the superintendent.

'In the spring they arranged a first information meeting for some two hundred picked people in the shipyard, the board of directors, leading men in the different departments and the Union.

'On November 30, a meeting of 300 ship-

'... (Göteborg) a society<sup>1</sup> has been established of people who have resolved to fight for the Moral Re-Armament Movement. *Quite soon, the two men who had formerly organised opposition to their chief joined the society . . .*

<sup>1</sup> The word in German is *Mannschaft* which does not mean 'society', but is widely used to translate the English word 'team'.

yard workers took place. Nils Carlsson, the vice-president of the Union, was in the chair.

“The Union head of the electrical department, described by *Dagens Nyheter* a few weeks previously as the most troublesome section of the yards, spoke. “We would be able to solve all the problems of production and all other problems on the basis of Moral Re-Armament,” he said. “Wages would be higher, we would be happy in our work and feel at home. The application of the four standards brings change in home and industry.”

“The wharf manager paid tribute to the new teamwork in the yards: “We have seen where personal change is necessary,” he said. “We acknowledge our mistakes and want to treat our workers as co-workers in future.” The managing director rose to his feet at the end and pledged the fullest support of the Company for Moral Re-Armament.’ (Translated from German edition.)

‘*The Managing Director promised full support from the management for Moral Re-Armament.*’ (Translated from German edition.)

Comment from union leaders at Götaverken Shipyard:

In the ICFTU Information Bulletin of September 15 there was a Report on Moral Re-Armament. Amongst other things, this Report makes quotations *dealing with developments at Götaverken Shipyard, Gothenburg*, since representatives of workers and management started to apply MRA.

*This quotation gives an utterly false impression, because it is taken out of its context and the essential points of the article have been omitted*, so that we Trade Union officials are made to appear as men who no longer fight for the interests of those we represent but rather for the interest of management.

The actual facts, as stated in the original article, are the following:

1. The changed attitude produced through MRA in one of the superintendents, put a stop to the unrest in his department.
2. The meeting spoken of at the end of the article was chaired by the vice-president of the local union. The chairman of the electricians was among the speakers.
3. At this meeting the yard-manager said, 'We have seen where we need to change. We acknowledge our mistakes and we want in future to treat our workers as co-workers.'

Contrary to the statement in the Report, we Trade Union men who have been applying the principles of MRA have found that this has strengthened us in our Trade Union struggle.

We consider it highly important that *nothing should be published* in the name of the ICFTU, *the validity of which is open to question*.

We are deeply insulted that an organ of our international federation should *question our integrity as trade unionists* and accuse us of yellow unionism.

It is most surprising that our federation, which was founded because of the Communist control of the WFTU, *now appears to run the latter's errands.*

We demand that the ICFTU, at the earliest possible opportunity, put right this whole matter and *in so doing restore our confidence in the Executive of the ICFTU.*

NILS CARLSSON, Vice-President, Metal Workers' Branch, Götaverken Shipyard; President, Platers of Götaverken Shipyard  
BIRGER CARLSSON, President of the Foundry Workers, Gothenburg  
GOTE WALLMAN, President, Electricians, Götaverken Shipyard

Quotation No. 6 *MRA Information Service*, January 29, 1953

## ORIGINAL TEXT

'*American Bus Strike Settled.*' 'In different towns of America, the transport companies have difficulties, as for example in New York, Philadelphia and Minneapolis. Many thousands have to walk dozens of miles on foot. The reasons are manifold: higher living costs bring new wage demands with them; higher living standards lead to a demand for the shortening of working hours; the steadily increasing number of private cars brings about a notable cut in the profits of the companies. The town authorities are at a loss to know what to do about it.'

'In a very short space of time the Miami Beach Transport Company had three crises between management and the Busmen's Union. In February last year a 17-days' strike took place. The bus drivers went back to work when a temporary settlement was made.'

'On the 3rd December the *Miami Herald* announced that probably before Christmas there would be a strike in Greater Miami. At a drivers' meeting the workers had given their

## ICFTU TEXT

'*American Bus Strike Settled.*'

'Let's take Miami as an example. Quite recently there were three successive disputes in the Miami and Miami Beach Transport Co., between the management and the Busmen's Union.'

'On 3 December, the *Miami Herald* predicted that there would probably be a bus strike in Miami district before Christmas.'

Trade Union representative full power to give orders for a strike if the talks collapsed.

'But already by the 12th December, the representatives of the management and the Union had signed a contract for three years. The *Herald* wrote about it: "This contract will bring an end to the labour unrest in the Miami and Miami Beach Transport Companies." The newspaper quoted the owner of the two companies, Mr W. D. Pawley: "As a result of the fact that we have been able to make a three-year contract with our employees, we can look forward to the future with confidence and hope in fulfilling our service to the public with an efficiency which we have never had before." The public will surely share the satisfaction of the management and workers of the transport companies at this new stabilization of the relations between management and workers.

*'But as early as 12 December representatives of the management and the Union signed a three-year agreement.'*

H 'Mr Pawley attributed the greater efficiency and courteous service to the fact that the *drivers from now on would have their share in the profit of the company.* W. O. Frazier, the President of the Busmen's Union, mentioned that the busmen could increase their wages by giving better service to the passengers and by performing more reliable and conscientious work in the repair shops. *The drivers voted for the contract with an overwhelming majority of 239 against 20.*

'A week later Frazier telegraphed to Frank Buchman in New Delhi the following message, which was printed in the *Hindustan Times*: "We send you good news. Your inspiration is the main cause for the solution of the bus dispute in Miami. We have accepted the three-year contract with the profit sharing clause. This will be a challenge to teamwork between management, workers and the public. If this can be realized, we are convinced that the whole country can have it." (Translated from the German edition.)

'W. O. Frazier, President of the Busmen's Union, mentioned that the busmen could increase their wages by giving better service to the passengers, and by performing more reliable and conscientious work in the repair shops.

'A week later, Frazier telegraphed to Buchman: "We have some good news for you. Your inspiration was the vital factor in the solution of the bus dispute in Miami." (Translated from German edition.)



Comment from Union President:

*As my name is mentioned in the ICFU report under a paragraph entitled 'American Bus Strike Settled', I would like to point out that the paragraph is worded to give the impression that the workers gave in to management and got no benefits. That is not the case. On the contrary, our men have averaged \$135 each in benefits from the new profit sharing plan agreed to at that time, in February 1952. This is unique in our history. It was reported in the *Miami Labor Citizen* of October 8, 1953, organ of the Central Labor Union, Florida, AFL, which states, 'The agreement gives employees of each company one half the profits of each company over 5 per cent of the rate base.*

*'At meetings last week drivers voted almost unanimously to continue operating under the agreement. They also voted a new pension plan which will be worked out by joint contribution of the companies and employees.'*

W. O. FRAZIER  
President, Miami Transit Co.  
Bus Drivers' Union, AFL

Quotation No. 8 MRA Information Service, October 11, 1952

ORIGINAL TEXT

'*Practical Results in Industrial Relations.*' 'Mr Hans Dütting, Director of the Gelsenkirchen Coalmining Co., and Mr Paul Dikus, Chairman of the Works Council of 26,000 miners in the company, reported on the close co-operation that had been achieved between them through MRA. Dikus, who tried to prevent Dütting returning to his position after the war, had entirely changed his attitude as a result of the change he had seen in his Director. The understanding between the management and the trade unions, and the degree of responsibility the workers now had in the running of the company, was greater, he said, than that exercised by the newly formed joint management/labour boards in Ruhr industry. The right policy at all points was unanimously accepted because Union and management could both trust each other. The books of the company were always open to inspection by the Trade Unions. As Dütting pointed out, this was an easy enough thing to do when things were going badly, but an action which caused considerable heart searching on the part of management when things were going well.'

ICFTU TEXT

'*Practical Results in Industrial Relations.*' 'Mr Hans Dütting, Director of the Gelsenkirchen Coalmining Co., and Mr Paul Dikus, Chairman of the Works Council of 26,000 miners, reported on the close co-operation that had been achieved between them through MRA. Dikus, who tried to prevent Dütting returning to his position after the war, had entirely changed his attitude...'

Comment by Paul Dikus:

*I must reject as totally untrue and contrary to its real meaning, the quotation concerning me. The last sentence is cut off in the middle so that the meaning is completely twisted.*

When this last sentence is restored in full it reads: 'Dikus, who had tried after the war to prevent Dütting (the director) from returning to his post, completely altered his attitude *by reason of the change he saw happen in his director.*' Of course, I stand now, as I did before, by my view that a director of the old type must have his way blocked, but that one must work together with a director who recognizes, accepts, and really lives a different way of life.

PAUL DIKUS

Chairman, Works Council<sup>1</sup>  
Rheinelbe Coal Company

<sup>1</sup> The largest component of the Gelsenkirchen Coalmining Co., after a reorganization which took place at about this time.

Quotations Nos. 7 and 9 both from *MRA Information Service*, April 9, 1953, though greatly shortened, are substantially correct. They were:

*'Class Struggle or Change'*. The spokesman of the French industrial firm of Gruffiner (Paris) said that the problem was not money and competition, but human nature. Industry should not simply be a matter of production and money, but should also feel responsibility for the wellbeing of the world. It was not only a matter of striving for better conditions in the factory. *It should be industry's task to provide work for the hands of men, nourishment for their bodies and ideas for their heads.'* (Translated from German original.)

*'The meaning of Moral Rearmament for Madras' . . .* 'The Director of a film company reported that *the new spirit in his studios made it possible for him to have work done in one and a half hours, for which he had previously had to allow eight hours. In this way, he had succeeded in saving £420.'* (Translated from German original.)

Comment: We contend that these two genuine quotations do not prove the thesis of the report that 'MRA interferes with Trade Union activities', and is engaged in 'anti-Trade Union efforts, even to the extent of trying to found "yellow" unions'.

\* \* \*

Apart from the above 'quotations', the only evidence printed in the ICFTU report was the opinions of various Executive Members of the ICFTU. The only person quoted as bringing any definite evidence which bears on the Report's thesis that MRA interferes in Trade Union affairs is the late Mr Arthur Deakin (Great Britain). Here the Report states:

In connection with the activities of MRA in the Trade Union field, he (Mr Deakin) stated that his union (Transport and General Workers' Union) had been encountering difficulties for many years. As an example he mentioned the fact that MRA had interfered in an unofficial dock strike involving Canadian ships. This strike centred around the ports of Bristol, Liverpool, Southampton and London. In the course of the dispute, the unofficial strike committee called a week-end conference in London. MRA invited the strike leaders to a conference on the same day and promised to pay all their expenses. 'I took immediate action,' writes Deakin, 'and warned our people against their taking any part in Moral Re-Armament. I have also made it quite clear that we are completely and unalterably opposed to any interference by these people in our industrial organisation.'

Mr Jack Manning, then Branch Chairman, No. 1/38 Branch, Transport and General Workers' Union, commented:

In connection with the statement accredited to Brother Arthur Deakin appearing in the ICFTU report on Moral Re-Armament, I would like to make the following facts clear:

1. The statement that MRA interfered in an unofficial dock strike involving Canadian ships. This strike took place in the summer of 1949. I was a member of the strike committee. Neither I nor any of the unofficial committee had contact with MRA during that strike.
2. It is also alleged that in the course of that dispute MRA invited strike leaders to a conference on

the same day as the unofficial strike committee was having a conference. This was not so, but in 1950, six months after the Canadian Seamen's Union strike had finished, a series of public meetings of MRA took place in East London. Some of the strike committee attended these meetings along with hundreds of other citizens of East London. But we never received nor were offered any expenses by MRA.

3. After meeting Moral Re-Armament I decided to resign from the unofficial strike committee and to be loyal to the democratic procedure of my Trade Union (the Transport and General Workers' Union).

It would seem that Mr Deakin was misinformed on this matter.

## APPENDIX VII

### *Moral Re-Armament for Socialists*

by James Haworth

*Mr Haworth was President of the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association (1953-56). He was Labour Member of Parliament for the Walton Division of Liverpool from 1945 to 1950, and was for two years a member of the National Executive of the Labour Party.*

I BELIEVE the Labour and Trade Union movement must start from the basis that only a new type of man can create a new society. Economic and political action will be necessary, of course. But the beginning of all such action is in the minds of men.

To put it another way: the best thing that could happen to Britain would be the adoption by the Labour and Trade Union movement of the principles for which Moral Re-Armament stands. This will come as a shock to some who have been fed on false reports about MRA. But I have been a lifelong Socialist, and have for the past twenty years been intimately connected with MRA, and I know that nothing but good would result from an acceptance of these principles by our Labour movement.

I sat for two years on the Executive of the Labour Party at a formative period in our national development. I knew the battle we had against deep-seated prejudice, entrenched interests, and also I knew the immense longing for something better in the mass of the people of Britain.

I sat beside men who sincerely dedicated themselves to the building of a society that would give fairer shares of the national wealth and fairer opportunities for work in building decent conditions of life.

From time to time I differed from my colleagues on various matters, as is natural in a democracy. Sometimes I was right, sometimes wrong. But with my colleague Tom Driberg, one point on which I could never go along with him was his persistent personal and press campaign against Frank Buchman and Moral Re-Armament. It seemed to me to smack of an irrational and prejudiced vendetta. I had seen a side of Frank Buchman and Moral Re-Armament to which he had perhaps closed his eyes because he had made up his mind too early and felt duty-bound to belittle their later achievements and to reject the commonsense of their philosophy.

Mr Driberg implies that there is no genuine support for Moral Re-Armament among Socialists. But in almost every country this side of the Iron Curtain there are staunch fighters for Moral Re-Armament in the Socialist Parties and Trade Unions. All this in spite of the fact that a Report was adopted, without discussion, at the Stockholm Conference of the ICFTU in 1953 which condemned MRA.

It was compiled by one of the staff of the ICFTU who was detailed for the job. He sent round questionnaires to affiliated bodies asking for their experience of MRA. All except one of the replies quoted in the Report was anti-MRA, but I have myself seen copies of replies from three countries, which paid tribute to the work of MRA, but which were not mentioned at all in the Report. Also, the unqualified tribute from the Executive Vice-President of the C.I.O. of America, which appeared in the draft Report dated July 2, 1953, was



deleted before the Report was circulated in September. As for the Report itself, every one of the detailed charges can be proved to be either mistaken or deliberately distorted. At the time it was issued, I was a leading national officer of my own Trade Union and made it my business to investigate the charges. After these investigations, I met the then secretary of the ICFTU in his office at Brussels, with the officer who had compiled the Report. We went through the Report in detail, and when I left, I was under the impression that it would be withdrawn. So far as I am aware, it has not been withdrawn, but it ought to be.

Nowhere is MRA more misrepresented than on the question of money. I write rather feelingly about this, because I have dipped deeply in my own pocket, and given savings which took me twenty years to gather together, to make possible some activities which I was convinced needed doing. And I am only one of thousands. People all over the world are making sacrifices, in order that what they are convinced is God's work shall be enabled to continue.

To sum up, I believe the Labour movement needs a strengthening on the moral and spiritual basis of its programme, which Moral Re-Armament could bring to it.

## APPENDIX VIII

### *Was MRA Ever Pro-Nazi?*

THREE DOCUMENTS referred to earlier are here given in full. The first is a translation of the final chapter of the Gestapo Report on the Oxford Group. The second is Peter Howard's answer, in a television interview, to the allegation that MRA had been pro-Nazi. The third is the text of the article in the *New York World-Telegram* on August 26, 1936.

(a) *The Report, Die Oxfordgruppenbewegung, was written in 1939 and published in 1942 by the Head Office of the Reich Security Department (Gestapo). The final chapter is printed verbatim below.*

### *Chapter VIII*

#### *Conclusions and Position We Take*

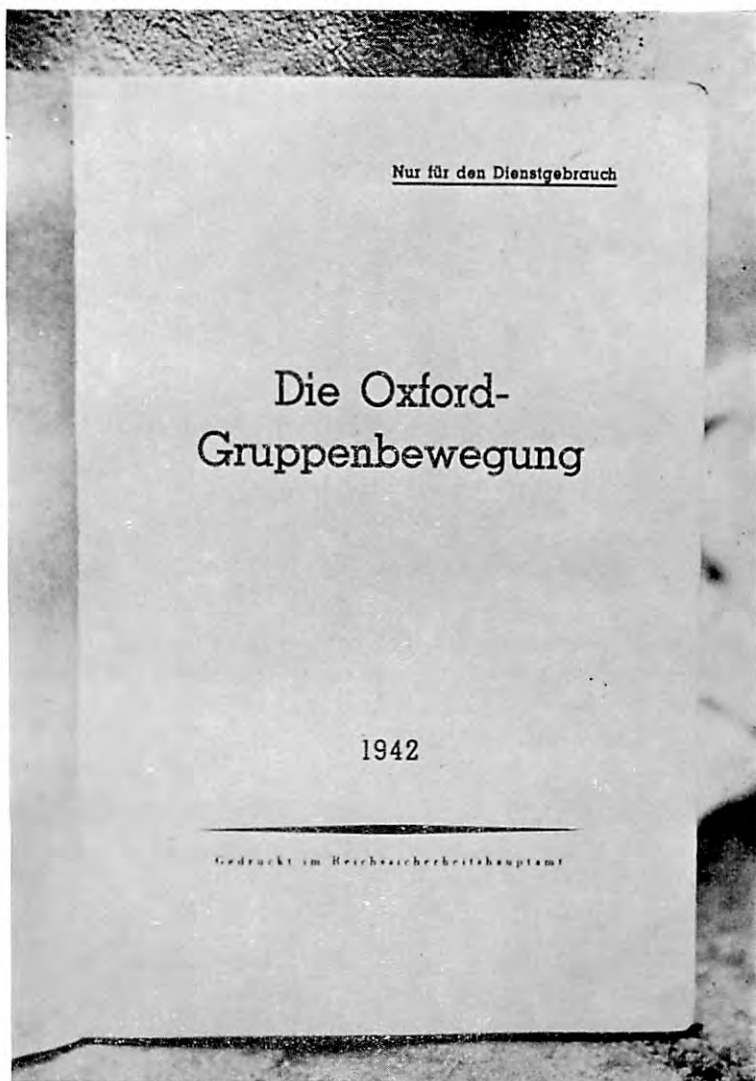
The nature, methods and aims of the Oxford Group movement, as well as the bases of its philosophy of life, have been set forth. It gives itself out to be a revivalist movement of an early Christian kind, having as its aim a 'new world order for Christ the King!' It seeks to bring about this new world order by training a new type of man, characterized by primitive Christianity. Unlike the Christian Church it tries in all seriousness to render vital once more, in modern forms, primitive Christian ways of life. The path adopted is the cure of individual

souls, which is described in the catchwords 'conviction of sin – confession – restitution – guidance – complete surrender'. Their meetings are marked by the loud obtrusiveness of American propaganda, and resemble in their content and value the Whitsun story in the Bible (Acts 2): everyone feels his sins and, intoxicated by this, bears witness in another tongue. The Group stresses *ad nauseam* the individual who glorifies himself on account of his sins. His mystical contemplations in the 'quiet time' are invested with the aura of divine absoluteness. Fellowship comes, not through the facts of race and nationality, but simply through mutual conviction of sin during confession: it is founded, not upon the healthy, natural individual, but upon the individual who has been inwardly broken. The Spirit of God is made responsible for anything and everything received in the quiet time as 'guidance'. Human irresponsibility is thus elevated to the highest religious aim. Passivity has become the mark of a life that is close to God. Activity is only demanded for the execution of the supposedly divine instructions that have been received.

The prerequisite for the new Christian world order of the Group is the overcoming of racial and national differences. The Oxfordians subscribe to a visionary Kingdom-of-God ideology and consider themselves as signs of the approach of the end of the world: 'In the present world era it is actually not "nations" which are called but only "a few from out of the nations". This community of Jesus among the nations is a "little flock", but it is "set up as a witness to all nations". "Then will the end come". Without a doubt the Group movement is itself such a sign and witness that the end is coming.' (E. von Eicken, *Ausweg aus der kirchlichen Erstarrung – The Way out of Church Rigidity – p. 64.*)

It preaches a mad socialistic humanism and sacrifices

*Appendix VIII*



The title page of a Gestapo document about the Oxford Group and Moral Re-Armament. In the top right-hand corner it is marked 'For Service Use Only'. At the bottom is 'Printed in the Head Office of the Reich Security Agency' (i.e. Gestapo). For verbatim text of its final chapter, 'Conclusions and Position We Take' see Appendix VIII.

Deutschfeindlichkeit gerade in den letzten Jahren offenbaren, deutlich zu Tage.

In weitestem Maße sucht die Gruppe in ihrer Arbeit auf die menschliche Phantasie zu wirken und stellt eine das eigene Denken ausschaltende Suggestion in den Dienst ihrer Ziele. Für die Praxis ihrer Seelsorge macht sie starke Anleihen bei der Psychoanalyse.

Die konsequente Durchdringung eines Volkes mit dem Geiste der Gruppenbewegung muß zu einem rassischen und sittlichen Verfall führen. Eine nüchterne Abwägung wird zu der Feststellung kommen müssen, daß die Oxford-Gruppe eine gemeinschaftsgefährdende psychopathische Erscheinung unserer Zeit ist.

Die Oxforder Gruppenbewegung bedeutet in ihrer Gesamtheit einen Angriff auf jede völkische Eigenstaatlichkeit und erfordert die höchste staatliche Wachsamkeit. Sie predigt Revolution gegen den völkischen Staat und ist zu seinem christlich-religiös getarnten Gegner sowohl in ihrem Ansatz und ihrer Methode als auch in den Zielsetzungen ihrer Arbeit schlechthin geworden.

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for that end every national social system. 'The Oxford Group movement is the way of Christ, and contains the solution to all racial, political, social, national and supranational problems, and as a former socialist I proclaim to the world that the Oxford Group movement will reconcile the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.' (E. Bünzli, *Überwindung des Chaos unserer Zeit* – The Conquest of the Chaos of Our Time – p. 23.) In the political sector it reveals in this the alliance between the League of Nations and the Jewish democracies. Under the slogan 'Moral Re-Armament' it has become the pacemaker of Anglo-American diplomacy. The anti-German character of the brotherhood of Oxford-Western democracies comes out clearly in their common propaganda for this slogan, which has the delighted support of all Jewish world-democrats who particularly in recent years reveal their hostility to Germany.

The Group seeks in its work to play upon human imagination to the greatest possible extent, and uses suggestion, which cuts out individual thinking, in the service of its aims. For the practice of their soul-cure they borrow a great deal from psycho-analysis.

The consistent imbuing of a nation with the spirit of the Group movement must lead to racial and moral ruin. Dispassionate consideration compels the conclusion that the Oxford Group is a psychopathic and socially dangerous phenomenon of our times.

The Oxford Group movement as a whole constitutes an attack upon the nationalism of the State and demands the utmost watchfulness on the part of the State. It preaches revolution against the national State and has definitely become its camouflaged Christian-religious opponent both through its tendencies and method and the aims of its work.

(b) ITV Programme 'Context'

7 p.m. on September 1, 1963

Speaker: Mr Peter Howard, interviewed by the Hon. Julian Grenfell.

*Mr Grenfell:* In our last edition but one of 'Context', the Bishop of Southwark, Dr Stockwood, during the interview referred to the Moral Re-Armament movement and in particular to its late leader, Dr Frank Buchman, whom he referred to as 'thank God for Hitler Buchman'. Representatives of the movement have asked for an opportunity to appear on this programme to comment on that. As a result we have in the studio tonight Mr Peter Howard, the leading spokesman for Moral Re-Armament. First of all, Mr Howard, a comment on what happened.

*Mr Howard:* Well, Frank Buchman is in his grave and out of reach of the malice of men or the bile of Bishops. I want to be clear why Dr Stockwood raised Hitler's ghost to dance on his coffin. There are some priests in his diocese who are strongly opposed to the new morality and the South Bank religion. They believe in Christianity with a Cross and they are not impressed by the professors and the civil servants who want to give us Christianity with cushions, concubines and teenage contraceptives. And Dr Stockwood tried to suggest that these people are Hitler lovers. He is either misinformed or mischievous, because it is just a low-grade lie.

*Mr Grenfell:* To be fair to the Bishop, Mr Howard, he referred specifically to Dr Buchman and to the fact that

he had said certain things about Hitler. But I don't think one can necessarily suggest or construe from that that he implied that all adherents to Moral Re-Armament were necessarily Fascist beasts or anything of that sort.

*Mr Howard:* As Dr Buchman is dead I cannot see much other point in raising the matter. But in any case, you see, I wasn't there in 1936 when Frank Buchman is alleged to have said this. Nor was the Bishop. But forty-three New York press men were. They all interviewed him that day. Only one of those press men suggested that he spoke in that way.

*Mr Grenfell:* Well, can we establish what in fact is said that he did say on that occasion? And if I could read from this particular reporter's account – Dr Buchman on arriving in New York on August 26th, 1936, said: 'I thank heaven for a man like Hitler who has built a front-line defense against the anti-Christ of Communism. Of course, I don't condone everything the Nazis do. Anti-Semitism is bad naturally. I suppose Hitler sees a Karl Marx in every Jew. Think what it would mean to the world if Hitler surrendered to the control of God. Through such a man God could control a nation overnight, and solve every bewildering problem.' End of quotation. Now did he or did he not say that?

*Mr Howard:* The whole of the man's life is contradictory to everything that statement implies. And Moral Re-Armament is utterly opposed to the filthy paraphernalia of this race fetish, or this class fetish, or this colour fetish. We believe that men must choose to be governed by God or they condemn themselves to be ruled by a Hitler or a Stalin or a Rachman.

*Mr Grenfell:* If I might interrupt a moment, you say,



therefore, that he didn't say it, or is it simply that it was not characteristic of the sort of man he was?

*Mr Howard:* I say that it is so ridiculous to try and pretend that one uncorroborated press statement is to be the judge of a man's life and work. You see, Hitler knew that we were frontally opposed to him. I have got here the instructions of the Gestapo to the Nazi military authorities. They are told to smash our work wherever it is found. I quote from this. It is said in German: 'They, the Moral Re-Armament, encourage their people to place themselves fully beneath the Cross of Christ and to oppose the cross of the swastika with the Cross of Christ. They preach revolution against National Socialism and have evidently become its avowed, frontal Christian enemies.'

*Mr Grenfell:* Did Dr Buchman believe that he could change Hitler?

*Mr Howard:* I think that in the 'thirties, you know, a lot of people suffered from the illusion that Hitler could be changed. For example, Churchill in 1935 said Hitler may 'go down in history as the man who restored honour and peace of mind to the great Germanic nation and brought it back serene, helpful and strong to the forefront of the European family circle.' You're not going to suggest Churchill was a Nazi, are you?

*Mr Grenfell:* No, no one is suggesting Churchill was a Nazi, but surely the point is that Dr Buchman, in believing that Hitler could solve all Germany's problems by being changed, is a remarkable presumption? Also it seems to leave it totally unnecessary for one to have studied the very deep roots of German totalitarianism. By changing one dictator, you don't make him any less of a dictator?

*Mr Howard:* Mr Grenfell, I think that is a complete

misrepresentation of Dr Buchman's attitude. I think he was Christian enough to hope that the power of the Living Christ could change any man, and he fought to change everybody he met. He fought to change everyone. He never met Hitler. You, I think are a Liberal candidate. Well, you have heard of Mr Lloyd George. He was a great Liberal leader, and he went to Germany to see Hitler in 1936. He came back and told the astonished earth that Hitler was 'the George Washington' of his country. Does that mean that you and Jo Grimond are Nazis?

*Mr Grenfell:* No, and we are not saying that all members of Moral Re-Armament are. But was not Dr Buchman a friend of Himmler as well? I understand they were on Christian name terms.

*Mr Howard:* You understand a lot of things that are not true. The whole of Frank Buchman's life and work was contrary to Fascism, Communism, or the vicious materialism of our free world which throws up dictatorship.

*Mr Grenfell:* It seems rather an over-simplification to say that in fact Germany's problems were going to be solved by changing one man. Can we have a brief last comment on that?

*Mr Howard:* I am not sure that simplification is a sin. Take simple things like honesty – they can't even tell us who won the Derby. Unselfishness – supposing everyone watching us tonight decided to sacrifice their selfishness for Britain instead of continuing to sacrifice Britain for their selfishness. The whole future of our country could become different.

*Mr Grenfell:* I am afraid that is all we have got time for. Thank you, Mr Howard.

(c) New York World-Telegram, August 26, 1936

*Hitler or Any Fascist Leader Controlled by God Could Cure All  
Ills of World, Buchman Believes*

By William A. H. Birnie, World-Telegram Staff  
Writer

To Dr Frank Nathan Daniel Buchman, vigorous, outspoken, 58-year-old leader of the revivalist Oxford Group, the Fascist dictatorship of Europe suggests infinite possibilities for remaking the world and putting it under 'God Control'.

'I thank heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler, who built a front line of defense against the anti-Christ of Communism,' he said today in his book-lined office in the annex to Calvary Church, Fourth Ave. and 21st St.

'My barber in London told me Hitler saved all Europe from Communism. That's how he felt. Of course, I don't condone everything the Nazis do. Anti-Semitism? Bad, naturally. I suppose Hitler sees a Karl Marx in every Jew.

'But think what it would mean to the world if Hitler surrendered to the control of God. Or Mussolini, or any dictator. Through such a man God could control a nation overnight and solve every last, bewildering problem.'

Dr Buchman, who is directing an Oxford house party tonight at the Lenox, Mass., estate of Mrs Harriet Pullman Schermerhorn, returned from Europe aboard the Queen Mary, after attending Oxford meetings in England and the Olympic games in Berlin.

A small, portly man, who doesn't smoke or drink

and listens quietly to 'God's plans' for a half hour or so every day, usually before breakfast, Dr Buchman talked easily about world affairs while eight or nine Oxfordites – good-looking young fellows in tweeds – sat on the floor and listened.

'The world needs the dictatorship of the living spirit of God,' he said and smiled, adjusting his rimless glasses and smoothing the graying hair on the back of his head. 'I like to put it this way. God is a perpetual broadcasting station and all you need to do is tune in. What we need is a supernational network of live wires across the world to every last man, in every last place, in every last situation.

'The world won't listen to God, but God has a plan for every person, for every nation. Human ingenuity is not enough. That is why the 'isms are pitted against each other and blood falls.

'Spain has taught us what Godless Communism will bring. Who would have dreamed that nuns would be running naked in the streets? Human problems aren't economic. They're moral, and they can't be solved by immoral measures. They could be solved within a God-controlled democracy, or perhaps I should say a theocracy, and they could be solved through a God-controlled Fascist dictatorship.'

He looked around the room at the eight or nine young men drinking in his words, and straightened the crimson rose in his button-hole.

'Suppose we here were all God-controlled and we became the Cabinet,' he said. 'You' – pointing at the reporter, who seldom ventures off the pavements of Manhattan – 'You would take over agriculture. You' – a Princeton graduate beamed – 'would be Mr Hull. Eric here, who has been playing around with a prominent Canadian who's Cabinet material, would be

something else, and this young lawyer would run the Post Office.

‘Then in a God-controlled nation, capital and labor would discuss their problems peacefully and reach God-controlled solutions. Yes, business would be owned by individuals, not by the State, but the owners would be God-controlled.’

The Oxford Group has no official membership lists, no centralized organisation, but Dr Buchman estimated that ‘literally millions’ listened in to his recent world broadcast from the meeting in England attended by 15,000 persons. Finances?

‘God runs them,’ he smiled. ‘Don’t you say every day “Give us this day our daily bread”? and don’t you receive?’

The group is built on the simple thesis that there is a divine plan for the world and that human beings, with faith and devotion, can receive God-given guidance in a ‘quiet time’ of communion. Most Oxfordites write down their guidance and then check it against the ‘four absolutes’ – absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, absolute love.

‘Those are Christ’s standards,’ Dr Buchman explained. ‘We believe that human nature itself can be changed by them. We believe in answering revolution by more revolution – but revolution within the individual. And through the individual, revolution in the nation, and through the nation, revolution in the world. It’s as simple as that – Christian simplicity. And it’s fun, too. We call each other by our first names and our meetings are always informal.’

‘I held meetings at the Republican and Democratic Conventions. What Washington needs is God-control. Landon talks about divine guidance. Why doesn’t he apply it? And the finest thing Roosevelt ever said was

this:—"I doubt if there exists any problem, political or economic, which would not melt before the fire of spiritual awakening."

'Oxford is not a one-way ticket to heaven, although that's a splendid thing and lots of people need it. It's a national ticket, too. That's the ticket we should vote in this coming election – God's ticket.'

Dr Buchman is unmarried, a graduate of Muhlenberg College, which awarded him a doctorate of divinity in 1926. He said he was 'changed' – Oxfordites use the word to mean the complete surrender to God control – by a gradual process.

'I was in England and I began to realize I was a sinner and there was an abyss between Christ and me,' he said. 'I was resenting my lost power and I was confessing others' sins when the real problem was mine. Then I went to church.

'A vision of the Cross. Of Christ on the Cross. An actual vision. I was changed then, but I've been changing ever since. A little even today, I suppose.'

'And when was the vision, Dr Buchman?'

'Let's see,' he said, and rustled some pamphlets in his hand. 'Let's see – what year was the vision?'

He looked around at the faces turned toward him. 'What year was the vision?' he repeated. One of the young men spoke up, '1908, wasn't it, Dr Buchman?'

Dr Buchman smiled at him.

'Of course,' he said. 'That was it, 1908.'

## APPENDIX IX

### *Does MRA 'minimise Christianity'?*

IN PUTTING FORWARD his false theory of MRA's development, Mr Driberg says:

We find that in MRA propaganda designed for the Oriental market there is practically no mention of Christianity (21).

On this point the words of the Most Rev. Arabindo Nath Mukerjee, the Metropolitan of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, writing on March 10, 1954, are of interest. The Bishop of Colchester had written to the *Daily Telegraph* saying:

Moral Re-Armament is now functioning, in India for example, without the name of Christ being mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

The Metropolitan of India commented:

It would appear from letters appearing in the *Daily Telegraph* that some people in England are somewhat confused regarding the basis of Moral Re-Armament's work out here in India. Perhaps they do not write from personal experience either of the work of this movement or of the task of preaching the Kingdom of God in Eastern countries today.

I feel impelled to write because my great predecessor in this office, the late Dr Foss Westcott, frequently and publicly testified that his close

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix III.

association with MRA meant a deeper experience of Christ's power in his own life and a greater effectiveness in passing on that experience to others.

At this stage of the development of the work of MRA in India, most of those who are giving their whole time to this work, at the sacrifice of salaried jobs and the other normal securities of life, come still from the Western nations, which are professedly Christian. I know at first hand the work of these people and I am convinced that a personal experience of the living Christ and dedication to His service and to the guidance of the Holy Spirit are the inspiration and impetus of their work.

One of the books which is selling widely here is the collected speeches of Dr Frank Buchman. Anyone who will take the trouble to look through this book can see that the transformation of this world through the power of Christ is the consistent theme of Dr Buchman's message.

The people of Asian nations have often been critical of the representatives in Asia of Western nations for giving lip-service to the name of Christ while not practising out here the absolute moral standards laid down by Him. Dr Buchman's visit last year with a team of 200, and the continuing work of MRA since then, have demonstrated these great truths in a way that has transformed some people of extreme Right and Left and roused ordinary citizens from apathy to responsibility.

For my part I welcome MRA as one of the effective instruments of God in the task of saving this world from the disruption and destruction that threaten it.

In conclusion I should add that I am not, have not ever been, and do not intend to be a member of



the MRA; but that is no reason why proper appreciation should not be given ungrudgingly to an organization that is doing a wonderful piece of Christian work among the people of our Land.<sup>1</sup>

Mr Driberg also alleges that 'Christianity, in any specific sense, is minimised' in the public presentation of Moral Re-Armament now and for a good many years past (21).

In this period, one of the principal ways in which MRA has presented its message has been through plays, shown to people of all religions and races, at Assemblies at Caux and elsewhere, and in theatres all over the world.

On June 24, 1964, in the Finnish daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*, its critic of theological literature, the Rev. Olavi Aula, writes:

In the Westminster Theatre . . . a play is presented that, both seen as well as read, in my opinion is most inspiring. . . . *Mr Brown Comes Down the Hill* is a religious play. It is quite literally a sermon. The author preaches the theology of incarnation to the people of this decade. He answers the question: 'What would the Christian world look like to Christ if He came back on earth today and met us as He walked down Piccadilly (or Mannerheim Street)?' . . .

It may not be altogether wrong to say that Howard and his school of thought in the world of the 1960's continues the noble Christian traditions of John Bunyan. Especially the beginning and final scenes of the play reminded me of the *Pilgrim's Progress* which, as is well known, is one of the most vivid descriptions of the spiritual experiences of a pilgrim. . . . Skilfully

<sup>1</sup> *Report on Moral Re-Armament*, edited by R. C. Mowat (Blandford, 1955), p. 37.

disguised in modern dress there appear on stage many of the figures of the Gospel, from Judas Iscariot to Mary Magdalene. In the final scene the three pilgrims continue their interrupted journey towards the summit. Through a personal experience God has become a reality to them. From the summit the brightness of the Resurrection illumines the faces of the pilgrims.<sup>1</sup>

Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, in his Foreword to Peter Howard's book of speeches *Design for Dedication*<sup>2</sup>, writes:

Peter Howard is a friend of mine. He is in charge of the program of Moral Re-Armament and well known throughout the world for his great and scholarly efforts in behalf of that noble cause. To his talent and training as a newspaperman he has added the moral insight drawn from experience with men in many lands.

He has made some of the finest addresses I have read in modern times. In these, reprinted in this present volume, he has stated old truths magnificently in their fresh relationship to the realities of today. To Americans, carrying a larger load of world responsibility than ever before in history, they point a leadership that could preserve faith and freedom for millions.

<sup>1</sup> The *Daily Telegraph* critic commented (May 29, 1964): 'You know where you are at the Westminster, which is more than can be said of most theatres. Elsewhere it may be sex or sadism or Shakespeare, and sometimes all three at once. At the Westminster it is always a wholesome morality and the author always seems to be Peter Howard. In other words, it is Christianity pure and simple, and it certainly makes a change.'

<sup>2</sup> Regnery, Chicago, June 1964.

We can never influence the Communist world merely by showing how our democracy functions and how well off we are. Every Christian prays: 'Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven.' It is nonsense to pray like that without seriously desiring what we are praying for.

If I really want it, then I must stand up for it, in my own life and in the life of others, in the life of the nation and in the life of the whole world, with all that I am and have, led by God, in community with others who feel the same obligation.

Then indeed the miracle will be achieved and other nations and peoples will be impressed. They will follow genuine moral leadership, not material progress.

That is ideology. That is Christianity.

## APPENDIX X

### *Tribute to a Pioneer*

by Gabriel Marcel<sup>1</sup>

IN THE LIGHT of the attacks to which Moral Re-Armament is exposed at the present time, I feel obliged to contribute my convictions. These should carry all the more weight with impartial people in that I have never, strictly speaking, belonged to Moral Re-Armament, even though I have on many occasions felt called to make known the sympathy which, with certain reservations, I have for it.

My first meeting with Frank Buchman was in Paris in the days of the Oxford Group. I saw him again much more recently and at greater length both at Caux and at Mackinac. I want to state clearly that I felt with him nothing of the kind of fascination which radiates from certain wise men who are endowed with a mysterious magnetic quality. In fact, I must admit that he impressed me as an ordinary, almost insignificant person. But – and this is the vital point – I learned on knowing him better to regard as a strength this characteristic which had first struck me as a weakness. I have discussed him at considerable length with men who have known him intimately, and today I recognise that apparent insignificance as the mark of a man wholly without self-love or vanity and consequently without any urge to make an impression on people he meets. He was a man who counted for nothing in his own opinion, and there is no doubt that this enabled him to become

<sup>1</sup> *Member of the Institute of France.*

completely sensitive to the Spirit to Whose service, obedient and ardent, he had consecrated his life once and for all. It seems to me that this is the only way in which we can explain the lasting effect left by his presence, however brief, in any place.

It will, of course, be said that the founders of all sects have claimed to act under the impulse of the Spirit, seeking to justify in this way spiritual novelties, often of the most extravagant kind.

But Frank Buchman always denied in the clearest possible way having founded anything resembling a sect. It is absurd to criticize him for a lack of originality in what is called his doctrine and at the same time maintain that Moral Re-Armament is a sect. These two reproaches are incompatible, and those who wish to criticise must choose between them. Let us refer to the letter written to him in February 1931, by Archbishop Söderblöm: 'The work that God has chosen you to do cannot be too highly appreciated. What is Unity with outward arrangements and organizations? I have felt from the very beginning of our modern unity-strivings in 1914 how necessary it is never to build only on human arrangements and fellowship in thoughts and plans. There must be, as you write, and as you act, a deeper unity. I am deeply moved by what you say, and I feel through your lines the reality of which you write. We need that individual renewal and that deepening of our Christian unity to an utmost degree. Without perfect sincerity that is created by God's presence no real unity, able to conquer all human pride, sensibilities and shortcomings, is possible.'

'You are concerned with the only thing that matters in religion and life: Christ's absolute ruling in our hearts and words and deeds. A changed life is more eloquent than lots of sermons.'

Such a tribute coming from one of those principally responsible for the ecumenical movement could leave no one unmoved.

But what is even more striking is that during the period since this letter was written – a time of history drenched in blood – the Roman Church itself has developed in precisely the direction of Frank Buchman's aspirations. It seems to me that only men of bad faith could dispute the kinship of thought between him and Pope John XXIII.

At the same time we have here the explanation of what at first sight seems paradoxical: the fact that of recent years Moral Re-Armament has gained ground most of all amongst Catholics. I could cite, for example, the astonishing success of its action in Brazil and more recently the moving welcome given it by the Cardinal Archbishop of Palermo.

Some people are surprised at the respect which Frank Buchman and the men who carry on his work have always manifested towards Moslems and Buddhists; but it would be ridiculous to read into this anything approaching a violation of essential Christian principles. It is more accurate to speak of an ecumenical spirit – using the word in its literal sense – and of catholicity. I am one of those who unreservedly welcome the growing concern in the Catholic Church to reduce the gap between the Church and catholicity – that is, universality – which in certain periods of its history has developed in a most alarming way.

I have referred above to the successors of Frank Buchman, to those who with an admirable persistence devote themselves to the development of Moral Re-Armament along the lines that Frank Buchman had laid down; but there is on this point one thing which it is important to say. I remember very well when I first

visited Caux remarking to one of those who had welcomed me, 'Are you not afraid that when the time comes for Buchman to go, his death may paralyse the work in which his influence has been so powerful?' 'His death will change nothing,' was the reply given with a certainty which amazed me. Today I must admit that the event has fully justified this prophecy, and this is due to the selflessness which characterized, as I have already stated, Frank Buchman. It is clear that if there had been anything self-centred about him, anything approaching pride or ambition, the question of who should succeed him would have come up in very different terms – such as, for example, are observable on the death of a dictator.

There is one other point on which I feel I must comment here: that is, on Buchman's attitude to Communism.

It is important to understand that what Buchman opposed was the materialistic side of Communist doctrine, and there is not the slightest foundation for supposing that he had any sympathy for capitalism as such. I may add that those who have accused him of a softness for Hitlerism are guilty of the grossest slander.

But in this connection what strikes me most is the fact that Moral Re-Armament has for some time understood the need of a direct approach to the Communists and of appealing to them in the name of those principles which we have, or are supposed to have, in common with them and on the basis of which an honest discussion should be possible. In adopting this approach I am convinced that Moral Re-Armament today is in direct line with the essence of Frank Buchman's intentions, for there was nothing about him that could be called fanatical. He was a 'man of good will' in the fullest sense of the word, and in the world as we know it these words are of weighty significance.

## INDEX

- Abid Ali, 55  
 Absolute Moral Standards, 16,  
     25-8, 132, 135  
 Adam, Dr Karl, 49-50  
 Administration of MRA, 77  
 Aims of MRA, 7, 23, 69-70, 72, 77  
 American industrialists, 36-8  
 Ammon, Lord, 59  
 Aquinas, St Thomas, 34  
 Armed Forces, 16, 79-80  
 Asia, 50, 71-4, 134-6  
 Aula, Rev. Olavi, 136  
  
 Barry, F. R., 13  
 Beerli, Father Fidelis, 137  
 Bible, The, 5, 22, 24-5, 29, 31, 36,  
     43, 50, 78  
 Böckler, Dr Hans, 56  
 Bolikango, Jean, 46  
 British Intelligence Service, 66-7  
 Brunner, Emil, 88  
 Butler, Bishop, 91  
  
 Cambridge, 82  
 Canterbury, Archbishop of, 84, 90,  
     92-3  
 Carlsson, Nils, 108-10  
 Caux, 10, 46, 53-4, 56, 102, 103,  
     106-7, 137, 140  
 Church Assembly, The, 26, 28, 33,  
     84-8  
*Church Illustrated*, 87  
*Church of England Newspaper*, 6  
 Churchill, Sir Winston, 65, 128  
 Civic Leaders, 40  
 Clay, Harold, 59  
 Close, Dr William, 47  
 Colchester, Bishop of, 85, 134  
 Confession, Alleged public, 10-12  
 Congo, 43, 46-7  
 Council of Management, 21, 40,  
     61, 77, 88  
 Courthope, Lord, 59  
 Criticism, 13-17, 18-19, 42  
 Cushing, Cardinal, 137  
 Cyprus, 43  
  
*Dagens Nyheter*, 108  
*Daily Despatch* S. Africa, 45-6  
*Daily Express*, 10, 16, 65, 83, 92  
*Daily Telegraph*, 15, 61, 63, 85, 86,  
     134  
*Daily Worker*, 19  
 Deakin, Arthur, 117-18  
 Denmark, 41-2, 62-3  
 Dikus, Paul, 117-18  
  
 Dockers and Portworkers, 103-  
     110, 118-19  
 Douglas-Home, Sir Alec, 15  
 Dutting, Hans, 115-16  
  
 Elliott, Herb, 19, 83  
  
 Finance, 36-41, 77, 94-5, 122, 132  
 Fisher, Dr Geoffrey, 84  
 Fjellbu, Bishop Arne, 66  
*Flensburg Avis*, 62  
 Ford, Henry, 95  
*Forgotten Factor, The*, 44, 99  
 France, 52-5, 100-2, 117  
*France-Soir*, 100-2  
 Francis of Assisi, St, 24  
 Frazier, W. O., 113-14  
 Fuglsang-Damgaard, Dr., 71  
  
 Gaitskell, Hugh, 15  
 Gandhi, Mahatma, 74, 104  
 Gandhi, Rajmohan, 74  
 Germany, 60-1, 63-5, 115-6, 125,  
     129, 131  
 Gestapo Document, 59-66, 123-6,  
     129  
*Glasgow Eastern Standard*, 58  
 God-control, 71, 131-3  
 Gooch, Edwin, 57  
 Gratry, Père, 29  
 Green, William, 55  
 Grensted, Dr L. W., 12, 74  
 Guidance of God, 25, 29-35, 36,  
     51-2, 133  
  
 Hambro, C. J., 66  
 Hardie, Keir, 49  
 Haworth, James, 57-8, 120-22  
*Helsingin Sanomat*, 136  
 Henson, Dr Hensley, 30-2, 85, 90-3  
*Hibbert Journal*, 69  
 Hilst, J., 100-2  
 Himmler, SS Chief, 62-3  
*Hindustan Times*, 113  
 Hitler, Adolf, 62-5, 127-130, 131  
 Hocking, William, 27-8  
 Howard, Peter, 126-129  
 Hudson, Canon, 85, 87  
  
 ICFTU, 56-8, 96-117, 121-2  
 Ideology, 5, 67-9, 72  
 India, 71-4, 104, 113, 117, 135-7  
 Industry, 37, 52-5, 97, 99, 100-2,  
     115, 117  
  
 Keller, Professor A., 88-9  
 Kerala, 73



- Kerr, Sir Hamilton, 83  
 Knox, Father Ronald, 43  
 Koht, Foreign Minister, 66  
 Kronika, Jacob, 62-3  
 Kupers, Evert, 55  
 Labour Movement, Party, 14, 22, 48, 55, 57, 120-2  
 Lang, Dr Cosimo Gordon, 75, 90, 92-3  
 Langston, Col, John D., 80-1  
 Leadership, 7, 10, 75-6  
 Lindsay, A. D., 13  
 Lloyd George, D., 65, 129  
 Ludendorff, General, 63  
 Luthuli, Chief Albert, 46  
 Macassey, Sir Lynden, 59, 84-5, 87, 96  
 Mackinac, 10, 54, 137  
*Manchester Guardian*, 61  
 Manning, J., 105, 118-19  
 Mar Gregorius, The Most Rev. Benedict, 73  
 Marcel, Gabriel, 47, 50-1, 137-40  
 Matthews, The Rev. John, 39  
 Mercier, Maurice, 52-5  
*Miami Herald*, 111-12  
*Miami Labor Citizen*, 114  
 Mineworkers, 39, 45, 115-6  
 Mukerjee, The Rt. Rev. A. N., 67, 134-36  
 Murray, Philip, 55  
 Nazis, Nazism, 16, 59-66, 123-5, 127-9, 130  
*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 41  
*New Statesman*, 37, 82, 95  
*New York World-Telegram*, 64, 123, 130-3  
 Newman, Cardinal, 18  
 Norway, 65-6  
 Norwood, Sir Cyril, 59  
 Overton, J. H. 48  
 Oxford, 9-13, 20, 34-5, 59  
 Padmanabhan, Mannath, 73  
 Palermo, Cardinal Archbishop of, 139  
 Pawley, W. D., 112-13  
 Plant, Cyril, 57  
 Pope John XXIII, 139  
 Princeton University, 11-12  
 Quain, Antony, 44-5  
 Racialism, 44-7  
 Rajagopalachari, C., 74  
 Ramm, Fredrik, 66  
*Rand Daily Mail*, 46  
*Reynolds News*, 14, 15, 83  
 Robinson, Bishop J., 6  
 Robinson, J. Armitage, 78  
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 64, 80-1, 132-3  
 Ross, Sir David, 59  
 Sadler, M. E., 13  
 Schöllgen, Professor W., 26, 31-2  
 Selbie, W. B., 13  
 Smith, F. A., 39  
 Smith, H. A., 12  
 Smith, Bishop Linton, 91  
 Social effect, 49-59  
*Socialist Advance*, 58  
 Söderblöm, Archbishop, 138  
 South Africa, 43-6  
*Star*, Johannesburg, 44-5  
 Stockwood, Dr Mervyn, 126  
 Streeter, Dr B. H., 30-2, 34, 74, 90, 93  
*Sunday Citizen*, 15, 19, 44  
*Sunday Express*, 83  
*Sunday Times*, 61  
 Swaffler, Hannen, 10  
 Switzerland, 41  
 Textile Industry, 53-5  
 Tillet, Ben, 55, 103  
*Times*, *The*, 12, 14, 59, 61, 83, 84, 91, 92, 96  
 Trade Unions, Unionists, 15, 39-40, 45, 52-8, 96-119, 120-2  
 Trade Union Congress, 57-8  
*Tribune*, 39  
 U.S.A., 15, 111-14, 130  
 Vincentian canon, 70  
 Wand, Dr J. W. C., 13  
 Wesley, John, 8, 24, 28, 43, 48, 91  
 Westcott, Dr Foss, 91, 92-3, 135  
*Who's Who*, 19, 82-3  
 Wickham, Canon, 85  
 Wilberforce, W., 49  
 Williams, A. L., 58  
 Winnington Ingram, Dr, 90, 92-3  
 Wolrige Gordon, Patrick, 13-14  
 Woodcock, George, 58  
 Woods, Dr Edward, 59  
 Yanagisawa, R., 55  
 Yates, B. Lund, 69  
 'Yellow' Unions, 57, 96-7, 110, 117  
*You Can Defend America*, 79-80